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**MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

*The world is not secure in the direct meaning of the word when currents of poison flow along river channels, when poisonous rains pour down from the sky, when the atmosphere polluted with industrial and transport waste chokes cities and whole regions, when the development of atomic engineering is accompanied by unacceptable risks.*

*Many have suddenly began to perceive all that not as something abstract, but as quite a real part of their own experience. The confidence that 'this won't affect us', characteristic of the past outlook, has disappeared. They say that one thorn of experience is worth more than a whole wood of instructions. For us, Chernobyl became such a thorn...*

*The relationship between man and the environment has become menacing. Problems of ecological security affect all - the rich and the poor. What is required is a global strategy of environmental protection and the rational use of resources. We suggest starting its elaboration within the framework of the U.N. special programme (...)*

\* \* \*

*It would be possible to launch a broad selection of practical steps, for instance, working out a world information programme under the UN auspices to familiarize peoples with one another's life, the life as it is, not as someone would like to present it (...) Such a project should envisage ridding the flow of information of the 'enemy image' stereotypes, of bias and prejudices (...)*

*We emphatically stress the need for making the status of important political documents passed at the United Nations by consensus more binding, morally and politically. Let me recall that they include, among others, the final document of the 1st Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.*

*In our opinion, we should have set up long ago a World Consultative Council under UN auspices uniting the world's intellectual elite. Prominent scientists, political and public figures, representatives of international public organizations, cultural workers, people in literature and the arts, including Nobel Prize laureates and other international prizes of world-wide significance, eminent representatives of the churches could seriously enrich the spiritual and ethical potential of contemporary world politics (...)*

*The idea of a comprehensive system of security is the first plan for a possible new organization of life in our common planetary home. In other words, it is a pass into the future where security of all is a token of the security for everyone.*

(Excerpted from Mikhail Gorbachev's article 'The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World, Pravda, 17 Sept. 1987)

## CHIPKO: THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT WITH A HOPE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANKIND

by Sunderlal Bahuguna  
Chipko Information Centre  
PO Siliyara via Ghansali  
Tehri-Garwal, UP 249 155, India

*The 1987 Right Livelihood Award, popularly known as the Alternative Nobel Prize, was attributed to*

. *The Chipko Movement of India, whose members "hug trees" to prevent their felling, and have revived traditional agro-forestry. Chipko is honoured "for its dedication to the conservation, restoration and ecologically-responsible use of India's natural resources".*

. *Professor Hans-Peter Dürr, a West German physicist, recognised "for his profound critique of SDI and his work on converting high technology to peaceful uses". The Jury also honours in Dürr "an active member of the Western peace movement, the activities and pressure of which have made possible the first actual nuclear disarmament agreement since 1945".*

. *Frances Moore-Lappé (USA), food and human rights activist and co-founder of the Institute for Food and Development Policy in San Francisco, who receives the Award "for revealing the political and economic causes of world hunger and showing how ordinary citizens can effectively help to remedy them" (see IFDA Dossier 57/58, pp. 101-102).*

. *Mordechai Vanunu, who was kidnapped and is being tried for treason in Israel, for revealing the extent of Israel's secret nuclear weapons programme and its close nuclear links with South Africa. He is honoured "for its courage and self-sacrifice in putting his loyalty to humanity first" (see IFDA Dossier 61, pp.51-54).*

*The 1987 Right Livelihood Honorary Award went to Professor Johan Galtung (Norway), the pioneering peace researcher, scientist and international academic, "for his systematic and multidisciplinary study of the implications of the arms race and the condition which can lead to peace". The Jury also honours Galtung "for his sustained contribution to peace movements worldwide and to the possibility of nuclear disarmament which they have brought about."*

\* \* \*

*We reproduce below a paper by Sunderlal Bahuguna, a Gandhian activist and philosopher whose 4,970 kilometer trans-Himalayan footmarch in 1981-83 was crucial in spreading the Chipko movement. This paper was presented at the SAM/APPEAL Conference on 'Global Development & Environment Crisis: Has Humankind a Future?' (Penang, Malaysia, April 1987).*

Sunderlal Bahuguna

## CHIPKO: THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT WITH A HOPE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANKIND

Chipko has been identified as one of the most effective grassroots movements born after the United Nations Conference on Environment held at Stockholm in June 1972. Though the capitals of industrialized countries were the centres of discussion on environmental protection, action for it started in a remote Himalayan village. But it was not sudden. The Chipko movement is deeply rooted in India's ancient culture, which more than five thousand years ago was born and nurtured in the woods. The seers and sages, who were the teachers of society, lived in their ashrams in the woods. With nature all around them, they pondered over the problems of humankind. They developed a philosophy of life in which

1. *There was life in all creation, human beings, animals, birds and beasts, plants and trees, rivers and mountains.*
2. *All life was the manifestation of a supreme power, so there was unity of life and all life was to be respected and worshipped.*
3. *Austerity was respected. The seers themselves had very few material needs. Having more desires was regarded as an obstruction in the path of self-realization. The objective of life was peace, happiness and fulfillment.*

Whenever people forgot these noble objectives, they were reminded of these through preachers and scriptures. The basic concepts are in Vedas, the oldest book of wisdom. Repetition of these is found in Ramayan and Mahabharat. Vyas Devi, the author of Mahabharat puts these words in the mouth of Bhishma, the patriarch of Kaurav and Pandava families, "This tree has feelings like human beings. Trees feel hunger and thirst, heat and cold. They have eyes to see and nose to smell. They drink water and feel it. They also drink water. I see them living. It is a folly to regard them lifeless." (Mahabharat - Shanti Parva Lectures by Swami Gangeshwara Nand, ch.4, p.321). The same is repeated by Lord Krishna in Sri Mad Bhagwat, when he says to his cowherd companions. "Friends! Have a look on these trees, who live only for the sake of others. They bear the scorching sun, torrential rains and the biting frost, but protect us" (Sri Mad Bhagwatam, Skand 10, ch.22, Stokas 29635. Commentary by Swami Qanqathanand).

Later, Buddha, who came out of his father's palace to pioneer a movement of social change, preached the importance of trees and enjoined upon his followers each to plant five trees and look after these during his life.

In medieval India, the message of ancient culture was taken to the masses by saints, who were from among the common people. One of these saints was Zambhoji, born in the end of 14th century in the desert state of Rajasthan, which often experienced severe droughts. Zambhoji was a cowherd. While others during a severe drought left the area with their cows, Zambhoji stayed behind. He pondered over the problem and reached at this conclusion that nature, which was so benign, turned to be cruel due to man's misbehaviour. He devised twenty nine rules of good behaviour. Two of these were not to cut any green tree and not to kill any wild animal. Zambhoji himself followed these rules and found that nature again became kind to him. When the others returned with their cattle, finding Zambhoji and his cattle hale and healthy, they were surprised. He disclosed to them the secret of his happiness and prosperity. They also followed these rules and were called vishnois (as twenty nine in Hindi is Bees and Nan).

Vishnois strictly followed these rules and went to the extent of sacrificing their lives to protect the trees and wild animals. It was in September 1730 that 363 men and women led by Amrit Devi offered themselves to be axed in Khegadli village of Jodhpur by the axemen of the Maharaja while protecting the Khegadi trees. The tradition is still followed by the Vishnois.

Another saint was born and lived in the Himalayan state of Jammu and Kashmir during the same period. He was Sheikh Nur Uddim Wali, son of a cowherd - later on popularly known as Nund Rishi as people respected him due to his life of austerity and words of wisdom. Nund Rishi refused to learn more than 'Alif' - the first letter in the Arabic alphabet. He said 'alif' means Allah - the Almighty and he is One. He roamed in the woods. "In the lap of nature, he quietly gleaned knowledge of the spirit from mountain and field, the sky and the sun. Thus nature became the Sheikh's first teacher". Living in the hills Nund Rishi could see that the prosperity of valleys depended upon the dense forest cover in the hills. His words of wisdom, "Yeli Van Poshan Teli Poshi An" (when forests last, then alone food will last), are still remembered.

When, with the establishment of British rule in India and the spread of the ideas of western materialistic civilisation in this country, the progressive element in India instead of bowing down to it, revived the cultural values and gave birth to renaissance of which Raja Ram Mohan Rai in early 19th century was the pioneer. Later Maharshi Daya Nand, Vivekarand, Ram Tirthy, Aurobindo, in the spiritual field, J.C. Bose in the fields of science, Gudurev Rabinda Nath Tagore in literary and cultural field spear-headed this movement. But it was Gandhi who developed a philosophy of life and true development based on these cultural values.

Gandhi's message reached the remote villages during the independence movement, which influenced hill peoples' struggle against the commercialization of forests. In one non-violent struggle, 17 villagers were killed on 30 May 1930 at Tilari in Ultarkashi district. Later Shri Dev 'Suman', a Satyagrahi soldier of Gandhi, died after a 84-day fast in Tebri Jail in 1944. After independence, Gandhi's two English disciples Mira Behn, daughter of British Admiral Slade, and Sarala Behn, established their ashrams (centers of service) in Uttar Pradesh's hills. Mira Behn in the early fifties was the first to realize that the main cause of devastating floods in the Indo-Gangetic plains was deforestation and change in forest cover from oak to pine in the Himalayas. She said, "There is something wrong in the Himalayas". Sarala Behn could see the hidden strength of hill women and she trained hill girls for social work. This groundwork paved the way for a new awakening among the hill folk.

Finally it was Acharya Vinoba Bhave's - the walking Saint of India - message of village republics which was spread through extensive footmarches in the remote villages which prepared people for direct action. To begin with, it was against liquor. The movement against liquor (1965 to 1971) created a new leadership among women, who naturally came in the forefront when the Chipko movement was launched.

The message of the Stockholm Conference was taken to the hill villages in September-October 1972 by Swami Chidanandji, a spiritual leader, who had travelled widely all over the world and had seen the ecological crisis in the so-called developed world. Thus the Sarvodaya Brotherhood created by Sarala Behn equipped with the ideas of Gandhi and Vinoba and the first hand experience of Swamiji launched a struggle for community rights of the forests in December 1972. The first demonstration was in Jamuna valley, where 17 persons had been killed in 1930 and in front of whose memorial people in 1968 had pledged to re-establish the harmonious relationship between forests and people.

Confrontation with the State came when 50 ash trees were allotted to a sports good company of Allahabad in Mandal forest, where a single tree was refused on silvicultural grounds to the villagers for making yokes. People questioned this scientific decision and declared their determination to save the trees by hugging. On 23 April 1973, they demonstrated in the forests and the sports goods company surrendered. This was repeated in other valley and thus a non-violent technique of resistance emerged.

The word 'Chipko' is for 'hugging' (the trees), and was popularised through the folk-songs of Chipko activist Ghanshyam Sailani.

The message was taken from village to village by footmarches. The movement to begin with was purely economic. The main demands were replacing the contract system of forest exploitation with forest labour co-operatives and giving raw material to local forest based industries on concessional rates. Ban on felling of trees in certain sensitive areas was added to these later. The state government in 1974 acceded to those felling of trees in the upper catchment of Alaknanda, which was the centre of the July 1970 floods, and which was suspended and later stopped for ten years in an area of 1200 sq.kms.

The movement would have ended here, but in June 1977 the Sarvodaya Brotherhood revised their earlier stand on the basis of experiences gained so far, and demanded ban on felling of green trees for ten years in the hill catchments of the rivers. This was a challenge to the traditional scientific management of forests. The government with the traditional weapons of the establishments - fear and greed - came forward to crush the movement and won over a number of people but the women in Henwalghati, Tehri-Garwal, boldly challenged the old slogan of forestry management, "What do the forests bear? Soil resin, timber and foreign exchange" by saying "What do the forests bear? Soil, water and pure air, which are the basis of life".

They had to pay a very heavy price for this in the shape of police repression and arrests. This continued for two years. Repression strengthens a non-violent movement. The two alternative weapons, which Gandhi suggested - fearlessness against fear and selflessness against greed, became more effective with continuous use during these struggles. The activists were branded as enemies of science, democracy and development.

They demanded a committee of independent scientists, other than the commercial managers of the forests. An appeal to the nation by Gandhian leaders like Jai Prakash Narain, Kaka Kalelkar Dada Dharmadhikari and ecologists like Salim Ali to stop tree felling in Himalaya was made. And to face the challenge of anti-development a "Blueprint for the Development of Hills" was chalked out.

These efforts bore fruits and in April 1980, Ms Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, invited Chipko for discussion on immediate demands. Prior to this, in the 1980 elections, all the major political parties included the protection of the environment in their election manifestos. The Indian Science Congress - an organisation with a membership of 6000 - in its Varanasi session in January 1981, after listening to the Chipko story, passed a resolution extending its full-fledged support to the Chipko movement and recommended its expansion all over the country.

In the middle Himalaya, where Chipko was born, a ban on felling of green trees for commercial purposes above 1000 meter was declared in April 1981. It covers an area of approximately 40,000 sq. kilometers. The Government of India proposed a moratorium on tree felling in high areas above 1000 meters all over the country according to a statement recently made by Union Minister of State for Environment and Forest in Parliament.

Since 1981 and specially after a 4,870 km long Kashmir - Kohima Chipko foot march, Chipko actions have taken place in several parts in India. The most successful of these was in the Western Ghats (Southern State of Karnataka), where clean Alfina was stopped in 1983. Recently (January 1987) as a result of the peoples' movement, the State Chief Minister, Sri Raun Krishna Hegde, informed the Chipko Information Centre of the following:

*I have already instructed the senior officers of the Forest Department not to proceed with the agreement entered into about the felling of trees for the industries. Our endeavour is to preserve the original forest and ensure that the forest cover is preserved.*

In Himachal Pradesh, the Himalayan State adjacent to the Uttar Pradesh hills, where 100,000 trees were felled to make apple cases, Chief Minister Sri Virbhadra informs

*We have decided as a policy that the dependence on forests will be reduced for meeting requirements of fruit packing cases. In fact it has been decided that from 1987 onwards, no trees will be felled for making fruit packing cases except in inaccessible areas and arrangements are under way to supply card-board cartons for the purpose so that valuable forests are saved. The State Government is taking steps to ensure that by the year 2000 50% of the area is brought under forests through massive afforestation programmes.*

One of the major steps which the Government of India took was the passing of the Conservation of Forests Act, 1980, according to which forest land can not be transferred for non-forestry purposes without permission from the central government. This has helped in checking deforestation, as India lost 4.2 million hectares of forest land after 1947 for agriculture, power and irrigation projects and other industries.

The movement succeeded in making basic change in thinking about forests in general and about the importance of hill forests in particular. It is reflected in the recommendations of the Planning Commission's Working Group on Hill Area Development for the Seventh Five Year Plan:

*(i) Forests are the life and soul of the people. They should be protected, preserved and regenerated. The forest department should identify the ecologically sensitive areas and protect all such forests. Such*



areas should not be amendable to any working plan for exploitation purpose. The concept of monoculture need to be discouraged and mixed plantation comprising both coniferous and broad-leaved species should be encouraged, suitable to the local conditions.

(ii) It has been noticed that the department of forest resorts to the practice of clear-felling in forest management. This practice is ecologically unsound and may be done away forthwith.

(iii) Since the high altitude forests are ecologically fragile and important for water conservation, these should be a total ban on cutting of trees on such altitudes.

(Report of the Working Group on Hill Area Development for the Seventh Five Year Plan 1985-90, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, June 1985).

Dr T.N. Khosoo, President of the Indian Science Congress' in his presidential address on 3 January 1986 observed

there is a case for a moratorium (at least 15 years to begin with) on trees felling in fragile areas, accompanied by active field programmes of extensive afforestation in environmentally critical regions such as steep mountain slopes, catchment areas of river valley projects, etc. In this connection, the following suggestions have been made:

. Moratorium on commercial fellings in the Himalayas and other ecologically fragile hilly areas;

. Considering the serious ecological situation in the Himalayas, there is an urgent need for a moratorium on commercial felling right down the Siwalik foothills irrespective of considerations of altitude or gradient, unless otherwise warranted on purely scientific grounds. This moratorium may extend, to allow for at least one growth cycle, for a period of 15 years. The essential requirements of the people of those areas should, however, continue to be met largely from dead trees or from trees on slopes of less than 30° or even subsidised in other ways. This also applies to Eastern and Western Ghats, Andamans and Nicobar Islands and other areas of the country. (T.N. Khosoo, India Science Congress, New Delhi, 1986, p.74).

Countrywide debate on new forest policy is going on. Chipko's stand on this is:

1. Remaining natural forests should be preserved.
2. Water should be declared the main product of forests, besides oxygen and soil.
3. Monoculture forests should be converted into mixed forests with priority to food, fodder, fuel, fertilizer and fibre trees for self sufficiency in basic needs.
4. Community control over the forests - development and environment.

Like all environmental movements, Chipko has been attacked as anti-development. This takes us to the definition of development. The materialistic civilization, which flourished after the Industrial Revolution in Europe, defined development in terms of material prosperity. Industrial development brought two basic changes in human thought: (1) nature is a commodity over which human beings have a birth right of exploitation, and (2) society is only of human beings.

The direction of science and technology has been to find new ways and means to exploit nature. This has resulted in the depletion of resources, both renewable and non-renewable, due to overexploitation to satisfy the insatiable demands of society. This development created temporary prosperity, but has also created pollution, war and poverty.

Countries which are at the height of material prosperity are facing problems of air and water pollution. Air pollution has crossed all the limits and is seriously damaging the forests too with acid rains.

Rivers are polluted and water is treated several times before being used. In this process the water loses its living form. Fresh spring or river water, and pure air, which are the birth-rights of all living beings, are no more enjoyed by the citizens of these countries.

These countries in order to sustain their economies depend upon foreign trade, the hateful aspect of which is the arms trade. Never in the history of humankind, production of arms had been a flourishing industry as in our times. In order to keep it going, war psychosis is created, which makes neighbours the enemies of each other. The super powers, in a competition to extend their sphere of influence, specially in the countries with rich natural resources and markets, have divided the world into two groups.

Foreign exchange has become more important than God to less materially rich countries. In order to acquire more foreign exchange, they do not hesitate even to auction the fertility of their soil. This is the main cause of rapid destruction of tropical forests and raising quick growing species, which ultimately deplete soil and water - the two basic capitals of humankind. This in the long run gives rise to poverty. Unfortunately the poor countries have adopted the exploitative model of materialistic development, which has been offered by the exploiters. They are under foreign debt and above all they are losing confidence in their cultures, traditions and systems.

Humankind has always aspired for peace, happiness and fulfillment. Buddha was the first social revolutionary who searched for the root causes of human misery. He found that the main cause of all misery (Dukh) was insatiable desire

(Trishna) and the way to peace, happiness and fulfilment, which he defined as the goal of true development, was ending of desires (Trishna Kchhayya). Buddha made basic difference between needs and desires. The needs of all living beings should be satisfied, but the materialistic civilization advocates the continued increase in desires. This keeps individual in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction, war is the collective manifestation of individual dissatisfaction, while peace is the collective expression of individual satisfaction.

Schumacher in his book Small is Beautiful explains Buddha's philosophy under the heading 'Buddhist economics' when he writes

*We can blend successfully the religious and spiritual values of our heritage with the benefits of modern technology (...) Buddhists see the essence of civilization not in a multiplication of wants, but in the purification of human character. Character is formed primarily by a man's work. In the affluent society goods are considered more important than man and consumption as more important than creative activity (...) The keynote of Buddhist economics, is simplicity and non-violence.*

After the advent of the industrial revolution and the changes which put man at war with nature, notes of warning against this situation were sounded by Western thinkers like Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau; but they could make no impact. It was Gandhi, equipped with the message of Indian culture which lays stress on the search of innerself, and the ideas of materialistic society, which he had obtained as young man in England, who could challenge the materialistic civilization as early as 1909, when he wrote Hind Swaraj. Gandhi's struggle was not only for the political freedom of India, but for a peaceful, happier and prosperous world. He had a vision of a society based on service, austerity, peace and good behaviour in place of a society based upon authority, wealth, arms and ideology. Gandhi was the first social revolutionary of modern world, who boldly declared 'My life is my message'. He believed in good behaviour. This good behaviour should not be limited to human beings alone, but to all living beings, because he had inherited a philosophy of life which believed in a family of this planet, regarding earth as mother and human beings as her children. Explaining the whole concept of development in the context of human relationship with Earth, he said, "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's needs, but not for every man's greed."

This takes us to the decentralized system of production. In an ideal society human beings basic needs should be fulfilled from their surroundings. The basic needs today are not limited to food, shelter and clothing, but oxygen has become the first priority, followed by water. We are living in a technosphere, whose oxygen requirements are fifteen times

more than all the living beings. Similarly water is going to be the main problem of humankind by the end of this century.

According to Sandra Postel, "Given existing climatic conditions and current population projections, the per capita global water supply at the end of the century will have declined by 24 per cent, while the stable, reliable component of water will have dropped from 3,000 to 2,280 cubic meters per person". (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, Water: Rethinking Management in an Age of Scarcity, p.11) In some countries the change in per capita run off as compared to 1983 in 2000 will be 50 per cent less in Kenya. In Brazil, Venezuela, South Africa and Swaziland it will be 37 per cent, in Nigeria 42 per cent, Mexico 34, Bangladesh 31 and Egypt 33.

Soil is the basic capital to produce food, clothing and other necessities. Depletion of soil due to deforestation and other exploitative land use directly leads to poverty. Desertification is one of the serious threats to human survival. Judicious land use to produce food in a way in which fertility of soil is not lost and the degraded soils are improved is the solution of the problem. Chipko advocates tree-farming, as the land can produce five to ten times more food by farming trees giving edible seeds, nuts, oilseeds, honey and seasonal fruits.

The prevalent centralized system of production on one hand produces pollution due to emission of effluents on a mass scale, creates slums and on the other hand produces an army of unproductive people, like managers, brokers, advertisers and transporters. A complicated transport system is to be maintained to keep it going, which enhances the energy requirements.

Closely connected with the centralized system of production is the production of energy. For big industrial establishments, big power-houses are required. Thermal, nuclear and hydro - all the three are threatening the environment. The threat from thermal and nuclear power plants are well-known, but big hydro projects, for which super-dams are constructed, have also proved disastrous. Decentralized production of energy - solar, wind, human and animal, biogas and water - is the solution.

Thus, the Chipko movement has a vision of sustained development without destruction. But this objective can be achieved only if there is a global awareness for such development. For this purpose, the need of the hour is to chalk out a global development strategy - A Blueprint for the survival of our Planet. This is possible if the achievements mysticism of East and Science and technology are combined. This will put the train of human development on the right track. Science and technology will give speed to it and self-know-

ledge (Atmayan) the right direction. Small local groups of humanitarian scientists, who feel for the miseries of all living beings and apply their knowledge to alleviate these; social activists, committed to bring a change, and compassionate literary men, artists and scientists, should join together to usher a new era of human history guaranteeing peace, happiness and fulfilment to all. In our philosophy, 'noble objective' is termed as yajyan and for the success of yajyan, working of head (knowledge), hands (action) and heart (devotion) in harmony is essential. Humanitarian scientists are the symbol of knowledge (gyan); social activists of action (karma) and literary men, artists of devotion (bhakti). Chipko gained this experience during fifteen years of its existence. This can be universally applied.

I feel there is no dearth of dedicated people, who are working in this direction; but their energies are being wasted in theoretical work, mostly in establishing and managing institutions, holding seminars and producing big volumes. Chipko had nothing of these. A few dedicated workers, who identified themselves with the toiling masses, could win the confidence of the people as they reached to their hearts through foot marches. We believe too much on TV, radio, films and even books, but all these lack a living spirit behind which can touch the hearts of the people. All great social revolutionaries in the past lacked the modern means of communication, but whatever they spoke came from their hearts and reached to the hearts of the people. Their message is still alive in the hearts of the people. Gerhard Pfister, a Swiss sociologist, could recognise this unique aspect of the Chipko movement in 1981. When he returned to Switzerland and saw the dying forests of the Alps due to acid rains, he could convince different groups working for environmental protection, forestry and development to get together and adopt Chipko techniques. They organised foot-marches from five places to focus the country's attention on this problem. He quoted Gandhi, "Men will act according to the dictates of our hearts". His parting message at the conclusion of one week's foot march on the Rutli echoes in my ears:

*We are a conspiracy in a true sense of the word. To conspire means breathe together. We know that there are already large numbers of such conspiracies all over the world. They have grown independently, but they are united by a common vision to give birth to a new culture, a culture based upon ecological principles. The knowledge of these conspiracies and their inter-relatedness gives us courage and strength.*

Richard St. Barbe Baker, the grand old man of the trees, who worked for the protection of forests and trees till the age of 92 when he died on 9 June 1982 in Canada, was highly impressed with the Chipko movement. In spite of his old age and feeble health he visited Chipko villages twice and said,

*"The only promising movement in the world is Chipko movement. These brave women say kill not our trees. These trees give us air to breathe, water to drink and food to eat. We need them for our survival".*

Tree is a symbol we have to establish a living relationship with Nature and for this whatever is in our heads, we have to take it to our hearts and act with our hands to materialize it. Thus the message of Chipko to a society in which we have a big mind i.e. too much knowledge, no hearts i.e. lack of feeling, and very feeble hands i.e. no action, is

*from our hands, to our hearts, with our hands, revive our dying planet for peace, happiness and fulfilment, to us and to all living beings, and to the generations coming after us.*

#### FOR FURTHER READING

. The Chipko Message (Chipko Information Centre) 42pp. (address above).

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. Vandana Shiva & Jayanto Bandyopadhyay, Chipko: India's Civilisational Response to the Forest Crisis (INTACH, 1986) 23pp. bibl. (71 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110 003); "Chipko", in Seminar (February 1987) pp.33-39.

. J. Bandyopadhyay et al (eds), India's Environment, Crisis and Responses (Dehra Dun: Natraj Publishers, 1985) 310pp. (Rajpur Road, Dehra Dun).

. Pandurang Ummayya and J. Bandyopadhyay, "The Trans-Himalayan Foot-march", The Ecologist (Vol.13, N°5, 1983) pp.179-183.

. Kumud Sharma et al, Women in Struggle: Role and Participation of Women in the Chipko Movement in Uttarakhan Region of Uttar Pradesh (Centre for Women's Development Studies, B-43 Panchsheel Enclave, New Delhi 110 017, 1987) 68pp.

## CIDEM: UN PROCESO DE COMUNICACION ENTRE MUJERES

por Enriqueta Alzérreca Barbery  
Casilla 22 433  
La Paz, Bolivia

Nuestro centro no cuenta en su equipo con ninguna especialista en comunicación. Quizá por ello y durante bastante tiempo pensamos que el trabajo que veníamos realizando tenía mucho que ver con la sociología, el trabajo social o la psicología, per no nos dábamos cuenta que en verdad lo que estábamos haciendo tenía y tiene mucho que ver con el área de comunicación.

Estamos pues implementando un tipo de comunicación si se quiere 'alternativa'. La reflexión - información, la sistematización y la devolución de lo sistemado a los grupos de mujeres con los que trabajamos en El Alto Sud de la ciudad de La Paz, conforman las tres partes de un eje central: la comunicación participativa.

Ahora bien, qué entendemos nosotras por comunicación? Creemos sin temor a equivocarnos, que el ser humano pasa la mayor parte de su vida comunicándose. Sociólogos, trabajadores sociales, psicólogos, economistas, etc. no están haciendo otra cosa. Es por esta razón, que entendemos a la comunicación como algo trascendental en la vida de los individuos, como algo, sin lo cual, estaríamos destinados a perecer.

