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The Legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld

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Dag Hammarskjöld and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

On September 18, 1986, twenty-five years had passed since Dag Hammarskjöld met his death in the mysterious plane crash at Ndola in Southern Africa. And when this issue of *Development Dialogue* reaches its readers, twenty-five years will have passed since the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation was established, in 1962, as a living memorial to his work as Secretary-General of the United Nations 1953-61.

In commemoration of Dag Hammarskjöld's death in 1961, the Foundation organized in September 1986 a seminar on 'The State and the Crisis in Africa: In Search of a Second Liberation' at the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre in Uppsala. On the initiative of the Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University and also as part of the seminar, a commemoration ceremony was held in the aula of the University, where Hammarskjöld's friend, collaborator and biographer, Sir Brian Urquhart, spoke about his significance as a symbol of the kind of international leadership that is needed more than ever in this age of cynicism and ruthless nationalism which has found its most vulgar and sinister expression in the idea of 'A World without a UN'.

Addressing those who had gathered at Dag Hammarskjöld's grave and in the University of Uppsala, the town where he grew up and began his remarkable career, Brian Urquhart recalled Hammarskjöld's own appreciation of the qualities needed for true leadership, qualities that made him—to use a phrase that has now fallen into disrepute—a truly 'Great Communicator'.

'Contrary to what seems to be popular belief, Hammarskjöld wrote, 'there is no intellectual activity that more ruthlessly tests the solidity of a man than politics. Apparently easy successes with the public are possible for a juggler, but lasting results are achieved only by the patient builder.'

Having quoted this and some of the rules Dag Hammarskjöld had prescribed for himself in his posthumously published *Markings*, Brian Urquhart noted that already during Hammarskjöld's lifetime it was clear that 'an exceptional degree of self-discipline and spiritual preparation was the basis for the extraordinary position he occupied among world leaders. His intellect and moral integrity shone through the mystique and reserve of his personality and communicated itself strongly to those he was dealing with.'

Believing that a new international order could only be built patiently 'by making precedents and by case law', thus transforming the United Nations 'from an institutional mechanism into a constitutional instrument recognized and respected by all nations', Dag Hammarskjöld took pride in the idea that he was participating—to use his own words—'in the beginning of

an organic process through which the diversity of peoples and their governments are struggling to find common ground upon which they can live together in the one world which has been thrust upon us before we were ready'.

Dag Hammarskjöld's ideas as briefly exemplified here and carefully elaborated in Brian Urquhart's speech—and reflected in Kay Rainey Gray's 'United Nations Notebook'—have had and continue to have a significant impact on the moulding of international public opinion. But they have also influenced and continue to influence the foreign policies and international development programmes of Sweden and the other Nordic countries as these have been expressed in support of the UN peace-keeping operations and development activities and in the bilateral cooperation programmes with the Third World and especially with the countries of Southern Africa. A particularly important role in this context was played by the late Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, who—as Carl Tham reminds us in this issue of *Development Dialogue*—'more than anyone else was responsible for the Government Bill No 100 in 1962, which laid down the guidelines for Swedish aid' and which have basically remained the same ever since.

Speaking on behalf of the Swedish Government at the commemoration ceremony in Uppsala, Birgitta Dahl, Minister for Energy and Environment, who once served as Secretary to the Foundation, expressed her appreciation of the work of the Foundation in the following words:

'After Dag Hammarskjöld's tragic death, a national fund-raising took place in Sweden. It was felt that Dag Hammarskjöld's memory would best be honoured by creating an institution, where it would be possible, in the spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld, to further promote peace and development in the world ... Over the years the Foundation has organized an impressive number of seminars and workshops both here in Uppsala and in the Third World. Many important government members, officials, and scholars have participated in these gatherings. The Foundation has developed a comprehensive network of individuals, institutions and research centres all over the world ... I would like to use this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of the Swedish Government for the important contribution of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation to the Swedish tradition of working for peace and development. Let me also express deep esteem for the continuous support lent both morally and practically by the University of Uppsala to the activities of the Foundation.'

Working in collaboration with the Swedish International Development Authority, the University of Uppsala and many sister institutions, particu-



Dag Hammarskjöld
Secretary-General of the United Nations 1953—1961

larly in the Third World, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation has over the past twenty-five years organized more than 90 conferences, seminars and workshops. It has issued about 75 publications arising from these events, printed in several hundred thousand copies and distributed globally, particularly to institutions and individuals in the Third World.

As is evident from the list of seminars and publications provided in this issue of *Development Dialogue*, the activities of the Foundation developed from training courses in the strict sense into more comprehensive projects with in-built research components. Thus, it may be said that the early experiences gathered by the Foundation crystallized in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Cooperation. This was a huge undertaking directed by Marc Nerfin, in which the Foundation was privileged to cooperate with 120 leading policy-makers and scholars and which resulted in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report *What Now: Another Development*. It has been published in Arabic, English, French, German, Polish and Spanish and forms the intellectual basis of the work of the Foundation.

As readers of *Development Dialogue* are well aware, the Foundation has over the past decade concentrated heavily on the sectoral aspects of Another Development in areas such as rural development, health, education, science and technology (especially plant genetic resources and biotechnology), international monetary policy, information and communication, and participation.

In this work, the Foundation has been able to draw heavily on a vast network of friends in the UN System, in different inter-governmental organizations and more recently on an increasing number of third system organizations such as the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP), the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA), the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET), the People's Institute for Development and Training (PIDT) and the Rural Advancement Fund International (RAFI). The ideas and suggestions provided by these and other organizations and individuals have proved invaluable for the work of the Foundation and its Board of Trustees, composed of Ernst Michanek (Chairman), Bernard Chidzero, Peder Hammarskjöld, Martin H:son Holmdahl, Amir Jamal, Torgny Segerstedt and Brian Urquhart and counting Hans Blix, Andrew Cordier, Bo Hammarskjöld, Sture Petré and Mongi Slim among its former members.

The present issue of *Development Dialogue* is intended as a testimony to the significance of the ideas of Dag Hammarskjöld and those who have continued the work for international development cooperation—in the case of Sweden particularly our late Prime Minister Olof Palme with his deep commitment to peace and to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. It is also intended as a testimony to the strength and vitality of the ideas of Another Development as elaborated in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report and now guiding and inspiring an increasing number of third system organizations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are particularly happy to be able to feature His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II's 'Clarion Call' for alternative development strategies in Southern Africa and the Summary Conclusions from the Maseru Seminar on 'Another Development for SADC countries', organized under his auspices in the mountain kingdom of Lesotho. And we are equally happy to be able to publish Jorge Jatobá's searching analysis of possible alternative resources for grassroots development in Latin America, which are an absolute necessity for future progress on this besieged and debt-ridden continent. In all of this work, popular organizations, forming what is increasingly becoming known as the third system, in contrast to the first system (governments) and the second system (business), have a crucial role to play and it is only appropriate that this issue should provide an introduction of the subject by Marc Nerfin, who has also in a previous issue of *Development Dialogue* (1985:1) highlighted the importance of these organizations to the future of the UN System.

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation will continue its work for Another Development and will in coming issues of *Development Dialogue* present *inter alia* the results arising from the Foundation's seminar at Bogève and in Geneva on 'The Impact of New Biotechnologies on Basic Health and Agriculture in the Third World' and from the above-mentioned seminar on 'The State and the Crisis in Africa: In Search of a Second Liberation' as well as a selection of materials based on the recent inaugural meeting in Buenos Aires of the South American Commission on Peace, Regional Security and Democracy, which was co-sponsored by the Foundation.

These are vast and wide-ranging subjects and in assessing them and looking back at what has been achieved during the past twenty-five years, it may be appropriate to recall in closing another quotation from Dag Hammarskjöld.

'Working at the edge of the development of human society is to work on the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. This is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits but with faith in the ultimate results of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to cooperate.'

International Leadership

The Legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld

By Brian Urquhart

In his lecture in the aula of Uppsala University on September 18, 1986, delivered in commemoration of Dag Hammarskjöld and his death at Ndola 25 years earlier, Sir Brian Urquhart, who was one of Dag Hammarskjöld's close collaborators during his entire time in office, addressed himself specifically to the issue of international leadership in today's world and to the legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld.

'In our crowded, strife-torn world', Sir Brian said, 'we desperately need a new leadership that will rally to the central authority, the United Nations—a leadership of pragmatic moderate states—a leadership which can balance national interests with those of the world community as a whole, a leadership which can agree on what needs to be managed and what can not be left to chance, regardless of political and ideological differences. We need a leadership which is not cynical or defeatist or parochial about the future, which is determined to exploit the positive promise of our inventiveness instead of succumbing to its destructive side.'

But unfortunately, he noted, most national leaders—Olof Palme having been a remarkable exception—now seem preoccupied with national priorities and reluctant to risk their reputation on international causes and this in spite of the fact that no time in human history has such leadership been so essential and so literally vital.

'Dag Hammarskjöld provided a striking—indeed a unique—example of the kind of leadership needed to make the international system work. He was extraordinarily successful in a function—the Secretary-Generalship of the United Nations—which has none of the normal attributes of power. His integrity, force of character and intellect were combined with exceptional diplomatic skill, ingenuity and persistence. In his own quiet, very private way, he projected a vision and a spirit which had a remarkable impact on governments and people. He was a man who was never more reassuring than in the darkest hours. He inspired confidence and, above all, respect.'

He could do so. Sir Brian continued, because before acting, Dag Hammarskjöld 'went to the roots of a problem and established in his mind the principles on which he would base his actions . . . I know of no other political leader, who so effectively turned his intellectual gifts to the solution of practical problems.'

But Dag Hammarskjöld was also a man of vision and in all the daily crises he lived through, 'he never lost sight of the grand design which he was working for. As it must have been for the workers in the early stages of constructing a great medieval cathedral which might take a hundred years or more to build, this design was largely a matter of faith, but it was also the



Brian Urquhart in front of the Dag Hammarskjöld Library in Uppsala.

essential guide to all his actions. Hammarskjöld believed that a just and reliable world order could only be built pragmatically by making precedents and by case law. He hoped that by this process the United Nations, like national political institutions in earlier times, would gradually be transformed from an institutional mechanism into a constitutional instrument recognized and respected by all nations.'

*Sir Brian Urquhart, whose lecture is reproduced here for the first time, was for many years Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations. Born in England in 1919, he served with the British Army in North Africa, Sicily and Europe from 1939 to 1945. He was a member of the UN Secretariat from the earliest days of the organization, serving in different capacities, and retired from his position as Under-Secretary-General in 1986, having inter alia taken an active part in all UN peace-keeping operations. He is the author of *Hammar skjöld* (New York, 1972 and 1984) and has served as a Trustee of the Dag Hammar skjöld Foundation since 1976.*

Twenty-five years ago today, Dag Hammar skjöld died at Ndola in Africa. He was fifty-six years old and at the height of his powers. He had been the moving spirit of the United Nations for eight memorable years. Although violent controversies arose in the last year of his life particularly over the United Nations involvement in the Congo, his sudden death left a vacuum in the leadership of the world organization which, to this day, has never quite been filled.

Hammar skjöld was, by any standard, an exceptional international leader, but international leadership of that order was not so unusual thirty years ago as it is today. Most national leaders now seem to be preoccupied with national priorities and are reluctant to put their reputations on the line for international causes or aims. Olof Palme was a striking exception to this rule, an outstanding heir of the Hammar skjöld tradition. His death was a grievous loss to the world community. I take this opportunity to pay a heartfelt tribute to him.

Without leadership, the quest for a solid basis for international peace and security and the effort to construct the international system which the harsh realities of our time demand, will inevitably become sluggish and ineffective. And yet, at no time in human history has that effort, that leadership, been so essential—so literally vital.

Our era differs from all those that preceded it. We cannot afford another disaster like the first and second world wars to show us the way to world order. In our nuclear age another world war may well put an end to the human experiment once and for all. Philip Noel-Baker, one of the greatest advocates of disarmament, speaking of the United Nations Charter com-

mitment to abandon the use of force, put it this way: 'Unless this professed objective can be achieved within an early future, the policies misnamed "defence" may bring the final consummation of the use of force, the end of man'. Our necessity is very clear. It is absolutely essential to construct a collective security system which will not only protect us from that terminal disaster, but will also provide the context in which alone arms control and disarmament can be accepted and implemented by governments. We must, as the Charter foresaw, replace competing national security and 'defence' systems with a collective system. Such is the myopic and muddled thinking of our times, that today, even to suggest such a course invites accusations of naïvety, lack of realism or even lack of patriotism.

Only the most persistent and imaginative international leadership will overcome this prevalent attitude and bring us safely to the next essential stage of political development. After all, in the nuclear age who are the 'realists' and who the escapists or the dreamers? How practical is it to go on risking, at enormous expense, the end of human society? Is the world economy to be crippled forever by the burden of a futile and destructive arms race? How practical is it for the most powerful countries to refuse to discuss with each other a cooperative relationship in settling regional conflicts, like the Middle East, which are most likely to trigger the ultimate disaster? How can we be sure that nuclear weapons will never be used? How long will the rest of the world be content to live in nuclear jeopardy? These are the challenges which a new generation of international leaders must face.

It is not only in the realm of peace and security that international leadership is desperately needed. The technological revolution, the doubling of the world's population in the last forty years and the steadily increasing interdependence of states, confront us with an ever-lengthening list of global problems—problems which no state, however powerful, can manage alone. The quality, equity and stability of future life on this crowded planet depend on enlightened international leadership *now* in a wide variety of fields of human activity.

The machinery for managing many of these activities already exists in the United Nations, but at the present time the momentum and the spirit which alone can make that machinery work is very often lacking. It can only be supplied by a new and dedicated leadership which can inspire and motivate the bewildered and problem-beset governments of the world to unite their strength once again in great common causes,

Dag Hammarskjöld provided a striking—indeed a unique—example of the kind of leadership necessary to make the international system work. He was extraordinarily successful in a function—the Secretary-Generalship of the United Nations—which has none of the normal attributes of power. His integrity, force of character and intellect were combined with exceptional diplomatic skill, ingenuity and persistence. In his own quiet, very private way, he projected a vision and a spirit which had a remarkable impact on governments and people. He was a man who was never more reassuring and effective than in the darkest hours. He inspired confidence and, above all, respect.

I do not need to tell this audience about Dag Hammarskjöld's background or the tradition he came from. After all, he grew up here in the Castle of Uppsala and graduated from this University. He was proud to be a part of the very special tradition of Uppsala, which he evoked so movingly in his essay 'Slottsbacken'. He seemed to identify himself with another great son of Uppsala, Linnaeus, 'a Swede', as he wrote, 'whose disciples were sent to the four corners of the earth'. Hammarskjöld wrote, almost as if describing himself, of Linnaeus' comment on his first experience of the midnight sun, 'O Lord, thy verdicts are incomprehensible' and continued, 'Later, when his eye, guided by somber experience was directed towards the world of man, this wonderment was turned into fatalistic mysticism'.

What were the qualities which underlay Hammarskjöld's extraordinary example and leadership?

For Dag Hammarskjöld personal responsibility, preparedness and performance were everything.

'I hate talking in personal terms', he told a press conference in his early years at the United Nations, 'but it finally boils down to the man ... Where there is an uncontested right of the Secretary-General, I find it easier to stand up against whatever pressures there might be from whatever corners they might come, because then I can come down to the personal factor and say frankly this is something I would not do.'

Hammarskjöld, as *Markings* describes, engaged throughout his life in an exacting regime of spiritual speculation, self-criticism and analysis which linked his personal life to his public performance.

'Politics and diplomacy', he wrote, 'are no play of will and skill where results are independent of the character of those engaging in the game.'

Results are determined not by superficial ability, but by the consistency of the actors in their efforts and by the validity of their ideals. Contrary to what seems to be popular belief, there is no intellectual activity which more ruthlessly tests the solidity of a man than politics. Apparently easy successes with the public are possible for a juggler, but lasting results are achieved only by the patient builder.'

As one who worked with Hammarskjöld for eight years, I can testify that unlike many public figures, he made a vigorous attempt to live and act by the rules he prescribed for himself. They were tough rules.

'It is more important to be aware of the grounds for your own behaviour than to understand the motives of another.'

'The other's "face" is more important than your own.'

'If, while pleading another's cause, you are at the same time seeking something for yourself, you cannot hope to succeed.'

'You can only hope to find a lasting solution to a conflict if you have learned to see the other objectively, but, at the same time, to experience his difficulties subjectively.'

'The man who "likes people" disposes once and for all of the man who despises them.'

'All first-hand experience is valuable, and he who has given up looking for it will one day find that he lacks what he needs: a closed mind is a weakness, and he who approaches persons or painting or poetry without the youthful ambition to learn a new language and so gain access to someone else's perspective on life, let him beware.'

'A successful lie is doubly a lie, an error which has to be corrected is a heavier burden than truth: only an uncompromising "honesty" can reach the bedrock of decency which you should always expect to find, even under deep layers of evil.'

'Finesse must not mean fear of going on the offensive.'

'The semblance of influence is sought at the cost of its reality.'

No one read these rules until after Hammarskjöld's death, but during his lifetime it was already clear that an exceptional degree of self-discipline and spiritual preparation was the basis for the extraordinary position he occupied among world leaders. His intellect and moral integrity shone through the mystique and reserve of his personality and communicated itself strongly to those he was dealing with.