Sabemos, sin embargo, que existen diferentes tipos de comunicación. Nosotras pensamos que la relación comunicativa con los grupos de mujeres es un proceso lento que abarca desde nuestros primeros contactos hasta las 'jornadas' a la que asisten entre 150 y 200 mujeres. Por esta razón y sólo por motivos expositivos, voy a permitirme hacer una separación de cada uno de los pasos que seguimos. Es decir, quiero dejar muy claro que en la práctica, la preparación de un curso, el curso en sí mismo con sus dinámicas y sus juegos en los cuales se expresa mejor toda la subjetividad de las mujeres, el hecho de recoger las experiencias y opiniones de éstas, la devolución de los conocimientos de las mujeres a través de las cartillas, los rotafolios, sociodramas, papelógrafos, audiovisuales, etc, forman en conjunto partes pequeñas de todo un proceso de comunicación de triple vía. Se da una reciprocidad en la cual tanto nosotros como ellas nos enriquecemos a lo largo del camino.

Cada curso, cada nuevo encuentro con los grupos, produce a su vez formas nuevas de comunicación porque si en una de las sesiones, las mujeres se muestran muy comunicativas y con muchas ánsias de participar, puede ser que en la siguiente -

debido a problemas familiares, económicos o circunstanciales - se encuentren más calladas y poco comunicativas. Es entonces cuando debemos idearnos toda una gama de dinámicas de animación: desde los rompecabezas hasta 'el gato y el ratón', desde la conversación individual en la cual la mujer va sacando fuera sus preocupaciones y problemas, hasta el trabajo en grupos en los cuales se comparten experiencias, vivencias, sueños y miserias.

Una vez clarificado nuestro punto de vista acerca de qué es lo que entendemos por comunicación, creo necesario señalar que el trabajo que realizamos es en equipo. Cada uno de los pasos que dimos, en la corta historia del centro, lo hicimos después de largas discusiones en las que participamos todas.

Si alguno de los que lee estas páginas tiene la oportunidad de visitarnos, se encontrará con un equipo de capacitación que modifica constantemente su metodología de trabajo, con una responsable de comunicación pidiendo consejos e este grupo para la elaboración de nuevos materiales, con un grupo de investigadoras sistematizando experiencias. En fin, podemos afirmar que el proceso de comunicación no comienza en nuestra zona de trabajo, se inicia más bien en las largas discusiones de preparación de los cursos, elaboración de materiales, planeamiento de dinámicas, etc.

De la misma manera, este pequeño trabajo ha sido fruto - al igual que todo nuestro trabajo - del esfuerzo de todas las compañeras que participamos en el centro.

### El comienzo

Es muy bonito recordar las largas discusiones que teníamos en CIDEM acerca de cómo acercarnos a los grupos de mujeres. Nos repartimos una extensa bibliografía que trataba de experiencias similares en otros países a fin de ir vislumbrando la problemática femenina.

Todas veníamos de haber trabajado con mujeres, pero en grupos o instituciones en las cuales la militancia partidaria era la base y el 'trabajo' que se realizaba era el de ganar adeptas a tal o cual partido. Si bien todo lo que leímos en el camino nos sirvió como pauta para comprender las razones de la opresión patriarcal, fue algo muy distinto ya, enfrentarse a grupos humanos de carne y hueso.

Una de las metas que nos habíamos trazado en el proyecto era la de capacitar a la mujer urbano-marginal: pero no en tareas que serían solamente una prolongación del trabajo doméstico, sino más bien en aspectos como son: la organización, la salud, les leyes, etc. El campo de la organización sobre todo, nos parecía de vital importancia. Veíamos y aún vemos hoy, la necesidad de la existencia de grupos autónomos



de mujeres (léase autónomos como grupos organizados por y para la mujer), grupos que tengan una participación abierta a niveles barrial, zonal y comunal; una participación consistente en la vida nacional.

Realizamos contacto con comités de amas de casa, clubes de madres y otros y la iniciativa nuestra de ofrecer cursos fue acogida de muy buen agrado.

Pero, cuál debía ser la forma de comunicarnos con estos grupos? Qué lenguaje que debíamos utilizar? Todas éramos mujeres, pero lastimosamente habían grandes diferencias. Nosotros teníamos en nuestro poder todo un bagaje informativo. Éramos mujeres que tuvimos acceso al estudio y la formación profesional. Los grupos con los que nos habíamos propuesto trabajar por su parte estaban compuestos por mujeres con una experiencia de vida mucho más amplia que la nuestra. Y todo un camino recorrido por las calles de miseria. Tenían una visión distinta del mundo. Eran grupos que tenían todo un universo cultural diferente al nuestro. Estaban recibiendo influencia importante de medios de comunicación como la radio y la televisión, medios que se caracterizan por su amplia difusión con mensajes que refuerzan la imagen de una mujer débil, desprotegida, consumista y alienada por la sociedad. La única posibilidad que les ofrecen para escapar de esa situación es el hallazgo de su príncipe azul.

No existen estudios de campo acerca del impacto real de estos mensajes, pero de acuerdo a la observación que realizamos, podemos afirmar que debe ser relativizado. La mujeres que lo reciben también sufren la influencia de una serie de hechos sociales decisivos que hacen que la fuerza de los mensajes emitidos verticalmente disminuya según la realidad y momento social que les toque vivir. Es decir, que a pesar de ver en las telenovelas - por ejemplo - imágenes de mujeres europeas felices en medio de la riqueza y el bienestar y donde los pobres se enamoran de los ricos, la experiencia cotidiana de las mujeres es tan distinta, que ellas ni siquiera aspiran a reproducir lo que ven. Mantienen más bien una distancia crítica. Sus aspiraciones se pueden reforzar con los medios de comunicación masiva, pero éstos no son ominopotentes y sus efectos no son directos.

Más nocivos aún que estos medios, son los programas 'populares' que utilizan el chisme y el rumor para fomentar el individualismo y la búsqueda de soluciones particulares a problemas que son generales y sociales.

Es precisamente este tipo de comunicación el que nosotras criticamos y nos propusimos realizar un trabajo alternativo. Queríamos ser una voz distinta, deseábamos realizar un tipo de comunicación colectiva y problematizadora en el cual sean las propias mujeres las que reflexionen sobre su realidad de clase, de género y de etnia.

Por otro lado, existen entre las mujeres otros espacios de comunicación, espacios mucho más horizontales e informales, donde transcurren historias, cuentos e informaciones que reflejan la manera cómo se perciben los hechos.

Dónde se desarrolla este tipo de comunicación? Es en los mercados, parques y reuniones de madres donde se expresa y se diluye. Es allí donde puede ser rescatada y por ello, venimos registrando y sistematizando este riquísimo material que seguramente será motivo de investigaciones futuras.

### Nuestros primeros cursos

Fueron en su mayoría de reflexión, aunque a nosotras nos costaba darnos cuenta de ello. Veníamos repitiendo muchas de las cosas que las mujeres ya sabían y vivían cotidianamente. Si bien las mujeres participaban bastante, ya habíamos empezado a implementar algunas dinámicas y juegos. Entre estos los sociodramas - por ejemplo - demostraron ser un medio de comunicación muy eficaz, no sólo por el talento de las señoras para la teatralización, sino también porque a través de ellos podían verse reflejadas y manifestar sus pensamientos e inquietudes, sus necesidades.

A pesar del éxito salíamos de los cursos con sabor a poco. Teníamos todavía mucho que aprender. Lo estábamos haciendo bien? Nos estábamos acercando a nuestros objetivos? Estas preguntas iban a ser respondidas a lo largo del camino, después de algunos años de experiencia. En relación a los objetivos generales que nos planteamos a la iniciación del proyecto todavía no tenemos los parámetros - por decirlo de alguna manera - para medir el efecto que producen nuestros cursos, para saber si existen cambios de conducta en las mujeres al interior de sus hogares, organizaciones vecinales, sindicales, etc.

Sin embargo, el 27 de julio de 1986 tuvimos la grata alegría ser invitadas a presenciar la elección de una junta de vecinos en la zona de Tejada Triangular. Para nuestra sorpresa, se había conformado una fórmula en la cual los 23 cargos estaban ocupados por mujeres. Se habían unido cuatro grupos con tres de los cuales habíamos trabajado durante mucho tiempo. Habían decidido participar como mujeres porque la mayoría de las veces: 'Cuando queremos hablar en las reuniones de la junta, sea breve, sea breve, nos dicen'. 'Ahorra queremos demostrarles que las mujeres podemos trabajar tal vez mejor que los hombres'. Fue muy grato - decimos - no solamente por el hecho de tomar parte en un evento tan importante como es la elección de dirigentes de una junta de vecinos, sino también porque lograron unirse cuatro grupos que forman un total de 400 mujeres, tras un objetivo común: participar activamente en la vida comunal aportando con un trabajo concreto.

## Testimonios ... para qué?

Hacia ya bastante tiempo que habíamos recogido de varias mujeres con las que trabajamos testimonios de vida. Comprendíamos que un testimonio era una historia particular a través de la cual la mujer entrevistada iba narrando diversos aspectos de su vivencia. Sus experiencias, sus relaciones, sus frustraciones y éxitos eran dibujados a lo largo del testimonio. A pesar de que éste no nos permitía realizar una generalización o totalización de experiencias y actitudes debido a que se refería a una historia individual; por otro lado, nos permitía observar, cómo situaciones generalizadas (relaciones con su comunidad de origen, la migración, el empleo, las relaciones familiares, etc.) se reflejaban en determinadas personas.

El testimonio hacía posible la concreción de procesos universales en un individuo y su valor radicaba precisamente en que a través de él, se lograba un conocimiento de las experiencias de las mujeres urbano-marginales, por medio de vivencias particulares. Es decir, que nosotros considerábamos que para comprender mejor la vida y la lucha de estas mujeres, no podíamos hacer una abstracción de su contexto individual. Esta es la razón por la cual decidimos utilizar esta fuente de información como base para la elaboración de guiones, de lo que más tarde se convertiría en la serie cartillas: Mujer y organización.

## Las primeras cartillas que elaboramos

Estas respondieron en gran medida a lo que habían sido los cursos hasta entonces. Tienen un contenido netamente reflexivo, con escasa información. Están referidas en su integridad a la organización de la mujer, y en relación a ésta, a algo que nos preocupa mucho y aún nos preocupa hoy: la repercusión de las donaciones de alimentos por parte de instituciones católicas o filantrópicas a distinto grupos de mujeres.

Sin temor a equivocarnos, podemos afirmar que CIDEM fue una de las primeras instituciones que vislumbró este problema que recién años más tarde, sería motivo de preocupación de otras instituciones similares. Nos preocupa hasta hoy -decimos- porque los efectos de estas donaciones en las organizaciones de mujeres han demostrado ser totalmente nocivos. No sólo generan dependencia de los grupos con respecto a las instituciones donantes, sino también la rivalidad entre ellas. Además la dependencia tiende a crear un estado de pasividad en las mujeres.

Las donaciones de alimentos, por otra parte, no sólo afectan a las organizaciones de mujeres, sino que también vulneran

la soberanía nacional destruyendo la producción e introduciendo hábitos alimenticios que no siempre son mejores a los tradicionales.

Pero no solamente fue con base en estas reflexiones que elaboramos nuestras primeras cartillas. Nos nutrimos principalmente de los testimonios que teníamos en nuestras manos, cada uno de los cuales fue leído y releído cuidadosamente. En casi todos, se mostraba latente esta preocupación. Fue así que la elaboración de guión se nos hizo relativamente fácil. Todo lo que hicimos fue vaciar el contenido de uno de ellos a la cartilla, concluyendo la historia de manera abierta para incentivar a las mujeres participantes en los cursos a plantear las soluciones a sus problemas.

Pasamos mucho tiempo pensando cómo debía ser el dibujo de la cartilla, el lenguaje, etc. Decidimos por fin que el problema del lenguaje estaba resuelto en gran medida por los testimonios. Debíamos reflejar fielmente el estilo de las mujeres. Pero, y el dibujo? La mayoría de las cartillas de educación popular que teníamos en nuestro poder utilizaba más bien dibujo tipo caricatura y a nosotras, no nos convenía. Queríamos ante todo que la cartilla sea un reflejo lo más fiel posible de las condiciones de vida de las mujeres.

Intuíamos que el hecho de poner dibujos serios ayudaría a las señoras a una mejor comprensión y participación en los cursos. Con el tiempo y la práctica en la utilización de cartillas, nos dimos cuenta que habíamos acertado. Las señoras pueden reconocerse en ellas como frente a un espejo. Sus comentarios fueron muy halagadores: 'Así. Igualito hacemos cola por el pan'. 'Así siempre es, los encargadores de los alimentos, así siempre ponen su cara'. 'Esta de aquí es igualita a Doña Rosa'.

Pero la utilización de la cartilla también nos demostró algo importante. No debía ser utilizada como un fin en sí mismo, sino solamente como un instrumento de apoyo para motivar a la participación de las mujeres.

Pretendimos con esta serie cerrar el ciclo de problemas organizativos con los que se tienen que enfrentar las mujeres. Por ello, tocamos aspectos como: la democracia al interior de los grupos, en qué consiste una evaluación, el papel de las bases y el de las dirigentes, etc.

Decidimos también ser muy cuidadosas a nivel del mensaje. Nos propusimos dar en cada una de las cartillas dos o tres ideas bien reforzadas para que puedan ser rescatadas por los grupos, en lugar de mucho contenido disperso.

Con el transcurrir del tiempo, sin embargo, la estructura básica de nuestros materiales fue cambiando.

## Menstruación, embarazo, parto, por que?

Si bien trabajamos en forma efectiva durante la primera etapa los grupos empezaron a exigir otro tipo de información. A partir de este momento, se manifestó una necesidad que estaba latente en las mujeres: 'Ya hemos reflexionado sobre nuestras vidas, ahora queremos aprender otras cosas'. Fue entonces cuando decimos hablar de la mujer y su salud, pero sólo tomando un aspecto que a nosotras nos parecía muy importante: la sexualidad de la mujer.

Por ello, nos nutrimos nuevamente de bibliografía y reproducimos en mimeógrafo una cartilla que había sido editado en el Perú por el grupo Manuela Ramos. Habíamos decido hablar del proceso reproductivo pero no únicamente como procreación, sino también en términos de placer. La mujer debía conocer su cuerpo para autovalorarse.

Se podría decir que en esta etapa, todas las compañeras que trabajábamos en CIDEM estábamos imbuidas de muchos prejuicios feministas promocionados por literatura norteamericana y de grupos europeos. Fue grande nuestra sorpresa al comprobar que si bien nuestro planteamiento era correcto en esencia, las mujeres irían planteando necesidades que van más allá del aspecto reproductivo. No sólo deseaban conocer sus cuerpos para valorarse, sino informarse de manera amplia y científica sobre todo el proceso salud-enfermedad en el que se debate la mujer a lo largo de su vida.

Esto nos condujo, después de varias discusiones a iniciar un proceso de 'Democratización del conocimiento'.

## Qué hacer?

Yo diría que este fue el momento del aterrizaje forzoso, ya llevábamos un año y medio de trabajo. El material con el que contábamos para la implementación de los cursos ya no nos servía. Creímos que nuestra realidad nos estaba planteando la necesidad de elaborar nuestro propio material y fue entonces cuando nos replanteamos toda una nueva estrategia a seguir en cada una de las sesiones. Decidimos enfocar de manera abierta el problema de la mujer y su salud. Con el apoyo que nos brindó UNICEF, nos propusimos realizar una serie de 6 cartillas que abarcan desde conceptos sobre ser mujer hasta la menopausia, pasando por la menstruación, el embarazo, el parto, la lactancia materna, enfermedades sexualmente transmisibles, etc.

En esta oportunidad también recurrimos a los testimonios. Tenían una riqueza inmensa en cuanto a la problemática de la salud. Fuera de ello sistematizamos opiniones y experiencias que habían vertido las mujeres en cada uno de los cursos y finalmente, recurrimos a un especialista para que nos brinde todo el apoyo médico y científico necesario.

Mantuvimos en esta serie de cartillas el lenguaje utilizado por las mujeres. En cuanto al dibujo, tratamos nuevamente de ser fieles a los rostros, paisajes, y todo aquello que rodea a la mujer popular. Uno de los mayores problemas que tuvimos en la elaboración de las cartillas fue la incompreensión de UNICEF sobre la necesidad de insertar dibujos de hombres y mujeres desnudos debido a la naturaleza del tema.

En la experiencia, observamos que a un principio a la mujer le costaba hablar de este tipo de cosas, sin embargo, viendo imágenes en las cartillas podía hacerlo con toda naturalidad y sin ningún resquemor.

En realidad, no existe en Bolivia una investigación que haga referencia al mundo sexual de la mujer aymara o migrante. Por ello persisten aún bastantes prejuicios al respecto: 'Se van a escandalizar' - nos decían - pero nosotras mantuvimos lo que pensábamos y la serie de cartillas se reprodujo en más de 30.000 ejemplares siendo utilizada no solamente en áreas urbano-marginales, sino también en el campo.

Otra cosa que nos pareció importante y que ha sido motivo de serias críticas por algunos 'cientistas de la comunicación' es el hecho de insertar preguntas para la reflexión y discusión a lo largo de toda la cartilla. Es decir, a juicio de varios comunicadores, con estas preguntas y pensamientos, estábamos cortando el hilo conductor de narración. Cómo iban las mujeres a comprender una historia que debe tener una introducción, un medio y un desenlace, si, de pronto, surgía una interrogante?

Es que nuestra intención no estaba centrado solamente en la comprensión de la historia. Nosotras pensábamos que las cartillas no eran para ser leídas individualmente. Fueron elaboradas, más bien, para ser trabajadas en grupos. El objetivo consistía no solamente en informar a la mujer acerca de las distintas partes del cuerpo humano y sus funciones, sino también en motivarles a problematizarse a través de la reflexión. Otra cosa importante consistía en recoger prácticas, costumbres y experiencias de las mujeres.

Por otro lado, debíamos cuidar el mensaje de las cartillas, combinando la información sobre prácticas médicas 'occidentales' con todo lo que habíamos rescatado de medicina tradicional y de las costumbres de las mujeres.

Pero cuál debía ser el mensaje de la serie Mujer y Salud? En este punto, debimos nuevamente detenernos a reflexionar. Nos vimos en la necesidad de elaborar un marco teórico. En primer lugar debíamos sentar nuestra posición sobre lo que significa 'Ser Mujer', título que le dimos a la primera cartilla de la serie. Enfocamos la problemática femenina desde el nacimiento mismo de una niña, la diferencia de espacios que ocupan los niños en sus juegos, el derecho de la mujer a la educación, la revalorización del trabajo doméstico, etc.

Esta cartilla nos sirvió como un marco introductorio para hablar de nosotras: las mujeres. Nos abrió además un espacio para irnos reconociendo y valorando en cada una de las etapas de la vida.

Elaboramos seis cartillas como parte de la serie Mujer y Salud. Cada una con un mensaje distinto, por la diversidad de contenidos. El mensaje general o global de la serie podría ser resumido en los siguientes aspectos: fomentar un cambio de actitudes en la mujer con respecto a su salud y el derecho que ésta tiene a los servicios médicos, la importancia del diálogo entre padres e hijos, la necesidad de dar una educación igualitaria a niños y niñas, el derecho de la mujer a valorar su cuerpo y su sexualidad en términos de placer, la importancia de la lactancia materna, el diálogo de la pareja, etc.

### Cómo, con qué y para qué educar a la comunidad en sexualidad

El siguiente paso fue elaborar un manual para facilitar, principalmente a los maestros rurales, la utilización de las cartillas. Estas fueron probadas previamente con los distintos grupos.

El hecho de realizar un manual fue para nosotras otra experiencia significativa. Tuvimos que vaciar el él todo lo que habíamos practicado hasta entonces. La sistematización metodológica fue algo muy importante, pues tal como señalamos en la presentación: 'El maestro rural encontrará en este manual una guía metodológica que le servirá tanto para la preparación, elaboración, como la evaluación del curso sobre educación sexual'.

### 'Esas cartillas son lujosas para nosotras...'

He aquí un comentario de una de las mujeres con las que trabajamos. Y es que existe un aspecto con el que tuvimos que enfrentarnos tanto con ciertos comunicadores como con los grupos de mujeres: la calidad de las cartillas.

Creemos que en nuestra país existe todo un marco teórico elaborado con respecto a materiales que están dirigidos a la educación popular. Se piensa que este tipo de material debe estar realizado de la manera más rudimentaria posible para que sea verazmente 'popular' y lo que es peor aún, se ha creado en el ámbito popular, toda una mentalidad de recelo hacia materiales, entre comillas, 'lujosos'.

Nosotras pensamos, sin embargo, que mientras existan posibilidades, se debe ir creando en los grupos la costumbre de apropiarse incluso de medios sofisticados de comunicación. Es por esta razón que nuestras cartillas - si bien no son lujosas - están realizadas en papel bond, con un dibujo nítido y con carátulas de cartulina a dos colores, tratando

de que éstas sean alegres y varíen de acuerdo al tema. Debe crearse y reforzarse un respeto profundo por 'lo popular'. Este respeto se traduce también, en el cuidado con algo aparentemente trivial como es la calidad de los materiales de trabajo, es decir, la presentación formal de los contenidos.

### 'Renacer de nuestra patria con nuestra medicina tradicional'

Este es el título que lleva una cartilla con recetas de medicina tradicional elaborada íntegramente por el grupo '27 de Mayo' de Tejada Alpacoma con el que trabajamos durante mucho tiempo. Decimos íntegramente porque en cada uno de los pasos que tuvieron que seguirse para su realización, participó el grupo.

Para nosotras fue una experiencia muy enriquecedora. La participación de las mujeres y el interés que pusieron en algo que iba a ser propio nos demostró la importancia de promover oportunidades para que los propios grupos elaboren sus materiales. Es decir que éstos, al sentirse protagonistas de un hecho comunicativo como es la realización de una cartilla, muestran capacidades y habilidades insospechadas.

### Como se elaboró el recetario?

La idea surgió del grupo mismo y a partir de un curso de medicina tradicional que dio nuestro centro: 'Hay muchas recetas que nosotras sabemos y que no queremos que se pierdan' - decían.

Entonces, por qué no desafiar al grupo a que deje plasmadas sus inquietudes - pensábamos nosotras.

Fue así que con la ayuda de un médico naturista se elaboró el recetario. El explicó en cada una de las sesiones del curso, tanto teóricas como prácticas, el uso de las plantas medicinales y sus ventajas. La actividad se completó con presentación de experiencias, elaboraciones prácticas, correcciones y diseño. Se escogieron primeramente alrededor de 35 recetas, y fueron descartándose por orden de importancia muchas de ellas.

Finalmente se concluyó con 14, que a juicio del grupo eran las mejores porque atacaban enfermedades comunes que podían ser curadas sin los costosos medicamentos que venden en las farmacias.

Una vez elegidas las recetas que iban a ser publicadas, nosotras les propusimos que explicitaran por medio de dibujos, para cada una de ellas, los siguientes puntos: a) Para curar que? b) Qué se necesita? c) Cómo se hace? y d) Cuando se debe tomar?

Estas pautas sirvieron para que el grupo vaya sistematizando una a una sus recetas y las vaya plasmando en el papel. Una



vez concluida esta etapa, había que pensar en la carátula y en el título. Para ello, se realizó un concurso en el cual ocho mujeres presentaron sus trabajos. Todos estaban muy bonitos y una a una fue explicando el porqué del título y su dibujo. Finalmente, 'Hemos escogido el título número 3, porque su explicación nos ha gustado mucho y el dibujo número 1 porque éstas son las plantas que más utilizamos. Nos hemos reído mucho con el segundo dibujo. Todas hemos participado para escoger la portada de nuestro recetario'.

Creemos que esta experiencia vale la pena ser implementada a todo nivel tanto en cartillas, audiovisuales, rotafolios, rompecabezas, etc. Cuando es el grupo mismo quien trabaja para realizar su material, le asigna importancia, valora su trabajo, tiene ansias de compartirlo y, lo que es más importante aun, se apropia de los medios de comunicación que hasta ese momento le fueron ajenos.

### La Escoba

'Quiere ser un instrumento que, evocando la cotidianidad de las mujeres - quién de nosotras no conoce los rigores del trabajos domestico? se transforma en aquél otro instrumento desafiante que las brujas de antaño convirtieron en arma de combate. Para elevarnos desafiando la ley de la gravedad y con ella, todos los prejuicios y estructuras que pretenden hacer de nosotras ciudadanas de segunda clase. Para encontrar formas más equitativas de relaciones entre hombres y mujeres (Editorial de La Escoba N° 1, marzo 1986).

Desde hace bastante tiempo, veníamos pensando en la posibilidad de publicar un boletín en el cual se diera cobertura a pensamientos, inquietudes, artículos e investigaciones que a la prensa formal no le interese publicar.

Muchas interrogantes pasaban, sin embargo por nuestras mentes: Habrá realmente interés en un boletín como el que deseamos hacer? Querrán las mujeres participar en nuestro boletín? Qué forma debemos darle?

Tal como señala nuestra primera editorial, decidimos: 'elevarnos desafiando la ley de la gravedad' y nos pusimos manos a la obra.

Teníamos la necesidad de que el boletín se convierta en un órgano que exprese toda la gama de facetas del trabajo con y por la mujer. No deseábamos convertirlo en una expresión netamente basista o intelectual.

'Somos más del 50 % de la población - pensábamos - y por ello, debíamos abarcar todos los ámbitos en los que nos desenvolvemos: desde la salud hasta el arte, desde la investigación hasta el humor, desde las movilizaciones sociales en las que participa la mujer hasta la tercera edad. Querí-

amos llegar a la mujer, pero especialmente a aquélla que por su actividad o por su inquietud estaba interesada en la problemática femenina. Reconocíamos el importante lugar que tienen los medios de comunicación como las cartillas, los audiovisuales, los videos, etc. pero deseábamos algo más. Queríamos aportar con otros ingredientes como son la reflexión teórica, la información profunda, el chiste, la amenidad, etc. Por ello, decidimos que La Escoba debía tener secciones fijas: salud, arte, actualidad internacional, noticias CIDEM, tercera edad, humor, reportaje, un artículo teórico de fondo y, sobre todo, mucha imagen que hable por sí sola.

El primero número fue elaborado en su totalidad por las compañeras que formamos parte del CIDEM. Tuvimos que sacarle tiempo al tiempo y nos convertimos de pronto en reporteras, articulistas, columnistas, etc. Para el siguiente número, las mujeres se mostraron aún recelosas y no se animaron a escribir, pero de todas formas nosotras íbamos a cumplir con lo que nos habíamos propuesto y así lo hicimos.

Grande fue nuestra sorpresa al comprobar que había mucho interés en nuestro boletín. Recibimos llamadas, cartas de felicitación, mujeres que nos comunicaban su deseo de escribir. En fin, estábamos llenando un vacío importante. Casi sin darnos cuenta, estábamos ofreciendo un espacio alternativo a la mujer. La Escoba continuó gracias al apoyo que recibíó.

#### Para terminar

Son diferentes áreas en las que estamos intentando incursionar: capacitación a mujeres de barrios marginales, salud, comunicación, investigación y documentación. Es en verdad un espacio amplio el que ambicionamos cubrir, pero se está logrando hacerlo paulatinamente. Ya son dos años y medio de trabajo, pero recién empezamos...

Quizás lo más importante es comprobar que el trabajo realizado ha ido evolucionando de acuerdo a las necesidades y a las experiencias vividas con los grupos de mujeres de El Alto. Casi sin darnos cuenta, hemos ido construyendo nuestro 'nudo gordiano' que estaba dirigido a resolver la comunicación que denominamos de tres vías: nosotras con las mujeres, éstas con nosotras y las mujeres entre sí. Se va construyendo en el camino...

## NINE THESES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

André Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes  
H. Bosmansstraat 57  
NL 1077 XG Amsterdam, The Netherlands

This essay will develop the following theses:

1. The 'new' social movements are not new, even if they have some new features, and the 'classical' ones are relatively new and perhaps temporary;
2. Social movements display much variety and changeability, but have in common individual mobilisation through a sense of morality and (in)justice and social power through social mobilisation against deprivation and for survival and identity;
3. The strength and importance of social movements is cyclical and related to long political-economic and (perhaps associated) ideological cycles. When the conditions that give rise to the movements change (through the action of the movements themselves and/or more usually due to changing circumstances), the movements tend to disappear;
4. It is important to distinguish the class composition of social movements, which are mostly middle class in the West, popular/working class in the South, and some of each in the East;
5. There are many different kinds of social movements. The majority seek more autonomy rather than state power, and the latter tend to negate themselves as social movements;
6. Although most social movements are more defensive than offensive and tend to be temporary, they are important (today and tomorrow perhaps the most important) agents of social transformation;
7. In particular, social movements appear as the agents and reinterpreters of 'delinking from contemporary capitalism and 'transition to socialism';
8. Some social movements are likely to overlap in membership or be more compatible and permit coalition with

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others, and some are likely to conflict and compete with others. It may be useful to inquire into these relations;

9. However, since social movements, like street theater, write their own scripts - if any - as they go along, any prescription of agendas or strategies, let alone tactics, by outsiders - not to mention intellectuals - is likely to be irrelevant at best and counterproductive at worst.

## 1. THE 'NEW' SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ARE OLD BUT HAVE SOME NEW FEATURES

The many social movements in the West, South and East that are now commonly called 'new' are with few exceptions new forms of social movements which have existed throughout the ages. Ironically, the 'classical' working class/union movements date mostly only from the last century, and they increasingly appear to be only a passing phenomenon related to the development of industrial capitalism. On the other hand, peasant, localist community, ethnic/nationalist, religious, and even feminist/-women's movements have existed for centuries and even millenia in many parts of the world. Yet many of these movements are now commonly called 'new', although European history records countless social movements throughout history. Examples are the Spartacist slave revolts in Rome, the Crusades and countless religious wars, the peasant movements/wars of sixteenth century germany, historic ethnic and nationalist conflicts throughout the continent, and women's movements that unleashed backlashes of witch-hunts and more recent forms of repression. In Asia, the Arab world and the expansion of Islam, Africa and Latin America, of course, multiple forms of social movements have been the agents of social resistance and transformation throughout history.

Only the ecological/green movement(s) and the peace movement(s) can more legitimately be termed 'new', and that is because they respond to social needs which have been more recently generated by world development. Generalised environmental degradation as a threat to livelihood and welfare is the product of recent industrial development and now calls forth largely defensive new ecological/green social movements. Recent technological developments in warfare threaten the life of masses of people and generate new defensive peace movements. Yet even these are not altogether new. World (colonist/imperialist) capitalist development has caused (or has been based on) severe environmental degradation in many parts of the Third World before (as after the Conquest of the Americas, the slave wars and trade in Africa, the Rape of Bengal, etc) and has aroused defensive social movements. These included but were not confined to environmental issues, like North American Indian and Australian Aborigine movements again today. Of course, war has also decimated and threatened large populations before and has elicited defensive social movements from them as well. Foreshadowing our times, Euripides described a classical Greek women's/peace movement in his play Lysistrata.

The 'classical' working class and labour union movements can now be seen to be particular social movements, which have arisen and continue to rise in particular times and places. Capitalist industrialisation in the West gave rise to the industrial working class and to its grievances, which were expressed through working class and union(isation) movements. However, these movements have been defined and circumscribed by the particular circumstances of their place and time - in each region and sector during the period of industrialisation - and as a function of the deprivation and identity that it generated. 'Workers of the world unite' and 'proletarian revolution' have never been more than largely empty slogans. With the changing international division of labour, even the slogans have become meaningless; and working-class and union movements are eroding in the West, while they are rising in those parts of the South and East where local industrialisation and global development are generating analogous conditions and grievances. Therefore, the mistakenly 'classical' working-class social movements must be regarded as both recent and temporary, not to mention that they have always been local or regional and at best national - or state-oriented movements. We will examine their role in the demand for state power, when we discuss the latter below.

A new characteristic of many contemporary social movements, however, is that - beyond their spontaneous-appearing changeability and adaptability - they inherit organisational capacity and leadership from old labour movements, political parties, churches and other organisations, from which they draw leadership cadres who became disillusioned with the limitations of the old forms and who seek to build new ones. This organisational input into the new social movements may be an important asset for them, compared to their historical, more amateurishly (dis)organised, forerunners but it may also contain the seeds of future institutionalisation of some contemporary movements.

What else may be new in the 'new' social movements is perhaps that they now tend to be more single-class or stratum movements - middle-class in the West and popular/working-class in the South - than many of them were through the centuries. However, by that criterion of newness, the 'classical' old working class movements are also new and some contemporary ethnic, national and religious movements are old, as we will observe when we discuss the class composition of social movements below.

Whether new or old, the 'new social movements' today are what most mobilises most people in pursuit of common concerns. Far more than 'classical' class movements, the social movements motivate and mobilise hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world - mostly outside established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to serve their needs - which is why they have recourse to 'new' largely non-institutionalised social movements. This popular 'movement to social movements' is manifest even in identity-seeking and/or responsive social mobilisation or social movement with little or no membership ties: in youth (movement?) response to rock music around the world and football in Europe and elsewhere; in the millions of people in country after country who have spontaneously responded to visits by the Pope (beyond the Catholic Church as an institution); and in the massive spontaneous response to Bob Geldoff's extra - (political) institutional Band

Aid, Live Aid, and Sport Aid appeals against hunger in Africa. The latter was an appeal and response not only to compassion, but also to a moral sense of the (in)justice of it all. Thus, some of these non-membership forms of social mobilisation have more in common with social movements than do some self-styled 'movements', like the Movimiento(s) de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) in Bolivia, Chile, Peru and Venezuela, which are (or were) really 'Leninist' democratic-centralist political parties, or the Sandinista 'movement', in Nicaragua which formed a coalition of mass organisations, and all of which sought to capture and manage state power. This is not to mention the Non-Aligned Movement, which is a coalition of states or their governments in power and certainly not a social movement or a liberation movement of the peoples themselves.

## 2. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DIFFER BUT SHARE MORAL MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL POWER

It may aid our examination of contemporary social movements to identify some ideal types and selected characteristics which emerge in (or from) their review below; although, of course, this exercise is rendered hazardous by the movements' variety and changeability. (We refer to 'ideal' types in the Weberian sense of an analytic distillation of characteristics not found in their pure form in the real world). We may distinguish movements that are offensive (a minority) and defensive (the majority). On a related but different dimension, we can identify progressive, regressive, and escapist movements. A third dimension or characteristic seems to be the preponderance of women rather than men - and therefore apparently less hierarchisation in the movements' membership or leadership. A fourth dimension is that of armed struggle, especially for state power, or unarmed and especially non-violent struggle, be it defensive or offensive. It can be no coincidence that the armed movements coincide with more hierarchical ones and that the unarmed ones with movements in which women's participation is preponderant (even if women also participate in armed struggle).

Few movements are at once offensive, in the sense of seeking to change the established order, and progressive in the sense of seeking a better order for themselves or the world. Characteristically, these movements are largely led and/or peopled by women, notably of course the women's movement(s) itself/themselves. Most movements by far are defensive. Many seek to safeguard recent (sometimes progressive) achievements against reversal or encroachment. Example are the student movements (which in 1986/87 reappeared in France, Spain, Mexico and China in masses not seen since 1967/68) and many thousands of Third World community movements seeking to defend their members' livelihood against the encroachment of economic crisis and political repression. Some defensive movements seek to defend the environment or to maintain peace, or both (like the Greens in Germany). Other movements react defensively against modern encroachments by offering to regress to an (often largely mythical) golden age, like seventh century Islam. Many movements are escapist, or have important such components, in that they defensively/offensively seek millenarian salvation from the trials and tribulations of the real world, as in religious cults.

Varied as these social movements have been and are, if there are any characteristics they have in common, they are the following: that they share the force of morality and a sense of (in)justice in individual motivation, and the force of social mobilisation in developing social power. Individual membership or participation and motivation in all sorts of social movements then mobilise their members in an offensive/defense against a shared moral sense of injustice, as analysed in Barrington Moore's Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt. Morality and justice/injustice (perhaps more than the deprivation of livelihood and/or identity through exploitation and oppression through which morality and (in)justice manifest themselves), have probably been the essential motivating and driving force of social movements both past and present. However, this morality and concern with (in)justice refers largely to 'us', and the social group perceived as 'we' was and is very variable as between the following: family, tribe, village, ethnic group, nation, country, First, Second or Third World, humanity, etc., and gender, class, stratification, caste, race, and other groupings, or combination of these. What mobilises us is this deprivation/oppression/injustice to 'us', however 'we' define and perceive ourselves. Each social movement then survives to combat deprivation, but in doing so also to (re)affirm the identity of those active in the movement, and perhaps also the 'we' for whom the movement is active. Thus, such social movements, far from being new, have characterised human social life in many times and places.

At the same time, social movements generate and wield social power through the social mobilisation of their participants. This social power is at once generated by and derived from the social movement itself, rather than from any institution, political or otherwise. Indeed, institutionalisation weakens social movements and state political power negates them. Social movements require flexible, adaptive, and non-authoritarian organisation to direct social power in pursuit of social goals, which cannot be pursued only through random spontaneity. Such flexible organisation, however, need not imply institutionalisation, which confines and constricts the social movements' social power. Thus, the new self-organising social movements confront existing (state) political power through new social power, which modifies political power. The slogan of the women's movement that the personal is political applies a fortiori to social movements, which also redefine political power. As Luciana Castelina, a participant in many social movements (and some political parties) observes, 'we are a movement because we move' - even political power.

### 3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ARE CYCLICAL

Social movements are cyclical in two senses. First, they respond to circumstances, which change as a result of political-economic and, perhaps, ideological fluctuations or cycles. Secondly, social movements tend to have life-cycles of their own. Social movements, their membership, mobilisation and strength, tend to be cyclical because the movements mobilise people in response to (mostly against, less for) circumstances, which are themselves cyclical.

There seem to be cultural/ideological, political/military, and economic/technological cycles, which affect social movements. There are also observers/participants who lend greater or even exclusive weight or determinant force to one or another of these social cycles. The name of Sorokin is associated with long ideological cycles, Modelski with political/war cycles, and Kondratieff and Schlumpeter with economic and technological ones. Recently, Arthur J. Schlesinger Jr., drawing in part on the world of his father, has described a 30-year political-ideological cycle in the United States of alternating progressive social-responsibility phases (of the Progressives in the 1910s, the New Deal in the 1930s, and the New Frontier/Great Society - civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements in the 1960s) and individualist phases (of the Coolidge 1920s, the McCarthyist 1950s, and the Reaganomic 1980s), which is to generate another progressive social movement phase in the 1990s. The renewed world economic crisis and technological invention of the last two decades has led scientific and popular attention to worldwide long economic/technological cycles - and to their possible relations to, or even determinant influence on, political and ideological cycles. Detailed examination thereof (and of the disputes about whether ideological, political or economic cycles are dominant) is beyond our scope here. However, to understand contemporary social movements, it is essential to view them in the cyclical context(s), which shape if not give rise to them. Moreover, it is not amiss to consider the possibility (we would argue the high probability) that there are political-economic cycles with ideological components and that we are now in a B phase downturn of a Kondratieff long wave or cycle, which importantly influences if not generates contemporary social movements (including those examined and predicted by Schlesinger).

The Kondratieff long cycle was in an upward phase at the beginning of this century, in a long downward 'crisis' interwar phase (where the two world wars belong in the cycle is also in dispute), a renewed postwar recovery, and again in a new downward 'crisis' phase beginning in the mid-1960s or more visibly since 1973. Social movements appear to have become numerous and stronger in the last downward phase from 1873 to 1896 in the preceding century, during the war and interwar crisis period of this century, and again during the contemporary period of economic, political, social, cultural, ideological and other crisis. The historical evidence may be read to suggest that social movements decline in number and strength during economic upturns (although the 1960s witnessed many social movements in North and South America, Europe, Africa and Asia), and revive during the economic downturn. However, at the beginning they are largely defensive and often regressive and individualist (as in the past decade). Then, when the economic downturn most detrimentally affects people's livelihood and identity, the social movements become more offensive, progressive, and socially responsible. Schlesinger prognosticates this for the 1990s in the United States and it is perhaps incipiently visible there already in the popularity of new protest rock music and the success of the stage play Les Misérables in 1987, etc. Of course, this 'movement to social movements' has already occurred in many community and communal movements in the Third World in response to the spread of the world economic crisis there, which in Latin America and Africa is already deeper than the one of the 1930s.



Thus, much of the reason for and the determination of the present proliferation and strength of social movements must be sought in their cyclical historical context, even though many of their members regard themselves as moving autonomously in pursuit of timeless and sometimes universal seeming ideals, like the true religion, the essential nation, or the real community. The development of the present world political-economic crisis and its multiple ramifications in different parts of the world is generating or aggravating (feelings of) economic, political, cultural and identity deprivation and is a moral affront to their sense of justice for hundreds of millions of people around the world.

In particular, the world economic crisis has reduced the efficiency of, and popular confidence in, the nation state and its customary political institutions as defenders and promoters of the people's interest. In the West, the Social-Democratic welfare state is threatened by economic bankruptcy and political paralysis, especially in the face of world economic forces beyond its control. In the South, the state is subject to domestic militarization and authoritarianism and to foreign economic dependence and weakness. In the East, the state is perceived as politically oppressive (as in the South) but economically impotent (as there and in the West) and socially corrupt, and therefore also not an attractive model for emulation elsewhere. Hardly anywhere, then, during this crisis, is 'state-power' an adequate desideratum or instrument for the satisfaction of popular needs. Therefore, people everywhere - albeit different people in different ways - seek advancement, or at least protection an affirmation, or at least freedom, through a myriad of non-state social movements, which thereby seek to reorganise social and re-define political life.

In many cases, particularly among middle class people, newly deteriorating circumstances contract their previously rising expectations and aspirations. More and more people feel increasingly powerless themselves and/or see that their hallowed political, social and cultural institutions are less and less able to protect and support them. Therefore, and in part paradoxically, they seek renewed or greater empowerment through social movements, which are mostly defensive of livelihood and/or identity (like rural and urban local community, ethnic/nationalist, and some religious movements), or often escapist (like the mushrooming religious cult and spiritualist and some fundamentalist movements). Ecological, peace, and women's movements - separately or in combination also with the other social movements - also seem to respond to the same crisis-generated deprivation and powerlessness, which they mostly seek defensively to stem or redress. Only marginally are these movements offensive in pursuit of betterment, like the women's movement, which seeks to improve women's position in, and society itself, albeit at a time when the economic crisis is undermining women's economic opportunities.

As social movements come and grow cyclically in response to changing circumstances, so do they go again. Of course, if the demands of a particular social movement are met, it tends to lose its force as its *raison d'être* disappears (or it institutionalised and ceases to be a social movement). More usually, however, the circumstances themselves change (only in part if at all thanks to the social movement itself) and the movement loses its appeal and force through irrelevance or it is

transformed (or its members move to) another movement with new demands. Moreover, as movements that mobilise people rather than institutionalising action, even when they are unsuccessful or still relevant to existing circumstances, social movements tend to lose their force as their capacity to mobilise wanes. This susceptibility to aging and death is particularly true of social movements that are dependent on a charismatic leader to mobilise its members. The various 1968 movements, and most revolutionary and peasant movements, are dramatic examples of the cyclical life-style of social movements.

Of course, history also has long-term cumulative trends as well as cycles. However, the cumulative historical trends seem not to have been generated primarily by social movements. Some major social movements may nonetheless have contributed to these trends. Examples may be past major religious movements, like Christianity, Islam or the Reformation. Political movements like the French, Soviet and Chinese revolutions are widely regarded as having changed the world for all future time. Yet it is equally arguable that they had no cumulative effect on the world as a whole, and that they have been subject to considerable reversal even at home. As we will argue below, 'real existing socialism' does not now appear to be an irreversible, cumulative long-term trend, as its proponents claimed and some still think. Most social movements by far, however, leave little permanent and cumulative mark on history. Moreover, probably no social movement has ever achieved all of or precisely what its participants (who frequently had differing and sometimes conflicting aims) proposed. Indeed, many if not all social movements in the past brought about rather different consequences from those that they intended.

#### 4. CLASS COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The new social movements in the West are predominantly middle-class based. This class composition of the social movements, of course, in the first instance reflects the changing stratification of Western society from more to less bi-polar forms. The relative and now often absolute reduction of the industrial labour force, like the agricultural one before it, and the growth of tertiary service sector employment (even if much of it is low-waged) and self-employment have increased the relative and absolute pool of middle-class people. The decline in industrial working class employment has reduced not only the size of this social sector but also its organisational strength, militancy and consciousness in 'classical' working class and labour union movements. The grievances about ecology, peace, women's rights, community organisation, and identity (including ethnicity and minority nationalism), seem to be felt and related to demands for justice predominantly among the middle classes of the West. However, ethnic, national, and some religious movements straddle class and social strata more. In particular, minority movements, such as the Black civil rights and the Latin Chicano movements in the United States, do have a substantial popular base, though much of the leadership and many of their successful demands come from the middle class. Only nationalist chauvinism and perhaps fundamentalism religiosity (but not religious cultism and spiritualism) seem to mobilise working class and some minority people more massively than their often

nonetheless middle-class leadership. Although most of these people's grievances may be largely economically based (through increased deprivation, or reduced or even inverted social mobility), they are mostly expressed through allegiance to social movements, which pursue feminist, ecological, peace, community, ethnic/nationalist and ideological demands.

In the Third World, social movements are predominantly popular/working class. Not only does this class/stratum have more weight in the Third World, but its members are much more absolutely and relatively subject to deprivation and (felt) injustice, which mobilises them in and through social movements. Moreover, the international and national/domestic burden of the present world economic crisis falls so heavily on these already low-income people as to pose serious threats to their physical and economic survival and cultural identity. Therefore, they must mobilise to defend themselves - through social movements - in the absence of the availability or possibility of existing social and political institutions to defend them. These Third world social movements are at once cooperative and competitive or conflictive. Among the most numerous, active and popular of these social movements are a myriad of apparently spontaneous local rural and urban organisations/movements, which seek to defend their members' survival through cooperative consumption, distribution, and also production. Examples are soup kitchens; distributors and often producers of basic necessities, like bread; organisers, petitioners or negotiators, and sometimes fighters for community infrastructure, like agricultural and urban land, water, electricity, transport, etc. Recently there were over 1,500 such local community/movements in Rio de Janeiro alone; and they are increasingly widespread and active in India's 600'000 villages.

In other words, 'the class struggle' in much of the Third World continues and even intensifies; but it takes - or expresses itself through - many social movement forms as well as the 'classical' labour (union) vs. capital and 'its' state one. These popular social movements and organisations are other instruments and expressions of people's struggle against exploitation and oppression and for survival and identity in a complex dependent society, in which these movements are attempts at and instruments of democratic self-empowerment of the people. In the Third World, region, locality, residence, occupation, stratification, race, colour, ethnicity, language, religion, etc., individually and in complex combination, are elements and instruments of domination and liberation. Social movements and the 'class struggle' they express must inevitably also reflect this complex economic, political, social, cultural structure and process.

However, not unlike working class and peasant movements before, these popular movements often have some middle-class leadership and now ironically offer some opportunities for employment and job satisfaction to otherwise unemployable middle-class and intelligentsia professionals, teachers, priests, etc. who offer their services as leaders, organisers or advisors to these community and otherwise popular Third World social movements.

More often than not, these local community movements overlap with religious and ethnic movements, which lend them strength and promote the defence and assertion of people's identity. However, ethnic, national and religious movements also straddle class membership more in the Third World. Ethnic, religious and other 'communal' movements in South Asia (Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, Tamil, Assamese and many others) and elsewhere in the Third World - perhaps most dramatically and tragically in Lebanon - also mobilise peoples against each other however. The more serious the economic crisis, and the political crisis of state and party to manage it, and the greater the deception of previous aspirations and expectations, the more serious and conflictive are these communal, sometimes racial, and also community movements likely to grow in the popular demand for identity in many parts of the Third World.

The (so-called) Socialist East is by no means exempt from this worldwide movement to social movements. The ten million mobilised by Solidarity in Poland and various movements in China are well known examples, but other parts of Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union are increasingly visited by similar movements. However, corresponding to the Socialist East's intermediary or overlapping position between the industrial capitalist West and the South (if these categories still have any utility or meaning, which is increasingly doubtful), the social movements in the Socialist East also seem to straddle or combine class/strata membership more than in the West or the South. Ethnic, nationalist, religious, ecological, peace, women's, regional/community and (other) protest movements with varied social membership are on the rise both within and outside of the institutional and political structure throughout the socialist countries for reasons, and in response to changing circumstances, similar to those in the rest of the world.

## 5. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND STATE POWER

Most social movements do not seek state power, but autonomy, also from the state itself. For many participants and observers, this statement is a truism since not seeking - let alone wielding - state power is a sine qua non of a social movement, and state power would negate the very essence and purpose of most social movements. This incompatibility between social movement and state power is perhaps most intuitively obvious for the women's movement(s). On the other hand, for both participants and observers of social movements, it is hardly satisfactory to define or even describe them in terms of what they are not, instead of what they are. The most numerous - because individually small-scale - social movements, which are community based, of course cannot seek state power. However, similarly to the women's movement, the very notion of state or even political party power for them would negate most of their grass-roots aims and essence. These community movements mobilise and organise their members in pursuit of material and non-material ends, which they often regard unjustly denied to them by the state and its institutions, including political parties. Among the non-material aims and methods of many local community movements is more grass-roots participatory democracy and bottom-up self-determination. These are sensed as being denied to them by the state and its political system. Therefore, the community movement seek either to carve out greater self-determination

for themselves within the state or to bypass the state altogether. These community movements have recently mushroomed all over the South and the West, although perhaps less so in the East. Of necessity, in the South the community movements are not concerned with material needs - and often survival itself - while in the West many can afford to devote greater attention to local grassroots participatory democracy. Of course, the for them uncontrollable forces of the national and world economy severely limit the community movements' room for manoeuvre. Not even national states have sufficient power - and do not protect the communities - in the face of world economic forces beyond their control. That is why - perhaps ironically since they are even more powerless - the local communities attempt protection on a self-empowering do-it-yourself basis. Collective action and direction are consciously pursued and safeguarded, and concentration of power is shunned as corrupting (as though speaking Actonian prose).

The other side of this same coin is - especially during the economic crisis - the increasing disappointment and frustration of many people with the economy itself. 'Economic growth', 'economic development', 'economic ends', 'economic means', 'economic necessities', 'economic austerity' - so many economic slogans and 'solutions' - and they do not satisfy people's needs for community, identity, spiritually, or often even material welfare. Moreover, political (state) institutions are perceived as handmaidens rather than alternatives or even satisfactory directors of these supposed economic imperatives. No wonder that particularly women, who suffer the most at the hands of the economy, are in the forefront of non- and anti-economic extra-institutional social movements, which offer or seek other solutions and rewards.

Many social movements also respond to people's frustration with, and sense of injustice towards, political-economic forces beyond their control. Many of these economic forces - some(times) perceived, some(times) not - emanate from the world economy in crisis. Significantly, people increasingly regard the state, and its institutions, particularly political parties, as ineffective in face of these powerful forces. Either the state and its political process cannot or it will not face up to, let alone control, these economic forces. In either case, the state and its institutions, as well as the political process and political parties where they exist, leave people at the mercy of forces to which they have to respond by other means - through their own social movements. Accordingly, people form or join largely protective and defensive social movements on the basis of religious, ethnic, national, race, gender, ecological, peace, as well as community and various 'single' issues. Most of these movements mobilise and organise themselves independently from the state, its institutions and political parties. They do not regard the state or its institutions, and particularly membership or militancy in political parties as adequate or appropriate institutions for the pursuit of their aims. Indeed, much of the membership and force of contemporary social movements is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with - and their search for alternatives to - the political process, political parties, the state, and the capture of state power in the West, South and East. The perceived failure of revolutionary, as well as reformist, left-wing parties and regimes, in all parts of the world, adequately to express people's protest and to offer viable and

satisfying alternatives, has been responsible for much of the popular movement to social movements. However, in many cases people's grievances are against the state and its institutions; and in some cases social movements seek to influence state action through mostly outside - much more rarely inside-pressure. Only some ethnic and nationalist, and in the Islamic world some religious, movements seek a state of their own.

One of the major problems of and with social movements, nonetheless, is their co-existence with national states, their political institutions, process and parties. An illustration of this problem is the Green Movement/Party in Germany. The originally grassroots ecological movement became a political party in Parliament. The 'Realo' (realist, real-politik) wing argues that the state, parliament, political parties, etc., are a fact of life, which the movement must take account of and use to its advantage, and that influence is best exerted by entering these institutions and cooperating with others from the inside. The 'Fundis' (fundamentalist) wing argues that participation in state institutions and coalitions with other political parties like the Social Democrats comprises the Greens' aims and prostitutes their fundamentals, including that of being a movement. Ethnic, national, religious, and some peace and community movements, face similar problems. Whatever they can do outside the state, the pressure sometimes becomes irresistible also to try to act within the state, as, or as part of, or through, a political party or other state institution. But then the movement(s) run the danger of compromising their mission, demobilising or repelling their membership, and negating themselves as movements. The question arises, whether the end justifies the means and is more achievable through other more institutionalised non-movement means. Moreover, the question arises whether old social movements which were often created as mass front organisations of political parties are now replaced by new social movements, which themselves form or join political parties. But in that case, what difference remains between the old and the new social movements, and what happens to the non-/extra/anti-state and party sentiments and mobilisation of many movement members? Perhaps the answer must be sought by shifting the question to the examination the life-cycle of social movements and the replacement of old new movements by new movements.

## 6. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Social movement are important agents of social transformation and new vision, despite their above-mentioned defensiveness, limitations and relations to the state. One reason for the importance of social movements, of course, is the void they fill where the state and other social and cultural institutions are unable or unwilling to act in the interests of their members. Indeed, as we have observed above, social movements step in where institutions do not exist, or where they fail to serve, or violate and contradict, people's interests. Often, social movements step in where the angels fear to tread. Although many social movements, and particularly religious ones, invoke the sanctity of traditional ways and values, other social movements are socially, culturally and otherwise innovative. Nonetheless, if the circumstances that give rise to and support a social movement disappear, so does the

movement. If the movement achieves its aims or becomes irrelevant, it loses its appeal. It loses steam and fades away, or it becomes petrified.

Much social transformation, cultural change and economic development, however, occurs as the result of institutions, forces, relations, etc., that are not social movements, nor the political process in national states. World economic development, industrialization, technological change, social and cultural 'modernisation', etc. were and are processes, which are hardly driven or directed by social movements or political (state) institutions. Their intervention has been more reactive than promotive. Although state intervention should not be underestimated (as it is by the free marketeers), its limitations are ever greater in a world economy whose cycles and trends are largely beyond control. Even 'socialist' state ownership and planning is now unable to direct or even to cope with the forces of the world economy.