Hammar skjöld had a strong sense of vocation, and he found that vocation in serving the world community as Secretary-General of the United Nations. 'For someone', he wrote, 'whose job so obviously mirrors man's extraordinary possibilities and responsibilities, there is no excuse if he loses his sense of "having been called". So long as he keeps that, everything he can do has a meaning, nothing a price. Therefore: if he complains, he is accusing himself.'

Hammar skjöld applied the learning, powers of analysis and intellectual discipline which he had acquired here in Uppsala, to the very practical problems he encountered daily at the United Nations. Before acting, he went to the roots of a problem and established in his mind the principles on which he would base his actions. This gave him a confidence and an apparent easiness which was both impressive and inspiring. I know of no other political leader who so effectively turned his intellectual gifts to the solution of practical problems.

Dag Hammar skjöld was a visionary and, in all the day-to-day concerns and crises which he lived through, he never lost sight of the grand design which he was working for. As it must have been for the workers in the early stages of constructing a great medieval cathedral which might take a hundred years or more to build, this design was often largely a matter of faith, but it was also the essential guide to all his actions. Hammar skjöld believed that a reliable and just world order could only be built pragmatically by making precedents and by case law. He hoped that by this process the United Nations, like national political institutions in earlier times, would gradually be transformed from an institutional mechanism into a constitutional instrument recognized and respected by all nations. During this process disasters must be avoided and the fragile design must be protected and nurtured.

Hammar skjöld saw his daily work in this context and took pride in the idea that he was participating in

'the beginning of an organic process through which the diversity of peoples and their governments are struggling to find common ground upon which they can live together in the one world which has been thrust upon us before we were ready.'

He was very realistic about the magnitude of this task.

'Working', he wrote, 'at the edge of the development of human society is to

work on the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. This is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits but with faith in the ultimate result of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to cooperate.'

I do not want to give the impression of a superhuman person living in a chilling cloud of high-mindedness and idealism. Hammarskjöld was very human and very practical. He loved literature, music, painting and sculpture. He was an excellent amateur photographer as the exhibition in the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre shows. He was a profoundly civilized man. Like Linnaeus, he gloried in the observation of nature.

Hammarskjöld provided the exhilarating spectacle of principle and intellect in action. He had few of the conventional characteristics of a leader, but his strength, confidence and sureness of touch communicated themselves to others in a way which gave rise to the worldwide slogan 'Leave it to Dag'. He was extraordinarily sensitive to the fears and difficulties of the people he was dealing with. He could grasp the fundamentals of complex situations with lightning speed and create a series of acceptable options for the people involved with them. 'Never before', his friend Walter Lippmann wrote of him, 'and perhaps never again, has any man used the intense art of diplomacy for such unconventional and such novel experiments'.

Hammarskjöld was a political realist. He knew very well the limitations of the Secretary-General's powers. In his greatest enterprises he worked with and through a worldwide constituency of like-minded national leaders—Nehru, Lester Pearson, Mongi Slim, Hans Engen, Frederick Boland, and many others. He kept in close touch with these colleagues by a frequent informal correspondence. He knew that a constituency of this kind was essential to progress on difficult questions. He saw an especially important role in international affairs for the medium and small powers.

Hammarskjöld was very sensitive to great changes and developments in the world. He was an early enthusiast for the potential of what is now called 'the Third World', especially as a catalyst and a depolarizing influence in the Cold War. In his last years he was particularly fascinated by the continent of Africa, then coming to independence. He studied its future with care and affection and accurately foresaw many of the problems which would arise for the new states of Africa. He would, I think, have been delighted at the new thrust of the work of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Hammar-skjöld gave the United Nations a new status as an active Organization which could respond constructively to threats to the peace. He was a virtuoso of multilateral diplomacy, and his innovations—good offices, United Nations presences and much of peace-keeping, for example—have now been accepted as standard practices. But perhaps most important of all, he showed that one man, if he was dedicated, independent and courageous enough, could stand for principle and for long-term objectives and have an influence in the affairs of nations. It was, of course, this aspect of his performance which brought him into difficulties with the Soviet Union and President de Gaulle. As an example of integrity, intellect and responsibility in public office, it is hard to think of his equal.

I have tried to describe something of the legacy of this great son of Uppsala. How does this legacy apply to the world we now face? Hammar-skjöld himself ended his life in some disillusionment, embroiled with the appalling complications of the Congo problem and confronted on all sides with the traditional obstacles which great and noble enterprises throughout history have habitually encountered. But the legacy of ideas and precedents he left behind, as we have all found in the succeeding years, is permanent and invaluable. His standards, his ideas and his aims have not become dated or become the victims of time passing. They are now as valid and as important as ever, and they live on, especially here in the Nordic countries.

The Nordic tradition in international life is of the greatest importance for the future as well as for the present. It is also, if I may say so, a tremendous encouragement to those of us who have laboured long and arduously in the stony vineyard of the United Nations. This tradition, of which Hammar-skjöld was a part, is one of involvement, of responsibility, of benevolence, of objectivity and of compassion. It is a tradition which has a steady eye for present problems and a majestic vision of the future. It does not abandon the ship of internationalism because the weather is bad or the course complicated or the goal distant. It sees it as a natural obligation of countries favoured by history and by their own qualities to give generous help to others less fortunate and to keep alive the vision of a better future.

I have been particularly associated with the Nordic countries in peace-keeping operations all over the world. Their steadfastness and understanding in difficult times, as now for example in Lebanon, have been an inspiration and example. The Nordic countries have also led the world in their concern for economic development and for the better management of global problems. They have established relations of extraordinary warmth

and mutual trust with the Third World countries. In a world in which, regrettably, it is fashionable to be cynical about international organizations, the Nordic countries have proclaimed constantly and firmly their conviction that the United Nations is not a bore or a nuisance, but an absolute necessity. They have put that conviction into practice in a vast range of human endeavours.

This has indeed been leadership of a high order, and there are encouraging signs that it is finding a response in other regions at many levels and on many issues. I think, for example, of the Five-Continent Peace Initiative in which Olof Palme was so much involved when he died. Such an initiative symbolizes the active concern of the majority of the human race for the great problems of our time and for the future.

Nothing could be more important at a time in history when the energies of the most powerful countries seem to be trapped in their own differences and antagonisms. At the First Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1946, Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, said this:

After the first world war there was a tendency to regard the League of Nations as something outside the ordinary range of foreign policy. Governments continued on the old lines, pursuing individual aims and following the path of power politics, not understanding that the world had passed into a new epoch. In just such a spirit in times past in these islands, great nobles and their retainers used to practice private war in disregard of the authority of the central government. The time came when private armies were abolished, when the rule of law was established throughout the length and breadth of this island.

What has been done in Britain and in other countries on a small scale has now to be effected throughout the world.

Forty years later we recognize all too easily the picture that Attlee was holding up to the members of the new World Organization. Only now the lessons we had learned from World War II have faded and are half-forgotten. In our crowded, strife-torn world we desperately need a new leadership that will rally to the central authority, the United Nations—a leadership of pragmatic moderate states—a leadership which can balance national interests with those of the world community as a whole, a leadership which can agree on what needs to be managed and what can *not* be left to chance, regardless of political or ideological differences. We need a leadership which is not cynical or defeatist or parochial about the future, which is determined to exploit the positive promise of our inventiveness

instead of succumbing to its destructive side. We need a leadership which will put well-trying principle into practice in dealing with international conflicts and disputes, especially those in the Third World where, regrettably, most wars now take place, fought with weapons from the First and Second Worlds. We need a leadership which believes that the rule of law will eventually extend its blessings over the international community as it has over national communities and which strives to further that evolution. We need a leadership which can bring out the best and most creative in humanity rather than strengthening or evoking the worst. We need a leadership which can dispel popular apathy and inspire that practical idealism and enthusiasm without which no great historical objective can be attained.

I do not think that such a leadership is an impossible dream. There is an increasing constituency of moderate, pragmatic, sensible, realistic governments in the world. Moreover, at no time in previous history has it been possible to communicate hopes and ideas to virtually every member of the human race, although in the political realm we have been slow to apply new techniques of communication to our basic problems. But in the end, the quality of leadership will be the decisive factor.

Hammarskjöld thought and wrote about all these things and, in remembering him, we would do well to go back and read what he said. A great man lives on through his ideas, giving strength and inspiration to those who come after him. Isaac Newton wrote that scholars are far-seeing because they stand on the shoulders of the giants who preceded them. I hope and believe that the present and future leadership of the world community, standing on the shoulders of Dag Hammarskjöld and other great international leaders of the past, will see farther, and more clearly, into the future.

LANDMARKS

Photographs by Dag Hammarskjöld



Dag Hammarskjöld developed a serious interest in photography as a young man and maintained this interest throughout his life. Most of his photographs focus on the beauties of nature. His private archives in Stockholm are full of pictures taken during his walks in the high mountains of northern Sweden and along the coasts of southern Sweden, and during his world-wide travels. A small collection of his photographs from Sweden, supplemented by some pictures from his travels, are presented here. They are accompanied by

extracts from a short essay, 'The camera has taught me to see', which Hammarskjöld contributed to the Swedish journal *Foto* in 1958.

The two small pictures of Dag Hammarskjöld in the mountains of the Swedish North (pages 19 and 20) were taken by his friend, the photographer Gösta Lundquist.

The selection has been made by Harald Hamrell, advised by Knut Hammarskjöld. The copyright to the pictures is retained by the literary estate of Dag Hammarskjöld.



As I looked through some of my photographs one evening, it became clear to me that there was not to be found among them a picture that I wanted to call 'a best picture' or even a really good picture. Too many criteria competed with each other to give meaning to these expressions.

...There was a picture of the path leading up along Abiskojokk, which perhaps reveals what it attempts to tell only to a viewer, for whom the characteristic play of light over the landscape mirrors an experience of a timeless world at rest.



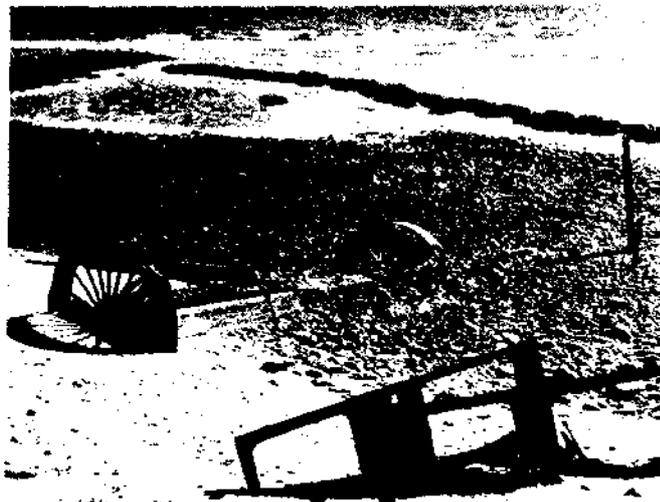






Those for whom photography has become a serious interest see it perhaps mainly as a means of preserving the memory of people, places and events through the wealth of associations that a picture can give. To strive to do so in a way that satisfies us, to reach at this modest level a kind of self-realization, technically and aesthetically, may also be part of our quest. However distant the finished picture may be from what deserves to be called

art, the dedicated photographer is guided by motives which are not unknown to the creative artist. I believe that more people than one imagines may have this innermost ambition—even though we have all often met those for whom photography seems to have turned into an nervous habit and whose shoot picture after picture in rapid succession, almost as a substitute for seeing with their own eyes.

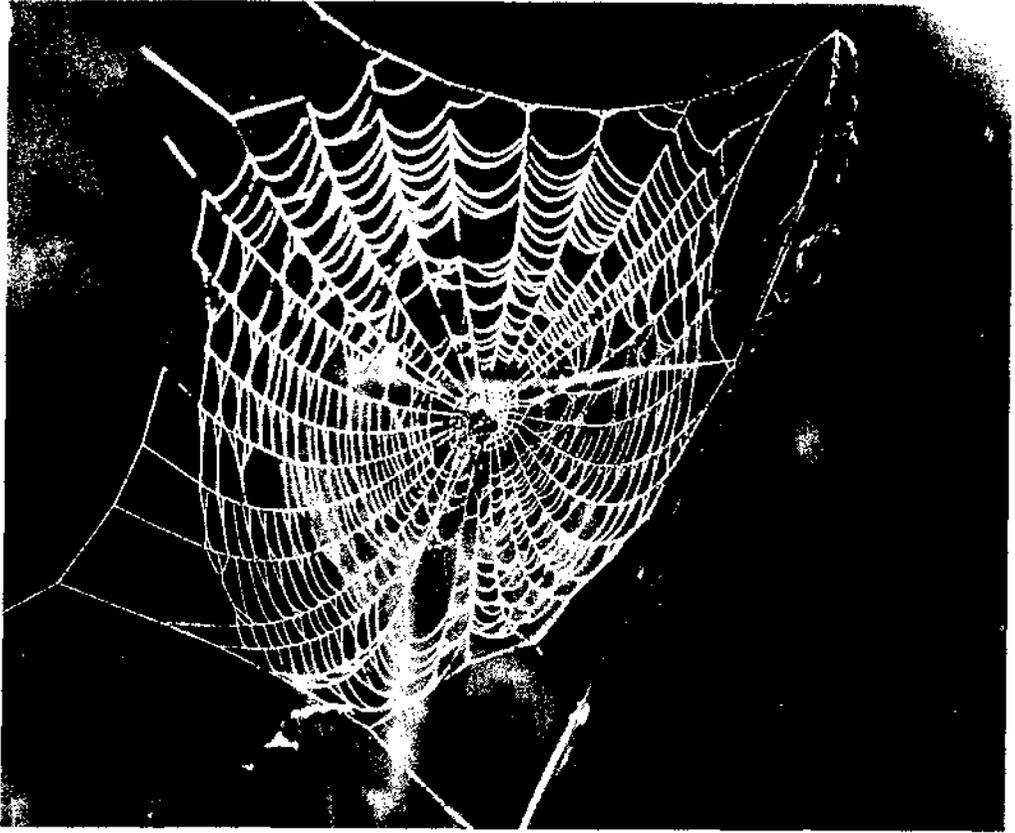






When photography becomes a real hobby, the camera is a means to teach oneself to see, to see 'in pictures', but also to see and to memorize the play of lines, the dispersion of light and the balance between the details and the whole. Looking back at the results of my always equally intense interest in photography—be it my own or others—it is much less the pictures I have taken, during periods when I have really been able to pursue this interest of mine, than what I have learned to 'see'

that means something to me. And it is better to teach oneself to see than to have one's way of seeing determined by others; however inferior the results of one's own work may appear compared with what others can achieve, we still in the end learn more from a study of our own pictures than we can learn from any number of pictures by the real artists of photography and whatever the debt of gratitude we owe to them for their guidance.





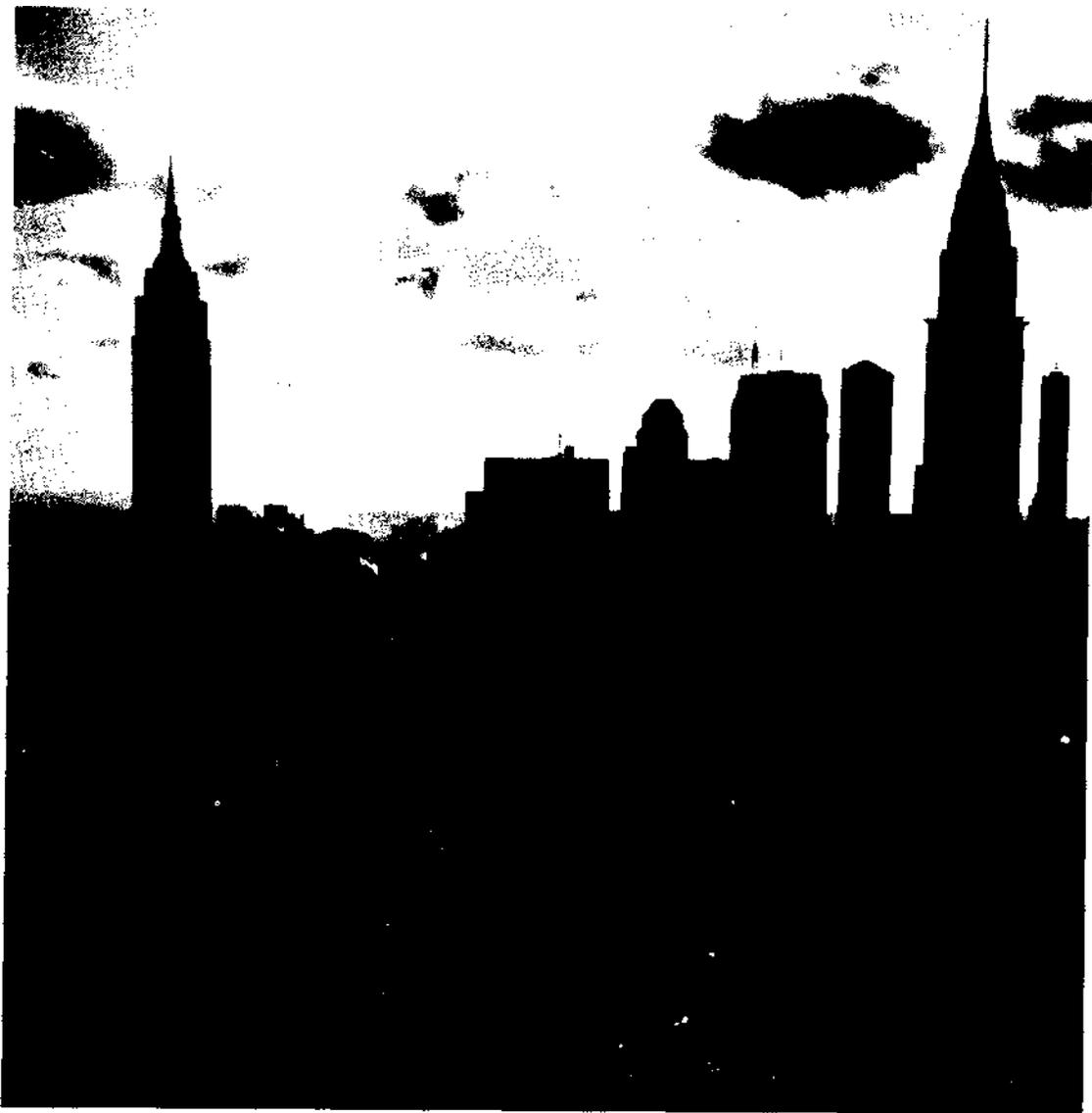


...There was a portrait that through an interplay of circumstances recreates a situation, of which man is a harmonic part, not as the main object but as the carrier of a mood. Is such a portrait a good photograph or not?

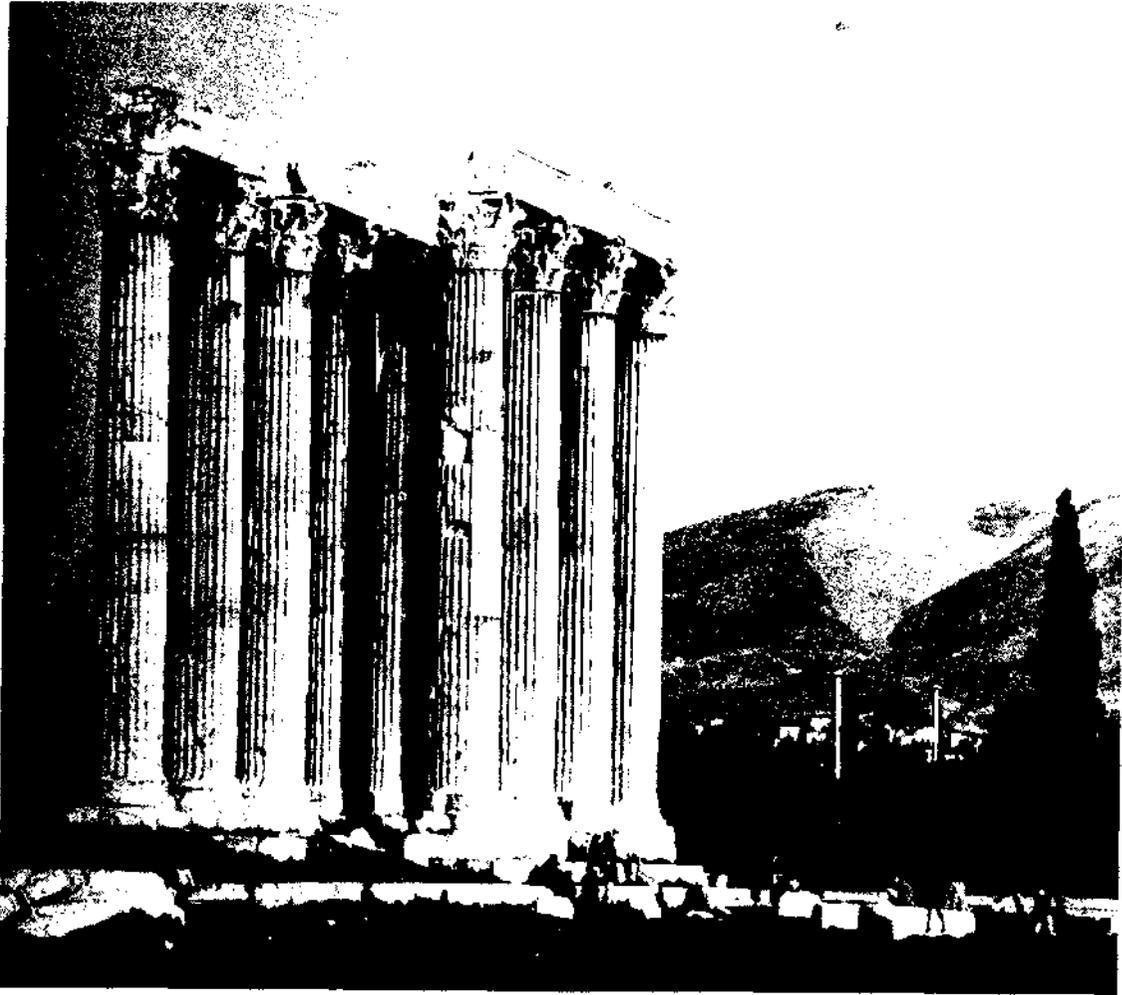
There was an evening picture of a thundershower over the plains at Chartres. Technically it is doubtful but for the photographer it feels 'right' since it reflects the powerful forces around the cathedral, which despite its magnitude—in human terms—disappears as a small detail in the shadow of the cloud.

There was a picture of a leafless branch of an oak tree, with a play of lines that reveals the balance of strength and nervous sensitivity so often displayed by nature's own creations.









... And again, what is the photographic value of these pictures? I am doubtful about this. Still, they all show, each one in its way, why photography as a hobby has given me so much that I am trying to hold on to this interest even at the busiest of times.

United Nations Notebook

The Relationship of Dag Hammarskjöld with the Press

By Kay Rainey Gray

When Dag Hammarskjöld, then almost unknown to the wider international world, was chosen as Secretary-General of the United Nations on March 31, 1953, it came as a complete surprise to the correspondents covering the UN in New York. 'Little did we know that for the rest of his life, we would be sharing with one of the truly great leaders of the twentieth century the daily grind and the exciting UN-highlighted international events on which Dag Hammarskjöld would have such an impact' writes Kay Rainey Gray in her last major article, written for Development Dialogue and completed some time before her death at the age of 85 in August 1986.

In describing what Dag Hammarskjöld himself referred to as his 'special relationship' with the UN press corps, Kay Rainey Gray illustrates with numerous examples how this developed into an integral part of his work as Secretary-General. Being a strong and highly principled Secretary-General, and as such the number one news source, he also used his press releases and news conferences to advance important ideas and opinions which could not be advanced formally, taking a positive delight in his verbal duels with the correspondents. His attitude on this point is perhaps best reflected in a statement at a press conference in 1957: 'I note with great interest that this gathering is developing into a parliament with consecutive questions. Why not? As we have no other parliament in which I am, so to say, responsible in this peculiar way, I do not mind in any sense.'

But Kay Rainey Gray's article is more than an account of this special relationship. It highlights some of the most significant events during Hammarskjöld's period as Secretary-General—his daring mission to Peking to release the 11 US fliers downed during the Korean war, the Suez crisis, the confrontation with Khrushchev over the office of the Secretary-General in the General Assembly in October 1960 and the tragic developments in the Congo, which led to his death at Ndola in September 1961. It makes all these events come alive once more by projecting how his role was perceived by a veteran UN correspondent. At the same time, it also provides a portrait from memory of Dag Hammarskjöld's many-faceted personality and his wide-ranging personal interests, expressed in his literary works, his feeling for art, music and the beauties of nature, his friendships with many of the leading cultural personalities of his time and even in his special relationship with his pet Somali monkey, Greenback,



who—as the attentive reader will note—once caused some consternation in the world of international diplomacy.

For more than 30 years Kay Rainey Gray was United Nations correspondent for The Greenwich Time in Connecticut while also writing on UN affairs for the North American Newspaper Alliance, for the radio and for various magazines.

Mrs Gray served on the Executive Committee of the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA), which she joined in 1956. In 1977, she was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Scholarship Fund of UNCA. She was a founder of the Fund, established in 1961 as a tribute to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld. For many years, she introduced the award winners at the annual commemorative luncheon organized by the Fund, which by the mid-eighties had enabled more than 80 young Third World journalists to come to New York, improving their skills and reporting to their own media on UN activities. During the course of her admirable work as a journalist and administrator of the Fund, she developed a strong affection for Sweden and we recall with pride and pleasure her annual visits to Uppsala and to the Foundation.

March 31st, 1953, remains an unforgettable day for those United Nations' correspondents who were keeping a routine watch outside Conference Room 8 on the basement level of the UN skyscraper. Members of the United Nations Security Council were continuing their search for an elusive agreement on a new Secretary-General. Following the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in early March there had been a series of secret sessions after Ambassador Andrei Vishinsky returned to New York and indicated he was willing to discuss the question. As the members emerged from this meeting looking tired but happy, Pakistan's Ahmed Bokhari, then President of the 15-member body, unexpectedly announced to us that the Council had come to agreement, thus breaking the three-year-old deadlock between East and West. The choice of the new Secretary-General—not Madame Pandit or Lester Pearson or others in the running—was Dag Hammarskjöld! Who? we asked. How do you spell it?

Little did we know then that for the rest of his life, we would be sharing with one of the truly great leaders of the twentieth century the daily grind and the exciting UN-highlighted international events on which Dag Hammarskjöld would have such an impact.

From that day on for eight and a half years, as we covered the increasingly dramatic crises challenging the peace and the UN'S capacity to meet them, we tried to find out what made this man tick—this youthful-looking, slender, blond 47-year old Swede whose very name, let alone his eminent family background and remarkable career which had brought him to the post of cabinet minister in the Swedish Government, was unknown to us on the day he was chosen. This son of a former Swedish Prime Minister was the man who would achieve world-renown as the inspiring and intensely-admired servant of peace at the helm of the United Nations, long before his life was cut short by the tragic airplane crash at Ndola on 18 September 1961, while on his last mission of peace to the Congo.

On his arrival at the International Airport on April 9th, 1953, he told a press conference: 'In my new official capacity the private man should disappear and the international public servant take his place'. This was a definite signal that he meant to keep his private life private. He outlined for us his approach to the job. The duties of the public servant were 'to listen, analyse, and learn to understand fully the forces at work and the interests at stake, to be able to give the right advice from the inside' to those who took decisions which frame history. 'Don't think this is a passive part', he told us. 'It is a most active one.' Hammarskjöld said he would be active as an instrument, a catalyst, perhaps an inspirer. This indeed turned out to be prophetic.

In addition to the role and approach he intended to take, he described the qualities needed, referring to recent articles published on his interest in mountaineering. He had never climbed any famous peaks, he said. His experience was modestly limited to Scandinavia where the mountains were 'harmonious rather than dramatic, matter-of-fact rather than eloquent'. He knew sufficient about the sport to feel that the qualities required were just those he felt all needed at that time: 'perseverance and patience, a firm grip on realities, careful but imaginative planning, a clear awareness of the dangers but also of the fact that fate is what we make it and that the safest climber is he who never questions his ability to overcome all difficulties'.

When the UN came under heavy attack during the Congo crisis, I recall catching a poignant glimpse of what those mountains in Lapland in the north of Sweden meant to him. He told me he used to go there often, 'even during the war'. He paused, then said, 'and now—nothing'.

In accepting the post, Dag Hammarskjöld indicated to the world organization the spirit in which he would go to work. 'With humility I accept this

election, expressing confidence which I have still to justify—with a humility inspired as much by my knowledge of personal limitations as by my awareness of the extraordinary responsibility which you impose on me by your election'. He brought to this task 'a firm will to devote myself without any reserve to the work carried out by the United Nations Organization in pursuit of its high aims. I am here to serve you all ...'

But here is the keynote of Hammarskjöld's acceptance, to which he was loyal in deed and word for all his years as UN chief: 'Ours is a work of reconciliation and realistic construction', he said. This must be based on respect for the laws by which human civilization has been built. It requires a strict observance of the rules and principles laid down in the United Nations Charter. My work shall be guided by this knowledge.'

Trygve Lie, his predecessor, shaking hands with Hammarskjöld on the podium of the General Assembly Hall, told him: 'You have opened the door to the Office of the Secretary-General'. The USSR had refused to deal with Lie because of his attitude on the Korean war. The Office of the Secretary-General and private diplomacy were very much in Dag Hammarskjöld's mind.

Six months later, he told the American Political Association: 'I cannot find any part of my present task more challenging than the one which consists in trying to develop all the potentialities of that unique diplomatic instrument which the Charter has created in the institution called the Secretary-General of the United Nations'. A year later he declared to a London audience that Article 99 entitled the Secretary-General to take the initiative in the Security Council when he feels there is a threat to peace and security. But the 'real significance', he pointed out, 'is that this Article does imply that the governments of the United Nations expect the Secretary-General to take independent responsibility, irrespective of their attitude, to represent the detached element in the international life of the peoples'.

During the first 12 months, the new Secretary-General went quietly about learning the business of the UN. As a starter, he surprised his colleagues on the 38th floor as much as the men in the third basement of the glass skyscraper by making a 'get acquainted' tour of the building, shaking hands with everyone. His talent as an efficient administrator had preceded him. The Russians felt that this quality was what the UN needed in a Secretary-General, not a proclivity for political action. Hammarskjöld ran a very tight ship. He evoked a strong sense of loyalty to him in the Secretariat. He had immediately gone about rescuing them from the attack they had suffered



during the McCarthy era, and succeeded in making them feel that their work as international civil servants meant something for man.

After a somewhat uneasy beginning and considerable experimentation during the first year, the relationship with the UN press corps developed and ripened over the years into what Dag Hammarskjöld himself referred to as 'a special relationship'.

I recall one of the early briefings held in the 'Quiet Room' off the Security Council Chamber, where we enjoyed the comfort of delegates' chairs and where the Secretary-General sat facing us with a favourite pipe in hand. The pipe was to disappear later, to be replaced by Baby Webster cigars which his Executive Assistant Andrew Cordier persuaded him were 'less messy'. For some time, on and off-the-record press briefings were held. Although Hammarskjöld was always most interesting, even brilliant and often confounding, the UN news-hungry regular correspondents were not satisfied.

Then an informal meeting with correspondents over coffee was set up in our small, one-window UNCA club, in the third-floor press area of the UN skyscraper which Hammarskjöld called 'this house'. This served the press as a quick lunch place. As the only woman on the 15-member Executive

Committee of the UN Correspondents Association, and also being in charge of entertainment, I had the task of laying on the coffee. I served Hammarskjöld with a cup. One of our more famous colleagues, Peter Freuchen, suddenly asked the Secretary-General why the press couldn't have china cups like the one he had, instead of the customary paper cups the press had been given. I shushed our colleague, saying this was not the time for such a discussion.

Two top news agency men, one of them UNCA's president, pressed the Secretary-General for more on-the-record press conferences. Hammarskjöld modestly told them that he didn't want to take up our time when there was no news to give us. I had the temerity, as a correspondent of an independent provincial newspaper, to speak up: 'Mr. Secretary-General, any time you can give us, on or off-the-record, will help us to understand what is happening here.'

As he was leaving the UNCA Club, Hammarskjöld, still holding the cup in his hand and looking very thoughtfully at it, said to me: 'Thanks for the cup'. I laughed. But he remained solemn. For him 'the cup' meant more than just a piece of thick restaurant china. Whatever it meant, from then on the cafeteria gave us china cups for the Press Club. More important, the policy evolved into a firm tradition that whenever the 'SG', as we privately referred to him, was at headquarters, excluding General Assembly sessions when he chose not to discuss issues under debate there, regular on-the-record press conferences would be held every two weeks with all the attendant trappings. This meant photographers, simultaneous translations, and members of the ever-burgeoning radio, TV and press filling the big Conference Room 4 as the international spotlight focused more and more on Hammarskjöld's increasing use of quiet diplomacy in successfully handling crises.

Yet, even after these press conferences, you could hear puzzled newsmen asking each other again and again: What did he say? What's the lead? His scintillating, off-the-cuff replies were often laced with nuances difficult to grasp, as he tried to give us what he could, without disclosing what he shouldn't.

The private man had indeed disappeared. But to understand the Secretary-General one had to try to find out how the man thought. He was a number one news source. Newsmen learned to hone their questions carefully. Where a direct question might not be productive, a tangential or, perhaps, a philosophical approach might elicit an important opinion. Delegations soon

discovered that the press releases of a press conference were a 'must' when they found Hammarskjöld often used them to indirectly advance important ideas and opinions which could not be done formally.

Wilder Foote, Director of Press and Publications and UN spokesman, who helped the Secretary-General in his attempts to find a suitable approach to his relations with the press, told us that Hammarskjöld enjoyed these verbal duels with correspondents and regarded them as a challenge. In time, he would come to regard the questioning of correspondents as legitimate, since he was not answerable to any formal body as a leader is to a parliament.

The opportunities for private contact with the SG were fairly limited. The 38th floor was practically 'off limits'. However, there was the annual reception in Hammarskjöld's suite given in honour of the new Press Executive Committee. These events were often arranged with an interesting focus. Once, all the gifts presented to the SG on recent visits to various countries were on display. On another occasion, a selection of paintings on loan from the Museum of Modern Art had just been hung.

I recall turning to a Juan Gris, a Picasso and a Léger and asking Hammarskjöld if this was his taste in modern art, he pointed to a small study in front of us. 'This is my taste', he said. It was called 'Sfäriska Rum'. The artist was Bo Beskow, a close Swedish friend who would later create the mural in the Meditation Room and the one in the Penthouse of the Library Building.

Several of us were examining the beautiful wood sculpture 'Single Form' by Barbara Hepworth. She had selected it from among her works especially for him, he said. A colleague asked if he were not afraid of what she might choose. Hammarskjöld's answer came quickly: 'Her taste is impeccable. She could never send anything up here that wasn't just right'.