This circumstance should make for more realism and modesty about the prospects of social movements (or for that matter of political institutions) and their policies to counteract or even modify, let alone to escape from, these world economic forces, but they do not. On the contrary, the more powerful and uncontrollable the forces of the world economy, especially in the present period of world economic crisis, the more do they generate social movements (and some political and ideological policies), which claim both autonomy and immunity from these world economic forces and which promise to overcome them or to isolate their members from them. Much of the attraction of many social movements, of course, comes precisely from the moral force of their promise to free their participants from the deeply felt unjust (threat of) deprivation of material necessities, social status, and cultural identity. Therefore, objectively irrational hopes of salvation appear as subjectively rational appeals to confront reality - and to serve oneself and one's soul through active participation in social movements. The message becomes the medium, to invert Marshal McLuhan.

The reference in this context to 'antisystemic' (social) movements, for instance by Amin and Wallerstein, requires clarification, however. Many social movements are indeed anti-systemic in the sense that the movements and their participants combat or otherwise challenge the system or some aspect thereof. However, very few social movements are antisystemic in their attempt, and still less in their success, to destroy the system and to replace it by another one or none at all. There is overwhelming historical evidence that social movements are not antisystemic in this sense. As we observed above, the social consequences of social movements themselves are scarcely cumulative. Moreover, their effects are often unintended, so that not infrequently these effects are incorporated - if not co-opted - by the system - which ends up being invigorated and reinforced by social movements, which were anti-systemic but did not turn out to be antisystemic. There is scarce contemporary evidence that in the future the prospects for social movements and their consequences will be very different from the past. Indeed, the systemic means, ends, and consequences of social movements - even if some are subsequently

co-opted - are to modify the system 'only' by changing its systemic linkages.

## 7. DELINKING AND TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements today and tomorrow may be regarded as offering new interpretations and solutions to the problematiques of 'delinking' from capitalism and 'transition to socialism'. Southern dependent national state delinking from the world capitalist economy and its cycles proved to be impossible during the postwar period of expansion. Eastern socialist states and their planned economies have been relinked to the world economy, and both its cycles and its technological development, during the present crisis in the world economy. No national economy or its state, and hardly any political parties anywhere in the world today, seriously regard delinking a national economy to be a serious practical proposition. Therefore, the thesis about delinking - 'Stop the world, I want to get off!' is in for an agonising reappraisal from those (like one of the present writers) who have sustained this as an option and a necessity. However, if the national state and economy are not and cannot be independent today or in the foreseeable future, perhaps the idea of 'delinking' can and should be reinterpreted rather than abandoned altogether.

The problematique of 'delinking' may be reinterpreted through the different/new links, which many social movements are trying to forge, both between their members and society and within society itself. The women's movement and some green ones are examples. Many social movements seek to protect their members physically or spiritually from the vagaries of the cyclical world economy and propose different kinds of links for their members to the economy and society, which they also propose to help change. Perhaps 'delinking' should be amended to read 'different linking' or 'changed links'. In that case, it is the social movements, which are changing some links into different ones for their members today. This would include those religious and spiritualist movements, which claim to offer isolation and protection from the traumas of the secular world to their true believers, and some (especially minority ethnic ones), which seek to affirm identity among members and different links with the society around them.

Similarly, the problematique and prospects of transition to socialism may be reinterpreted in view of the experience with 'really existing socialism' and contemporary social movements. 'Really existing socialism' has proven unable to delink from the world capitalist economy. Moreover, despite its achievement in promoting extensive growth (by mobilizing human and physical resources), it has failed to provide adequately for intensive growth through technological development. Indeed, the same state planning which was an asset for absolute industrial autarchic national growth has proven to be a liability for competitive technological development in a rapidly changing world economy. The related political organisation of 'really existing socialism' has lost its efficacy at home and its attraction abroad. Most importantly



perhaps, it is becoming increasingly clear that the road road to a better 'socialist' future replacement of the present capitalist world economy does not lead via 'really existing socialism'. As the Polish planner Jozef Pajestka observed at a recent meeting at the Central School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, 'really existing socialism' is stuck on a side track. The world, as one of the present authors remarked, is rushing by in the express train on the main track, even though, as Pajetska retorted, it may be heading for an abyss.

Indeed, the utopian socialists - whom Marx condemned as utopian instead of scientific - may turn out to have been much less utopian than the supposedly scientific socialists, whose vision has turned out much more utopian than realistic. In seeking and organising to change society in smaller, immediate but realisable steps, which did not require state power, the utopian socialists were perhaps more realistic than the scientific ones - and they were more akin then to the social movements of our time than the 'scientific' socialists of the intervening century. What is more, many utopian socialists proposed and pursued social changes and particularly different gender relations, which were subsequently abandoned or forgotten by scientific socialists. In Eve and the New Jerusalem, Barbara Taylor documents the struggle, and where possible the implementation, of women's rights and of participatory democracy by the (Robert) Owenite utopian socialists, and the importance of the same as well among associated with Fourier and Saint-Simon. Participation was also present in the early Marx as an antidote to the alienation which concerned him and, again, many social movements today. Thus, some temporary social movements might benefit from greater familiarity with the goals, organisation, and experience of earlier utopian socialists - and of some anarchists as well.

The real transition to a 'socialist' alternative to the present world economy, society and polity, therefore, may be much more in the hands of the social movements. Not only must they intervene for the sake of survival to save as many people as possible from any threatening abyss. We must also look to the social movements as the most active agents to forge new links, which can transform the world in new directions. Moreover, although some social movements are sub-national, few are national or inter-national (in the sense of being between nation states), and many, like the women's, peace and ecological movements could be trans-national (that is non-national) or people-to-people within the world system. Not surprisingly perhaps, there is more transnationality among metropolitan-based social movements than among the more fragmented ones on the also more fragmented dependant Third World. This real social(ist) transformation - if any - under the agency of the social movements will, however, be more supple and multifarious than any illusory 'socialism in one country' repeated again and again.

## 8. COALITIONS AND CONFLICT AMONG SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

It may be useful - without seeking to give any advice - to inquire into likely possibilities of conflict and overlap or coalitions among different (kinds of) social movements. Euripides already remarked on the relation between women and peace in Lysistrata. Riane Eisler has traced this

same relation even farther back in human society in her The Chalice and the Blade. Today, the women's and peace movements share membership and leadership and certainly offer opportunities for coalition. Substantial participant or membership and leadership overlap can also be observed between women's movements and local community movements. At least women are especially- and in Latin America preponderantly - active in community movements, where they acquire some feminist perspectives and press their own demands, which serve to modify these movements, their communities, and hopefully society. In the West, there is a similar if lesser overlap between community and peace movements, also with marked woman leadership, which expresses itself in 'nuclear-free' communities for instance. Again, environmental/ecological/green movements in the West share compatible goals and membership with women's, peace and community movements. Therefore, these women's, peace, environmental, and community movements - all of which shy away from pursuit of state power and most entanglements with political institutions - offer widespread opportunities for coalitions among social movements. Moreover, thanks to their preponderance of women, they also manifest more communal, participatory, democratic, mutual support and networking instead of hierarchical relations among their participants and offer hope for their greater spread through society.

Other areas of overlap, shared membership, and compatibility or coalition may be observed among some religious and ethnic/national and sometimes racial movements. The movement led by the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and some of his followers elsewhere in the Islamic world is the most spectacular example, which has the most massive and successful mobilisation of recent times to its credit. The Sikhs in Punjab, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, perhaps Solidarity in Poland, Albanians in Yugoslav Kosovo, and Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland, are other recent examples. Notably, however, these religious-ethnic-nationalist movements also seek state power or institutional autonomy and sometimes incorporation within a neighbouring ethnic/national state. If communities are religiously and ethnically homogenous, there may be overlap or coalition with these larger movements.

Opportunities for compatibility or coalition among different social movements are enhanced and may be found when they have common participants/membership and/or common enemies. The common membership of women in general in various different social movements has already been noted above. However, common membership also extends to individuals and particularly to individual women, who dedicate active participation to various social movements at the same time and/or successively. These people are in key positions to forge links, if not coalitions, among otherwise different social movements. Such links can also emerge from the identification of one or more common enemies like a particular state, government or tyrant; a certain dominant institution or social, racial or ethnic group; or even less concretely identifiable enemies like 'the West', 'imperialism', 'capital', 'the state', 'foreigners', 'men', 'authority', or 'hierarchy'. Moreover, both the opportunities for coalition and the massiveness and strength of social mobilisation are probably enhanced when people perceive that they must defend themselves against these enemies.

There are also significant areas of conflict and competition among social movements. Of course, movements of different religions and ethnicities or races conflict and compete with each other. However, all of them also seem to conflict and compete with the women's movement(s) and often with the peace movement. In particular, virtually all religious, ethnic and national(ist) movements - like working class and Marxist-oriented movements and political parties as well - negate and sacrifice women's interests.

Moreover, they successfully compete with the women's movement if any, which lose ground they may already have gained to the onslaught of religious, ethnic and nationalist movements. Religion and nationalism, and even more so the two combined, seem to sacrifice women's interests and movements. Shiite Iran deliberately increases women's oppression. In Vietnam, Nicaragua and elsewhere, women first participated actively in and benefited from nationalist struggle, but subsequently also saw further advances of their interests sacrificed to the priority of 'the national interest' and in Nicaragua also to Catholic support.

Similarly, nationalist and national liberation movements in many parts in Asia and Africa, tend to overlook and neglect, or even to suppress and combat, minority ethnic and other movements in their interests.

Often, social movements also have serious internal conflicts of ends and/or means. Of course, when social movements are coalitions, especially for temporary tactical purposes, the participants may have different and sometimes conflicting ends and/or preferences among means. There have been common, for instance, among anti-imperialist national liberation and socialist movements in the Third World.

The combination of religious with other social movements, such as those with significant elements of liberation theology, also contain the potential for internal conflict. Indeed, most religious or strongly religiously-oriented movements seem to contain important seeds of internal conflict between progressive and regressive, and sometimes also escapist, aims. Appeal to religion, not to mention a church, may be the main or even the only recourse for people to mobilise against a repressive regime or to overcome oppressive and/or alienating circumstances. In this sense, religion offers a liberating progressive option, like liberation theology and church-related community movements in Latin America, the Polish Catholic Church, the movement against the Shah in Iran, and some ethnic/religious communal (defence) movements in Asia. However, the same religion and church also contain important regressive and reactionary elements. Regressive or even escapist elements are the offer to bring back the golden age of seventh century Islam or even to eliminate all traces of Westernization. Literally reactionary are the Islamic and Catholic attempts to turn back or prevent the further development of progressive developments in gender relations, including divorce, birth-control and socio-economic opportunities for women, and other civil rights and liberties. Indeed, religion is more often an instrument of reactionary than of progressive forces in the West, East and South.

## 9, THE IMPROPRIETY OF 'GOOD' OUTSIDE ADVICE TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As long as the social movements have to write their own scripts as they go along, they cannot use and can only reject as counterproductive any prescriptions from on high or outside as to where they should go or how they should get there. In particular, the social movements cannot use the kind of imaginary blueprints for the future which Smith and Marx avoided but which have been so popular among many of those who claim to speak in their name. For this reason also, good advice from intellectuals and other well-meaning people is both hard to find and hard to assimilate for the social movements. Most inappropriate perhaps is supposed counsel from non-participants observers (like us?). On the other hand, many social movements can and do benefit from the vision and organisational skill inputs by participants and more rarely from transient outsiders, who transfer some vision and/or experience from other movements, parties, and institutions. Many community movements, especially, also benefit from or even depend on the support of outside institutions, such as the church, 'non-governmental organisations' (NGOs), and occasionally even the state. Such aid, and especially dependence, also involves dangers of co-optation by these institutions of individual leaders or intermediaries, the leadership and its goals, or even the social movement itself. Nonetheless, what most characterises social movements is that they (must) do their own thing in their own way. In fact, perhaps the most important thing that social movements have to offer both to their participants/members and to others in the world is their participatory self-transforming trial-and-error approach and adaptability. Herein is the hope they promise for the future.

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*(continued from page 95)*

### REGIONAL SPACE

. John W. Forje, The humanities as a base for scientific and technological take-off in developing countries: The case of Africa (Advanced School of Mass Communication, University of Yaounde, POB 11429, Yaounde, Cameroon) 19pp.

. Muhammad Jameel, Some myths about Science Development (72 Nazimuddin Road, F-8/4, Islamabad, Pakistan) 5pp.

### GLOBAL SPACE

. Hafiz Mirza and Abe Sirton, From redundancy to abundance (University of Bradford Management Centre, EMM Lane, Bradford West, Yorkshire BD9 4JL, UK) 15pp.

. Robin Sharp, From aid to solidarity (IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK) 28pp.

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## THE PATH TO COMMON SECURITY

By Peri Pamir\*

Rue de Lausanne 74

1202 Geneva, Switzerland

The principle of common security emerged in response to deepening anxiety over the perceived implications for world peace and security of continued reliance on the strategy of nuclear deterrence. The imperative for other forms of security 1/ rests on the firm conviction that nuclear weapons have ceased to play any viable political or military role 2/. The so-called 'threat of mutual destruction' is seen as having lost its 'credibility as the ultimate guarantor of 'nuclear peace', the main problem arising from the constant attempt to counter mutual vulnerability through offensive military build-ups suggesting first-strike postures. What these have done is to create a situation which has effectively moved beyond the generally presumed stage of a symmetric or stable balance of military power. Because of the mutually reinforcing link between the spiral of arms competition and the ensuing cycle of mutual insecurity, 'deterrence' is increasingly being perceived by observers on both sides as an offensive and terrorizing strategy which poses inherent dangers of failure, instability and risk of predominantly inadvertent nuclear war. Magnified by the pace of technological military advancements, enhanced fear and mistrust, and a concomitant deterioration in political rela-

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1/ The term 'security', as used in this paper, refers mainly to the requisites of external security policy whose top priority objective is defined as the prevention of nuclear war. Given this premise, the paper argues that due to changed global realities, security can no longer be assured by traditional military means since, in today's world of growing global interdependencies, it has become a multidimensional concept encompassing both internal and external conditions which go far beyond the conventional confines of military politics.

2/ As long as nuclear weapons exist, however, it is generally acknowledged that the only (military) role they could serve would be limited to that of preventing their possible use by someone else (minimum deterrent).

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\* This is a shortened version of a paper presented by Ms Pamir, a Turkish peace researcher, at the 49th Pugwash Symposium on 'Common Security in Europe' held in May 1987, at Mragowo, Poland.

tions, these destabilizing elements have upset the delicate equilibrium of nuclear deterrence by rendering the attendant risk of mutual devastation unacceptably high.

There is also the obvious moral dimension associated with the policy of seeking security by resorting to nuclear terror. For peace and security, in their complete and desired sense, imply not only guarantees of 'permanent' absence of conflict, but also freedom from the terror which the constant threat of nuclear confrontation inspires, and on which nuclear deterrence is based. Hence, the threat to use nuclear weapons can be said to constitute an unambiguous form of 'state terrorism', which has much larger and far-reaching connotations than the generally accepted use of the term. For, in this case, not only does the nuclear menace hold the entire world hostage to the fear of total nuclear catastrophe, but it also denies people their fundamental right to choice in their future. A further liability is created by the dangerous precedent set for other countries in the world by the major powers' continued reliance on nuclear arms as an essential instrument of national security. The pursuit of nuclear deterrence and the arms race thus makes a mockery of attempts to forestall global nuclear proliferation, by strengthening the preception among other potential contenders that nuclear weapons constitute a necessary and legitimate device for safeguarding national security interests.

In view of the dilemmas, uncertainties and risk connected with the present system of security, national consensus on nuclear defence policies in many countries has broken down. Public dissatisfaction on this issue has been particularly manifest in densely militarized Europe. Such reactions suggest a progressive erosion of public faith in the hypothetical claim, oft-invoked by Western governments to justify continued reliance on nuclear strategy, that the maintenance of post-war peace is largely attributable to the existence of nuclear weapons. This argument - or myth - rests on the assumption that the mutual threat of war as enabled the big powers to exercise great caution in avoiding direct military confrontation. The emergence of important and increasingly more powerful peace movements attests to the growing view that far from assuring survival, nuclear weapons in fact constitute a fundamental threat to it. They also testify to the awareness that since nuclear war would not respect frontiers and would not be containable, questions of nuclear defense concern not only the nuclear powers or just the governments, but all peoples. Domestic political pressure has consequently had an impact in obliging opposition parties and even elected governments in Europe and elsewhere to adopt postures favouring policies of nuclear disengagement. Even though the vision of a nuclear-free world is still a remote one, the manifestation of widespread international concern about peace and security has necessitated serious consideration of alternatives approaches to defense which

offer a more viable and sound basis for both national and global security. Any attempt to seek solutions to the present problem will, however, have to be preceded by a fundamental reassessment of what exactly constitutes security in the contemporary nuclear area.

In this vein, the advocates of a new mode of political thinking on security policy rightly argue that if the present danger is to be reversed, it is above all imperative for the nuclear power states - and especially the two super-powers - to recognize that security in the nuclear age has become indivisible; that it can no longer be gained unilaterally, or on the basis of a zero-sum ordering of military power. Since conflicts can no longer be resolved on the basis of military force, it is widely admitted that the only possible means to assure security - indeed, survival - is to move away from confrontational postures towards greater political accommodation.

The philosophy of common security embraces this logic. The full meaning of the term as used here describes both an objective and a strategy. Ultimately, it seeks to ensure those conditions whereby nuclear - and, eventually, any kind of - war will not be started, and consists of a process which aims in the first instance at addressing both the military and political sources of conflict and insecurity. In terms of strategy, the underlying objective of common security is to establish a process of mutual restraint and cooperation between states based on a common perception of their mutual dependence and shared interest in reducing the threat of nuclear war. Such an approach would flow from the mutual appreciation that the consequences of nuclear deterrence have ultimately overridden and overtaken any justification it may have had at the outset.

Eliminating the threat of nuclear war would however represent the primary, not the ultimate aspiration of common security. Its longer-term and more comprehensive version would presumably envisage a global order where the threat of all types of violence and conflict has receded and been replaced by stability and cooperation. Although the two meanings will clearly overlap in certain instances, in this paper the term 'common security' will more frequently than not be equated with the 'primary' goal. This is based on the reasoning that in order to attain global security, states initially have to reach a realization of their common interests which, in the first instance, involves the reduction and eventual elimination of the nuclear peril.

Although this conception of security yields easily enough to moral approbation, the question of translating it into political reality is a different matter altogether. This paper will limit its scope to a preliminary analysis of what such a policy would mean and imply in political and perceptual

terms. The discussion on common security will be preceded by a closer look at some aspects of the 'security dilemma'. We will then proceed by identifying certain situations which either help or hinder the development of a common security process. Specific references to the situation in Europe will be made where appropriate.

## SECURITY DILEMMA

One of the major flaws of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is that it still operates on the basis of traditional concepts of power. This is generally understood as the ability to deal from a position of strength. Quite apart from the fact that this definition is no longer tenable in the era of relative 'nuclear parity', it is also, more significantly, riddled with inherent weaknesses. 'Power' that must constantly be struggled for and aggressively backed by military prowess is not power, but rather brute coercive force. To make the correlation is in fact a contradiction in terms. Real power derives from a sense of internal strength and confidence which endows the bearer with the capacity to act and implement on the basis of natural and proven merits. 'In so far as one's capacity to act must be supported by force, one is, to that degree, powerless, not powerful. One is relying on something other than power' <sup>3/</sup>. It is interesting to observe, in this connection, that the 'macho image' as characterized, for instance, by a sense of grandeur, arrogance, toughness or self-aggrandizement, whether in individuals or nations, represents a conscious or unconscious response to the need to cover up or compensate for inner fears and insecurities through an inflated projection and assertion of self. Far from being a portrayal of strength or confidence therefore, such an attitude actually reflects a deep-rooted sense of impotence and a lack of self-confidence at a deeper level of consciousness.

Since myths generally tend to outlive reality, strength or power is still widely confused with force and offensive posturing. This is because we still live in an age where each state feels obliged to display its ability and willingness to wage war in defense of what it regards as its vital national interests. Military strength is seen as a symbol of this resolve, and lulls nations into a false sense of security. It also reflects the false premise that security can somehow be gained unilaterally. But rather than producing a consciousness of strength, the attempt to gain military advantage over the adversary creates on 'consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear'. Fear begets

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<sup>3/</sup> Wilma Scott Heide, cited by Hilikka Pietilä, 'Tomorrow begins today', FEA Dossier, 57/58, January/April 1967, p.46.



suspicion and distrust which, in turn, feed the rationale for more rearmament 4/. The psychological dynamics of the perceptual conflict which drives the arms race are thus nourished by reciprocal misperceptions of intent, which often lead to an overestimation of the other side's hostility (worst-case assessment). Since both sides respond to the same imperatives, attempts to assure one's own security by seeking damage-limiting or war-fighting capabilities for use 'if deterrence fails' thus become counterproductive and self-defeating mainly because the technological dimensions of the arms race heightens the dangers of a breakdown of deterrence. The end result is a constantly recurring cycle of self-induced insecurity, commonly known as the 'security dilemma', and a dynamic arms race as states strive in vain to overcome their mutually perceived vulnerability.

Other consequences of the 'security dilemma' relevant to the discussion of a common security programme include the following:

- . The more the diversion of precious human and material resources from the urgent requirements of socio-economic development to military security, the more vulnerable a society becomes to threats of economic erosion and social disruption 5/.
- . An escalating arms race also changes the character of the societies within the participating countries. The emphasis placed on war preparations and high technology will have the effect of:
  - endowing the technological revolution with a strong military bias by curtailing non-military industries and diverting scientific and engineering talent to military applications;
  - increasing the power and influence of the military-industrial complex;
  - subordinating politics to the interests of militarism;
  - enhancing the power and authority of the state in matters related to the defense and security, thereby inducing a corre-

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4/ Edward Grey, *Twenty-five years*, vol. 1 (London: Hodder & Stoughton), cited in Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1978), p65.

5/ Though the more severe examples of this are in the Third World, the industrialized countries are also beginning to feel the crunch of the opportunity costs involved. The loss, for instance, of US economic pre-eminence in recent years, is also attributed to its huge military expenditures which have placed a heavy burden on its ability to compete in an increasingly competitive world. *International Herald Tribune*, 9/4/1987.

sponding reduction in the participation of the citizen in decisions affecting his/her new destiny;

- creating a military culture or a militarized society which threatens to undermine the bases of the democratic governing process as well as the more humanitarian aspects of social and cultural life.

The perpetuation of a constant state of tension and hostility towards the adversary, administered through a process known as 'de-humanization', i.e., where the human characteristics of the other are denied, postpones any real commitment to solving basic problems 'because it automatically eliminates the expectation - and thus the possibility - of their being capable of positive human responses'. Negative images of the other are in turn kept alive through government propaganda, the media, and to varying degrees also through the educational system, which seek to justify and reinforce existing attitudes in the public and international mind, and thus 'reduce ... pressures to undertake the more complex tasks that would be required for real understanding and reconciliation' 6/.

Another problem concerns the loss of sovereignty rights for allied states which shelter under the unclear umbrella. The perception of having traded control over its own destiny to the vagaries of superpower politics, in exchange for so-called 'protection' at the risk of self-annihilation, has consequently left Western Europe deeply divided and uncertain about its nuclear involvement.

## COMMON SECURITY

While all states agree on the imperative to avert nuclear holocaust, there is nevertheless disagreement on the policy that would best serve this purpose. What is lacking in other words is a common perceptual appreciation of the objective realities of the nuclear age, and a proper understanding of the changes in individual national attitudes and policies required if peace is to be placed on more stable foundations. The most essential factor in this scenario is the recognition that since the security and existence of the nations of the world are interdependent, the avoidance of war, and particularly nuclear conflict, becomes a common and international responsibility. As peace cannot be obtained through military rivalry, 'it must be sought through a tireless process of negotiation, rapprochement and normalization

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*6/ Barry Childers, 'But What About Our Fears of the Russians?', paper presented at the International Congress of Philosophy, Montreal, Canada, August 1983; p.7. Hostility also enables each side to project its insecurities into the other with impunity, and 'helps preserve a sense of self-righteousness' about one's attitude. Ibid, pp.3,6.*

with the goal of removing mutual suspicions and fear' 7/. Common security is thus seen as an attempt to transcend traditional concepts of security, generally confined to purely domestic considerations of national self-interest, to encompass a broader meaning where the principal threat to one's security is perceived as coming not so much directly or, only, from the enemy itself, but from the dynamics of the conflictual situation which both sides have helped to create.

Translating this into political reality would, in the first instance, require mutual recognition and acknowledgement that the imperative to prevent a nuclear war constitutes a top priority security objective for all the states concerned, and that its achievement requires a coordinated approach. The immediate problem arises, therefore, where perceptions differ with respect to effective strategy, which also inevitably affects the outcome. In the case of Europe, for instance, common approach becomes difficult when the Soviets advocate nuclear disarmament, NATO and the US stubbornly cling to deterrence, while the Europeans generally call for a revival of détente as the most effective means for securing peace in the nuclear age. Presumably these discrepancies reflect something about individual threat perceptions. The Soviets argue that the main threat comes from nuclear weapons, for NATO and the US it comes from the USSR, while for most Europeans it comes from a combination of both these sources, which is why they see détente as the most effective strategy for neutralizing these dangers, as well as a means of lessening their security dependence on the US.

It is interesting to observe that out the three positions, the NATO/US one appears to provide the clearest case of a behaviour pattern known as 'cognitive dissonance'. Applicable to both individuals and nations, this theory refers to the psychological 'denial of reality', whereby new evidence is automatically assimilated or forced to confirm with a pre-existing perception. Theorists argue that any change in self-perceived reality (e.g. regarding a threat factor) is unlikely to occur unless there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary, or if there's a reassessment of priorities induced by these or other factors 8/. The Gorbachev arms control proposals might ultimately have precisely this effect on Western European consciousness, by eventually forcing a reappraisal of prevailing threat perceptions and, hence, of the military measures taken in response.

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7/ *Common Security, A programme for disarmament, The Report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, (The Palme Commission), (London and Sidney: Pan Books, 1982), p.12.*

8/ For further elaboration, see Jervis, *op.cit.*, Ch.4.

## HOW CAN COMMON SECURITY BE ACHIEVED?

Striving for common security, as we have seen, means striving for security with and not against the potential enemy. The process, however, of accepting the transformation of a presumed adversary into indispensable partners requires, i.a., a fundamental change in modes of thinking. It would involve an explicit acknowledgement of mutual dependency, and acceptance of the reality that national security can only be achieved to the extent the adversary is made to feel more, and not less, secure. It would follow therefore that any unilateral steps exercised in recognition of this principle should be perceived as being in the fundamental interests of the side taking it, and not be regarded as a 'concession'. This attitude would in turn incorporate the understanding that many measures taken would reduce the danger equally for both sides.

Recognition that security cannot be obtained by assuming provocative confrontational postures also involves a commitment to establishing some form of balance or equilibrium between the major military blocs which takes into consideration geographic, historic, strategic and other circumstances. In Europe, this would involve attempts aimed at alleviating NATO concerns related to real and perceived asymmetries in the geographic as well as conventional force characteristics of the two sides, as these provide the main justification for the Western Alliance's continued reliance on nuclear deterrence. Given this objective, the concept of 'non-provocative defense' offers the most effective path to mutual security by creating the necessary prerequisites for it. Namely, it meets the two most essential requirements of national defense and security by integrating a credible conventional defense posture with a non-threatening one. It thus offers a possibility for reversing present NATO perception that conventional forces alone are not adequate providers of security, and hence, the opportunity for ultimately removing the rationale for nuclear deterrence. Moreover, by proposing to reduce the confrontational and destabilizing aspects of conventional forces in Europe (i.e. to a level consistent with crisis stability), it also promises to diminish the chances of outbreak of conventional and, by extension, also nuclear war at least within a European context.