The SG's yearly invitation to the over 200 newsmen in the press corps to a reception in the Delegates Diningroom was very highly prized by all. UN correspondents gave an annual ball in honour of the Secretary-General as well as a couple of luncheons a year. Danny's Hide-a-way, a favourite restaurant with the press, was where we usually hosted our luncheons with various outstanding world diplomats.

On the anniversary of Hammarskjöld's arrival to take over his post as Secretary-General, he met with journalists. 'May I take this opportunity to thank you, as representatives of the news media, for what to me has been a most helpful and stimulating cooperation. Sometimes', he said, 'you have

given me a headache, but frankly, I have always found the contact with you inspiring. Of course, you on your side may have found reasons to complain about me, but I hope that you will look at the difficulties I may have given you in the light of what you know by now about my sincere wish to develop a collaboration to our mutual benefit and, primarily, to the benefit of the peoples we are serving in our different ways.'

To his surprise, he told us, he found he could have made the very same statement he had made to us a year ago on his arrival 'without any change of emphasis or philosophy' caused by his experiences in the past year, and about the functions of a Secretary-General. 'And', he added, 'they have only confirmed my conviction that perseverance and patience, joined with the calm trust in the possibility to overcome all difficulties which is proper to men who know that fate is what they make it, are the qualities most needed at the present juncture in history'.

'You may have felt, as you may feel', he said to us, 'that my approach to the policy-making functions of the Secretary-General is so undramatic as to involve the risk that the United Nations somehow fades out of the picture. I do not think that reaction is justified. The United Nations' work is a long-haul operation. We have to build solidly and we have to create confidence.' Mountaineering had one more object lesson: 'Don't move without knowing where to put your foot next, and don't move without having sufficient stability to enable you to achieve exactly what should be the next step.'

Certain events stand out in one's mind as having a special impact on Hammarskjöld's relationship with the press. The sheer imagination and daring in his mission to Peking, to try to get the release of the 11 US fliers downed in the Korean war, sparked intensified interest and admiration in the press worldwide. Hammarskjöld's decision to fly to Peking to carry out the mission given him by the General Assembly on December 10th, 1954, was sensational. The arrangements had been carefully planned and carried out secretly in Stockholm with the Chinese Ambassador to Sweden. The approach to Premier Chou En-lai was taken in his capacity as United Nations' Secretary-General, not as representative of the General Assembly which, from Peking's point of view, would have brought about a refusal.

One of the most vividly recalled vignettes from his many missions was the return from Peking to Idlewild Airport. On that cold mid-January night, you watched the big US Airforce plane roll to the airport, its huge propellers whipping up the fine snow and ribboning red, white and blue at their

edges under kleig lights, bringing a sun-burned and smiling Dag Hammarskjöld back from his dramatic and fantastic visit. Hefty US marshals practically picked him up and rushed him through the crowds of diplomats, secretariat officials and the press to a small newsroom. The door has been opened and can be kept open, given restraint on all sides' was the cryptic message. He told newsmen his visit to Peking was a 'first stage' in his efforts to achieve the release of the 11 fliers and other UN Command personnel still detained. 'I feel that my talks definitely have been useful for this purpose', he said. 'We hope to be able to continue our contact.'

One action taken by three of my colleagues was never to be repeated. You can imagine Hammarskjöld's reaction when he discovered, on his arrival home from Peking, that three newsmen had succeeded in making their way inside his apartment through the kitchen. US Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and Hammarskjöld were talking in the living room. One of the journalists told me that Hammarskjöld was 'simply furious' at this invasion of his privacy. Lodge, however, invited them in, talked with them for a few minutes and then they left.

With international interest at a high pitch, he met us the next day for a press conference with over 200 newsmen crowding Conference Room 4. As he entered, there was spontaneous applause, a rare phenomenon with the press. After greeting us, Hammarskjöld said: 'It was kind of you to applaud. There was no reason for such applause. If I have done what I hope I have done, that is part of what I should do.' His message was the same as he had given us the night before. He was exceptionally adroit in parrying our questions diplomatically, maintaining the integrity of the Peking discussions throughout.

What was of transcendent importance for the world were the thirteen and a half hours of talks between the People's Republic of China's Premier Chou En-lai and Dag Hammarskjöld. The discussion was not only about the fliers but also about membership in the UN, US-Chinese relations, the world situation, and anything else you could imagine on the minds of the Chinese and the UN Chiefs.

Years later when I referred to his arrival that night at Idlewild, Dag Hammarskjöld commented: 'My feet hardly touched the ground. I had a good story to tell then, but couldn't tell it!' That was the first confirmation I had that he knew then that the fliers would be released. The release was held up because of some trouble over Quemoy and Matsu, but the contact was maintained. On his 50th birthday, July 29th, 1955, Hammarskjöld

received an important birthday present. It was a cable from Chou En-lai which arrived at Hammarskjöld's little thatched-roof *stuga* in southern Sweden where he was vacationing for a few days. It announced the release of the 11 fliers and ended with congratulations on his birthday—the date having been carefully confirmed by the Chinese Ambassador in Stockholm weeks earlier. The other four held for espionage were also released and, in a related event, on August 1st, the United States-Chinese talks began in Geneva, easing the dangerous tensions that had built up in early 1955. The door had indeed been opened!

Two weeks later in a press conference on his return from Europe, he greeted correspondents, saying: 'I am very happy to see you all again. It has now been a full month since I saw you last, a month that has been rather rich in events.' Dr. Max Beer, then UNCA's President, noted that we had refrained from expressing our best wishes on Hammarskjöld's 50th birthday as we were waiting for his return. Dr Beer's wish on behalf of us all was that the second half-century be as happy and as successful and that it last as long as the first half-century.

The warmth of the Secretary-General's response revealed part of his personality seldom shown publicly: 'Thank you, Dr. Beer and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, my dear friends, I might say. It was kind of you to address me in this way and I deeply appreciate the feelings which inspired you, Dr. Beer. I have always sensed that we have managed to establish here a kind of family life, which is, of course, the right way in which we should handle matters of this type. For that reason I do not find you out of order for bringing up what is really a personal and family matter. You said that I celebrated my birthday quietly. In fact, I went cod fishing, and I did not catch a single cod, so even the cod kept out of the picture ... I am very happy to be here again and I can only repeat my very warm thanks for your kind words.'

He said that after a couple of days the cod fishing had ended with an event which he thought should be to all of us 'a source of very great satisfaction and very great happiness—the release of the eleven'.

He said he could best introduce the discussion 'on this family reunion' by giving us a short diary of events. That included: the answer from Peking to a demarche made before he left for Europe; the Economic and Social Council meetings in Geneva; and the arrangements for the very sensitive and highly important political First Conference on the Peaceful Uses of the Atom, involving very intense international cooperation and extensive declassifica-

tion. There was also the Big Four conference in Geneva with the UN as official host.

In a press conference at the UN on December 22nd, 1955, Hammarskjöld had further reasons for satisfaction at year's end. The East-West deadlock on membership had been broken, with the help of Foreign Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada. The SG described to correspondents what had happened as 'a thawing of fixed patterns which had existed for years'. Sixteen new members were added to the UN.

In signing off the conference, our UNCA colleague took the opportunity to wish the Secretary-General 'a very happy Christmas, a peaceful and thankful new year and fruitful journeys in the new year to the Far East'. Hammarskjöld responded by wishing us 'good holidays and a happy new year'. 'But', he said, 'before saying so, I really should thank you for the past year which, from my point of view, has been one of growing and extremely encouraging contacts with you, ladies and gentlemen. I must say that when I draw up an account for 1955, that is one of the great assets and also one of the things which makes me feel that we have before us, even if we run into troubles, at least in this room, between us, and when we meet in the corridors, a good year ahead. You help us a lot and we wish to help you!'

Following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser in the spring of 1956 after John Foster Dulles withdrew the US offer to help in building the Aswan Dam, threats from the British and French kept coming throughout the summer. When the Security Council met on 5 October, there were seven foreign ministers around the UN Security Council's horseshoe table: British, French, US, Russian, Yugoslavian, Belgian and Egyptian (the latter as a party to the dispute). In opening the debate Selwyn Lloyd, British Foreign Secretary, suggested private meetings of the Council be held after opening statements. There had been public talk of principles that should be the basis of a settlement. Hammarskjöld was known to be interested in getting down to a small negotiating group.

At one point, a piece of paper with a note written by the Secretary-General was quietly passed to Selwyn Lloyd whose face visibly reddened as he read it, but he sat quietly thinking.

During the midday recess, Lloyd was seen to stroll over to Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi, and start talking to him. British correspondents were astonished when they verified this. When Hammarskjöld left the Council Chamber with Bill Ranallo, his aide, their brisk stride and happy

faces suggested something was up—a spirit of 'Oh, we're going to have a party!'

Indeed, they were. An announcement over the intercommunications system in the press area stated that the British and Egyptian foreign ministers and Christian Pinneau of France would meet that afternoon in the Secretary-General's offices on the 38th floor. In the beginning, each of them sat at a table in separate rooms. Dag Hammarskjöld went from one to the other and back again, seeking points of agreement. Later, they met all together and it was possible to hammer out the six principles agreed upon, which Hammarskjöld was quick to get nailed down in a Security Council resolution after he had reported privately on the talks. These were the principles which actually resolved the question of the Suez Canal.

The Security Council meetings on the Suez Canal were interrupted by the well-orchestrated invasion of Egypt by Israeli forces on 29th October, followed by the next day's landing of British and French forces in the Suez Canal Zone. The Egyptians then blocked use of the Canal by sinking a number of ships there. An immediate meeting of the Council was called by the United States.

At that session of 31st October, the Secretary-General made it clear that he would have called for the meeting if the US had not. He made a very straightforward statement which only added to his reputation as 'Knight of the Charter'. He said:

The principles of the Charter are, by far, greater than the Organization in which they are embodied, and the aims which they are to safeguard are holier than the policies of any single nation or people. As a servant of the Organization the Secretary-General has the duty to maintain his usefulness by avoiding public stands on conflicts between member nations unless and until an action might help to resolve the conflict. However, the discretion and impartiality thus imposed on the Secretary-General by the character of his immediate task, may not degenerate into a policy of expediency. He must also be a servant of the principles of the Charter, and its aims must ultimately determine what for him is right and wrong. For that he must stand. A Secretary-General cannot serve on any other assumption than that—within the necessary limits of human frailty and honest differences of opinion—all Member nations honour their pledge to observe all articles of the Charter. He should be able to assume that those organs which are charged with the task of upholding the Charter, will be in a position to fulfil their task.

The bearing of what I have just said must be obvious to all, without elaboration from my aide. Were the Members to consider that another view of the duties of the

Secretary-General than the one here stated would better serve the interests of the Organization, it is their obvious right to act accordingly.

In the Session the great powers and others on the Council quickly indicated acceptance of this right and duty of the Secretary-General to speak and act in support of the principles of the Charter. The Statement was seen as the SG's offer to resign rather than bend principle.

When a vote was taken on the Council's resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of troops and a ceasefire, it was vetoed. Under the Uniting for Peace resolution the members immediately called for a General Assembly session. The British and French offered to withdraw if the UN would interpose a force between Egypt and Israeli troops.

The innovation of the first international peace force by the United Nations could surely be called one of its finest hours. With the imagination of Hammarskjöld, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, Ralph Bunche, Hans Engen of Norway and Andrew Cordier, many people working day and night were able to produce in record time everything that was needed. This ranged from creating principles, guidelines and an Advisory Committee, and getting governments to contribute troops from different nations, to dyeing the cloth blue for the 'Blue Berets' and, of course, procuring the agreement of Egypt for the landing of troops on Egyptian soil.

Needless to say the press and everybody else wanted to see Hammarskjöld take off on this extraordinary mission from Idlewild Airport. Standing with Wilder Foote below the airplane just before take-off, I saw Hammarskjöld look down from the porthole-window at Wilder, smiling and shaking his head from side to side. It was then I learned that, only one hour before, Hammarskjöld had received a green light for the United Nations Emergency Force to land on Egyptian soil. Egypt had suspended UNEF's right of entry just two days before on the question of sovereignty but had re-instated it at the last minute when the SG said there was some misunderstanding which he would discuss with them in Cairo.

The staging area for the troops from different UN member countries was at Campodichino, Italy. From there, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld flew the following day, November 16th, at the head of the advance UNEF Colombian contingent, and then on to Cairo for talks with President Nasser and Foreign Minister Fawzi. It is little wonder that the word among diplomats was 'Leave it to Dag!' when a critical situation emerged. From the beginning Dag Hammarskjöld had had to keep shoring up the Arab-Israeli

armistice agreement. His diplomatic abilities and remarkable sense of timing were extremely successful in deflating tension and conflict. The press had plenty to write about.

However, late in 1956, with the tremendous pressure of both the Suez and Hungarian crises absorbing his time. Wilder Foote, UN spokesman, had a heart attack. Newsmen became restless when so much of the action was diplomatic and could not be made public. In an unusual action the UNCA Executive Committee, meeting in camera, criticized the Secretary-General's 'withholding of news' from correspondents and were about to pass and make public a resolution critical of the SG. When Hammarskjöld heard of this, he immediately informed the members through an aide that he would see them all immediately. As all 15 elected members sat around the conference table on the 38th floor, Hammarskjöld said this was the first time he had seen us together as a group, he listened to the complaints, admitted there was little he could say about some of the diplomatic negotiations, but 'withholding of the news? Never.' However, he did state that if it were a question of peace, he would do the same again. The complaints, the SG felt, should be taken up before they reached the crisis stage, so he suggested a high-level committee of the UNCA and Secretariat Public Information officials be set up for this purpose. Then he turned the discussion over to his right-hand man, Andy Cordier, and left. Behind the episode, which consequently was never made public, was the fact that with Wilder ill the channel of communication had simply dried up.

Returning to their own meeting after hearing from Hammarskjöld, the Executive Committee immediately decided not to pass the resolution of censure. Said a Yugoslav correspondent: 'I am proud to be one of you'. He was one of us who had refused to take action until after they had heard from the SG.

A statement by Hammarskjöld in a news conference on April 25th, 1957, gave a clear indication of the development of relations with the press. It led off from a question of the writer's which happened to elicit a jackpot response. 'Mr. Secretary-General, in view of the request yesterday by the Government of Egypt to register the declaration and the arrangements on the Suez Canal as an international instrument, I wonder if you can tell us just what an international instrument is. What makes an instrument international?'

At this point he smiled and carefully took out of his upper coat pocket a folded sheet of paper. He had anticipated the question. After giving a long

explanation and reading the paper, he further asked the UN Legal Counsel to explain. This started off a series of probing questions by another colleague.

Hammarskjöld then said: 'I note with very great interest that this gathering is developing into a parliament with consecutive questions. Why not? As we have no other parliament in which I am, so to say, responsible in this peculiar way, I do not mind in any sense.'

But it was not until a year later that an end could be put to the crisis that followed the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The writer asked the Secretary-General: 'On Tuesday, the very important Suez compensation agreement was signed in Rome, signalling liquidation of the Suez crisis. We feel—at least in our fingers—that your initiative in this whole operation was quite important. I wonder if you would care to comment, now that this agreement has been signed.'

'I agree with you that one of the really good pieces of news we have had in recent times has been the signature of the agreement on principles', he replied. If it had not resolved the problem, it had brought them a long way towards re-establishing a normal situation, he said. The main credit belonged to those negotiating: the Government of Egypt and the representatives of the shareholders. The UN had been happy to cooperate with the International Bank 'which ventured into fields we are trying to explore: namely, the playing of a role where you are not a mediator but are ... a common denominator for the parties, making it easier to achieve results'. The division of responsibility was simple, he explained. It was for the Bank to work on the financial aspects of the problem; 'and it was for us, and for me, to work on what I would call the political-legal aspects of the problem.' A very long delay was due to the fact that it was not easy to find a formula under which one could establish two parties to this compensation negotiation. 'There was the Government of Egypt, obviously—but who was the party on the other side? Was it the governments? Was it the old company? Was it the shareholders? The end result was that they got the negotiations going on the basis of a formula which was worked out, I think, early in February.

It was a long list of successful diplomatic formulas found by the Secretary-General that put him in the very centre of the international spotlight. When I asked what his weapon was, a very astute Ambassador to the United Nations described it to me in this way: 'Dag Hammarskjöld is the political Einstein of the twentieth century—the man with the formula.'

The delegates' point of view was expressed on their behalf by Jens Otto Krag, Foreign Minister of Denmark, on the occasion of Hammarskjöld's unanimous reappointment for another five-year term in the Assembly on September 26th, 1957. In support of Hammarskjöld, he said:

Dealing always with the most difficult and controversial matters, and often walking untrodden paths and hoping against hope, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld has succeeded in finding solutions where none seemed to be in sight. But even more: in so doing he has won our admiration and respect and, I might almost say, a universal confidence very rarely enjoyed by any man and certainly unique in the field of politics. May I say also that his high personal qualities, his friendliness, his patience in dealing with the most complicated Gordian knot, his quiet sense of humour even in the midst of battle, all this has added to the position he holds in our minds.

As well as creating the 'UN presence' of UNEF which was in effect writing a chapter 6^{1/2} to the UN Charter, Hammarskjöld was to create the UN presence in Lebanon in the UNOGIL, a diplomatic presence in Jordan and the Congo peace force of some 20,000 men. He innovated the 'state visit' of the Secretary-General by visiting countries in Asia and Africa and ended up by being invited by heads of state and governments globally. This permitted him to get acquainted with the leaders and problems they faced, which was helpful when trying to solve crises or prevent them from arising.