Other complementary measures for reducing the nuclear threat and starting the common security process in Europe include the Palme Commission's recommendation for the establishment of a battlefield weapon-free zone (NWFZ) in Central Europe, eventually extending to the northern and southern regions of the continent. Recognizing the interdependence between political and military factors, the Report maintained that 'even the process of beginning to negotiate such limitations

... would reduce political tension', and would thus pave the way for increased political collaboration.

Since the roots of East-West confrontation are more deeply conditioned by political perceptions than they are by strictly military matters, a main ingredient to stabilizing the security situation in Europe would be through the undertaking of a systematic process of political confidence-building. Steps taken towards this end would need to address the political sources of individual as well as collective insecurity, stemming from prevailing threat perceptions - whether real or imaginary - since these provide the ultimate justification for existing defense doctrines and postures. The progressive elimination of fear, distrust and hostility between the two superpowers through these and other measures would no doubt constitute a major step in the right direction. Smaller countries in East and West could also play a valuable role by enhancing confidence and trust amongst themselves; Bulgaria and Turkey or Greece and Turkey, for instance, would be good candidates for such a task. The idea would be the cultivation of a political attitude that seeks to transcend Cold War (and in some cases, also historical) passions and diversions, fostered through the medium of increased political, diplomatic, economic, scientific, cultural and other exchanges which emphasize common values, concerns and interests. The ultimate aim might be the creation of a more integrated European political structure which allows the continent to exercise greater control over its own defense, and to have a more influential role as an entity on the world political scene.

Other basic guidelines for getting the common security process underway include the universal renunciation of the threat of use of military force as an instrument for resolving disputes between nations, an obligation incorporated in the U.N. Charter. The main significance of a no-first-use declaration would be to underscore the purely deterrent value of nuclear weapons in the service of an overall policy designed to maximize the prevention of nuclear war. By enabling NATO to abandon the nuclear crutch, such a step would also help to rectify the distortions which have occurred in conventional and nuclear force postures. Another important international obligation is respect for the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. Finally, it is clear that given the technological and military potential of the major military powers, the main task and responsibility for initiating and sustaining efforts in this direction would have to be assumed by them. This need not, however, exclude the participation of allied and other neutral states in undertaking independent or joint initiatives which underscore their concern about the problem of nuclear war. The Five Continents Peace Initiative calling for a comprehensive test ban, and the bold actions taken by the New Zealand government on

anti-nuclear policies would represent endeavours of this kind.

Other complementary processes necessary for the successful achievement of a common security policy include the following:

- . Moving away from patriarchal structures and statist definitions of power which associate security with military power, and power with instruments of high technology and violence.
- . Linked to the above, the power and role of the state in relation to the determination of military policies should be actively challenged and reduced, essentially by making it constitutionally more accountable and responsive to societal pressures. In fact, since the state is not likely to be the innovator in areas where the sources of its own power are concentrated, the most likely catalyst for change in the present military/security system will be the pressure that the public and other interest groups will bring to bear on their respective governments. Such processes, which are already considerably under way, can be strengthened through a vast campaign of education, debate and public participation.
- . In so far as the militarization of high technology is a symbol and expression of state prestige and power, it creates dangerous illusions of potency and a propensity for seeking technical solutions to political problems. The SDI is a perfect example of this tendency and, in this sense, can be said to represent an 'unconscious escape' on the part of the US Administration from its inability to formulate a rational approach to the challenge of nuclear war. It also reinforces the potentially hazardous illusion that safety in the nuclear age is more readily available through independent action than through cooperation. More importantly, however, the SDI pursuit threatens to escalate the arms race into a new and dangerous phase both in space and on Earth, thereby further distancing the prospects for alleviating the security problem in the nuclear age.
- . Lastly, what common security implies in the human and societal sense is a global situation where diversity and difference are allowed to exist without invoking fear and resistance. The endeavour to try and rise above - or, in another sense, to accept - such differences would thus enable mankind to realize the full potential of its human richness and creativity, whose essence, in fact, lies in its diversity. On the national level, an attempt to give the enemy a human identity which people could relate to more easily, would also remove one of the principal obstacles to the successful development of a common security policy.
- . It is evident that the role of the media in shaping the above areas of social, political and perceptual change is an extremely crucial one. Its main responsibility in this sense lies not in relaying the language of power, but in providing the public with a critical and objective assessment of facts which will better enable it to grasp the complexities of reality.

## CONCLUSION

The concern for alternative forms of security is easily understood when one considers that the deterrence doctrine is 'a theory based on the interface between logical opposites. It connects war prevention with the capacity to fight wars' 9/. Since nuclear deterrence and the arms race go hand in hand, the build-up of ever more sophisticated and dangerous weapons continues unabated, while prevention of their use is sustained at the risk of self-annihilation. Far from being a solution to the problem of threat of nuclear war, deterrence in fact exacerbates this danger by increasing military instability, political tensions and, consequently, also mutual fear, hostility and mistrust.

It is clear that 'security' at such high cost cannot be maintained indefinitely. The highly destructive and inherently uncontrollable power of modern nuclear weaponry has completely altered not only the scale of warfare, but the very concept of war itself, which has become unthinkable. While most governments which participate either directly or indirectly in the nuclear system continue to deny its inherent risks, a large part of the public in these and in other countries around the world have become conscious of the fact that times have changed. A security policy predicated on mutual threat and mutual fear of war is no longer perceived as being compatible with the goals of peace. Widespread international manifestation of such concerns have raised hopes that the political force of popular insight will provide the main driving force behind efforts to reverse the present course, eventually forcing governments to come to terms with the nuclear reality.

It is therefore of greatest importance that the momentum of this period be maintained. If nations are to become party to a common security policy, a primary prerequisite would have to be the de-mystification or re-humanization of the enemy image at all levels of society and international exchange. There has been in recent years a tremendous flow of creative energy released by an almost explosive awakening of a hitherto dormant populace to the dangers of nuclear-based security, who have risen against the traditional authority of the state in taking decisions which affect their lives. This prerogative is now being challenged as many feel that the state has shaken their faith and confidence in its own credibility by allowing the situation to reach the present critical level. The main dynamic for change comes from an inner conviction of the urgent need for citizens to take responsibility for their own destinies over from the state.

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9/ *'The Concept of Common Security', in Arms and Disarmament, SIPRI Findings, (Oxford University Press, 1966), p.207.*

It also arises from the awareness that their action would have an impact by eventually forcing governments to respond, and that therefore they have to act. It is in this source of popular rebellion and civic consciousness of a shared fate that the power to change the present situation lies. What is therefore crucial is to be able to harness the creative potential of these energies constructively, and to channel them towards the meeting of objectives that are in everyone's interests.

Common security offers a framework for this by providing the organizing principles for joint efforts to achieve common goals perceived as being in the common interests; namely, to reduce the risk of nuclear catastrophe by lowering the political tensions and the military/technological instabilities which make war more likely, and to alleviate the socio-economic burdens of the arms race. Most importantly, it recognizes that mutual susceptibility to the danger of nuclear war can be overcome only through coordinated action and the gradual cultivation of mutual trust. The possibilities of initiating such a policy and of finally moving towards a period of greater global peace and stability have unexpectedly been brought within reach by the bold proposals put forth in recent years by the Eastern bloc. Despite a prevailing sense of scepticism, there is also a distinct realization that if grasped, this opportunity could open the way to dramatic breakthroughs in arms reductions. A major part of the hesitation, as one political analyst has remarked, derives from the fact that the 'West [has] focused on an exaggerated Soviet threat and its own vulnerabilities, thus blinding itself to the evidence that the Soviets have such serious interest in reducing nuclear arsenals that they are willing to make major concessions to reach an agreement' 10/. All the same, the high level of expectation created by these developments in public and political circles around the world, testifies to the widespread aspiration to replace existing readiness to accept the risk of war by a willingness to run risks for the sake of a more reliable peace. It is in the recognition of the far-reaching implications of this challenge, and in the determination to face up to it, that there lies a historic chance for humankind to finally transcend the nuclear peril and to ultimately seize control of its own destiny.

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*10/ Michael McGwire, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, USA; cited in George Perkovich, 'Beyond the Cold War', Nuclear Times, January/February 1987, p.15.*



## CITIZENS GROUPS AND ENVIRONMENTALISTS CRITICIZE THE TROPICAL FORESTRY ACTION PLAN

A tropical forestry action plan drawn up by international agencies ran into rough weather at an environmentalist meeting which took place in Delhi in October.

Under the plan, formulated by FAO in cooperation with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Washington-based World Resources Institute <sup>1/</sup>, 8 billion US dollars will be spent on tropical forestry projects in 56 countries. Delegates at an Asia-Pacific Citizens groups Conference on Deforestation and Desertification said the plan 'will cause even more damage to the forests'.

The document calls for 'a sustained commitment to forestry, agriculture, energy and related rural development programmes'. But critics of the plan argue that a major part of the funds will be used to develop forests which will serve industry and provide fuelwood. Says Ian Peter of the Rainforest Information Centre in Australia, who attended the meeting, 'the plan is about forestry, not forests -- profits, not people'. He adds, 'it represents a disastrous combination of business as usual rather than a positive programme to address a global crisis'.

Tropical forests cover only seven percent of the world's surface but experts say these forests have an 'incomparable diversity of life forms'. According to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), more than 155,000 of the 250,000 known species of plants are found in these forests. They have an equal abundance of animal and insect life. WWF estimates that over 40 percent of all tropical forests have already been destroyed, and nearly 15 million hectares are being damaged every year.<sup>2/</sup>

Critics of the forestry plan say the response of international agencies to this serious ecological crisis suffers from several flaws.

In a review of the plan published by the Penang-based World Rainforest Movement, Indian environmentalist Vandana Shiva says the plan has not taken into account 'the role of international development financing in the destruction of tropical forests through dams, mining and resettlement projects'.

Vandana Shiva is part of a large environmental lobby which opposed the World Bank-funded Narmada Basin project in Central India. The multi-billion dollar project is based on the construction of nearly 330 major

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<sup>1/</sup> 1735 New York Avenue NW, Washington DC 20006, USA.

<sup>2/</sup> The WWF has recently released a Special Report, Conservation of Tropical Forests, which can be obtained from its secretariat (1196 Gland, Switzerland).

and minor dams which experts say will displace a million people living along the banks of the Narmada river. Indian activists working for environmental conservation and tribals' rights have resisted several earlier World Bank-sponsored forestry schemes, including a 1975 project to set up pine plantations for the paper and pulp industry in the densely forested Bastar Hills of Central India.

The new plan recommends increased production of commercial woods in rainforests, calling for the exploitation of 30 million hectares of natural forests and the establishment of large industrial plantations in India. Its suggestions for Brazil are similar, and Vandana Shiva says, 'if the action plan is operationalized in India and Brazil alone, the people will have to bear the burden of 1.4 billion dollars of loans to destroy millions of hectares of natural forest and prime farmland'.

Environmentalists instead call for more money to be spent on conserving ecosystems, and allowing the natural regeneration of forests. They say the action plan does not reflect the main concerns that made them call for it.

The plan was evolved after the World Resources Institute and the Environment Liaison Centre sponsored NGOs' workshops in Asia, Africa and Latin America to decide on a strategy for conserving rain forests. Their joint statement, adopted at a meeting at Bellagio (Italy) in July, said that the primary goal of forest management and reforestation programmes must be to benefit indigenous peoples who depend on forests for shelter, food, fuelwood, fodder, medicine and other basic needs. Representatives of the Citizens' groups respond that the plan addresses none of these questions.

Jayantho Bandhyopadhyay, a natural resources management specialist, says the plan takes a 'very mechanical approach to afforestation. It assumes that all you have to do to grow forests is to pay people to plant trees. The failure of several similar governmental programmes has shown that it's not so simple'. Bandhyopadhyay and others are also worried about the 'blanket' and 'quick fix' approach to forestry that the plan has adopted. They say rainforests differ subtly from each other, and cannot be sustained by mere 'loan-peddling'.

Magda Renner, of the Brazilian Ação Democrática Feminina Gaúcho, who participated in the Latin America Workshop, said 'this plan, like so many others, was elaborated by persons alien to the reality of the local problems... The underlying principles of the Call (for the Action Plan) reflect and reinforce the present dominating worldview: economic returns are allowed to overrule social problems and medium or long-term ecological imperatives. What is technically feasible and economically rewarding to the entrepreneurs today is propagated as progress and development.'

At the conference, delegates from several Asian countries said the emphasis in afforestation programmes should be on local resources and not on international finance.

Meanwhile environmentalists like Ian Peter suggest that the debt burden of many Third World countries could be one reason for their environment-

al problems. They consider significant recent moves by the non-profit making bodies like WWF and another American environmental agency, Conservation International, to buy up Third World debt. In July this year, the Bolivian Government agreed to protect 3.7 million acres of rain-forest in the Amazon basin after Conservation International purchased 650,000 dollars of Bolivia's four billion dollar external debt. A similar swap has been made between WWF and the Costa Rica government.

Says Peter, 'I want a tropical forests, not forestry, action plan. We must stop looking at forests as upright logs of wood with leaves on them' (Based on a report from Rajiv Tiwari, IPS, New Delhi).

## THE NEW THREAT TO AMAZONIA

Although Government officials of the highest ranks have repeatedly declared in their insincere speeches that the natural patrimony of the Amazonia will be preserved, the huge, so-called 'development projects' - where environmental consequences are totally ignored - go on and on. When Brazilians get to know about them they are already accomplished, irreversible facts.

At this moment a monstrous assault on the biota of the biggest and richest tropical forest on Earth is beginning.

The FBCN got a copy of a 1986 study of the SUDAM (Superintendência para o Desenvolvimento da Amazônia) called 'The Vegetal Coast Issue at the Area of the Big Carajás Project'. This study establishes the policy for vegetal coal in the oriental Amazonia to feed the nine steel plants and two cement factories under construction. The document foresees that in 1991 these plants will be burning 1.1 million tons of vegetal coal a year, with a future demand of more 1.95 million tons, including 800.000 tons for export to Japan and Europe.

The study mentions the planting of 'energy' forests, but it declares that 'during decades (...) they will be strategic resources, as the expansion of the agricultural frontiers will provide less expensive energy inputs'. This means that the coal will be produced from native forests. The study also indicates that, as the plans are implemented, a 'coal army' (sic) will enter the forest to produce what is needed. This kind of predatory exploitation is suggested to serve as a model for other areas of Amazonia.

Nevertheless the text does not lack the usual misleading mentions of the need to protect the genetic heritage and to follow a 'rational' exploitation. The question is how to reconcile such empty recommendations with the gigantic numbers referred to. Steel and cement plants are not built to work only for a few years and the fate of the forests in southern Pará and in Maranhão are easily foreseeable when, for decades, these plants will be consuming the fantastic amounts of coal mentioned above.

Plans and projects, as insane as this one, justify the opinion of one foreign authority, who declared that Brazil is practicing the equivalent of a nuclear war on its own territory.

The Brazilian society has engaged itself passionately in some big ecological campaigns. None of them can be more important and just than the fight against the madness or changing an expressive part of the prodigious biodiversity of Amazonia into foreign currency by exporting vegetal coal to supply Japanese and European ovens or to produce a few more tons of iron, which easily could be produced by using other technological solutions.

What is planned now in Amazonia is not development. It is ignorance, irresponsibility and plundering of the biological heritage of humankind.

*(Excerpted from the Informative Bulletin of the Brazilian Foundation for the Conservation of Nature (FBCN), January/ March 1987. The author, Ibsen Gusmão Câmara, is the President of FBCN, a former admiral and a renowned expert of Amazonia.*

#### ADDRESSES

- . World Rainforest Movement, 37 Lorong Birch, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia
- . Ação Democrática Feminina Gaúcha - ADFG, 694 Rua Miguel Tostes, 90420 Porte Alegre, Brazil
- . SKEPHI - Sekretariat Kerjasama Pelestarian Hutan Indonesia, Jalan Suryopranoto 8, Lantai IV, Jakarta 10130, Indonesia
- . The Japan Tropical Forest Action Network (JATAN), 501 Shinwa Building, 9-17 Sakuragaoka, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, 150, Japan
- . Rainforest Information Centre, POB 368, Lismore, New South Wales 2480, Australia
- . Rainforest Action Network, 466 Green Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, CA 94133, USA
- . TERRA - Tropical Ecosystems Research and Rescue Alliance International, POB 18391, Washington, DC 20037, USA
- . World Wildlife Fund, 1196 Gland, Switzerland
- . Panoscope (8 Alfred Place, London WC1E 7EB, UK) includes in its N°3 a section on tropical forests.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA: FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATION WITH PRODUCTION

### Background and aims

The Foundation for Education with Production (FEP) is a private international voluntary agency, with affiliates in several Southern African countries, which was established in Zimbabwe in 1980 to promote the linking of study and productive work. For the Foundation, the combination of education with production is the key component of a progressive and non-elitist education. This linking is the cornerstone of a conception of education which makes it capable of being universally available and enlightening, and of helping to generate employment for all in the context of appropriate socio-economic policies.

FEP believes that involving learners at all kinds of educational institutions and at all levels in serious productive work and involving workers in education, can have profound social, economic and particularly pedagogical benefits in that it can greatly enhance the learning process. However for this to be truly effective, both teachers and learners should be involved, as such, on the activities of the community; both the school and the workplace should be democratically organised and not authoritarian; and major changes in curriculum and in teaching methods, supportive of the linkage, are necessary.

The forms and models of education with production include transformation of schools through, amongst other things, the introduction of productive activities into school life; the relevant education and skill-upgrading (and their involvement in cultural activities) of urban workers and rural producers, the educational programme being linked to their real life conditions and prospects; the setting up of producers' co-operatives with appropriate programmes of training and education linked to their work and to the management of their enterprises; and finally, working with or starting programmes similar to the the Brigades in Botswana, geared to the formation of producers' co-operatives as the future workplaces of those in training.

### Activities

The FEP International has as its main activities at this time the establishment of National Committees of the Foundation which will co-ordinate and promote various types of alternatives linking education with production in a progressive way. FEP also produces a journal, Education with Production, as a forum for discussion and information, and a newsletter. It also publishes reports on seminars, handbooks on the setting up of projects and programmes, curricula materials and it is willing to publish pamphlets, booklets and other documentation on the theory and practice of education with production. It conducts seminars, courses and workshops and assists in the development of curricula, syllabi and teaching methods, aids and materials. It offers advice, assistance and consultancy on the establishment and implementation of projects and it undertakes monitoring and evaluation of such projects. It offers training and helps in the recruitment of personnel. It also aims to facilitate communication and co-operation amongst national committees and projects in different countries.

Essentially, the Foundation was inspired by the attempts in various countries in Southern Africa to implement education with production in some form or other, either by governments, liberation movements or private agencies, and the recognition that these attempts needed institutional backup in all aspects of their operations and particularly in terms of training. In Tanzania, Education for Self-Reliance included the promotion of productive areas. Zimbabwe's liberation movements organised their own schools in Mozambique and Zambia during their liberation war, for thousands of their young supporters fleeing Rhodesia. Since the war, ZIMFEP was set up to carry these practices into the new Zimbabwe. The ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia have their own institutions outside their borders, and in all cases, education with production is an accepted key element in their approach to education. In Botswana, education with production was pioneered in community schools and Brigades, with a mixture of support and opposition from Government over the years. In Lesotho, the King himself was instrumental in setting up a model school of education with production in 1965, which he continues to support.

### Results

The Foundation has played an important role, both directly and indirectly through affiliates, in bringing into existence a number of new projects and activities, in reviving, reorganizing and revitalising existing projects and programmes.

It has been instrumental in introducing new subjects into the school curriculum in this region and producing textbooks; and promoting different approaches to teaching and consciousness-raising, through techniques such as popular theatre.

It is making educationalists aware of the wider range of productive activities that could be usefully undertaken by educational institutions at all levels and is promoting a guidebook.

It is promoting new approaches to training and job creation in conditions of large-scale unemployment and pioneering approaches for both training and job creation.

It has been involved directly and indirectly in the training of large numbers of people in a wide range of skills, but especially in the preparation of leaders of education with production projects.

It also undertakes the publication of a weekly newspaper in Botswana (Mmegi Wa Dikgang - The Reporter).

*(P.O. Box 20906, Gaborone, Botswana)*

## KANAKI: L'ECOLE POPULAIRE KANAK

Les E.P.K. sont nées de la la lutte de libération nationale contre les institutions scolaires coloniales françaises et leur bilan désastreux (sur 1000 enfants entrant en maternelle, quatre seulement aboutiront en année de baccalauréat). Les premières E.P.K. ont été créées 2 mois après la motion, adoptée par le 2ème Congrès du Front de libération nationale kanak socialiste (F.L.N.K.S.) à Nakéty en février 1985, décidant le boycott des écoles coloniales et la mise en place d'une école parallèle, prémisses de l'enseignement de Kanaky indépendante.

Constatant la perte de valeurs dans la société traditionnelle kanak, l'E.P.K. a pour rôle de sauvegarder la culture kanak (langue, coutumes, arts), préparer l'enfant à une insertion sociale, économique, politique et culturelle, ce qui demande une décolonisation des structures scolaires et de nouvelles orientations vers la constructions de l'indépendance kanak socialiste. L'E.P.K. fonctionne trois jours complets sur cinq. Les deux autres jours, les élèves travaillent avec leurs parents, dont la part à l'éducation est essentielle (transmission du savoir-faire coutumier, agricole et de la culture orale kanak). Les trois jours d'école comportent un programme original qui enseigne les langues vernaculaires (écriture et lecture). Il comprend aussi l'histoire locale, les techniques manuelles et agricoles, ainsi que la botanique. Néanmoins, le français et les mathématiques sont aussi au programme,

La 3ème Convention des E.P.K., tenue à Nakéty, a retenu la pédagogie du thème comme principe éducatif. Conformément à l'évolution naturelle de l'enfant, cette méthode s'attache à partir du concret pour aller vers l'abstrait. D'où la progression suivante lorsqu'un thème est traité: observation --- compréhension --- restitution. Les faits observés sont ensuite classés selon le domaine de connaissance auquel ils appartiennent; c'est à ce niveau qu'apparaissent les matières.

Malgré un manque important de matériel, la pédagogie du thème permet aux animateurs (bénévoles) d'effectuer un travail intéressant avec les élèves.

Il y actuellement 44 écoles populaires kanak à travers toute la Nouvelle Calédonie avec 1160 élèves et 230 animateurs et animatrices.

Les E.P.K. sont reconnues comme l'une des structures permettant de construire l'indépendance kanak. Pour les militants kanak, la réflexion sur le système éducatif doit être approfondie au même titre que le projet de société. On s'attache par ailleurs à éviter la dualité entre les animateurs des écoles populaires et les enseignants des écoles coloniales. Les militants pensent en effet qu'il faut favoriser les rencontres afin que chacun participe à la construction de la Kanaky indépendante.

*(Pour plus d'information sur les E.P.K.: Ministre de l'Education de Kanaky, 10 rue Gambetta, 1ère Vallée du Tir, Nouméa, Nouvelle Calédonie)*

## SENEGAL: CONGAD

### ENTRETIEN AVEC THIerno KANE

*. Dans plusieurs pays, on assiste à un regroupement des Ongs en consortium. C'est ainsi qu'au Sénégal on a le Conseil des organisations non gouvernementales d'appui au développement (CONGAD). Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire et à quoi sert-il?*

- Le CONGAD, c'est une structure créée par les Ongs pour servir les Ongs. C'est un nouvel espace des relations Nord-Sud. Son rôle, c'est de coordonner l'activité des Ongs qu'elles soient internationales, nationales ou locales. L'intérêt de cette coordination réside dans le fait de pouvoir permettre de meilleurs rapports et une meilleure connaissance entre Ongs, entre Ongs et institutions inter nationales (et bailleurs de fonds) et entre Ongs et gouvernement du Sénégal. Un autre rôle du CONGAD; c'est d'aider les associations de base à prendre contact avec les Ongs afin que ces dernières puissent les appuyer dans le cadre de leur travail, techniquement et/ou financement.

*. On dit souvent que les Ongs préfèrent évoluer en vase clos. Ne pensez-vous pas que la création de l'instance de coordination qu'est le CONGAD ait constitué pour ces Ongs la perte d'une certaine autonomie?*

- En fait non, parce que ces Ongs ont accepté librement d'être membres du CONGAD, parce qu'un certain nombre de problèmes ne se règlent pas en solitaire, bien que le réflexe de préserver son autonomie d'action face à toute force extérieure soit en soi une force des Ongs. Elles doivent le conserver. Les Ongs qui sont membres du CONGAD ont compris que la coordination de leurs activités était une chose essentielle, c'est pourquoi elles ont créé le CONGAD. Le CONGAD est une création des Ongs, ceci est un élément important. Je pense que c'est généreux de la part de chacune des Ongs d'accepter, de participer, dans une même structure, à l'ensemble des problèmes de développement rencontrés. Cela ne restreint pas leur autonomie de travail, à partir du moment où le CONGAD n'a pas droit de regard sur l'organisation interne des Ongs et leur gestion interne, mais essaie de trouver un modus vivendi dans lequel tout le monde pourrait se retrouver et chacun trouver un complément à son action. Le CONGAD oeuvre dans ce sens sans gêner l'autonomie et la flexibilité de ses membres. Il est sûr et certain que les Ongs elles-mêmes qui ont créé ce conseil veilleraient à ce qu'il ne devienne pas un frein pour elles. En outre le CONGAD n'est pas un bailleur de fonds mais les Ongs peuvent utiliser son crédit moral dans la recherche de leur financement. Ce crédit moral, c'est au Ongs de le fortifier en serrant les rangs, c'est-à-dire en étant toujours plus solidaires.

*. Il existe au niveau du CONGAD des collectifs d'Ongs, de quoi s'agit-il?*

- Comme l'a souligné tout dernièrement M. Hugues Albert du CECI (Canada), vice-président du CONGAD, il n'y a pas de formule absolue de coordination. Les regroupements qui existent actuellement sous l'égide du CONGAD sont le Collectif pour une Stratégie Alimentaire à la Base (COSAB) et la Cellule inter-Ongs de lutte anti-acridienne.



Le premier s'occupe de la stratégie alimentaire par un système dit de relations triangulaires entre les pays du Nord pouvant appuyer le Sud dans l'achat de céréales au niveau des zones excédentaires, toujours du Sud, pour leur redistribution dans de zones déficitaires. Ce collectif permettrait de participer à l'équilibre alimentaire d'un point à un autre du Sénégal. Ce système permet de combattre les intermédiaires et commerçants qui, en période de soudure, imposent aux paysans des prix exorbitants. Ce système est doublé d'un système de formation et de production.

La Cellule inter-Ongs de lutte anti-acridienne est née de la volonté des Ongs de se regrouper pour faire face au fléau des acridiens. Les Ongs ont mis l'accent sur la formation des populations rurales pour cette lutte, étant entendu que les paysans formés sont les premiers concernés.

Le CONGAD fera tout pour appuyer ces collectifs afin qu'ils soient toujours efficaces et travaillent dans le sens d'une meilleure entente entre les Ongs. D'ailleurs des Ongs se proposent de mettre en place un collectif sur la question de la production et du traitement des semences. Ces formes de collaboration inter-Ongs sont des faits évidents de la volonté des Ongs de collaborer entre elles.