Members of the press were beginning to find that they had in Dag Hammarskjöld 'the Renaissance man', who found time to pursue his interest in art, music and literature despite his schedule. From his many heavy speeches, which were carefully studied, there were quotations from, or allusions to, such literary men as Goethe, Paul Valéry, Cervantes, O'Neill, Hesse, Mann, Whitman, Flaubert, Lao Tzu, St. John Perse, Camus; and from philosophers and thinkers such as Schweitzer, Buber, and a number of medieval mystics, especially St. John of the Cross.

Dag Hammarskjöld was deeply concerned with communication, given the degradation of the meaning of words through misuse and propaganda. He quoted Martin Buber at length in a speech at John Hopkins University on 'the walls of mistrust'. When the writer posed the question in a press conference as to his interest in translating the book he had quoted from, Hammarskjöld replied that he would, when he had time, like to translate a part of this book of essays. His profound interest in Buber's philosophy was revealed in the fact that he had Buber's fundamental volume 'Ich und Du' with him on his last mission to the Congo and had already begun the translation from the German.

Despite the crises that arose, Dag Hammarskjöld was personally responsible for the design and creation of the Meditation Room. Explaining its purpose in a leaflet given to those who visit the Room, he wrote: 'We all have within us a centre of stillness surrounded by silence. This house, dedicated to work and debate in the service of peace, should have one room dedicated to silence in the outward sense and stillness in the inner sense'.

In the centre of the room is a great block of Swedish iron ore. If one were to follow up a reference in one of his speeches to Arthur Waley's translations, one can trace perhaps influences from the 'Un-carved Block' of the Tao Te Ching. The fresco was done by the Swedish artist and Hammarskjöld's friend, Bo Beskow. What did it mean? many have pondered.

It is interesting that when Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, a close friend and colleague of his, returned to the UN after the Meditation Room was finished, Hammarskjöld took him immediately to see it. They examined the fresco together and Hammarskjöld asked Jarring what he made of it. Before receiving an answer he said: 'I think you see what I see—the Östersjön!' The sea to the east of Sweden is the Baltic. From both the *stuga* in Skåne, where Hammarskjöld actually stayed while on brief vacations to Sweden, and from Backåkra, the lovely house nearby which he was having renovated with the help of Bo Beskow, one can glimpse a view of the Östersjön. Its wild beaches near Sandhammaren were a favourite of Hammarskjöld's. Another innovation which the UN members enjoyed in the blue and gold Assembly Hall was the occasional concert by the world's finest orchestras. As one who worked on the concerts told me, 'The Secretary-General chooses the programmes. He knows just what orchestra plays which pieces best.' Bringing the Kabuki dancers to the Assembly Hall after Japan became a member, and a top French dramatic group to entertain delegates, also promoted a sense of harmony and unity.

When the UN membership was increased by one-third in the fall of 1956, the Secretary-General considered the consequences of universality. He saw the period as one of fundamental and rapid changes in the relationship of nations and peoples, each having different cultures and social systems. Because the UN Charter was a world charter, the United Nations was a unifying force in a divided world. 'The hope of finding peaceful, just, and constructive solutions', he wrote in his annual report, 'rests upon our ability to foster the growth of understanding, cooperation, and mutual accommodation of interests among all nations'.

He saw three great challenges of the times. 'First, the relationship of the peoples of Asia and Africa with the peoples of Western tradition; second, economic development for that majority of mankind which has so far shared so little in the fruits of the industrialized age; third, the unresolved conflicts between the ideologies that divide the world.' He considered the United Nations Organization with its specialized agencies well-suited to provide aid to the newly independent countries, the need for which he foresaw early on. He also saw that the UN could help these countries in their efforts to find their place on the map.

On his first trip to Asia, after spending Christmas with the troops of the UN Emergency Force in the Sinai, the Secretary-General told us that the trip to Asia was a 'very great emotional experience'. When he visited Africa on a very long trip at the end of 1959 and in early 1960, he was impressed with the leaders, but said there were too few of them. Particularly, he stressed the need for aid in education. On this long safari, he was looking into the face of Africa, that would so soon become independent states.

Hammarskjöld had been opposed to taking members of the press along with him on any missions or trips of this sort. When I asked him if he might consider permitting some correspondents to go along, his answer was brief: 'You don't know what it's like to live out of an airplane for weeks!'

Following a press conference held prior to his leaving on a six-week visit to Asian countries, we ran into each other in the corridor. 'Why do you take such a tough one?' I asked about the long trip. 'I don't like to talk of it in those terms but you know it is tough—arrive and perform', he replied. 'But you will see Kashmir in the spring', I said on a cheerful note. 'What can you see in a day—two days perhaps? There will be no time to see Kashmir', he said. I told him that it was very dull at headquarters when he was away, there wasn't news; that he didn't see this side of it. 'Well, the whole situation is such that it might be just as dull if I were here. I might as well be out where I can be more useful', Hammarskjöld remarked in conclusion. To a man who deeply loved nature and whose Uppsala college classmates wondered why he had not followed the great world famous 18th century botanist Linneaus in his field, this must have been a deprivation.

The Secretary-General found that the atmosphere of Danny's Hide-a-way Restaurant loosened his tongue. On one occasion in mid-1957 when he was our luncheon guest, Bruce Munn who was President of UNCA said in introducing him: 'We have him not and yet we see him still'. The quotation was quickly matched by another from Macbeth by Hammarskjöld who

described the period we were passing through as 'a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury'. He spoke of the difficulties involved in holding press conferences during this period of lull after the sound and fury of the Middle East crisis and of his hope for real and active reconstruction and rebuilding.

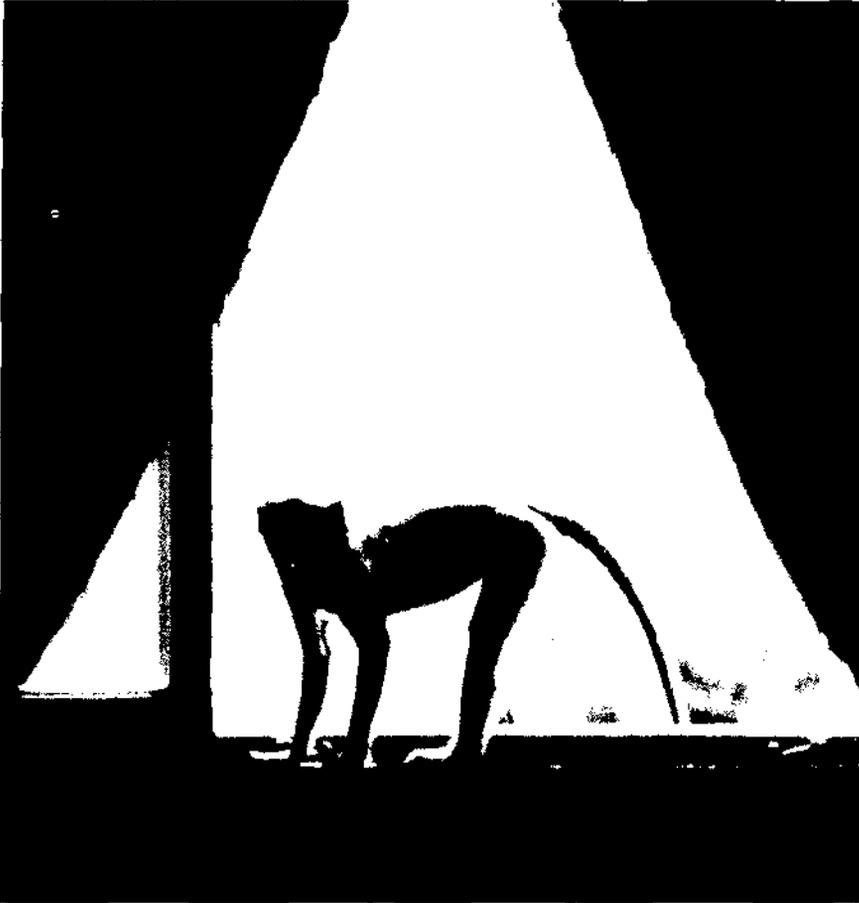
'What I think we want', Hammarskjöld told correspondents at the luncheon, 'is an exchange, not only of information, but also of views; a give-and-take over the table. I think that in the United Nations Headquarters—that glass building—you, the representatives of the press, and we on the Secretariat side, are living together in a way which should make these kinds of contacts not a one-sided affair but a two-sided affair. I have indeed, through the years, learned a lot from these press conferences: therefore in my own experience it has been a question of give and take, and I should like the process to develop further in that direction.' He went on to describe the situation, noting it was possible to speak in a somewhat different language from that which was unavoidable in the cold light of Conference Room No. 4.

It was indeed a two-way street. Normally reticent, or at arm's length on what meant anything to the private man, he relaxed. I recall his smiling response to an inquiry on whether he knew St. John Perse: 'Very well!' He said Perse never accepted 'translations' of his poetry. They were 'interpretations'. On one occasion he volunteered some information about an initiative undertaken with a couple of colleagues at the Swedish Touring Club. He explained that he had asked if he might stay on as vice-president of this association with its large membership while at the UN and that they had agreed. He told us that a book, *Svensk Natur* ('Swedish Nature') had been published under its auspices and that he was one of the three editors. The plan to publish a selection of nature descriptions from Swedish poetry and prose came at a time when Sweden was threatened by war and isolation. In a speech to the association Hammarskjöld later recalled that 'The association had wanted to place within reach of all a book in which the cycle of seasons and the varieties of scenery, from Sandhammaren in the far south to the Lapland mountains in the north, were woven together through fragments of our literature into a picture of this country as it had been experienced by Swedes separated in time, separated by origin, philosophy, and ambition, but joined in their ties to the soil out of which they had grown'.

Years after the crash at Ndola, Dr. Ralph Bunche, describing Dag Hammarskjöld as 'thin on the outside, tough on the inside', also told me he was 'impish' or 'teasing'. I learned that Golda Meir, Premier of Israel, had been invited to Hammarskjöld's private New York apartment on 73rd Street.

Elegy For My Pet Monkey, Greenback

August 6th, 1961



Far from the chattering troop,
From the green gloom under the tree-tops
And the branches over the jungle trail
Where the eyes of leopards
Gleamed in the night,
Alone,
In the white-washed room
With the bannisters and the dangling rope,
He sat on the window-sill
Watching the snow fall
And the cars rush by
With their eyes of fire.

Nobody was watching
When, one day, he jumped
For the loop of the rope,
And his chest got caught in its coils
And he choked to death.
Nobody was watching—
And who had ever understood
His efforts to be happy,
His moments of faith in us,
His constant anxiety,
Longing for something
He could only vaguely remember?
Yet all of us had liked him,
And we all missed him
For a long time.

Golda hated cats. Hammarskjöld had unleashed Greenback, the little monkey companion given to him by Somalia on his African trip. The first thing Greenback did was to suddenly make a jump, landing plomp in Mrs. Meir's lap. Imagine the consternation!

At one UNCA luncheon at Danny's the SG offered those of us around him one of his Baby Webster cigars with the coffee. I took one, thinking to have a memento of the occasion. After a while he said to me, 'You have not smoked yours! I thought you were one of these ladies who smoke cigars!' My colleagues took up the cry—'Yes, you haven't smoked yours, Kay'. I was being teased into smoking it, with a warning that I would have to be carried out—thus creating an incident. However, I said I had the courage and someone lit my cigar, while a close friend and colleague whispered to me: 'Don't inhale'. As a result there was no incident, but I understood what the word 'impish' meant.

At the beginning of Hammarskjöld's second term, on April 9, 1958, Bruce Munn of the United Press said he could present the Secretary-General of the United Nations in a very formal manner. 'I prefer, as I suspect you do, to give you our friend. Dag Hammarskjöld'.

'I thank you, Mr. President, or rather, Bruce, and ladies and gentlemen, or rather friends', Hammarskjöld warmly replied. 'I am tempted to continue on a kind of first-name basis with very, very many of you, who, in the course of these five years, I have got to know in such a way as to give me the right to address you in that way.'

'In fact, by choosing this way of showing your friendship at this anniversary, you have followed the same line—you have really approached the whole situation and me on a first-name basis, and I am very, very grateful for that.' He said, 'You certainly could not have struck a note which, from my point of view, would be more of a sign of how things have developed over five years and how they should develop in the future. I can tell you that I think this gesture of yours is a better summing-up of how I look at our relations than any words I could use myself.' He added, 'We meet in this way not only as friends, but I would say as collaborators in what I think is a common cause.'

In using the anniversary for serious consideration, he quoted a friend from the University of Uppsala who had written, on an anniversary of the University's foundation: 'The past is always with us, and to the coming days we are those who carry the past centuries and also our own few days.' That

was really the way, he said, 'that we must look at all our various efforts in the realm of international peace, of the movement towards a world of order and justice'. It was a confession to a belief in the continuity of human history; a belief in the steady growth of human endeavour in a sound direction; a belief that 'what we can hand over after our time of work is not just what we have managed to add to the heritage; it is the whole heritage with the little we have managed to add'.

He concluded with thanks for patience, for the friendship already mentioned, for confidence and for encouragement. 'This is a tough job ... however, it is rendered infinitely easier by the kind of reaction I have enjoyed from you. It has not perhaps always been very quick in the build-up, but I think that it is all the more solid. The best I can wish for myself for the future', he said, 'is that we may develop this kind of relationship, that we will get to know each other even better and that, in that light, we will come to share, in an even more essential sense than we have so far, this feeling of joint responsibility to the past and to the future, which I have tried to interpret.'

One exchange in a press conference is noteworthy in catching the essence of the private man. Joseph P. Lash of the New York Post had followed up a question relating to the Middle East by asking if the SG had in his own mind a notion as to what peace with justice would look like in the area. 'I have my dreams', the SG said. 'You have dreams?' Lash asked. SG: 'Yes, not plans'. Lash: 'Would you care to share them with us?' Hammarskjöld: 'I very rarely share my dreams with anybody'.

When the General Assembly opened at the United Nations for the regular session in September 1960, quite a number of heads of state and government participated: among them Tito, Macmillan, Nehru, Bourguiba, Nasser, Gomulka and Khrushchev. At that time it was not known that there had been a break in Soviet-Chinese relations in 1958 and that the Russians had withdrawn all their technical assistants.

The People's Republic of China was not in the UN at that time. Khrushchev used the opportunity of the gathering at the UN to try to get support from the communist parties of other countries.

Hammarskjöld, coming to the aid of newly independent Congo, hoped to keep the cold war out of Africa. Dr. Ralph Bunche has said that of all the UN operations, the Congo operation was the most successful from the standpoint of what they were asked to do and what they accomplished.

When Khrushchev first mounted an attack on the UN, I asked a high Polish official sitting next to me on the occasion of a luncheon for Gomulka, Poland's leader, why he thought Khrushchev had attacked Hammarskjöld. He explained it this way: 'You know the British are masters of understatement. The Russians—well, when they get going they sometimes go farther than they mean to.'

The big guns of attack by Khrushchev were levelled at Hammarskjöld on 3rd October, 1960, in the Assembly. Hammarskjöld had previously answered criticisms by saying he would rather see the office of the Secretary-General break 'on strict adherence to the principle of independence, impartiality and objectivity, than drift on the basis of compromise'. The attack came in the morning session. Here are a few excerpts from Dag Hammarskjöld's reply:

The Head of the Soviet Delegation to the General Assembly, this morning, in exercising his right of reply, said, among many other things, that the present Secretary-General has always been biased against the socialist countries, that he has used the United Nations in support of colonial powers fighting the Congolese Government in order to impose a 'new yoke on the Congo', and finally, that if I, myself, and I quote, 'do not muster up enough courage to resign, so to say, in a chivalrous manner, then the Soviet Union will draw the necessary conclusions from the obtained situation.

He told the Assembly that he had no reason to defend himself or his colleagues against the accusations and judgments to which they had listened. He regretted that the accusations and reply had tended to personalize an issue which he had said in his view 'was not a question of a man but of an institution'. 'The man does not count but the institution does', he stated. Hammarskjöld recalled that he had told them that he would not wish to serve as Secretary-General one day longer than such continued service was considered to be in the best interest of the Organization:

The statement this morning seems to indicate that the Soviet Union finds it impossible to work with the present Secretary-General. This may seem to provide a strong reason why I should resign. However, the Soviet Union has also made it clear that if the present Secretary-General were to resign now, they would not wish to elect a new incumbent but insist on an arrangement (the troika) which—and this is my firm conviction based on broad experience—would make it impossible to maintain an effective executive. By resigning, I would, therefore, at the present difficult and dangerous juncture, throw the Organization to the winds. I have no right to do so because I have a responsibility to all those Member States for which the Organization is of decisive importance, a responsibility which overrides all other considerations.

It is not the Soviet Union or, indeed, any other Big Power who need the United Nations for their protection; it is all the others. I shall remain at my post (here Hammarskjöld had to put up his hand to stem the thunderous applause of approval in the Assembly Hall so that he could continue) during the term of my office as a servant of the Organization in the interests of all those other nations, as long as they wish me to do so!

In this context the representative of the Soviet Union spoke of courage. It is very easy to resign; it is not easy to stay on. It is very easy to bow to the wish of a Big Power. It is another matter to resist. As is known to all members of this Assembly, I have done so before on many occasions and in many directions. If it is the wish of those nations who see in the Organization their best protection in the present world, I shall now do so again.

Here was the highest drama being played out—one man against a Big Power, David standing up to Goliath! Correspondents found themselves rushing back to the third floor press area with a feeling of tension and high excitement. I recall our colleague Saul Carson, of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, almost shouting his reaction: 'Here is a man! The only man!' Spirits were high, the Secretariat was jubilant!

It could not have been easy for Hammarskjöld to sit impassive on the surface, listening to the crass interventions during Security Council meetings of the USSR'S Valerian Zorin, who was possibly hoping to break the courage of the Secretary-General whose courage remained unshaken. But who could count the loss in the spirit of joy Hammarskjöld had always shown in attacking his work? Correspondents did not miss being in the Council Chamber for those meetings.

It had been a whole year since the Congo crisis began, when the Secretary-General met with newsmen at a press conference on 29th May, 1961. On this occasion he noted, 'We did not foresee what was ahead of us. Now, however, time is running on and it is impossible to have this gap between us. For that reason I have been rather eager to get back to press conferences.'

Among the many political questions put to Hammarskjöld, the writer posed a question which concerned the private man at the helm of the United Nations: 'Mr. Secretary-General, we are all, I believe, aware of the widened responsibilities throughout this whole year which have held you close to dawn-to-midnight schedules: the continuous waves of crisis in the Congo, the necessity to defend the UN under seige, and a long extraordinary Assembly. Yet this is a year marked by the emergence of Dag Hammarskjöld in other fields: as translator of Nobel Prize winner St. John Perse's

volume, *Chronique*; as co-translator of the English verse play, *The Antiphon*, which had a world premiere in Stockholm in February; as author of *A New Look at Mount Everest*, complete with some strikingly beautiful pictures by photographer Hammarskjöld. My question is: How did you manage it all and what about sharing with us this magical formula for extension in time?'

'Well frankly', he replied, 'all this was done before the Congo crisis. There was a happy period in May and June last year when things looked much better and when I could indulge in some activities of another type. But with your permission, Mrs. Gray, I think we should not indulge in those matters now but should get back to the tasks of the United Nations proper.'

As the General Assembly session approached, we received confirmation that the Secretary-General would be delighted to have luncheon with UN correspondents on the 13th of September. As treasurer, the writer was in the process of selling tickets for the Hammarskjöld luncheon when we heard the public announcement that he would be leaving shortly for the Congo. En route the Secretary-General learned for the first time of the outbreak of fighting in Katanga. He decided to fly from Leopoldville to Ndola to meet President Tshombe of Katanga to try to resolve the situation in the would-be break-away province.

The tragic crash of the UN airplane at Ndola and the confirmation that Hammarskjöld's body had been found, along with those of his aides on the mission, produced a condition of anguish and shock at UN headquarters. In the press area, where so much talk goes on, we passed our colleagues in silence—the feeling of loss was so deep and personal. A member of the family had died, one with whom we had closely shared the ups and downs of years together. The empty chair, the single red rose both at his place on the Assembly Hall podium when the official announcement was made, and then in the Security Council, communicated the reality of the loss poignantly.

Of course, we were pressed for profiles, especially of the man. The more we knew about him, the more we realized that there was something elusive, something inexplicable about Dag Hammarskjöld, this Prince of the Land of Summer—a phrase he had used for the world famous 18th century Swedish botanist, Linnaeus. Beyond the great courage, the enormous integrity, the brilliance, the uninhibited service to the cause of peace in the world, the man had a rare and superlative quality which the Spanish term 'duende' alone conveys—something one feels but cannot explain. It was not

until his book *Markings* was published posthumously that we really began to understand, through the profile of his faith, the private man.

The day Dag Hammarskjöld was buried at Uppsala, Sweden, was the day the United Nations came to Uppsala. He was given the honour of a state funeral by the Government; the royal catafalque bore his coffin to the family burial place nearby. The massive arrival of flowers sent from all over the world filled chapels at the Cathedral—the very largest, which just made the doors of the Cathedral, was marked with one name in gold: NASSER. Those from the United Nations correspondents bore the words 'to our cherished friend, the Secretary-General'. At six o'clock, as the Gunilla clock chimed on the campus, all talk ceased at a reception for honoured guests in the historic throne room of the red castle where Queen Kristina, centuries earlier, had resigned, and where Dag Hammarskjöld used to play when his father was Governor of the Province of Uppland. And all caps were doffed and the people stood still all over Sweden, and there was silence in tribute to this great man, their countryman, who had given his life in the service of peace.

Shortly after returning from Uppsala where the writer represented the UN Correspondents Association, the following decision was taken:

We the journalists of the United Nations, who saw Dag Hammarskjöld at his task, and who mourn his death, have sought a fitting means by which we may perpetuate his memory. To this end, we have established a memorial scholarship fund. It will promote in our profession a wider knowledge of the United Nations; and it will knit closer ties with the countries whose independence and advancement were the object of his unceasing labours during the last years of his life. The Memorial Fund is establishing annual Dag Hammarskjöld Scholarships.

By 1985 the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Scholarship Fund of UNCA had made it possible for some 80 young working journalists from Third World countries to come to New York to observe and report on United Nations activities during the General Assembly period. This roster of Dag Hammarskjöld Fellows from Third World countries grows. As UN correspondents wrote on the Twentieth Anniversary of Hammarskjöld's death, 'This roster is the evergreen wreath of remembrance we tender to the memory of this extraordinary man in whose name the awards have been given in tribute'.

Olof Palme and the Struggle against Apartheid

The Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme was assassinated in central Stockholm on February 28, 1986. He was shot from behind while walking home from a late night movie together with his wife, who barely escaped a bullet aimed at her. The couple had no police protection. Until today, there is no trace of the gunman despite the enormous resources placed at the disposal of the police to capture him.

This is not the place to go into the many theories about the motives for the assassination and into the many mysterious circumstances surrounding the killing. Let it only be said that Olof Palme was a man of conviction and commitment and that many sinister forces had an interest in seeing him leave the political stage.

A striking testimony to Olof Palme's international commitment is his last official speech delivered on February 21, one week before the assassination, to the 'Swedish People's Parliament against Apartheid', a gathering of Swedish popular organizations which met in Stockholm to discuss the situation in South Africa. It may also be symbolic that Olof Palme's long career as a political speaker ended with a speech against apartheid; as his successor as Swedish Prime Minister, Ingvar Carlsson, has pointed out, Olof Palme participated in the struggle against apartheid during his entire political life and he even began his political work collecting money from blood donations from his fellow students and transferring the funds to the opposition against apartheid in South Africa.

In his speech, which is reprinted here in the full English translation, Olof Palme covered the whole situation in South Africa as he perceived it, dwelling at length on the Swedish and Nordic sanctions policy and the need for a comprehensive Nordic action programme against the apartheid system supplemented by increased support for the frontline states and the work of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Many of these proposed policies are now being implemented by the Swedish and other Nordic governments in a determined effort to set an example for the democratic countries of the world.

The responsibility for carrying out these policies rests in no small measure with the Nordic international development authorities. It is therefore only fitting that we should print as an introduction to Olof Palme's speech the moving appreciation of his work which was delivered by the Director General of the Swedish International Development Authority, Carl Tham, at SIDA a few days after the assassination. Addressing the employees of SIDA and speaking on their behalf, he ended his speech: 'The man who dominated Swedish politics for nearly twenty years is no more. But it is impossible to speak of Olof Palme as something concluded, something past. He is present in our consciousness, inseparable from the meaning and spirit of our work.'



Olof Palme 1927-1986

Almost a year later, the same sentiments were expressed in Stockholm by a prominent representative of the Third World, the Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka. In his Nobel lecture delivered at the prize ceremony, he said: 'There is a gruesome appropriateness in the fact that an African writer, a black man, should stay here today, in the same year that the progressive Prime Minister of this host country was murdered, in the same year that Samora Machel was brought down on the territory of the last-ditch guardians of the theory of racial superiority which has brought so much misery to our common humanity. Whatever the facts about Olof Palme's death, there can be no question about his life. To the racial oppression of a large section of humanity, Olof Palme pronounced, and acted, a decisive No! Perhaps it was those who were outraged by this act of racial "treachery" who were myopic enough to imagine that the death of an individual would arrest the march of his convictions; perhaps it was simply yet another instance of the Terror Epidemic that feeds today on shock, not reason. It does not matter: an authentic voice of the white tribe has been stilled, and the loss is both yours and mine.'

Speech in Memory of Olof Palme

By Carl Tham

Some years ago I was standing in the United Nations building waiting for Olof Palme. I saw him approaching but I had to wait a good while. He could hardly take a step without some new person rushing up to him, seizing his hand, wanting to talk and argue. When at last he reached me he explained as he recovered his breath that for the last half-hour he had made his standpoint clear regarding the security position in Northern Europe, the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq war, North-South negotiations and the crisis in the United Nations, and that he now thought he deserved a bite of food.

It was a typical Palme situation, this inexorable vitality which infected his surroundings, earnestness without pathos, insight without vanity. I perceived then how internationally known and appreciated Palme was and I realized more clearly than ever how Olof Palme's achievements and personality enhanced Sweden's international profile, giving us a better chance of taking part in the international work for peace and justice—giving Sweden a place in the world. Anders Ferm, his friend of long standing, said the day before yesterday: 'He made Sweden bigger than it is'. It is a heritage that puts us under a moral obligation.

Olof Palme was a true internationalist. His world-wide work was not a flight from Swedish everyday life when politics seemed grey and dull. His knowledge, passion and commitment were a consummate part of a basic political outlook. Earlier and more clearly than most politicians he saw the winds of change sweeping over the world and how the fate of others is also a part of ours. He held that there is a link between how we shape our own society and our international responsibility.

He lifted the world into Swedish politics, making it plain and inescapable. Not everyone appreciated it. Let us not deceive ourselves in this hour of sorrow and fellowship. Olof Palme's international commitment was controversial. In fact, for a long time some considered it was ill-advised to express one's opinion on conditions in foreign countries far away; it was meddling in other people's affairs. And Olof Palme was not only indignant at the injustices—he saw their connection with class oppression and with the great powers' ruthless policy of force. He could also react strongly against the USA and what he regarded as democracy's betrayal of its own ideals. It became a challenge to a die-hard traditionalism in Swedish foreign policy, in a country where the view of world-wide conflicts has for so long been—and still is—dominated by the American perspective. But it was just this fearless outspokenness which gave him strength and scope. He saw the importance of symbolic action in order to capture men's imagination and he used his power over the word to stir up people's minds. It won him many, many friends, but also enemies, slander and dirt.

For us who work here and in different parts of the world, in aid offices and embassies, Olof Palme's political achievements have a special significance—and that applies to us all, irrespective of political opinion. More than anyone else, he was responsible for the Government Bill No 100 in 1962, which laid down the guidelines for Swedish aid. They have been adjusted and corrected, but have basically remained the same and in broad outline are firmly rooted in Swedish society.

Olof Palme was not an aid politician in the sense that he pondered over the finer points of land-programming or the subtle difference between import subsidies and sector subsidies. Occasionally he even allowed himself to groan over what he considered a too theological interpretation of sound principles. Palme saw the whole, the role of aid in international society as a model for others, a tool for peace and justice, a practical and concrete expression of our solidarity, compassion and faith in the future.

Now he has gone. So hard to believe, yet so horribly familiar. How many times have we seen similar flickering pictures of violence, the distorted hatred of fanaticism, the implacability that demands everything now and for which all compromises, all talks are betrayal. This was the very thing that Olof Palme was fighting against and this was what took his life, as brutally, as senselessly, as shockingly as all the violent deeds he condemned. These 'damned murderers' can appear in many different shapes, disguised as ruthless governments or terrorists, but violence is common to them all. We have lost our innocence, our idyll, it has been said. But we had done long ago. No one can be innocent in the 20th century. Olof Palme was least of all an idyllist. He believed in mankind, he believed in the future but he clearly saw the threats, the horrors, the black abyss.

A second, a life is ended, history writhes. We stand there petrified in our bewilderment and grief. The man who dominated Swedish politics for nearly twenty years is no more. But it is impossible to speak of Olof Palme as something concluded, something past. He is present in our consciousness, inseparable from the meaning and spirit of our work. As Gunnar Ekelöf says:

*And even now in times of death like these
there's one thing still holds good: that he alone
who serves the cause of life shall live.*

We rise now in silence to the memory of Olof Palme—we rise in our sorrow, our reverence—and our hope.

(Translated by Alan Blair)

South Africa and the Nordic Countries

Speech to the Swedish People's Parliament against Apartheid, February 21, 1986

By Olof Palme

It is a great pleasure for me to speak to this People's Parliament against Apartheid. We are very pleased to see leaders from ANC and SWAPO here as well as representatives of the movement against apartheid, from the United Nations and from all over our own country.

Champion of freedom

I should especially like to address myself to Oliver Tambo, the indefatigable champion of freedom in South Africa for many decades. Because of his convictions, he was forced to leave his country 25 years ago. I met Oliver Tambo for the first time more than 20 years ago and since then we have had very many opportunities to converse. His work, his optimism and his belief in the possibility of change, that it will be possible finally to send apartheid to history's rubbish heap, has been a great inspiration to us all.

The other day I read a big advertisement published in the South African press by the white minority regime in Pretoria. The advertisement began: 'Revolutionaries may stamp their feet. The communists may scream their lies. Our enemies may try to undermine us. But here is *the reality*'. Further down in the advertisement we are told what 'the reality' is: 'Our government is committed to power-sharing, equal opportunities for all, equal treatment and equal justice'. As an example it is mentioned, amongst other things, that the Mixed Marriages Act and the provisions of the Immortality Act have been repealed.

The reality of South Africa

What then is the reality of South Africa today?

When the act prohibiting mixed marriages was repealed slightly more than a year ago, it was after considerable pressure had been put on the government. The minister responsible said, in a comment on the amendment of the law, that 'the responsibility now rests with parents, teachers, religious and other leaders'. The responsibility for what?, one may well ask. Of course, the responsibility for seeing to it that no mixed marriages *take place*. In parliament, where the black majority is not represented, the following questions, amongst others, were posed about the proposal.

- Where may a couple consisting of a white and a black live?
- Where may their children go to school?

The government's answer revealed that the intention was not to change anything except the formal prohibition. Thus, a 'mixed' couple may not live in a white area. If they are accepted in an area for blacks, they can live there. They can also apply for permission to live in an area for a minority that neither of them belongs to.



Olof Palme with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

The children of the couple are classified, as has been the case up to now, according to three criteria: heredity, appearance and acceptance. A child of a mixed marriage may be completely white or completely black, or coloured, i.e. of mixed breed.

May a white child of a mixed marriage go to a school for whites, asked one member of parliament. Schools for whites receive far more resources and can therefore maintain a higher standard than schools for other races. For this reason it is natural to try to get the child into one. It is possible that the white child may go to a school for white children, was the reply. But if the couple have another child that is coloured, may this child go to the same school as its sibling? Out of the question, was the answer.

The reaction among black apartheid opponents in South Africa to the abolition of the act prohibiting mixed marriages was, to put it mildly, lukewarm: 'We are not struggling in the first instance for the right to marry white women', as one of them said.

But let me go back to the apartheid regime's advertisement. There, as I said earlier, they talk about equal opportunities for all.

Another language

The reality speaks another language. We know that South Africa is a country where black people do not have the vote, where destitution in the black so-called 'homelands' is in glaring contrast to the affluent white areas. We know that the richest and most fertile 87 per cent of the land has been reserved for the white minority of scarcely 15 per cent of the population, while the majority of the population has been relegated to the poorest 13 per cent of the land. This deeply unjust distribution is the result of a

conscious policy and of one of modern history's cruellest cases of the forced removal of people.

And these forced removals of black people continue. We have examples from as recently as a few weeks ago. The removal began of thousands of people from Moutse in Eastern Transvaal, transporting them 90 kilometres to a newly established 'homeland'. The removal was carried out when the men were at work. Women and children were loaded onto buses and driven off. We must not forget this reality when we hear the regime talk expansively of its reforms.

**200,000 black people
imprisoned yearly**

In the advertisement we are told that the passes, which all black people have to carry, are to be abolished, as is influx control in the towns. We are also told that the passes will be replaced by a new identity document, which will be issued to everybody. For the black majority, this only means that they will get a new document. Many believe that this document will be connected to a computer system to make the control of black people's movements stricter than ever. More than 200,000 black people are imprisoned yearly for breaking the pass laws. Black people will still not be allowed to live where they like. The Group Areas Act, which regulates where different ethnic groups may settle, is not to be amended, it was announced recently by Pretoria.

In the advertisement, it says that the South African government is committed to a single education policy. At the same time the regime has declared that 'the multi-cultural character of the South African community' must be recognized. The import is that the system with separate schools for different racial groups will be preserved.

Abolition not reform

Thus the truth is that apartheid in South Africa is not being reformed as the regime is trying to assert in its advertising campaigns. A system like apartheid cannot be reformed, it can only be abolished.

To the majority of South Africans all this is nothing new. By this stage they have a fundamental scepticism of everything the government says. They have previously heard that 'South Africa must change, or die', as was said a few years ago. What is now new is that even the white people are beginning to doubt their government.

The leader of the opposition, the liberal Van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from parliament on 7 February in protest against the regime's inability to set about solving the country's problems. And those white people that can are

leaving the country. Emigration, mainly of well-educated, English-speaking people, is increasing and now amounts to more than a thousand a month. Industry is demanding rapid reforms and has entered into contacts of its own with the African National Congress, ANC, which has been banned since the time of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

The regime doubts itself

Many of the keenest supporters of the regime interpret all talk of reforms as a sign of weakness. The result is that the regime has begun to doubt itself.