*. S'il ne fait aucun doute que les Ongs doivent se conformer aux grandes lignes d'intervention tracées par le gouvernement, ne convient-il pas que celui-ci leur garantisse le plus d'autonomie possible pour respecter la souplesse de fonctionnement qui leur est propre?*

- Les Ongs, qu'elles soient d'origine internationale ou nationale, doivent respecter effectivement le plan de développement du pays. La souveraineté de l'Etat est un point sur lequel personne ne va discuter, cela va de soi. Ce que les Ongs demandent, c'est qu'on leur facilite la tâche, qu'on ne les emprisonne pas dans des structures administratives qui risquent de compromettre leur flexibilité et leur autonomie, voire de les décourager. Chaque fois qu'il y a un danger de compromission de cette flexibilité ou de cette autonomie des Ongs, je pense qu'il est bon qu'elles le soulignent au niveau du gouvernement qui, jusque-là d'ailleurs, nous a prêté une oreille très favorable et nous appuyé dans notre action.

Les relations que nous entretenons avec le gouvernement du Sénégal sont, à mon avis, bonnes. D'une manière générale, les relations entre gouvernement et structures non-gouvernementales demandent toujours à être améliorées, et c'est dans ce sens que nous souhaitons de fréquentes rencontres avec notre ministère de tutelle, le Ministère du Développement social. Nous discuterons toujours sereinement car nous avons tous comme objectif le mieux-être des populations du Sénégal.

*. Il y a que peu d'Ongs travaillent dans les villes. A ce propos, en quoi la conférence organisée à Nouakchott par la Fédération mondiale des villes jumelées, conférence à laquelle vous avez assisté, est-elle importante?*

- 'Coopération villes/Ongs', c'était le thème de cette rencontre dont l'intérêt était de voir comment les Ongs pouvaient avoir une part plus

active dans le développement des villes. On reproche aux Ongs de travailler essentiellement au niveau du développement rural. Je pense que pendant longtemps encore les Ongs continueront à le faire car tous nos pays sont des pays à majorité rurale. Il y a quand même au Sénégal des Ongs qui interviennent en ville. Je crois vraiment qu'il y a beaucoup de choses à faire en ville sur le plan de l'éducation, de la santé, etc. surtout dans les villes africaines gonflées par l'exode rural. Le rapport entre la ville et la campagne doit être compris de la même manière par les pouvoirs publics, par les pouvoirs politiques (maires) et par les Ongs pour que la politique à définir concernant ce rapport ville/campagne soit cohérente et acceptée par tous. Les responsables des villes doivent informer objectivement; ça, c'est fondamental.

*. Dakar, capitale africaine des Ongs? En tout cas une importante conférence d'Ongs doit se tenir dans notre capitale\*. Alors, de quoi s'agit-il et quel est le rôle du CONGAD dans l'organisation de cette rencontre?*

- 'La Conférence de Dakar' regroupera plus de 50 Ongs africaines pour discuter des rapports qu'elles doivent entretenir en leur sein afin de mettre en place un réseau. A l'issue de cette rencontre entre Ongs africaines, une réunion entre Ongs du Tiers Monde, c'est-à-dire Afrique, Amérique latine, et Asie aura lieu pour discuter des rapports Sud-Sud. Une troisième réunion aura lieu entre Ongs du Nord et Ongs du Sud pour discuter des rapports Nord/Sud. Il s'agit de voir tous les problèmes qui se posent et toute la solidarité qu'il est nécessaire de mettre en branle, toujours au niveau des Ongs. Cette Conférence est la suite de la participation des Ongs à la Session spéciale des Nations Unies sur la situation économique critique de l'Afrique en mai 1986, session durant laquelle le CONGAD a eu à jouer un rôle d'organisation et de ralliement pour les Ongs. Avant cela, à l'initiative d'une trentaine de représentants d'Ongs africaines, un comité préparatoire avait été élu à New York. Toujours durant cette session, Mazide Ndiaye, le président du CONGAD, a eu à s'adresser à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies, au nom de toutes les Ongs du Nord et du Sud, ce qui a été une grande première dans l'histoire des Nations Unies. Et je pense qu'elle constituera un tournant historique du point de vue du développement du mouvement volontaire en Afrique. Il y a un fort mouvement associatif dans notre continent mais il est mal connu, dévalorisé ou non valorisé.

\* Cette Conférence s'est tenue en mai 1987 (cf. IFDA Dossier 61, p.69-70, ndlr).

*(Propos recueillis par Pape Kane Diallo et extraits de CONGAD Info, N°1, août 1987. CONGAD, BP 4109, Dakar, Sénégal)*

## AMERICA LATINA:

### ENCUENTRO DE DIRECTORES DE CENTROS DE PROMOCION

Los Centros reunidos en la Fazenda da Serra, Itatiaia, Estado de Rio (Brasil), del 12 al 14 de enero de 1987, nos autodefinimos por algunas características básicas:

1. Contribuir al desarrollo del movimiento popular y al cambio de las sociedades latinoamericanas.
2. Actuar desde una perspectiva institucional, profesional, sin compromiso político partidista.
3. Combinar actividades de promoción del desarrollo con tareas de reflexión.

A partir de una propuesta inicial, decidimos centrar nuestras discusiones sobre cuatro temas fundamentales:

- a. Los problemas institucionales de los Centros;
- b. Las relaciones con las Agencias (o ECDI);
- c. Las relaciones con otros actores sociales;
- d. La contribución al proceso de democratización y profundización democrática.

En lo que respecta a los problemas institucionales (a), se insistió en el análisis de lo que se entiende por la identidad misma de los Centros. Estos tienden a caracterizarse por la elaboración y renovación permanentes de un proyecto institucional de aporte al cambio social, en función de objetivos específicos; por la realización del trabajo pautado en normas éticas y por la participación de los miembros en las decisiones; por la estructuración interna adecuada a un trabajo profesional eficiente. Los Centros se autodefinen como espacios democráticos en permanente búsqueda de perfeccionamiento. Ellos buscan la mayor interrelación nacional e internacional posible para actuar con mayor eficacia.

En cuanto a las relaciones con las Agencias (b), se puso énfasis en que los centros deben situarse frente a ellas en una posición digna, en pie de igualdad, exigiendo que se respete la soberanía nacional y la autonomía institucional. Los Centros pretenden ser medios a través de los cuales los países desarrollados devuelven en forma de ayuda a los países en desarrollo una parte de los recursos que les han sido extraídos a estos países y que les siguen quitando año a año.

Los Centros se proponen actuar sobre las Agencias e incluso sobre los países centrales para colaborar en la instauración de relaciones internacionales más justas.

En cuanto a la relación con otros actores sociales (c), se privilegió el tratamiento de la relación con el Estado, partiendo del supuesto que no conviene limitar nuestro campo de acción a la sociedad civil. Los Centros se proponen cumplir una función de denuncia y de crítica permanentes. Pero los Centros consideran también que tienen más posibilidades

que los organismos estatales para elaborar propuestas creativas que respondan a los problemas sociales más importantes.

En lo que concierne al movimiento popular, se dio importancia al respeto mutuo de la autonomía, a la contribución a los procesos unitarios y a la incorporación de los sectores no organizados.

El tema de la democracia por construir fue objeto de variados aportes (d). Se reiteró la disposición de los Centros a resistir los regímenes dictatoriales y a exigir el establecimiento de todos los mecanismos de representación política. Pero se insistió también en la necesidad de mantener una 'utopía', una 'fantasía movilizadora', capaz de trascender la mera democracia representativa y de orientar el trabajo hacia una permanente extensión y profundización de la participación popular. Se trata de buscar alternativas democráticas para la sociedad en su conjunto, a partir de las acciones cotidianas de los Centros. El camino hacia la nueva democracia aparece como la unión entre un esfuerzo permanente de constitución de actores sociales colectivos y la elaboración intelectual de un proyecto de nueva sociedad.

Los Centros consideran que el esfuerzo realizado para este Encuentro - que fue organizado y financiado con aportes propios - ha rendido frutos satisfactorios. Más allá del intercambio y enriquecimiento mutuo entre los directores y de las ideas recogidas en las actas, se asumieron compromisos concretos para dar continuidad al desarrollo de las relaciones internacionales de los centros.

*(Contacto: Mario Padron, DESCO, Av. Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Perú)*

## PRATIQUES INFORMELLES COMPAREES:

### LES FONDEMENTS DE LA NON LEGALITE

La Faculté des sciences juridiques et économiques de Nouakchott, l'Ecole nationale d'administration de Mauritanie et l'Institut orléanais de finance de l'Université d'Orléans organisent sur ce thème un colloque international à Nouakchott du 4 au 10 décembre 1988. Il appelle des communications sur les points suivants:

Aspects pratiques: mesure et discipline des pratiques économiques, sociales, coutumières non prévues par la loi dans les différents pays capitalistes et socialistes du Nord et du Sud, notamment les pays d'Islam et les pays africains.

Aspects théoriques: interprétations théoriques de ces manifestations; rapport avec la théorie du développement; rapport avec la micro économie et des ajustements individuels; interprétation de la théorie sociologique; politiques afférentes à ces pratiques.

*La première rédaction ou un résumé très détaillé (en français) doit parvenir pour le 1er mai 1988 (délai de rigueur) et si possible avant, à la Faculté de sciences juridiques et économiques, BP 633, Nouakchott, Mauritanie.*

## SOUTH ASIA: MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT OF NGOS (SANGO)

*At a seminar held in February 1986, the Ngo Management Network was established with the overall aim of improving the management capacity of Ngos worldwide. The primary focus of the network is in the national and sub-regional spaces and there is a small secretariat in Geneva which publishes the Newsletter Ngo Management and facilitates communication among the members.*

*One of the main aims of the network is the organisation of sub-regional seminars designed to bring together Ngo managers and management specialists to discuss both management issues and the possibility of collaboration in order to improve Ngo management capacity in the respective region. So far, two sub-regional seminars have been held, the first in Nairobi - Kenya in April 1986 (for East and Southern Africa) and the second in Manila, the Philippines, in January 1987 (for South East Asia).*

*The Islamabad seminar was thus the fourth in a series of international meetings on Ngo management issues. The goal was to bring together Ngo managers and management specialists in order to: analyse the management problems facing Ngos; discuss ways of improving the management capacity of Ngos in specific areas; examine the current management services available to Ngos; and consider the various ways of collaborating on management programmes (including the possibility of a regional network).*

*The Seminar adopted the following Declaration:*

### THE ISLAMABAD DECLARATION

The participants at the seminars on "Management Development of Ngos in South Asia" held in Islamabad, Pakistan from 15 to 20 September 1987 under the auspices of the Ngo Management Network, agreed that it was imperative that the process of interaction and dialogue among the Ngos of their region, which had been started in this seminar, should be continued.

They were unanimous that an action plan should be worked out embracing all aspects of development including issues of growth with social justice, ecological sustainability, cultural appropriateness and the promotion of self-reliance and inter-dependence. Special attention should be given to the issues of the development of women and of other disadvantaged groups.

To carry out this task, it was felt that some sort of a structure would be necessary. For this purpose, it was decided that a network should be set up. The name of the proposed structure will be the South Asia Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (SANGO).

SANGO will be registered in Pakistan and the initial secretariat will be provided by Rural Development Foundation of Pakistan.

The membership of SANGO would be open to all regional networks, national networks, coordinating bodies, people's organisations and voluntary organisations in South Asia. Associate membership status may be created for Ngos from outside the region, which wish to work with SANGO.

The main aim of the organisation is to promote dialogue, information sharing, interaction and collaborative activities among Ngos in South Asia and between Ngos and the member governments of SAARC. The principal means for achieving this aim will be meeting, exchange visits, publications and promotion of joint development programmes wherever possible and feasible.

An interim organisation committee was set up comprising the following:

- A.T. Ariyaratne, Sarvodaya, Sri Lanka
- K.S. Huda, Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh
- M. Sadiq Malik, Rural Development Foundation of Pakistan (convenor)
- M.V. Rajasekharan, Asian Institute of the Rural Development, India
- Bishwa Keshar Maskey, Social Services National Coordination Council, Nepal (subject to the approval of the Social Services National Coordination Council, Nepal)
- A.C. Sen, Association of Voluntary Agencies in Rural Development, India

In order to promote greater collaboration and interaction with South-East Asia, Edgardo Valenzuela of the Asian Ngo Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC) was invited to be an ex-officio member of the organising committee with observer status.

The participants emphasized the importance of developing links with international networks such as Development Innovations and Networks (IREN), International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and noted that the composition of the organizing committee would ensure such collaboration.

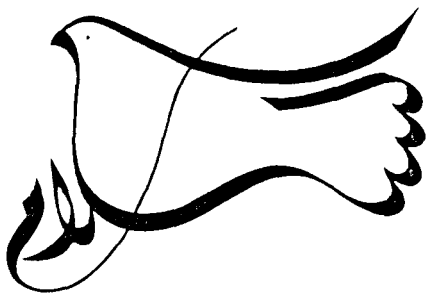
The organising committee was requested to draft a constitution for the purpose of the organisation's registration, develop a plan of action and convene a meeting of member Ngos in 1988. Recognising that women have been under-represented in association coordinating bodies in the past, the SANGO constitution should provide for a coordinating committee (by whatever name called) consisting of at least 33% men, 33% women and the remainder from either group.

The participants recognised the importance of improving the organisational and management capacity of Ngos if they are to carry out effective development programmes. They therefore made a number of recommendations covering management programmes which are summarized in the report of the seminar.

In view of the urgency of action needed to improve organisational effectiveness, the participants decided that the proposed activities for management development should be implemented as soon as possible, while recognising that programmes in the other fields, mentioned above, would also be developed during the course of 1988.

The seminar therefore established a SANGO sub-committee on Management to implement the recommendations as enumerated in the report of the seminar

*(Further information: Rural Development Foundation of Pakistan, POB 1170, Islamabad, Pakistan).*



COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE  
COORDINATION DES ONGS  
SUR LA QUESTION DE LA  
PALESTINE

Les Organisations non-gouvernementales (Ongs) membres du réseau du Comité International de Coordination sont très diverses. Certaines sont des organisations internationales, d'autres sont régionales ou même nationales (et incluent des Ongs israéliennes). Quelques-unes sont à caractère politique, alors que d'autres se préoccupent de défense des Droits de l'homme ou ont des actions de développement. Chrétiens, juifs ou musulmans sont représentés ainsi que d'autres religions ou idéologies. Toutes sont unies dans une recherche de la justice pour les Palestiniens.

#### Origines

La première Conférence des Nations Unies sur la Question de la Palestine a eu lieu à Genève en 1983. Des organisations non-gouvernementales (Ongs) étaient présentes avec le statut d'observateurs.

En août 1984, le Comité des Nations Unies pour l'Exercice des Droits inaliénables du peuple palestinien a convoqué à Genève la première Conférence Internationale des Ongs sur la question de la Palestine. Les Ongs décidèrent alors d'établir un Comité intérimaire de coordination.

Lors de la deuxième Conférence internationale sur la Question de la Palestine (septembre 1985), les Ongs ont transformé le Comité intérimaire en Comité international de coordination (CICP) et en ont défini la tâche.

Enfin, la troisième Conférence (Vienne, juillet 1986), a confirmé la nécessité d'ouvrir un bureau à Genève à compter de septembre 1986. Jean-Marie Lambert en a été nommé directeur. Don Betz, Bahig Nassar, David Watkins ont été élus respectivement Président, Vice Président et Trésorier.

#### Principes

Des conférences internationales ou régionales, des symposiums ou séminaires sur la question de la Palestine sont organisés par la Division des Droits des Palestiniens et le Comité pour l'Exercice des Droits inaliénables du peuple palestinien. Les Ongs qui participent à ces rencontres et qui font partie du réseau du CICP ont pour base commune le soutien de la Résolution 38/58 C de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies (13 décembre 1983) dont les principales affirmations sont:

. Réalisation des droits légitimes et inaliénables du peuple palestinien: droit au retour, droit à l'auto-détermination et droit de créer son propre Etat indépendant en Palestine.

. Reconnaissance de l'Organisation de Libération de la Palestine comme seul représentant du peuple palestinien.

. Le droit à l'existence de tous les Etats de la région à l'intérieur de frontières sûres et internationalement reconnues dans la justice et la sécurité pour tous.

. La convocation d'une Conférence internationale de la paix pour le Moyen-Orient, sous les auspices des Nations Unies avec la participation, sur un pied d'égalité, de toutes les parties au conflit israëlo-arabe, y compris l'OLP, les USA et l'URSS.

#### Activités

Le Comité international et les comités régionaux ont pour tâche: d'étudier les meilleurs moyens d'atteindre et de modifier l'opinion publique; de fournir aux Ongs les outils nécessaires à leurs actions dans les domaines politiques de défense des droits de l'homme ou d'entraide; de préparer en liaison avec le Comité pour l'Exercice des Droits inaliénables du peuple palestinien et la Division des Droits des Palestiniens les ordres du jour des conférences internationales ou régionales des Ongs sur la question de la Palestine.

#### Rôle du bureau de Genève

En plus d'assurer l'exécution des décisions prises par le CICP, le bureau a pour rôle:

. de développer le réseau des Ongs engagées pour la paix et la justice au Moyen-Orient basées sur le droit du peuple palestinien à l'auto-détermination et à celui d'établir un Etat en Palestine, à côté d'Israël;

. d'aider les Ongs à appliquer les diverses résolutions des conférences internationales des Ongs sur la question de la Palestine;

. de diffuser des nouvelles sur les problèmes politiques, de droits de l'homme et d'entraide qui aident les Ongs à lutter contre la désinformation de l'opinion publique;

. de lancer des actions d'urgence lors d'événements précis qui portent atteinte à la paix et à la justice, ou qui violent les droits de l'homme au Moyen-Orient et dans les territoires occupés par Israël;

. de mettre des Ongs en relation les unes avec les autres pour qu'elles partagent leur recherche et leur action sur les thèmes qui leur sont communs afin qu'elles s'épargnent du temps et soient plus efficaces.

Le CICP publie régulièrement un bulletin, CCIP Information, qui offre nouvelles, coupures de journaux et bibliographie.

*(BP 127, 1211 Genève 20, Suisse).*



## SUISSE: CH + 6

On distinguait, selon la langue de leurs habitants (allemand, français, italien, romanche), les quatre Suisses. Puis on a pris l'habitude d'appeler '5e Suisse' l'ensemble des Suisses de l'étranger. Plus récemment, des chercheurs de l'Institut d'économie appliquée de l'Université de Bâle ont formulé l'image d'une 6e Suisse - celle des entreprises suisses à l'étranger.

Le concept cerne un phénomène d'une ampleur insoupçonnée, aux aspects les plus divers et qui, par son expansion rapide et continue, va jouer un rôle crucial dans le devenir économique de ce pays.

### Les entreprises industrielles

La nature, la dimension, le poids et l'évolution de la "6e Suisse" peuvent être illustrés par quelques faits et chiffres. Trois exemples: la production industrielle, l'emploi et la recherche.

Premier fait significatif: la valeur de la production des industries suisses à l'étranger est supérieure à celle des exportations du pays, caractéristique, sinon unique, du moins exceptionnelle. Les deux autres cas connus sont ceux des Etats-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne, ce qui est peu surprenant pour les premiers qui, compte tenu de leurs ressources et de la dimension de leur marché intérieur, n'ont jamais eu de vocation exportatrice; le passé colonial de la seconde explique aisément sa présence dans ce curieux trio.

Ainsi, en 1980, la production réalisée à l'étranger par les quatre-vingt sept premières transnationales helvétiques a dépassé 70 milliards de francs, tandis que le montant total des exportations effleurait 53 milliards. A elles seules, les quinze premières transnationales suisses atteignaient 61 milliards pour leur production à l'étranger. 80% de cette production a été réalisée dans des pays industrialisés et 20% dans le Tiers Monde.

Deuxième exemple: l'emploi. Dans quelques années, l'industrie suisse emploiera davantage de personnel à l'étranger que chez elle. Entre 1970 et 1980, les emplois industriels ont passé en Suisse de 880.000 à 690.000, soit une diminution de 190.000. Durant la même période, les quinze ténors augmentaient leurs effectifs à l'étranger de 140.000 unités. C'est ainsi qu'en 1980 les quatre-vingts sept premières transnationales helvétiques employaient plus de 550.000 personnes hors des frontières du pays.

Troisième aspect: la recherche et le développement. Si les quinze plus grandes transnationales font porter le plus gros de leurs efforts dans ce domaine en Suisse même, elles consacrent cependant 35% de leurs investissements en la matière dans leurs filiales étrangères. Les quatre groupes Ciba-Geigy, BBC, Roche et Sandoz, à eux seuls, investissent davantage dans la recherche et le développement à l'étranger que toutes les autres entreprises helvétiques en Suisse.

## Les services

La 6e Suisse englobe aussi les activités des banques et des assurances hors des frontières nationales; elles sont importantes et tendent à se développer.

Si les statistiques font défaut pour exprimer précisément le poids de la présence bancaire suisse dans le monde, il en va autrement pour le deuxième fer de lance du secteur des services: les assurances. L'industrie suisse de l'assurance privée est reconnue comme l'une des plus dynamiques du monde.

Les compagnies suisses d'assurances et de réassurances ont encaissé en 1984 pour 31,8 milliards de francs de primes, dont 16,9 (53%) provenant de l'étranger. Dans le domaine particulier de la réassurance, la Suisse occupe une position de pointe: les recettes des 12 compagnies de réassurances suisses représentent 15 à 20% de l'ensemble des encaissements des réassureurs professionnels du monde. Pour elles, le marché étranger est primordial, car il signifie 90% du volume des primes.

## Pour une 6e Suisse responsable

Cette situation a incité un groupe de citoyens à créer la Fondation pour une 6e Suisse responsable (CH + 6) dont le but est de promouvoir auprès des actionnaires, des dirigeants d'entreprises et dans le public en général une meilleure prise de conscience de l'éthique et de la responsabilité sociale des entreprises, notamment par l'étude et l'information.

L'étude et l'information dans les domaines scientifique, économique et social portent particulièrement sur les liens entre l'activité déployée par les entreprises suisses et le développement des pays du Tiers Monde.

Les informations sur l'activité économiques ne manquent pas. Il suffit d'aller les chercher là où elles se trouvent: les publications à caractère économique, nombreuses et bien faites, répondent à l'attente d'une clientèle professionnelle: industriels, banquiers, hommes d'affaires.

Le grand public pour sa part devient de plus en plus attentif à l'information économiques: il prend conscience de l'interférence de l'actualité économique dans sa vie quotidienne. Il voit surgir sur ses marchés les produits de l'étranger, parfois technologiquement très avancés et bénéficiant en même temps d'une main d'oeuvre peu coûteuse, comme ceux de l'industrie audiovisuelle ou automobile japonaises. Cette main d'oeuvre "bon marché" est parfois la cause principale de l'apparition de ces produits, comme pour les textiles ou certains assemblages électroniques simples en provenance du Sud-Est asiatique.

Dans la presse d'information générale, c'est bien souvent à l'occasion des événements internationaux qu'apparaissent des informations à caractère économique: la situation d'apartheid en Afrique du Sud conduit les milieux d'affaires américains à limiter leur investissement; les Etats-Unis interdisent aux entreprises américaines de poursuivre leur activité en Libye; les entreprises françaises d'armement continuent à exporter en

direction de l'Irak... et de l'Iran, etc. Le grand public perçoit de plus en plus clairement que l'activité économique n'est pas neutre: les affaires ne peuvent pas être n'importe quelles affaires.

Cette constatation, d'aucuns la soulignent depuis longtemps: les écologistes, les adversaires du nucléaire, les militants préoccupés du sort du Tiers Monde, et tant d'autres dénoncent les conséquences néfastes de beaucoup d'activités industrielles.

Pour un public encore restreint mais de plus en plus nombreux - dirigeants d'entreprises, syndicalistes, actionnaires, investisseurs particuliers ou institutionnels - cette constatation débouche parfois sur un sentiment de responsabilité vis-à-vis de l'activité économique; développer efficacement une activité industrielle, défendre les intérêts des travailleurs, toucher des dividendes, investir, d'accord, mais pas n'importe comment, pas à n'importe quel prix, pas avec n'importe quelles conséquences. L'efficacité et la rentabilité ne peuvent pas être les seuls critères à prendre en compte. La notion de responsabilité sociale marque ainsi des points. C'est principalement à cette catégorie de public que s'adresse la lettre d'informations CH + 6, qui a publié en octobre son N°17.

On y trouve regroupés des informations éparses dans un grand nombre de publications suisses ou étrangères. Ce regroupement nécessite un investissement en temps important qui n'est pas à la portée de chacun.

En outre, cette lettre d'information sélectionne les informations portant sur l'activité des entreprises suisses, en liaison avec les problèmes de développement dans les pays où s'exerce leur activité, soulignant, autant que faire se peut, les conséquences éventuelles, écologiques, énergétiques, socio-économiques, voire politiques.

Ces informations sont données sans jugement de valeur ni commentaire moral. En revanche, elles sont mises en relation, s'il y a lieu, avec d'autres informations éparses ou fragmentaires se rapportant aux mêmes questions.

Enfin, des informations regroupées en dossier permettent de faire le point plus complètement et de manière synthétique sur certaines grandes questions présentant les thèses diverses en présence.

*(Case postale 48, 1261 Trélex, Suisse).*

## FROM CHARITY TO JUSTICE

### JOINT ACTION OF CITIZENS GROUPS AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES FOR NORTH-SOUTH DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

*Representatives from Ngos and local authorities from nine European countries met in Cologne (FRG) in September 1985 in a First Conference on Towns and Development. They launched the Cologne Appeal addressed to local authorities and citizens' groups throughout Europe. Since then, several follow up conferences have taken place, and a 'Consortium' of 8 associations, including ICDA, IEPALA, IULA, NCO, Oxfam, Terre des Hommes, has been formed. It now publishes a newsletter, Towns and Development. The following is excerpted from the editorial of its first issue:*

A lot of people are growing more and more sceptical about the achievements of the so-called development assistance programmes. These are programmes which are negotiated and, in many cases, implemented by bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. At the same time a growing number of people are looking for ways to get involved in and contribute a more equitable and just world community.

This reflects an involvement of the general public with basic questions such as (dis)armament, the quality of the environment, nuclear energy, hunger and (under)development etc... This attitude mainly stems from a growing awareness of how these issues are interrelated. Moreover, in their daily lives people feel more and more affected by developments in each of these areas as well as by their combined effects worldwide.

As this is induced by current (inter)-national policy, there is a general feeling that these policies can and should be revised and reformulated in order to put an end to the threat of a continuing arms race, to the rapidly deteriorating quality of our environment and to the injustice of Third World countries' unequal access to basic resources for their socio-economic, cultural and political self-determination.

In the field of development co-operation (among others) this has led to a wide range of initiatives and actions aimed at defending the interests of the great many who do not have a voice in political decision making. A major tool in this bottom-up approach is making maximum use of local resources, be they material or immaterial, which people have at their direct disposal ranging from financial resources, to inputs of voluntary labour and the deployment of people's imagination and creativity in shaping their own housing and living environment.

Towns and Development (T & D) incorporates this community-based approach. It basically aims at furthering long-term relationship between local authorities and Ngos in the North and in the South based, on mutual interest and solidarity. Its final objectives are: to come to a better understanding of each other's socio-economic situation; to find out what can be done to support the community's development process; and to identify what each of the partners involved can usefully contribute to sustain this process.

*(c/o ICDA, 22 rue des Hollandistes, 1040 Brussels, Belgium).*

## SRI LANKA: ICES'S FILM PROGRAMME

The International Centre for Ethnic Studies is a research organisation which, since its inception in 1982, has been engaged in studies on ethnic conflict and its resolution, with South Asia as its main focus. However, as a centre sited in Sri Lanka and with an entirely Sri Lankan staff, ICES has also been deeply concerned with the intensifying ethnic problems of Sri Lanka and the concomitant violence which has threatened to tear asunder the fabric of peaceful, civilised and democratic society in Sri Lanka.