At the same time the opponents of apartheid have begun to rely on *their* ability to force the regime to abolish the system. Young blacks have boycotted the schools for nearly two years and defied both the police and the military powers. Quislings have been chased out of black residential areas. Black consumers have boycotted the shops of white people until the businessmen have moved over to their side and demanded reforms. Trade unions have organized strikes and built up new organizations. The United Democratic Front, UDF, has grown up as a nationwide, non-racist popular movement against apartheid. In 1984, the UDF organized a successful boycott of the elections to new parliament houses for Asians and coloureds, (i.e. people of mixed blood), mainly because the black majority was still excluded.

Unequalled violence

All this has happened—and continues to happen—despite the fact that the government has unleashed a violence that is unequalled even in South Africa's history. More than 1,000 people have been killed in disturbances since the autumn of 1984, most of them victims of police bullets. Military forces have been put into the black suburbs where there is now a state of emergency. More than 7,000 people have been arrested under the emergency laws. Reports reach us of torture and deaths in the gaols. Last year a member of the ANC, Benjamin Moloise, was executed despite worldwide protests. Six more have been sentenced to death, despite their pleas of not-guilty, for the murder of a representative of the government. UDF leaders have been accused of high treason, but some of them have been released and the indictment withdrawn, because the court has not been able to accept the grounds for prosecution. At present, the UDF leader, Murphy Morobe, is in prison in Johannesburg. On behalf of the UDF, Morobe accepted in 1984 the 'Let Live Prize' of the newspaper *Arbetet* (Work). Cheryl Carolus, a coloured UDF leader from Cape Town, who visited Sweden just a few weeks ago, was released from prison a few days ago under strict bail conditions, which, amongst other things, forbid her to work for the UDF.

**Threats and attacks
on neighbours**

In its defence of the apartheid system, the regime has not only intensified the oppression internally. Violence has also been escalated against neighbouring countries, which have been subjected to both threats and direct military attacks. South Africa regularly invades southern Angola and supports the UNITA guerillas. During 1985, it was revealed that South Africa had continued to give support to the rebel RNM guerillas in Mozambique, in contravention of the security treaty that South Africa and Mozambique entered into in 1984. South Africa's commando troops carry out acts of sabotage in neighbouring countries and kill refugees from South Africa.

**Threat to interna-
tional peace and
security**

The destabilization policy in relation to neighbouring countries reveals ever more clearly that apartheid and the regime's defence of the system constitute a threat to international peace and security. Nor are there any indications that South Africa is prepared to withdraw its army of occupation from Namibia and accept a peaceful solution in accordance with the UN plan of 1978. Quite the reverse, according to several reports, South Africa is increasing its presence, especially in northern Namibia. According to reports that reach us through SWAPO and the churches, the oppression there has been increased still more.

During 1985, South Africa has installed a new government in Windhoek. The South Africans have expressly removed security and foreign policy issues from the new government's area of responsibility. The government in Windhoek has not succeeded in any other areas in showing that it is capable of pursuing an independent policy in relation to South Africa. No one, apart from South Africa, has recognized the internal government.

**Independence for
Namibia**

In the discussions that have been held between South Africa, the USA and Angola on the Namibia issue, no progress has been made, despite the fact that, in the autumn of 1984, Angola declared itself prepared to discuss a withdrawal of the Cuban forces from southern Angola. South Africa obviously continues to delay a solution according to the UN plan. A big responsibility rests therefore with the United Nations and its security council to put power behind its plan and force South Africa to agree to independence and free elections in Namibia. The plans of some foreign countries to provide military and other assistance to the rebel UNITA guerillas in Angola could only obstruct a negotiated settlement and would be perceived as support for South Africa.

What we are now witnessing in South Africa is a vicious circle of increased violence in defence of a system that is already doomed. It is only short-sightedness, a disinclination to see reality as it is, that makes the white

minority cling firmly to power through continued oppression of its own population and terrorism towards neighbouring countries. The white people must be aware of their own interests in negotiating a peaceful solution, while such a solution is still at all possible.

In this situation, the reaction of the rest of the world is of great importance. Pressure on the regime must increase. It must be made clear to the minority regime that it has no support in the world outside.

The United Nations has a very important role to play as regards mirroring world opinion. It is a positive step that the security council, as a result of the increased pressure of public opinion, recommended economic sanctions against South Africa for the first time last summer.

The United Nations also has the possibility of making these compulsory provided that consensus can be achieved in the UN security council. A decision in the security council in favour of mandatory sanctions would in itself be an important signal to the apartheid regime that the patience of the world is at an end, and it would perhaps constitute the most important means of pressure on the white minority to abolish apartheid.

The main aim of our efforts is, as earlier, to bring about such a decision. I would like to repeat our appeal to the members of the United Nations security council, who have special possibilities of influencing South Africa, to take their responsibility seriously.

If they were applied, sanctions would hit the whites' privileges very hard. The white people know this. The idea of economic sanctions has the wide support of the black majority's leaders. The liberation movements and the rest of Africa are also in favour of economic sanctions.

When, in the 1970s, we in Sweden began to pursue the issue of unilateral Swedish sanctions against South Africa, many people shook their heads and said they would have no effect and that no one would follow suit. But what spurred us on was the knowledge that, if we wanted to try to contribute to a peaceful end to apartheid, we must start in good time.

The Swedish initiative has now been followed by many countries. Criticism has died down. More and more people who were earlier doubtful are now beginning to understand that this type of action is necessary. Sanctions are not a guarantee that a bloody outcome can be avoided. But the world must take up its responsibility and seek every opportunity of actively contribut-

ing to a settlement. The United Nations and its security council could also play an important role.

We are naturally prepared to contribute towards alleviating any damage caused to South Africa's neighbouring countries and to support other UN states also assisting the region.

New Nordic action programme

Pending the achievement of consensus in the security council for mandatory sanctions, we must all make our contribution towards maintaining and increasing pressure on the apartheid regime. On the Nordic side we have long sought to coordinate our measures to give them extra weight. Last October we adopted a new joint Nordic programme of action against South Africa as a follow-up and extension of the 1978 programme.

Included in the programme are greater joint efforts in the United Nations to increase the pressure on the apartheid regime.

The earlier ban on investments has been extended to include a ban on loans, financial leasing and transfer of control of patent and manufacturing rights.

Within the framework of our international commitments we have included a number of measures in the trade policy area.

In the Nordic programme there is also a recommendation to importers and exporters to look for new markets. It comprises measures to prevent public procurement of South African products and the discontinuance of government support for trade promotion activities. We undertake to prohibit the import of Kruger rands and the export of computer equipment to South Africa. Furthermore, we pledge to ban new contracts in the nuclear field and to give up commercial airlinks with South Africa.

Together with the other Nordic countries, we have also undertaken to further limit our contacts with South Africa in sport, and cultural and scientific fields. Visa rules for South African citizens are to be tightened up.

Last but not least we have agreed to increase, on a Nordic basis, our humanitarian support to the victims and opponents of apartheid, as also our development assistance to South Africa's neighbouring states.

However, we will not rest there. We see the Nordic programme of action as a means of taking further joint and unilateral measures against apartheid.

On a national basis, Sweden has introduced a ban on imports of agricultural products from South Africa. It means in practice a ban on the import of all consumer goods from South Africa. We have recommended that Swedish companies voluntarily limit their trade with South Africa. Trade has already dropped, and there are examples of companies that are actively looking for suppliers in countries other than South Africa.

The Government is now carefully following developments. If companies do not follow the recommendations of the Government and parliament, new measures must be considered.

To speed up the reorientation of companies from South Africa to other countries in the region, the Nordic countries and the SADCC states have recently agreed on widened cooperation. It is a question of promoting trade, investments, technology transfer, cultural exchange, and communications between the Nordic countries and these countries in southern Africa.

At the same time as we put greater pressure on South Africa, we must be prepared to support the front-line states.

The Government is substantially increasing assistance to the countries and people of southern Africa that are hit by South Africa's destabilization and apartheid policies. With the proposal the Government recently put forward, more than 40 per cent of the bilateral assistance will be channelled to southern Africa. This is equivalent to a total of slightly more than SEK two billion for this fiscal year. To this is added our contributions to the various UN agencies. Sweden gives development assistance to the individual countries so that, despite the destabilization policy, these countries can develop and thereby reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Our support to the development coordination conference, SADCC, also aims to contribute towards the countries being able jointly to increase their own trade and thus get away from South Africa. The ANC and SWAPO will directly receive increased assistance for their humanitarian activities for, amongst others, their refugees in the neighbouring countries. Through extensive and increased assistance, other organizations and people, who are victims and opponents of the apartheid policy, will obtain both economic and political support from Sweden. Many popular movements are involved and are making a valuable contribution to this assistance.

We all have a role to play in opposing apartheid. I have described the Government's work in the United Nations and other international fora. We

are also actively working to induce other countries to take similar measures of their own. One of the reasons why we very carefully make sure our measures are within the framework of international treaties is that it is then far more probable that other countries will follow our example. This was the case with the ban on investments. Likewise, interest in the Swedish ban on imports of agricultural products from South Africa has been very substantial.

Speeding up the fall

Municipalities and county councils in Sweden have been given the opportunity of participating in the boycott of South Africa. Several members of parliament, from all parties, are participating in a European action group against apartheid. The organizers of today's meeting are a further example of how widespread is the interest today in Southern African issues. This is exceedingly gratifying, especially since we know that our work here has its counterpart in many other countries. It is gratifying also because with increased international pressure on the minority regime, we can contribute towards speeding up the fall of the apartheid system.

It is by taking joint responsibility that we can contribute towards abolishing the apartheid system. This system can live on because it gets support from outside. If the support is pulled away and turned into resistance, apartheid cannot endure. If the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear.

I have chosen to speak very pragmatically about what apartheid really is and, also very pragmatically, about what we are doing.

Fundamentally this is a profoundly emotional question and one which goes to the depths of our feelings because it is such an uncommonly repugnant system. Simply because, on account of people's colour, it abandons them to poverty. This system will be to the discredit of the world for as long as it persists.

**Release Nelson
Mandela!**

But when expressing these feelings it is important for us to remember the very simple, basic facts which I have presented. And we know that we have a duty, realizing as we do that the system is sustained by the internal apparatus of oppression, the entire police force, the military and this wretched complex web of apartheid legislation. This is why they are still able to put their opponents' leaders in prison. It goes without saying that Nelson Mandela must be released.

The insanity of the system

We have such an incredible example of the insanity of the system in their refusal to talk to the leaders. Because if you refuse to talk to the leaders who have people's confidence, this will inexorably result in the whole thing ending in a fearfully violent and bloody conflict. It is a legacy of history that the black people of Namibia and South Africa have a wide popular movement, and a really eminent leading stratum which could participate in a dialogue to dismantle this despicable, doomed system. But the regime responds by intensifying oppression and putting the leaders of the people in prison. This, then, is a classic example of madness, of which nothing can come but evil—until the day it finally comes to an end and disappears.

This is one point. The other is that this system cannot, would not be able to survive if it were not, in various ways, supported or accepted or tolerated by the rest of the world.

We are all implicated

And so the rest of the world is directly implicated in the continuance of this system. If the rest of the world decides, if people all over the world decide that apartheid is to be abolished, the system will disappear. This is a simple way of expressing this responsibility, and it also shows the classic truth that, among those with vested economic interests in the survival of this system, there is resistance. There is also hesitation and resistance on the part of the establishment. From those who regard people's longing for liberty in a country as a potential cause of a global contest between different superpowers, there is resistance. And all this, in my opinion, is another example of madness, because the apartheid system is also a classic example of a threat to peace which people must jointly abolish.

Mobilizing public opinion

But given the vested interests of finance and of the superpowers, there is another classic way forward, namely that of mobilizing popular opinion in support of human dignity. And that is the essential importance of a popular assembly like this one.

On the one hand we have the apparatus of oppression, which is undermining itself and is being undermined by the courageous struggle waged by the black popular movements in South Africa. On the other is outside support, and so by declaring our support for the black struggle, and by helping to isolate the apartheid regime, we must live up to our responsibility for bringing this repulsive system to an end.

(Original in Swedish)

Another Development for SADCC Countries

The latest in a long series of seminars on different aspects of development in Southern Africa, sponsored by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, was a seminar on 'Another Development for SADCC Countries' held in the Royal Palace in Maseru, Lesotho, November 18–22, 1985. The seminar was jointly organized and sponsored by the Institute of Southern African Studies (ISAS), Lesotho, the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP), Botswana, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

Among the Dag Hammarskjöld seminars organized during the last 15 years and leading up to the one on 'Another Development for SADCC Countries', the following should be mentioned here: the Dar es Salaam Seminar on 'Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African Countries' in 1974; the Maputo Seminar on 'Educational Alternatives in Southern Africa' in 1978; the Lusaka Seminar on 'Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa' in 1980, with the participation of all the major liberation movements; the Harare Seminar on 'Education in Zimbabwe—Past, Present and Future' in 1981; the ANC Workshop in Morogoro on 'Curriculum Development' in 1982 and the SWAPO Seminar on 'Education and Culture for Liberation in Namibia' in Lusaka in the same year. Materials from the various seminars have been published in the following issues of Development Dialogue: 1974:2, 1978:2, 1981:1 and 1982:1-2.

For the seminar on 'Another Development for SADCC Countries', 37 participants gathered from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, and, in addition, from a few non-African countries. It was directed by Mr Patrick van Rensburg, Director of the Foundation for Education with Production, and Dr Michael Sefali, then Director of the Institute of Southern African Studies.

The main objectives of the seminar were to urge countries in the SADCC region to examine the concepts of Another Development and the alternative strategies it advocates in different sectors, and to assist non-governmental agencies to adopt or strengthen current applications of such alternatives. Hoped for results were a greater official tolerance of alternatives, a strengthening of existing alternative projects, the development of new ones and possibly official endorsement or adoption of some of these alternatives.

The seminar was opened by His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II, who was present through the entire seminar, and whose opening address 'Alternative Strategies for Development—A Clarion Call' set the tune for the whole meeting. The items to be discussed in the seminar programme were grouped in three clusters. The first cluster comprised education, culture and health; the second, food and agriculture, industrial technologies and habitat; and the third, participation, communications and the media, and human rights. This



Seminar participants outside the Conference Hall of The Royal Palace.

division in clusters is reflected in the summary conclusions from the seminar 'An Agenda for Action'.

The material prepared for the seminar is now being edited for publication by the Foundation for Education with Production. It is the intention to make this publication widely available within the SADCC region and to use it in a press campaign for Another Development, organized in cooperation with a number of NGOs. As a follow-up, national seminars on the subject are also being considered.

Particular emphasis is given to the proposal to launch a weekly newspaper for the SADCC region and applications for funding are being submitted to a number of donor organizations. Approaches made to governments in the region have met with a favourable response.

Especially in the field of alternative education, considerable progress has been made in several countries, and areas requiring further research have been identified in this and several other sectors. Increasing pressure is at the moment being exercised to give Habitat a higher priority within SADCC and research into the best means of achieving this goal in both rural and urban areas is being intensified.

For the benefit of the readers of Development Dialogue, we are publishing the Opening Address to the seminar by His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II and the Summary Conclusions from the Seminar in the form of 'An Agenda for Action'.

The Agenda for Action is divided into three parts: Part I is 'The Maseru Declaration: Another Development for SADCC Countries', which was unanimously approved by all the participants. Part II deals with 'The political content of Another Development and its relevance for the demand for a New International Order' and Part III outlines 'The Agenda' for the future. Parts II and III have been written by the Directors of the seminar on the basis of the papers delivered, the reports of the working groups and the discussions during the seminar. A list of the participants is given at the end.

Alternative Strategies for Development —A Clarion Call!

By His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II



In his opening address to the Seminar on 'Another Development for SADCC Countries', His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II begins by observing that 'our preoccupation with "growth" has been a cause of many of our present problems' and, that 'growth has continued to fail to touch many of our peoples, and to solve the problem of abject poverty'. Thus, the need for an alternative is clear and King Moshoeshoe II takes as his point of departure the conception of Another Development: 'As I understand it, Another Development says we must strive to be more self-reliant and cooperative. This calls for substantially different ways of life from those to which we are presently accustomed; we would have to do without most of the luxuries, fashionable clothes, possessions and gadgets that we now take for granted; we would make do with what was sufficient for a comfortable and convenient lifestyle, and design things that last, and not throw-aways; much of our food, furnishings, goods and services, would be produced in and around our homes and neighbourhoods in labour-intensive and non-commercial ways, using such common resources as are available in the neighbourhood. Consequent-

ly, problems of alienation would be minimized, since most people would be engaged in neighbourhood activities that were relevant to them, and directly related to the welfare of their families and their neighbourhood. They would be obliged to get together, to plan, to take responsibility for their community affairs, to cooperate and to share. Instead of delighting the pampered few, such a society would enhance the quality of life for most people, despite the possibility that material living standards, as measured by GNP, might be at a lower level.'

The King then goes on to outline, more specifically, what an alternative development policy would be like in fields like trade, intra-regional cooperation, food and agriculture, education etc., and finishes by emphasizing two common motives which unite all those in the world who genuinely seek social justice in the form of real human development. 'On the one hand, a deep serious concern to understand the world as a unity—in its totality; and, on the other hand, a real commitment to transform the world—transformation being understood as the unfolding, or the preservation, of structures and processes which can yield and secure the satisfaction of those human needs, be they physical, emotional or spiritual—for all the world's citizens under human and equitable conditions. Only such a transformation merits the word development.'