ICES recognises the fact that the decisive initiatives in resolving these problems must be through political action. However, the acceptance of reasonable political solutions and their successful implementation depends in good measure on the creation of a climate of public opinion that is receptive to such endeavours. Nor is the creation of such opinion a task that will end with the present crisis, whenever it is resolved. Long-standing and deep-rooted ethnic prejudices and antagonisms need to be met by persuasion and education over years to come, and in this field media have an important role to play.

It is with these considerations in mind that in 1984 ICES decided to make its own contribution to public education in these directions by launching a media programme, using video film and TV as its vehicles.

The main concepts underlying ICES's media programme which have been reflected in its films are:

- a) The ethnic and cultural diversity of Sri Lanka as a crucial reality of the national life arising out of our historical development.
- b) The interdependence between different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, seen in the confluence and mutual assimilation of elements from each other's cultures, languages and religions.
- c) The need to promote accommodation and eliminate conflict between different ethnic groups, culturally and educationally by pluralist approaches, and politically by policies of equal protection and devolution of power.

Several of ICES's films have been made in different language-versions - Sinhala, Tamil and English. They have been shown on Sri Lankan TV by the Sri Lanka Rupavahini Corporation and have been very favourably received by viewers' letters.

Copies of ICES films on video cassettes can also be purchased by interested institutions and persons.

*(Inquiries regarding purchases of films or arrangements for screenings should be addressed to International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 3 Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8, Sri Lanka).*

## LE 7E CONGRES MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE RURALE

se tiendra à Bologne du 25 juin au 2 juillet 1987. Le thème en sera Sécurité alimentaire et développement rural: Confrontation avec des incertitudes croissantes. Le Congrès se propose d'approfondir les problèmes de la sécurité alimentaire en tenant compte de l'intégration croissantes de l'économie mondiale. Les problèmes de la production alimentaire, qu'il s'agisse de surproduction ou de sous-production, sont devenus d'une importance vitale, non seulement pour les pays du Tiers Monde, mais aussi pour les pays industrialisés. La situation actuelle propose des problèmes urgents aux sociologues ruraux, tant au Nord qu'au Sud.

Dans l'espace mondial, les interdépendances économiques augmentent, mais dans les espaces nationaux on constate au contraire que la croissance s'accompagne d'une fragmentation des relations sociales et politiques, aux plans tant intra-national qu'international. Cet 'éclatement' va dans la direction d'une fragmentation des mondes de vie, d'où l'impossibilité de faire front de façon adéquate aux problèmes proposés par chacun d'entre eux.

Le Congrès devrait tenter de documenter et d'analyser, tout d'abord les phénomènes à travers lesquels l'accélération actuelle de la "tendance lourde" à adopter des modèles culturels et institutionnels contribue effectivement à engendrer une série de problèmes dans les zones rurales.

Le thème du Congrès comportera donc deux centres d'intérêt principaux: (1) à partir d'une perspective théorique, on peut se demander si le chaos naît d'une structuration croissante par systèmes; (2) à partir d'une perspective pratique, on peut se demander si les soi-disant forces intégratrices tendent à produire une segmentation sociale et ce qu'on pourrait définir comme "ghettos de survie".

Le Congrès sera articulé en deux parties: une partie thématique et une non thématique. Le schéma des sous-groupes proposés pour les sections thématiques est le suivant: Les dynamismes économiques et l'organisation de la production agricole; la surproduction incitée; transformations des marchés du travail et organisation du travail; aspects politico-administratifs du développement rural: l'intervention de l'état et des organisations nationales et internationales; aspects politico-administratifs du développement rural: l'intervention de la base; modes de transformation sociale, crises alimentaires et développement ruraux; science, diffusion du savoir technologique et systèmes de savoir local; transformations et internationalisation des réseaux de distribution alimentaire; nutrition, qualité de l'alimentation et industries alimentaires; transition démographique et modèles de développement; évolution de la distribution spatiale de la population, production alimentaire et développement rural; s'établir à la campagne: transformations dans les établissements ruraux et dans les communautés rurales; évolution des modèles de consommation et des loisirs; stratification et inégalités sociales; transformations des rôles des genres et des groupes d'âges liées au changement des modes de production rurale; économie politique des ressources naturelles et développement rural; représentations symboliques et religieuses de la production.

*(Dipartimento de Sociologia, 48 via Belle Arti, 40126 Bologna, Italie).*

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## PRINCE, MERCHANT AND CITIZEN

I enjoyed refreshing my appreciation of your ideas by reading 'Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen: An introduction to the third system' as it appeared in Development Dialogue, 1987:1 (\*) Here are some comments.

First, approval. Survival/continuation is the central issue. Global networking is one important tool for people's empowerment, and your discussion of the hierarchy of reasons for networking is good (although the *raison d'être* for networking may not be only 'in a job to be done'). I agree with the list of 'deep seated mobilizing themes' (in a paper for UNESCO, I spoke of five 'political passions': demand for social justice (including for women); demand for access to information; need to understand better our environment; need for appreciation of beauty and enhancement of creativity; the need to search for meaning). I find the grouping of citizens associations in three broad clusters to be useful.

You argue (page 180) that some form of government and some form of economic organization are unavoidable. But is it not helpful to consider both government and economic organizations as part of 'governance' of society, providers of services ('law and order' are services as, of course, are the production and distribution of products and information)? Government is also one of the 'learning facilitators', a basic purpose of governance. In this same context, you say (page 182) that the third system does not seek governmental or economic power (in a traditional sense), and that the system of citizens associations aims 'to help people to assert their own autonomous power vis-a-vis both Prince and Merchant'. I would prefer simply to say 'assert their autonomy' and not to place this in opposition to Prince and Merchant. The latter, as well as the citizens associations, are or should be seen as useful servants in governance and should be regularly reminded of that fact.

Of course it is important to recall that 'people's power... is the only autonomous power'. But some are saying that 'power' and 'control' may be outmoded concepts. Nobody is in control in this world. Perhaps we could speak of a diversity of strengths which depend in part on where one is in the flows of information and in part on the ability to interpret at any moment the constantly changing 'knowledge construct'.

On page 180, you comment that 'not everyone wants to be a manager'. Yet the purpose of learning seems to me to be to help every individual to become self-governed. It obviously is the term and concept of manager which is off-putting.

*John E. Fobes, The U.S. Association for The Club of Rome, and Americans for the Universality of UNESCO, 28 Beaverbrook Road, Asheville, NC. 28804 USA.*

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\* The journal of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation has reprinted (1987:1) Marc Nerfin's paper which appeared in Dossier 56.

FROM DSCHANG, CAMEROON

I read a document entitled 'Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen, an Introduction to the third system' by Marc Nerfin with deep interest of intellectuality. This article appeared in Development Dialogue 1987:1. In it I was made to understand that since 1978, IFDA has published 58 issues of the IFDA Dossier. I therefore intend here to solicit if your association could henceforth furnish me with copies of this IFDA Dossier. If it is not free of charge, I would also be interested to know how much CFA. francs I may spend in order to be having regular subscriptions to this useful and wonderful Dossier.

*John Mbwanya, The University Centre.*

DE CARACAS, VENEZUELA

Quisieramos agradecer su inmensa amabilidad de enviarnos su interesante publicación la cual valoramos mucho por la diversidad de temas que en ella normalmente se desarrollan. Queremos a través de estas líneas presentarnos ante ustedes. Somos una Red de cobertura nacional que agrupa organizaciones de base de mujeres. Con esta iniciativa de articulación buscamos que las distintas organizaciones que actualmente trabajamos a nivel de los barrios y caseríos del país juntemos fuerzas en la lucha porque nosotros las mujeres populares tengamos reconocido y garantizado nuestro puesto en la sociedad.

*Diana Vegas, Todas Juntas.*

FROM LILONGWE, MALAWI

Thank you so much for the generous bundle of IFDA Dossiers you sent us recently - they are already being circulated amongst our staff and students. The information is exactly what we needed. Thank you so much - if you could send them regularly this would be brilliant. I am but the mouthpiece for many grateful readers. One day we might get the foreign exchange to pay you - but until then, please look on our request with sympathy.

*Tessa M. Shaw, Principal, Natural Resources College.*

FROM UPPSALA, SWEDEN

As a Swedish state institution we are subject to state budgetary cuts and demands for rationalisation. This has resulted in the need to review our holdings of journals and is the reason we wish to stop subscribing to the IFDA Dossier. This applies even in the case of journals which are cost free.

*SIDA's Training Centre.*



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

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## LOCAL SPACE

. Mark Shepard, Gandhi Today, A report on Mahatma Gandhi's successors (Arcata: Simple Productions, 1987) 160pp. What has become of Mahatma Gandhi's legacy in India? The "successors" Shepard met are not India's political leaders, who he says have mostly abandoned Gandhi's principles. Instead, today's Gandhians are a vibrant national movement uniting community organizers, village development workers, political activists, and peacemakers, working mostly at the grassroots. Their aim is to build a new society based on Gandhi's principles of nonviolence, decentralism, economic justice and cooperation. (12 E. 15th Street, Arcata, CA 95521 USA).

. Anne Dentan, Entre terre et ciel: Besoins et providences à Mexico (Lausanne: Editions d'en bas, 1987) 216pp. Comment les pauvres de Mexico voient-ils le monde? Comment se tirent-ils d'affaire? Avec ces questions en tête, Anne Dentan est partie à leur rencontre. Sans se cacher les décalages dus à sa situation de femme européenne. En tâchant plutôt d'en faire un atout. Elle fait partager au lecteur sa découverte des mille moyens imaginés par cette population, sa puissance de création. La deuxième partie du livre consiste en quatre histoires de vie de Mexicaines qu'elle a longuement rencontrées. Partie pour une enquête avec des instruments d'anthropologue, elle a vite découvert que "la réalité se rit de la méthode". (Case postale 304, 1017 Lausanne, Suisse).

. Troth Wells y Foo Gaik Sim, Hasta que tengamos rostros: Las mujeres como consumidoras (Santiago: Isis, 1987) 113pp. Las mujeres constituyen el mayor grupo de consumidores al comprar no sólo para sí mismas sino también para sus familias. Reconocer su importancia como ya lo han hecho los medios de publicidad, puede llevar a las mujeres a ejercer una mayor influencia en el mercado y más poder sobre otros aspectos de su vida. Este libro, producido por la Asociación Internacional de Organizaciones de Consumidores (IOCU) e Isis Internacional, echa una mirada a este rol central de las mujeres. Con un enfoque renovado, el libro hace resaltar las necesidades particulares de las mujeres y bosqueja un perfil de de la acción que éstas ya están emprendiendo para hacer valor sus derechos. (Casilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).

. Basílica Espínola, Benno Glauser, Rosa María Ortiz, Susana Ortiz de Carrizosa, En la calle: Menores trabajadores de la calle en Asunción (Callescuola, 1987) 140pp. Este libro, muy concientizador y pedagógico trata de la problemática de los niños de la Calle en Asunción, Paraguay, dentro del contexto de la realidad global (Sfr 17.-; US\$ 12.-). Los pedidos pueden ser hecho a Antonietta Glauser, Blümlisalpstrasse 23, 3601 Thun, Suiza o a Callescuola, Casilla 2355, Asunción, Paraguay.

- . Two further reports from the UNU Food Energy Nexus Programme:
  - Stephanie Pincetl, The Food-Energy Nexus in California (1987) 60pp.
  - Florence Pinton, Systèmes alimentaires en forêt colombienne (1987) 50pp. (CIREd, 54 bd Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 6, France).
- . Vichit Nuntasuwan, Self-reliance and development, Two experiments in Thailand (Hong Kong: The Center for the Progress of People, 1987) 43pp. Development plans prepared by urban experts tend to ignore the values, insights and reservations of people in the villages. Villagers are considered 'backward' and in need of assistance to help them 'develop'. Experts tend to ignore the potentials of ordinary farmers. Vichit Nuntasuwan stresses that experts and development workers should respect the traditional values and structures of a village and build on these, rather than trying to impose new values and structures. (48 Princess Margaret Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong).
- . Godofredo Sandoval Z., Organizaciones no gubernamentales de desarrollo (Planificación y evaluación) (La Paz: Ediciones Unidas, 1987) 71pp. Las Organizaciones no gubernamentales de desarrollo (ONGD) llevan adelante programas y proyectos de promoción y acción social alternativos o complementarios a los planes nacionales de desarrollo, en todos los países de Latinoamérica. En la última década, los roles que juegan dentro de la sociedad se han ido multiplicando vertiginosamente. A partir de este fenómeno, de alcances inesperados incluso para estas propias instituciones, su trabajo se torna particularmente complejo. (Casilla 6171, La Paz, Bolivia).
- . United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, Relations between OEOA and the private sector including NGOs/PVOs and private donors (New York: Report N°OEOA/3/15, 1986) 73pp.
- . Les services juridiques en milieu rural (Afrique de l'Ouest) (Genève: 1987) 154pp. Rapport d'un séminaire tenu à Lomé du 9 au 13 février 1987 organisé conjointement par la Commission internationale des juristes et la Fédération des organisations non gouvernementales au Togo. (Case postale 120, CH-1225 Chêne Bougeries, Genève, Suisse).
- . Hans B.C. Spiegel, New tools for neighborhood development: A look at some information providers and users (New York: Graduate Program in Urban Affairs, Hunter College of the City University of New York) 43pp. (695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021, USA).
- . La educación en la crisis y la crisis de la educación (CEDOIN, 1987) 48pp. (Casilla 20194, La Paz, Bolivia).
- . Tercer encuentro nacional de educación para la paz y los derechos humanos (CEAAL, 1987) 42pp. (Diagonal Oriente 1604, Santiago, Chile).
- . Marc Nerlove, Assaf Razin, Efrain Sadka, Population policy and individual choice: A theoretical investigation (International Food Policy Research Institute) 52pp. (1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, USA).

. Céline Sachs, Evolution et limites de la promotion publique de logements populaires à Sao Paulo (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris XII, 1987) 341pp. mimeogr. (c/o CIREC, 54 boulevard Raspail, 75270 Paris).

. Gerard J. O'Reilly, Newfoundland Rural Development Approach: Its implications for developing countries (The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: 1987) 158pp. (St. John's, Newfoundland A1C 5S7, Canada).

. Bart Deuss, Zig zag Collector: Manual on the construction of a solar water heater (TOOL, 1987) 94pp. (Entrepôtdok 68a/69a, 1018 AD Amsterdam, The Netherlands).

## NATIONAL SPACE

. Elvia Alvarado, Don't be afraid, Gringo: A Honduran woman speaks from the heart (San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1987) 146pp. 'Dont' be afraid, Gringo', the Indian woman consoles her American reader after a moving and often frightening story about her life in the poorest country in Central America, a land increasingly as-warm with American soldiers and government-sanctioned thugs. A 48-year-old grandmother of eleven, Elvia Alvarado is a brave, boisterous, funny dynamo gifted with the storyteller's art for illuminating the deepest human yearnings and laying bare the politics of Central America in simple tales drawn from her own life. In this book - translated and edited by Medea Benjamin - she tells her own story of personal torture and triumph. Through childhood roots in the countryside to having her first child at fifteen in the teeming capital, Elvia Alvarado prevails. In a Catholic church's mothers' club she finds her faith, organizing feeding programs for malnourished infants, workshops for young mothers, gardens and cooperative markets. Mrs. Alvaro was a founder of the Honduran Federation of Campesina Women and is now an organizer with the National Congress of Rural Workers. She travels throughout the country helping its more than 150,000 landless families gain land to feed themselves -- and for that she has been harassed, arrested and tortured. Last spring more than 20,000 campesinos participated in nonviolent land 'recoveries' -- or takeover -- organized by their leaders to press the Honduran government to enforce land reform laws on the books for 15 years. US\$ 9.95 (145 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, USA).

. Alenjandro Foxley, Chile y su futuro: Un país posible (Santiago: CIEPLAN, 1987) 230pp. En este libro se explora un futuro posible para Chile, una firmación optimista de las perspectivas y del potencial del país. Ese optimismo está condicionado a la idea de que, para lograr su potencial, el país tiene que romper ciertos nudos gordianos que entorpecen sus posibilidades. Los nudos principales son el problema de la violencia, la brecha entre civiles y militares, la definición frente al mundo del trabajo, la aceptación de los empresarios, la resolución del conflicto agrícola y el problema de la integración del país, tanto en un sentido territorial como en relación a los grupos socialmente marginados. Se exploran esos nudos y se sugieren caminos de salida para cada uno de ellos. (Avda. C. Colón 3439, Santiago, Chile).

. Michèle et Armand Mattelart, La carnaval des images: La fiction brésilienne (Paris: La Documentation française, 1987). En quelques années, le Brésil a réussi à constituer une industrie télévisuelle puissante. La chaîne commerciale Rede Globo est aujourd'hui le quatrième network du monde. Le Brésil a produit un nouveau genre: la novela, tout aussi profondément ancré dans une aire culturelle que le western. A la catharsis que suscite cette télévision de l'émotion à l'intérieur du pays, répond la popularité universelle qu'elle recueille dans des pays aussi divers que la Chine et la Grande Bretagne, l'Angola et l'Italie, la Pologne et la Suède. On ne gagne pas les marchés internationaux sans avoir concocté un savoir-faire. C'est à l'exploration de ce savoir-faire que convie cet ouvrage, cette vaste enquête sur une nouvelle esthétique du spectacle et la nature de ses liens avec les créateurs et le peuple-public. Alors que sous la poussée conjointe de la privatisation et des mutations technologiques, les télévisions de nombreux pays européens se voient confrontées à la nécessité de penser international, les analyses que ce livre propose rappellent dans quelle complexité sociale se construisent les réponses industrielles aux besoins, chaque jour accrus, de programmes. Le 'détour' par le Brésil met en relief les éléments théoriques d'une réflexion sur le rapport télévision-société.

. Juan Carlos Altamirano Celis, Así, así, se mueve Don Francisco (Santiago: Estudios ILET, 1987) 215pp. Así, así, se mueve Don Francisco y con 25 años en la pantalla ha llegado a ser el fenómeno más significativo en la historia de la televisión chilena. Todos opinan de él: para su mayoría seguidora se trata de un 'hombre ejemplar', un 'ídolo popular', un 'santo'. Para sus múltiples detractores, un 'grosero', un 'pesado', un 'inculto'. El autor desarma y reconstruye el programa de televisión Sabados gigantes para explicar las razones de su éxito; observa, escudriña, descompone y recompone pero casi no concluye. Deja esta tarea a cada uno de los lectores, juicio que estará mejor fundado tras la comprensión social y televisiva que aporta este libro. (Casilla 16 637, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).

. Bureau de Coordination à l'Etranger de NSZZ 'Solidarnosc', NSZZ 'Solidarnosc' sur la réforme de l'économie polonaise (1987) 32pp. (9, avenue de la Joyeuse Entrée, 1040 Bruxelles, Belgique).

. Yildiz Sertel, Nord-Sud: Crise et immigration (Paris: Editions Publisud, 1987) 285pp. Le présent volume - préfacé par Samir Amin - est le résultat de longues recherches menées dans le cadre d'un doctorat d'Etat. C'est une contribution importante à l'analyse du phénomène migratoire dans le contexte des rapport Nord-Sud. 'Ce travail - écrit Kostas Vergopoulos - présente une intérêt multiple, aussi bien en direction des chercheurs sur l'économie et la société de la Turquie contemporaine qu'en direction de ceux qui s'intéressent aux problèmes plus généraux de la crise économique, de la typologie des régimes de crise et de la crise en particulier dans les pays du capitalisme périphérique'.

. Ari Serkkola, Rural Development in Tanzania: A bibliography (Helsinki: Institute of Development Studies, 1987) 252pp. (Annankatu 42D, SF-00100 Helsinki, Finland).

. Tom Draisma, The struggle against underdevelopment in Zambia since independence: What role for education? (Amsterdam: Free University

Press, 1987) 523pp. At the independence in 1964 the Zambian debate about education and development was coloured by decades of preferential treatment of the white settler population in education as well as on the job market. The Kaunda-led government introduced a policy of high level manpower training and elementary education for the masses, but within a decade this approach was found wanting. Educators and policy-makers formulated more fundamental reforms. These were put to the test of a nationwide debate, minutely reported and analyzed by the author. Since then another decade has elapsed. What was the impact of the National Debate on Educational Reform? Has Zambia come closer to authentic, participatory and self-reliant development? The author considers these questions in the context of Southern Africa, using a research design appropriate to the analysis and evaluation of development and education. (De Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam, The Netherlands).

. Article 19 launches a new series on freedom of information and expression. 'The Constitution and laws of states often proclaim as fundamental human rights, freedom of opinion and expression, and the right of access to information. The extent to which these rights and freedoms are enjoyed in different countries, or the degrees of their denial through censorship and other practices has, however, received insufficient international attention' says Article 19, the international human rights organisation that promotes and defends freedom of expression and opinion around the world. As part of its programme, Article 19 regularly presents to the UN Human Rights Committee in Geneva its own research on the implementation by governments of article 19 of the Covenant and Civil and Political Rights. The first three on Poland, Senegal and Tunisia are now available in published form. (90 Borough High St, London SE1 1LL, UK)

## REGIONAL SPACE

. Fatima Mernissi, Le harem politique: Le Prophète et les femmes (Paris: Albin Michel, 1987) 294pp. Lorsque naît l'Islam, en 622, le projet du Prophète est d'instaurer une communauté religieuse et démocratique où hommes et femmes discuteront les lois de la cité et jetteront les bases d'un Etat monothéiste stable et fort dans une Arabie de clans, de rivalités, de guerres intestines et d'obscurantisme. Comment en est-on arrivé à cette femme, voilée de son Hijab, mise à l'écart de la vie politique par des hadith misogynes qui sont l'oeuvre d'hommes imprégnés des préjugés et des coutumes préislamiques, cette femme musulmane que revendiquent certains au nom du retour aux valeurs traditionnelles ? Pour retrouver l'identité de ceux qui ont condamné la femme à l'espace privé, l'auteur a mené une enquête à travers l'énorme masse de la littérature religieuse qui commente paroles, faits et gestes du Prophète: elle dresse l'état des lieux dans la Médine du VIIe siècle: alors les épouses du Prophète discutaient politique et allaient à la guerre...

. Kirsten Holst Petersen (ed), Religion, development and African identity (The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987) 163pp. (POB 1703, S-75147 Uppsala, Sweden).

. Kjell J. Havnevik (ed), The IMF and the World Bank in Africa: Conditionality, Impact and Alternatives (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987) 177pp.

. L. Adele Junadu and Ibbo Mandaza (eds), African Perspectives on the Non-Aligned movement (Harare: African Association of Political Science, 1986) 74pp. (POB MP 111, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe).

## GLOBAL SPACE

. Ilya Prigogine and Michèle Sanglier (eds), Laws of nature and human conduct: Specificities and Unifying Themes, proceedings of the Discoveries 1985 Symposium (Brussels: 1987) 360pp. Classical science, which started with the 'Newtonian paradigm', writes Prigogine in his introduction, was centered around the idea of deterministic and time-reversible laws. In this context, the world was seen as a vast automaton; man appeared as being outside nature, as a free agent in a mechanical universe, able to manipulate and exploit his environment... Our conception of nature is undergoing a radical change towards the multiple, the temporal, the complex. A new paradigm is taking shape. It is now understood that the behaviour of matter under non-equilibrium conditions can be radically different from its behaviour at, or near equilibrium; and it is precisely this difference that introduces multiple choices, self-organization, and complex dynamics' (GORDES, Bureau 1105 CP 124, Av. Jeanne 44, 1050 Brussels, Belgium).

. Abdus Salam, A man of science (Ljubljana: RCCDC, 1987) 99pp. With four essays: Physics and the excellences of the life it brings; Third World higher education; Science transfer for development and global problems of science and technology; Highlights of science for a developing country. (POB 97, 61109 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia).

. World Federation of United Nations Associations, The United Nations: Peace, security, public opinion attitudes (Geneva: 1987) 148pp. Including papers by Bruno Kreisky, Evgueni Chossudovsky, Leelananda de Silva, Hilikka Pietilä, Mihály Simai. (c/o Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland).

. Walter Kohn, Frank Newman and Roger Revelle (eds), Perspectives on the Crisis of Unesco: Report of a Conference, Rancho Santa Fé, California January 31 - February 2, 1987, 69pp. (Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093, USA).

. Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries, The world economy in the mid-eighties (New Delhi, 1986) 222pp. (40-B, Lodhi Estate, New Delhi-110003, India).

. United Nations, The CDP Report 1987: Development under siege, Constraints and opportunities in a changing global economy (New York, 1987) 21pp. (UN Sales N° E. 87.II.A.18).

. Giovanni Andréa Cornia, Richard Jolly, Frances Stewart (eds), L'ajustement à visage humain: Protéger les groupes vulnérables et favoriser la croissance (Paris: Editions Economica, 1987) 372pp. Le présent ouvrage analyse l'impact de la récession mondiale sur les conditions de vie des groupes les plus vulnérables, dans les années 80, et les mesures de protection adoptées par les Etats. Si les interventions pratiquées

dans les domaines de l'emploi, de l'éducation, de la santé et de la nutrition ont permis de sauver de multiples vies, elles ont toutefois eu des effets limités, comme en témoignent l'aggravation de la malnutrition et d'autres indicateurs. Les auteurs, s'inspirant des travaux réalisés et de l'expérience acquise par l'UNICEF, proposent des objectifs, des moyens et des instruments appropriés pour élargir l'ampleur des interventions positives et renforcer leur incidence sur les groupes les plus vulnérables et l'enfant notamment. (49, rue Héricart, 75015 Paris, France).

. C.D.T.M. et CEDIDELP, Les matières premières minérales: De la vie quotidienne aux rapports Nord-Sud (C.D.T.M.: 1987) 89pp. (20, rue Rochecouart, 75009, Paris, France).

. István Dobozi, Emergence, performance and world market impact of the state mining companies in developing countries (Institute for World Economics, 1987) 33pp. (POB 149, 1389 Budapest, Hungary).

. United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, Transnational Corporations in the Man-made Fibre, Textile and Clothing Industries (1987) 154pp. (UN Sales N° E.87.II.A.11).

. UNCTC, Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia: United Nations public hearings, Volume IV, Policy Instruments and Statements (1987) 444pp. (UN Sales N° E.86.II.A.9).

. Yvonne Mignot-Lefebvre (sous la direction de), Transferts des technologies de communication et développement (Revue Tiers Monde, Tome XXVIII, No 111), (12 rue Jean-de-Beauvais, 75005 Paris, France).

. Sandra Postel, Defusing the toxics threat: Controlling pesticides and industrial waste (Worldwatch Paper 79) 69pp. (1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C. 20036, USA).

. UN, Habitat Directory (Nairobi: UNCHS, 1986) 377pp. This directory is based on a survey sponsored by the Government of the FRG and carried out in cooperation with the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat). It is meant as a revised, enlarged and consolidated edition of the six directories published by UNCHS (Habitat) in 1979. Questionnaires were sent to institutions and organizations throughout the world which were known or assumed to be conducting activities in the field of human settlements in Third World or which possessed information on this subject. Some 11,000 institutions in 176 countries were contacted. Of these, 2018 replied. The information supplied by the 1784 institutions which completed the questionnaire and qualified for inclusion provided the basis for this Habitat Directory (POB 30030, Nairobi, Kenya).

## PERIODICALS

*(The addresses of the 117 periodicals mentioned below appear in alphabetical order, at the end of this section).*

HUMAN RIGHTS, PEOPLES' RIGHTS: 'Obstacles to using law as a resource for the poor: the recapturing of law by the poor' by Clarence Dias in Human Rights Forum (Oct-Dec 86. Alter-

native (Vol 1, N°3) is a special issue on the Asian Regional Conference 'Law in Organizing'. In Aliran (Vol 7:6), 'Breaking the ethnic trap'. 'Indigenous peoples of Asia unite' in NCCP Newsletter (Vol XXVII, N°3). The Voice of the Voiceless (n° 30) discusses 'House of detention and repatriation to India' of Sri Lanka plantations' Tamils and the Bolivia Bulletin (Vol 3, N°4) the 'Indigenous peoples of the Eastern Lowlands'. Voz Indígena (Año 6, N°18) reproduce el Pronunciamiento de los delegados de las organizaciones regionales de la Asociación interétnica de desarrollo de la selva peruana (AIDESEP). A report on the 1st Encounter of Latin American Indian Legislators in Indian News of the Americas (N°34). 'Australia: What is there to celebrate in 1988' in the IGWIA Newsletter (N°50). Peace News for Nonviolent Revolution (N°2297) documents the fight of the Penan of Sarawak (Malaysia) against the timber companies who are destroying their life-base, the rain forest. The Arab Organization for Human Rights' Newsletter (N°10) discusses 'Human rights in Somalia'. The Review of the International Commission of Jurists comments the 'ILO Inquiry's findings on discrimination in public employment in the FRC' whereas the ICJ Newsletter (N°33) brings news on meetings and other activities in Africa, the Americas, Asia and Europe.

CULTURES: 'Whence and whither: Reflections on culture' in Wajibu (Vol 2, N°3). 'Culture and ethnicity in SID's Development (1987:1) with articles by Ashis Nandy, Sylvia Marcos, Afsaneh Eghbal, Rodolfo Stavenhagen and others. In Aliran (Vol 7:5), 'Islam in Indonesia: Where to?'. 'Should we say NO to development? in InterCulture (N°95) with Dominique Perrot, Gilbert Rist, Serge Latouche and Claude Alvares.

CHANGE, FUTURES: In Mainstream 25th 'annual special', 'Imperatives of new political thinking' by P.N. Haksar and Romesh Thapar's 'Pour une mutation des valeurs' dans Futuribles (N°113). New Options (N°42) discusses 'Rearing a gentler people: the issue everybody avoids'. In The Arab Alternative Futures Dossier (N°22), a résumé of the draft final report on 'Arab Alternative Futures'. En los Estudios CIEPLAN (N°21) René Cortázar y Patricio Meller escriben de 'Los dos Chiles, o la importancia de revisar las estadísticas oficiales'. Desarrollo (n°5), una publicación dedicada a 'cultura, ciencia y tecnología para el futuro' ofrece artículos sobre 'Nuevas teorías para aprendizajes nuevos', 'Inteligencia artificial, en la frontera de la ciencia', 'El derecho informático: una nueva disciplina?'. Future Survey (Vol 9, N°9) continues to be a most useful 'monthly abstract of books, articles, and reports concerning forecasts, trends, and ideas about the future'.

HEALTH \* SANTE: 'Human health and chemical cures' by Mira Shiva in Future, Development perspective on Children (N°20). 'Ayurveda: The Science of Life?', 'Acupuncture', 'Indigenous systems of health care' and other papers on traditional medicine in Health for the Millions (Vol XIII, N°3). 'Urban Primary Health Care' in Appropriate Technology for Health (Newsletter 19). 'Drugs as dregs' in IBON Facts and Figures (Vol X, N°14). 'The tobacco trap' in Multinational Monitor (July/Aug.87). HAJ News, the organ of Health Action International, presents the happenings in the international campaign for more rational and fairer health policies. 'Médicaments et santé' dans Solidaire (N°91). Dans Vivre autrement (N°7), 'SIDA: le comprendre, l'éviter'.

HABITAT: 'The question of shelter for the human dweller' in Cendhrra Development Memo (N°43). Habitat International (Vol 11, N°1) offers a special issue on land-use control. Triolog (N°13/14) is devoted to 'Slum and squatter upgrading'. Sina (N°14) reproduces the Limuru Declaration adopted by 45 Third World Citizens' groups, 12 international networks and representatives of 16 aid agencies active in the field of human settlements. AI News (July 87) lists 'Nine misconceptions on habitat'.

COMMUNICATION \* COMUNICACION: 'The media monopoly' in Multinational Monitor (Sept.87). 'Communications for the grassroots' in Sarilakas (Vol 2, N°1). En Pregonero (Junio/Agosto



87), 'El video popular en Brasil'. En Materiales para la comunicación popular (Nº10) 'La imagen de la mujer en la cultura nacional' y 'Comunicación alternativa en Argentina'. Dans FOCDA (Nº50), Rapport sur 'les ateliers de communication' tenus à Lille en mai 87.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT: in Ceres (Vol 20, Nº3) Archie Mafeje pleads 'Rehabilitate the household economy'. 'Grassroots economics for rice farms' in Rudoc News (Vol 2, Nº2-3). 'Rural credit innovation in Papua New Guinea' in Apraca Research Journal (Vol 3, Nº2).

PRODUCTION: 'Breaking free: the struggle for economic self-reliance' in Sarilakas (Vol 2, Nº2). 'Strategic marketing planning in public enterprises' in Public Enterprise (Vol 7, Nº3/4). Impact of Science on Society (Nº146) focusses on 'The third industrial revolution'. Dans La Revue de l'Economie sociale (mars 87), 'Le Mouvement coopératif en Europe' par Henri Desroche.

CITIES \* VILLES \* CIUDADES: 'Chile's urban movements' by James Petras and Fernando Leiva. In the Monthly Review (Vol 39, Nº3). Dans Perspectives latinoaméricaines (Nº5), 'Les organisations économiques populaires au-delà de la subsistance: le cas chilien' par Luis Razeto. La Lettre urbaine de l'ENDA (Nº13) rend compte de l'Habitat Forum tenu à Berlin en juin 87. Dans Sinbad (Nº62) un dossier 'De la médina à la ville'. En Socialismo y Participación (Nº38), Eduardo Neira escribe sobre 'Lima y sus habitantes'.

ENVIRONMENT: 'Forestry and the law' in Lokayan Bulletin (5/3). In EcoAfrica (Vol 1, Nº3) Jimoh Omo-Fadaka presents the 'Cairo Programme for African Cooperation'. ELC's EcoForum (Vol 12, Nº2) (in a new, glossy, presentation) comments on and offers a 'first response' to 'Our Common Future', the Brundtland Report on Environment and Development. Industry and Environment (Vol 10, Nº2) is published by UNEP and offers technical papers on pollution control. Dans Recherches internationales (Nº24), 'Catastrophes et gestion de l'environnement dans le Tiers Monde'. Silence (Nº98), dont le sous-titre est 'écologie, alternatives, non-violence' parle des fuites de la centrale nucléaire de Malville, de 'banques vertes', de la lutte des Penan de Sarawak (Malaisie) contre les dévastateurs de forêts, de la campagne contre le rallye Paris-Dakar et de bien d'autres choses. 'Coca Cola consumiria bosque tropical' en el Boletín informativo de la Federación Latinoamericana de Jóvenes Ambientalistas (Junio 87). En Medio Ambiente (Nº22), 'Los waru-warú [o camellones] y el manejo de suelos en las costas bajas del Lago Titicaca.

WOMEN \* MUJERES: 'Emergence of New Asian Women' in Asia Link (Vol IX, Nº4). 'Women in decision-making: a role too often undervalued' in Lòkniti (Vol 4, Nº3). 'Ending male violence against women' in Peace News for Nonviolent Revolution (Nº2299). 'Moving ahead, a guide to selected themes from the Nairobi forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women' in The Tribune (Nº37/38). In spite of the 'total confusion' in which its editors say it was published, Women in Action (1987/2) is as useful as usual in putting together news from the international feminist network. Todas Juntas es el boletín bimestral de la red de apoyo de organizaciones populares de mujeres de Venezuela. Trata de temas como 'calidad de la vida' (Nº3), 'mujer y trabajo' (Nº4) o 'hablemos de sexualidad' (Nº6). En Chamiza (Nº15), 'Feminismo y educación popular'. Mujer/Fempres ofrece un especial sobre 'la mujer indígena' presentado como un 'esfuerzo por entreabrir una rendija para vislumbrar un mundo imponderablemente desconocido'. 'Las mujeres también luchan por la tierra' en Mujeres (Año 6, Nº8).

PEASANTS: 'Sugar and famine: The case of Negros Island' (Philippines) in Asian Exchange (Vol 5, Nº 2/3). 'Fishing communities' in Cultural Survival Quarterly (Vol 11, Nº2).

CHILDREN \* NIROS: 'Little slaves in the estates' in Suara Sam (Vol 4, Nº2). 'Infancia, crisis y pobreza' en Notas del CLAEH (Nº48).

THIRD SYSTEM, NETWORKING: 'High hopes and hard work sustain alternative technology movement', a profile of TRANET, in International Barometer (Vol 3, N°3). 'A new era for non-governmental organizations in the UN?' by Johan Galtung in International Transnational Associations (1987, N°3). 'Ngo development management, perceptions, problems, prospects' in Lokniti (Vol 4, N°4). 'South Africa: COSATU is here to stay', an interview with Jay Naidoo in International Labour Report (N°23).

GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, STATE: 'On human governance' by Rajni Kothari in Alternatives (Vol XII, N°3). 'Democracy and national strategy in the periphery' by Samir Amin in Third World Quarterly (Vol 9, N°4). 'Political reform in the socialist system' by Silviu Brucan in World Policy Journal (Summer 87). The IDS Bulletin (vol 18, N°3) wonders about 'The retreat of the state?'

PEACE: A forum on peace studies and international system in the Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives (Vol VI, N°2/3). Socialist Affairs (N°2/87) focusses on disarmament. India International Centre Quarterly (Summer 87) offers a paper by Mikhail Kapitsa, 'Soviet initiative for peace in Asia-Pacific'. in the IPRA Newsletter (Vol XXVI, N°3), now edited by Clóvis Brigagão in Rio de Janeiro, 'Six wars and one peace' by Cristovan Buarque and the usual news from the association.

MONEY, FINANCE AND DEBT: 'External debt and the reform of the international monetary system' by Arturo O'Connell and 'Alleviation of the debt burden: historical experience and present need' by Carlos Massad in the Cepal Review (N°30). 'Dissent on debt: The implications of Mexico's 1986 rescheduling' by Mike Faber in the Development Policy Review (Vol 5, N°3). 'Country objectives and IMF conditionality: an empirical analysis of Sudan economy' by Romesh Divan and Grace HU in the Indian Journal of Quantitative Economics (Vol 11, N°2). 'Reforming the IMF' by Frances Stewart in World Policy Journal (Summer 87). World Development Vol 15, N°8 is a special issue devoted to 'the resurgence of inflation in Latin America. Dans Informations et commentaires (N°60), 'la zone franc dans la tempête monétaire internationale'.

SOUTH - SOUTH: 'South-South Cooperation: Some thoughts for new directions' by Abid Hussain in Mainstream (Annual 87). 'Money and South-South Cooperation' by Frances Stewart in Third World Quarterly (Vol 9, N°4). Third World published in English, Spanish and Portuguese from Rio de Janeiro in a new format is an instrument of South-South cooperation. Its N°82 features an interview with Julius Nyerere, chairman of the South Commission.

NORD - SUD \* NORTH - SOUTH: 'L'émigration maghrébine vers l'Europe: qui aide qui? dans Economie et Socialisme, revue marocaine de réflexion et de débat (N°5). 'Sucre: un festival de cannes' dans La Lettre de Solagral (N°63). In Marga Quarterly Journal (Vol 8, N°4), 'Perceptions of socio-economic and cultural impact of tourism in Sri Lanka'.

TRIBUTES \* HOMENAJES: Simbayan (Vol VI, N°1) and Asian Exchange (Vol 5, N°2/3), among others, pay tribute to Jose Diokno, the undefatigable Filipino human rights activist (and member of the IFDA Council) who passed away in February 1987. The IASSI Quarterly Newsletter (Vol 6, N°2) renders homage to Gunnar Myrdal, who died in May, with articles by Sukhamoy Chakravarty and Tarlok Singh. It also reprints Myrdal's 'Aims of Planning' address delivered in Delhi in 1958. En Comercio Exterior (Vol 37, N°6), Miguel Wionczek ofrece también un tributo a Gunnar Myrdal, y el N°5 de dicha revista entrega a sus lectores un 'Homenaje a Raúl Prebisch, fallecido en abril de 1986, con artículos del propio Prebisch y de Helio Jaguaribe, Hernán Santa Cruz, Celso Furtado, Pedro Vuskovic y otros. Seminar 333 remembers Raj Thapar's many concerns through messages from eminent Indians and a selection of her writings. Together with her husband Romesh, Raj was Seminar, the unique journal they published for 28 years.

PLACES: 'L'agriculture malgache et les programmes d'ajustement structurel' dans Stratégies alimentaires (N°17). 'Soudan, l'unité impossible' dans le Bulletin CRIDEV (N°69). Habitat International (Vol 11, N°2) focusses on Nigeria. Kasarinlan (Vol 2, N°4) comments on the state of the Philippines 'a year after'. The Economic Review (Vol 13, N°2) offers a special report on 'Sri Lanka's economy - 1987'. The past of Latin America is the subject of Henryk Szlajfer in Hemispheres, Studies on Cultures and Societies (N°3) with 'Pre-industrial Latin America: What kind of development?' and the future of the continent is that of Enrique Iglesias in Politica Internacional (N°7) con 'Los desafios de América Latina'. En los Cuadernos de Economic Política (N°4), 'Argentina 1976-1983: la estrategia de desindustrialización de la dictadura'. En Quehacer (N°48), 'Estatización de la banca: un seismo politico' (en el Perú). En Cono Sur (Vol VI, N°4), 'Uruguay como estado tapón. Implicancias para la estabilidad del Cono Sur' y 'Las relaciones entre Venezuela y Estados Unidos'. La Revue d'études palestiniennes (N°25) continue la publication des documents de la 18e session du Conseil national palestinien entreprise dans sa précédente livraison. La revue publie également de longs extraits de 'Temps Jaune', témoignage du romancier israélien David Grossman sur la Cisjordanie occupée. Mohammed Sid-Ahmed examine les raisons de la crise Egypte-OLP. Razvoj Development International (Vol 11, N°1) focusses on the Mediterranean. Articles in English and French with abstracts also in Spanish.

#### NEW PERIODICALS

. The African Journal of Political Economy/Revue africaine d'économie politique is published by the African Association of Political Science. Its first issue features 'Southern Africa in Crisis' with, among others, articles on 'Race, class and ethnicity in South Africa', 'The question of women in the SA struggle', 'The SA state and Africa'. N°2 is on 'Labour process in Africa' and includes Claude Ake's 'Notes for a political economy of unemployment in Africa'.

. Article 19 Bulletin appeared for the first time in September (see IFDA Dossier S7/SB p.86). Among its rich four pages, 'The right to know in a nuclear world'.

. Cross Over is the networking newsletter published by CARIMAC at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Pesticides, a Caribbean Jazz federation, citizens groups in Belize, meetings, books and newsletters, research notes, audio visuals are on the agenda of a modest four pages N°2.

. Development Action is the bulletin of 'Development Action Agency' in Indire, Ondo State, Nigeria. Also in a four pages edition, DA N°2 manages to tackle tree planting, education, children health and water supply. The agency would appreciate receiving materials for its documentation centre.

. Economic and Political Monthly comes from the Third World Studies Center at the University of the Philippines (which also publishes Kasarinlan). It intends to supply an analytical summary of developments in the Filipino society which are important for grassroots activists, opinion-makers and others.

. Envir\*nesia is a publication of Walhi, the Indonesia Environmental Forum (IEF). In its N°2, it discusses transmigration ('a lost campaign for both sides?') and reproduces its letter on the subject to the World Bank President.

. Extra! is the newsletter of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) whose advisory board include James Abourezk, Noam Chomsky, Frances Moore Lappé, Victor Reuther. It's well equipped to exercise, in a crucial field, the right of making accountable those who have information power.

. Link brings to us news from the Solomon Islands, but it is meant for the village people, 85% of the population of the Island, and it intends to be the voice of the voiceless. Correspondents are people living in the villages. Nº1 writes about tropical forests being destroyed, mining operations, home gardens, a village health workshop, a women's initiative programme and news from the provinces as well as national ones.

. Wordoc Newsletter is published by the Women's Research & Documentation Centre of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Vol 1, Nº1 describes the Centre's objectives and activities and also includes a call for papers for forthcoming seminars and several book reviews.

## ADDRESSES/ADRESSES/DIRECCIONES :

- . African Journal of Political Economy, Box MP 111, Mount Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe
- . Aliran, POB 1049, 10830 Pulau Pinang, Malaysia
- . Alternative, c/o Process, 54 Estrella St., Makati, Metro Manila, Philippines
- . Alternatives, 29 Rajpur Rd, Delhi 110054, India / 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
- . Apraca, Maliwan Mansion, Phra Atit Road, Bangkok 10200, Thailand
- . Appropriate Technology for Health, WHO, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland
- . Arab Alternatives Futures Dossier, Third World Forum, POB 43, Orman, Cairo, Egypt
- . Arab Organization for Human Rights Newsletter, 17 Midan Aswan-Muhandessin, Ciza, Egypt
- . Article 19, 90 Borough High Street, London SE1, UK
- . Asia Link, Ctr for the Progress of Peoples, 48 Princess Margaret Rd, Kowloon, Hong Kong
- . Asian Exchange, ARENA, A4, 2/F, G-block, Hong Hom Bay Centre, 104-108 Baker Str, Hong Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong
- . AT News, POB 5048, 2600 CA Delft, The Netherlands
- . Boletín informativo de la FLAJA, c/o CEEA, A.A. 413, Medellín, Colombia
- . Bolivia Bulletin, Casilla 20194, La Paz, Bolivia
- . Bulletin CRIDDEV, 41 avenue Janvier, 35000 Rennes, France
- . Cendhrra Development Memo, POB 458, Greenhills, San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines
- . CEPAL Review, Casilla 179 D, Santiago, Chile
- . CERES, FAO, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy
- . Chamiza, CEDEC, Casilla 906-A, Quito, Ecuador
- . Colección Estudios CIEPLAN, Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile
- . Comercio Exterior, Cerrada de Malintzin 28, Coyoacan, México DF 04100, Mexico
- . Cono Sur, FLACSO, Casilla 3213, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile
- . Cross Over, c/o CARIMAC U.W.I., Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, West Indies
- . Cuadernos de economía política, C.C. 221, 6700 Luján, PBA, Argentina
- . Cultural Survival Quarterly, 11 Divinity Ave, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
- . Desarrollo, Apdo 388, San Pedro 2050, San José, Costa Rica
- . Development, SID, Palazzo della Civiltà del Lavoro, 00144 Roma, Italia
- . Development Action, POB 1921, Akure, Ondo State, Nigeria
- . Development Policy Review, ODI, Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS, UK
- . EcoAfrica, POB 58504, Nairobi, Kenya
- . Ecoforum, POB 72461, Nairobi, Kenya
- . Economic and Political Monthly, POB 210, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines
- . Economic Review, Sir Chittampalam A. Gardinar Mawatha, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka
- . Economie et socialisme, B.P. 6330, Rabat, Maroc
- . Envir\*nesia, Jl. Penjernihan I Komplek Keuangan No 1S, Pejompongan, Jakarta 10210, Indonesia
- . Extra!, 666 Broadway, Suite 400, New York, NY 10012, USA

- . Fippu, BP 4163, Dakar, Sénégal
- . FONDA, 18 rue de Varenne, 75007 Paris, France
- . Future, Unicef House, 73 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003, India
- . Future Survey, 4916 St. Elmo Avenue,, Bethesda, MD 20814-5089, USA
- . Futuribles, 35 rue de Varenne, 75341 Paris Cedex 07, France
- . Habitat International, 15 The Mount Square, London NW3 6SX, UK
- . Haj News, IOCU, POB 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia
- . Health for the Millions, VHAI, 40 Institutional Area, New Delhi 110 016, India
- . Hemispheres, Center for Studies on non-European Countries, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland
- . Human Rights Forum, Jln Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320, Indonesia
- . IASSI Quarterly Newsletter, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Inderprastha Estate, New Delhi 110002, India
- . Ibong Facts and Figures, POB SM-447, Manila, Philippines
- . ICJ Newsletter, POB 120, 1224 Geneva, Switzerland
- . IDS Bulletin, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
- . Impact, Unesco, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France
- . India International Centre Quarterly, 40 Max Mueller Marg, New Delhi 110003, India
- . Indian Journal of Quantitative Economics, Punjab School of Economics, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, India
- . Indian News of the Americas, Insurgentes Sur 1690, 01030 Mexico DF, Mexico
- . Industry and Environment, UNEP, Tour Mirabeau, 39-43 quai A. Citroën, 75379 Paris Cedex 15, France
- . Informations et commentaires, Centre Croissance des Jeunes Nations, 31 place Bellecour, 69002 Lyon, France
- . InterCulture, Centre Monchanin, 4917 rue St Urbain, Montréal, Québec H2T 2W1, Canada
- . International Barometer, 1025 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 707, Washington, DC 20036, USA
- . International Labour Reports, POB 45, Stainborough, Barnsley, Yorkshire S75 3EA, UK
- . IPRA Newsletter, IUPERJ, Rua Paulino Fernandez 32, 22270 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- . ISIS, 5 Via S. Saba, 00153 Rome, Italia / Casilla 2067 C. Central, Santiago, Chile
- . IWGIA Newsletter, Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark
- . Kasarinian, POB 210, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines
- . La Lettre de Solagrál, 185 rue de Choronne, 75011 Paris, France
- . Lettre urbaine, ENDA, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal
- . Link, POB 147, Honiara, Solomon Islands
- . Lokayan Bulletin, 13 Alipur Rd, Delhi 110054, India
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- . Mainstream, F-24 Bhagat Singh Market, New Delhi 110 001, India
- . Marga Quarterly Journal, 61 Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo 5, Sri Lanka
- . Materiales para la comunicación popular, Apartado 270031, Lima 27, Perú
- . Medio Ambiente, General Suárez 1330, Lima 18, Perú
- . Monthly Review, 155 West 23rd Street, New York, 10011, USA
- . Mujer/Fempres, ILET, Casilla 16-637, Santiago 9, Chile
- . Mujeres, Apdo Postal 2793, Santo Domingo, Republica Dominicana
- . Multinational Monitor, POB 19405, Washington, DC 20036, USA
- . NCCP Newsletter, POB 1767, Manila, Philippines
- . New Options, POB 19324, Washington DC 20036, USA
- . Notas del CIAEH, Casilla 5021, Montevideo, Uruguay
- . Peace News for Non Violent Revolution, 8 Elm Ave, Nottingham NG3 4GF, UK
- . Perspectives Latino-américaines, CRAL, Université de Paris VII, 2 rue de la Liberté, 93526 Saint-Denis Cedex 02, France
- . Politica Internacional, Apartado 6475, Caracas 1010, Venezuela
- . Pregonero, Dante 2252, Montevideo, Uruguay

- . Public Enterprise, POB 92, 61109 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia
- . Quehacer, Av. Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Perú
- . Razvoj Development International, POB 303, 41000 Zagreb, Yugoslavia
- . Recherches internationales, 64 bd Auguste-Blanqui, 75013 Paris, France
- . The Review, ICJ, POB 120, 1224 Geneva, Switzerland
- . La revue de l'économie sociale, 62 bis avenue Parmentier, 75011 Paris, France
- . Revue d'études palestiniennes, Les Editions de Minit, 7 rue Bernard-Palissy, 75006 Paris, France
- . Rudoc News, 6/14 Soi Tinnakorn, Din Dang Rd, Phythai, Bangkok 10400, Thailand
- . Sarilakas, 43 Estrella Street, Makati, Metro Manila, Philippines
- . Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives, POB 7444, 103 91 Stockholm, Sweden
- . Seminar, POB 338, New Delhi 1, India
- . Silence, 4 rue Bodin, 69001 Lyon, France
- . Simbayan, POB AC 449, Quezon City, Philippines
- . Sina, POB 14550, Nairobi, Kenya
- . Sindbad, 10 place des Alaouites, Rabat, Maroc
- . Socialismo y participación, J.F. Sánchez Carrión, Lima 17, Peru
- . Socialist Affairs, Maritime House, Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 0JW, UK
- . Stratégies alimentaires, 13 bd St Martin, 75003 Paris, France
- . Suara Sam, 37 Lorong Birch, 10250 Penang, Malaysia
- . Third World, Rua da Gloria 122 gr 105, 20241 Rio de Janeiro, Brasil
- . Third World Quarterly, New Zealand House, 8 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, UK
- . Todas Juntas, Apartado 4240, San José del Avila, Caracas 1010-A, Venezuela
- . Transnational Associations Transnationales, rue Washington 40, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgique
- . Trialog, Postfach 1152, 6107 Reinheim 2, FRG
- . La Tribune/The Tribune, Int. Women's Centre, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
- . Vers un Développement Solidaire, Case postale 81, 1000 Lausanne 9, Suisse
- . Vivre autrement, ENDA, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal
- . Voice of the Voiceless, 30 Pushapadana Mawatha, Kandy, Sri Lanka
- . Voz Indigena, Av San Eugenio 981, Lima 13, Perú
- . Wajibu, POB 32440, Nairobi, Kenya
- . Women in Action, and Women's Journal, cf. ISIS
- . Wordoc Newsletter, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria
- . World Development, Suite 501, 1717 Mass. Ave NW, Washington DC 20030
- . World Policy Journal, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

. Excuses. Nos lecteurs trouveront également, dans la liste ci-dessus, l'adresse de FIPPU, omise dans le Dossier précédent (N°62, p.82).

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

## LOCAL SPACE

. Carlos A. Bóhorquez, La Camaricultura al servicio del desarrollo (Unidad Ecologica Arawana, Apdo 4670, Cartagena, Colombia) 1p.

. Diego Gradis, Epopée de la lecture: l'histoire des bibliothèques rurales de Cajamarca (Traditions pour Demain, BP 477-7, 75327 Paris Cedex 07, France) 9pp.

Five papers by Anil K. Gupta:

. On Organizing Equity: Are 'solutions' really the problem? 18pp.

. Banking in backward regions: Banks - NGO - poor interface: Alternatives for action 31pp.

. Banking on the 'Nonbankable' poor: Being bridges, brokers or 'benevolent banias' 31pp.

. Scientific perception of farmers innovations in dry regions: Barriers to the scientific curiosity 19pp.

. Managing access, assurance and ability: What should rural development managers learn and unlearn 54pp. (Indian Institute of Management, Vastrapur, Ahmedabad - 380 015, India).

## NATIONAL SPACE

. Marco A. Gandásegui, H., La crisis de una alianza: La coyuntura panameña (CELA, Apartado 6-3093, El Dorado, Panamá, R.P.) 18pp.

. Omar Osman Mohamed, Towards another administration, Some reflections upon another development (Stindestrasse 33, D-1000 Berlin 41, FRG) 4pp.

. Ranil Senanayake, The ecological, energetic and agronomic systems of ancient and modern Sri Lanka (35/32 St. Rita's Rd, Mt Lavinia, Sri Lanka) 9pp.

. László Sölyom, Hungary: Citizen's participation in the environmental movement (Department of Law, Eötvös Löránt Tudományegyetem, Egyetem tér 1-3, H-1053 Budapest, Hungary) 13pp.

. Ronald G. Walton and Međhat M. Abo El Nasr, Indigenization and authentication social work in Egypt (University College, POB 78, Cardiff CF1 1X1, UK) 12pp.

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