His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II was born in 1938 and educated at Roma College, Maseru, Benedictine College, Yorkshire, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was installed Paramount Chief of Lesotho in 1960 and proclaimed Motlotlehi (King) in 1966. He is a much-travelled man with wide intellectual interests and a dedicated educationist, who has taken a particular interest in the ideas of education with production, expressed inter alia in the building up of the Moshoeshoe II Secondary School at Matsieng. Since 1986 he is a member of the International Honorary Committee of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

My theme can be summed up in a few words of Mahatma Gandhi, when he said: 'There is a sufficiency in the world for man's needs; but there is not enough for man's greed.'

This statement is extremely relevant to the now familiar 'limits to growth' argument, as we all realize that development has not only been far from satisfactory, but that our preoccupation with 'growth' has been a cause of many of our present problems. Growth has continued to fail to touch many of our peoples, and to solve the problem of abject poverty. And deterioration seems to be gaining speed. There is a crisis.

I should like to refer to some 'clarion calls', already made by some very distinguished world personalities, about the deteriorating circumstances of our times.

At the conference of Non-aligned Countries, in New Delhi, in March 1983, the President of the Republic of Cuba spoke about what he called 'the silent emergency' in these words:

The year 1981 has been another year of silent emergency: 40,000 children have died silently every day; 100 million children have silently gone to bed hungry every night; 10 million children have silently become physically or mentally deficient; 200 million children between the ages of 6 and 11 have witnessed in silence how others attended school; in short, one fifth of the world population has struggled silently for mere survival.

In November 1983, in Addis Ababa, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, had this to say:

Today, Africa faces a plethora of crises—the food crisis, the energy crisis, the debt crisis, and the crisis of economic management. We may also add to the list the climatic and ecological crisis resulting in the growing desertification of the continent, persistent droughts, and consequent crop failures, hunger and famine.

In January 1984, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, at a meeting with representatives of potential donor countries to Africa, made the following statement:

Per capita incomes are declining ... Nearly five million children are dying each year, and another five million are crippled for life from hunger and malnutrition ... The challenge is two-fold: it is necessary to respond at once to those conditions which pose an immediate threat to human life. It is also necessary to redress those conditions which give rise to the current crisis, and to establish a basis for the resumption and acceleration of economic and social development.

I think he could also have added, very aptly, a basis for social justice, where all people have a claim to an equal share in all those advantages which are commonly desired, and which are conducive to human well-being.

In July 1985 the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa reported and commented in these words:

The severe drought conditions of the last few years have brought sharply into focus the long-standing deteriorating situation in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In

practically all sectors ... this deterioration had already reached crisis proportions. The challenge to avert deaths and human suffering has been overwhelming ... Drought does not produce famine where the affected population is affluent. The disease is poverty.

Doubtless, it was in response to this report, and many others, that the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries at their meeting in Harare were reported, in the IFDA Bulletin, to have committed themselves to giving priority attention to 'the adoption of national policies contributing to self-reliant and self-sustaining development'. The gross injustices of today's world are the direct and inescapable consequences of a world economic system, and of an approach to development, which allows the pursuit of maximum return on investment to determine what will be produced, and what development will take place. Our problems result from our commitment to levels of material affluence that are far higher than can be sustained for all people, and to an economic system which obliges us to strive for continual increases in these material living standards, regardless of how high they already are, what inequalities they actually create, and whether the basic resources are enough for everyone to use at this rate.

Many development writers are now convinced that the orthodox approach to development is fundamentally mistaken, has failed in the Third World, and cannot significantly improve the welfare of the masses—even though in some countries it has resulted in some impressive growth in terms of gross national product, and in higher living standards for the few of those countries. While it has been a bonanza for the transnational corporations and for consumers in the industrialized countries, there is a great deal of evidence to support the conclusion that this orthodox approach to development has done very little to improve the living standards of most people in Third World countries, and that it has actually reduced the *real* living standards of many. Despite the wealth it might generate, not only does very little of that wealth 'trickle down' or produce goods for the majority of the people; the process actually *dispossesses* the poor of much needed resources. I think it is relevant for us to remind ourselves that 'the rich must live more simply than the poor may simply live'.

Another Development calls for a thorough examination of questions such as 'development of what, by whom, for whom, and how'. It challenges the role played by the so-called 'partners in development'—the public sector, the donor agencies and the private sector. It questions whether the private sector, which historically and sociologically has always been the pioneering actor, should remain the main actor. A Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

publication of 1977, *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies*, emphasized this point in these words:

The organization of those who are the principal victims of the current state of affairs is the key to any improvement. Whether governments are enlightened or not, there is no substitute for the people's own, truly democratic organization if there is to be a need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically-minded development; if there is to be Another Development.

Another Development, therefore, challenges Third World countries to pursue a more self-reliant development model, gearing their resources directly to producing what their people actually need—which will restore, to individuals, to families, and to neighbourhoods, the real functions of the economic system, and thereby increase interaction, cooperation, sharing, and responsibility at those levels. One of the greatest indictments of the orthodox approach to development is that, in producing an economic system which gives first priority to increasing the consumption of commercial goods and services, it undermines community values. As individuals and neighbourhoods do less and less for themselves, and allow big commerce and bureaucracy to take over more and more of the supply of goods and services, mutual responsibility, and community feeling are whittled away.

We need to strive to develop open and participatory forms of economic and political planning wherein people can take part in public debate about the main production and development issues, and then have a direct say in the final decision. There is no chance of achieving a just and safe world until we shift to an economic and political system which enables us to ensure that productive activity is more satisfactorily aligned with basic human needs. As I understand it, Another Development says we must strive to be more *frugal, self-reliant, and cooperative*. This calls for substantially different ways of life from those to which we are presently accustomed; we would have to do without most of the luxuries, fashionable clothes, possessions and gadgets that we now take for granted; we would make do with what was sufficient for a comfortable and convenient lifestyle, and design things that last, and not throw-aways; much of our food, furnishings, goods and services, would be produced in and around our homes and neighbourhoods in labour-intensive and non-commercial ways, using such common resources as are available in the neighbourhood. Consequently, problems of alienation would be minimized, since most people would be engaged in neighbourhood activities that were relevant to them, and directly related to the welfare of their families and their neighbourhood. They would be

obliged to get together, to plan, to take responsibility for their community affairs, to cooperate and to share. Instead of delighting the pampered few, such a society would enhance the quality of **l i f e** *for most people*, despite the possibility that material living standards, as measured by GNP, might be at a lower level.

In order to improve our negotiating position in the North/South dialogue, to decrease our dependency and to exert more pressure for change in the world economic system, we urgently need alternatives to the strategies we have followed in the past.

We have already seen the beginnings of an alternative, in the strengthening of South/South cooperation and dialogue. Some success has already been achieved, the volume of trade between Third World nations having increased from 20.2 per cent in 1970 to 27.3 per cent in 1981. South/South cooperation is an urgent strategy for all concerned. It constitutes a refusal on the part of the Third World to resign herself to the present world order; it is the meeting for cooperative action, of 'powerless victims', as Julius Nyerere has said. For this we need to mobilize the energies and resources of the South, collectively and individually, to wage war on underdevelopment. This will require internal reforms and vigorous management of resources.

We need collective self-reliance—a system of trade preferences among ourselves, a system of food guarantees, and the establishment of a South/South Development Bank. In 1981, we saw the Caracas Action Programme—a charter for economic action. The group of 77 has done much to develop a system of trade preferences, its membership now standing at 123. We had our own Lagos Plan of Action of 1980, a kind of Caracas programme for Africa, with its emphasis on self-reliance in food production and its suggestions for an African common market by the year 2000. We have seen the Cairo Charter for Cooperation of 1977, a joint Arab-African programme for political, economic, commercial and cultural cooperation. We now have our own sub-regional programme, part of which is a search for alternative strategies to decrease our dependence generally on the industrialized world, and we have our own Lusaka Declaration geared to the reduction of dependence on South Africa. Julius Nyerere has described such collective efforts as those of a trade union of the poor. It is a union which needs to strengthen its negotiating base.

Any African regional group may well also seek to achieve economic relationships with other regional groups among the countries of the South. Such an arrangement between us—in the South—could constitute a viable ele-

ment in the course of world development generally, and could help to bring about the new international economic order.

We urgently need to undertake research in order to establish which types of trade, currently engaged in, are complementary to each other; we need joint production ventures to meet the immediate needs of our people—in agriculture and in the manufacture of basic goods, in the utilization of labour and management skills, in the researching and sharing of appropriate technologies, and in the exploration of regional resources.

Most of all, we shall need the political will to transform into action and reality all these possibilities and the latent potential that we know are there. The South must reach the point of development where it can, first of all, satisfy the needs of its own people, and then achieve a surplus in certain sections for trade relations with the industrialized nations; and where it can get together to press for realistic prices for its surpluses and those resources needed by the industrialized world. We shall, of course, need the help and cooperation of the industrialized world to achieve this, but we must seek the kind of help that in a sense undermines itself, and cancels out its need in the shortest time possible—not the kind that only serves to perpetuate itself and to increase our dependence. The Group of 77 are seeking to establish a South/South secretariat which would give us a coordinating capacity for effective political and economic collaboration among Third World nations. Regional cooperation for self-reliance will be the essential first element in such a venture.

Africa has plunged from self-sufficiency in food to widespread hunger. In 1938, Africa exported cereals; in 1950 we were self-sufficient; in 1976 we imported 10 million tons of cereals, and in 1978 12 million tons. Since the Third World achieved political independence it has increasingly come to depend on imported food. This is a paradoxical situation, and, for obvious reasons, it must be one of our first challenges in our quest for alternative strategies.

We may recall the words in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*:

For centuries, the rich and powerful have stifled humanity in the name of a so-called spiritual experience. In fact this phase in the history of underdevelopment is a completely useless phase. When it has vanished, devoured by its own contradictions, it will be seen by us that nothing new has happened since independence was proclaimed and that everything must start from scratch.

If we need to begin again—with indigenous and endogenous strategies for our own definition of what constitutes development—we shall have to go back to the land, and to food production, as the basic prerequisite for overall progress in any underdeveloped economy. It is probable that if, instead of concentrating on large projects, we had in the past invested in farmer education and in many small projects, the economic result would have been better. Small agricultural projects make investment, equipment and technology accessible to local communities, and associate the people themselves with their own development.

The Western mode of education—where primary education only serves to prepare students for secondary school—still persists with us. Those who fail in secondary school do not wish to do manual work, and little has been done to make work in the fields less strenuous, by looking for appropriate technologies. The problem of school versus agriculture still persists. The secondary school graduate often wishes to go into administration—without any real appreciation of the fact that the expense of an increasing administration has to be met, at least in part, by the small communities who need agricultural support.

We need to redress the imbalance between town and rural services in order to improve the quality of life in the villages where the majority of people live.

For this, we shall have to look to our rural areas for greater output in food, under terms which will benefit the rural community as well as the urban community. We shall need to draw the people into the decision-making process, and free ourselves from a tendency to decide *for* them.

We need to pay more attention to the fact that the initiative of the people who do the work is the prime resource available in our development, and that initiative is only activated by consent. If village people can be convinced that they themselves will benefit, and not merely those in the towns, then we shall have the greatest chance of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Julius Nyerere has often pointed out the tendency of experts and governments, in the Third World, to talk about rural development as if the people themselves, in the villages, do not have ideas of their own.

The surplus that our farmers could produce, if we find the appropriate support system, will need to stay in the villages, so that our rural economies can be diversified. How can we expect our farmers to produce more if their

surpluses benefit others more than themselves—if producer prices are too low, which we know them to be?

China's success, in eradicating poverty among a very large population, has been based on the mobilization of her people, all of her people in her rural areas—a human investment whose success is indisputable. China adopted the principle that available rural labour time is a precious asset which can be mobilized to increase productivity and make more and more goods and services locally available. Alliances, strengthened by unity of purpose, were forged between town and rural people, between different groups, to work for national development. This was done by giving everyone a role, and creating conditions whereby *everyone* expected to sacrifice something for the greater goal. Imports of luxury goods were controlled and kept to the minimum, and the emphasis was on food production and on basic human needs satisfaction as a first step on the road to development for all. If we ourselves see the need for this kind of unity of purpose we shall listen to and learn from our people *both* in the town and in the villages. We must recognize that those who are fortunate enough not to be trapped in poverty are, too often, remote from the problems of those who are, and they need therefore to ask for *their* help, *their* ideas, *their* feelings.

At home, our schools must become integrated into our alternative economic strategies—children learning basic skills, with trade schools for those who do not go on to secondary school, and both must be regarded as of equal status, with equal claims to what resources are available.

We know we have constraints concerning meagre resources, and so we shall need strict controls over spending, in our determination to give priority to self-reliance and self-sufficiency and insisting on everyone sharing in the constraints and sacrifices required to achieve self-reliance.

The only purely economic stimulus that will enable our countries and our region to take off, is a radical redistribution of income and wealth—which means a greater concentration of funding in the rural areas; encouragement of small scale crafts and industries in which poor people can improve their incomes; land reform; and above all, the political will, vision and determination of the 'haves' to secure a better life for the 'have nots'. Increased food production will underpin industrial expansion and will help to provide a lively internal market for basic manufactured goods.

To attain such an alternative society, the most relevant contributions are

educational and political, and the most important task is to help to promote critical and informed public discussion of our present situation and our possible future, so that eventually we will have built the necessary grass-roots political climate to support intended structural changes. A very high level of public understanding and good will must therefore be built up before the required social change can become possible. There will, of course, be strenuous resistance to all these proposals from the many powerful groups which have a vested interest in the continued pursuit of affluence and growth; but, luckily, there is also a widespread realization that the current social systems are neither just, nor working well, nor conducive to national security. The task is to help people understand the need to adopt the alternative solutions which, in fact, are simple and quite attractive.

Our fate hangs on whether or not enough people come to understand and accept the general alternative philosophy. If *enough* people opt for a somewhat frugal, self-reliant, and communal alternative way of life, then that is what we will have, irrespective of what the pampered few, with vested interests, might prefer and regardless of their resistance. It would be difficult to conceive of an easier and less risky revolution to join! We can all contribute without jeopardizing our reputation or careers, let alone our physical safety; we can all contribute most simply by seizing every opportunity to talk about the issues; and many of us can make the most important contribution while actually doing the things we are paid to do. Our determination should be inspired by the awareness that we have 'an opportunity for organizing a society in which people can work together in cooperation for the good of all', as Julius Nyerere has put it. Having said that, let us recognize that there is a great deal of cynicism about the ability of the academic, social and ruling elites to look critically at themselves and their present development policies, and to act on the need for alternative strategies. An African journalist wrote in 1977:

Always remember that every African who attends an international conference is rich within his own society. He or she has a privileged position, a much sought-after job, and a prosperous lifestyle. Will he or she be able to look beyond that, to the future of mankind? The danger of the next few years is that the rich and the poor, internationally and nationally, will point accusing fingers at each other; that everyone will call on everyone else to play his or her essential part in reform, and no one will do anything which is inconvenient to his or her own interest, or to the interest of his own country.

We need to reply to such cynicism by our own actions, in the sure knowledge that we cannot afford to do anything else, and that we ourselves are capable of being self-critical and of addressing the need of both industrial-

ized and Third World countries to abandon searches for ever increasing affluence of the few, which stands in stark contrast to the poverty and hunger around us. Whilst we need to call on the North to reduce their squandering of the world's resources while others starve, we need also to call on ourselves not to demand from others what we ourselves are not prepared to do. To put our own houses in order is a necessary step towards our undeniable right to call for international and regional action for the abolition of hunger, deprivation and poverty.

Two common motives unite all those in the world who genuinely seek social justice in the form of real human development. On the one hand, a deep serious concern to understand the world as a unity—in its totality; and, on the other hand, a real commitment to transform that world—transformation being understood as the unfolding, or the preservation, of structures and processes which can yield and secure the satisfaction of those human needs, be they physical, emotional or spiritual—for all of the world's citizens under humane and equitable conditions. Only such a transformation merits the word *development*.

The Maseru Seminar on 'Another Development for SADCC Countries'

An Agenda for Action

The participants in the Seminar on 'Another Development for SADCC', held November 18–22, 1985, in the Palace at Maseru, representing a cross-section of opinion in the SADCC countries, and honoured with the presence throughout of His Majesty Moshoeshoe II, King of Lesotho, were asked to consider the prospects for Another Development in the SADCC region. They all agreed that Another Development was of great importance. In their declaration to this effect, the Maseru Declaration, in papers presented to the Seminar and in subsequent debate and discussion, certain principles were laid down, and proposals developed, which the sponsors of the Seminar believe provide the basis for developing an Agenda for Action.

/ The Maseru Declaration: Another Development for SADCC Countries

The context

It is now five years since the nine independent countries of Southern Africa formed the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). During this time significant progress has been made in creating political and economic structures aimed at implementing the declared objectives of reducing dependence, particularly, but not only, on South Africa, and promoting regional economic cooperation.

This has taken place in the context of an increasingly aggressive assault by the South African apartheid regime. Seeking both to contain the national liberation struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as to integrate regional states into a South African dominated 'Constellation of States', destabilization measures have been launched which have caused damage to the economies of the region estimated at US\$ 10 billion. This has been facilitated by the support of imperialist powers, which have substantial investments in South Africa, and particularly by the Reagan administration through its policy of 'constructive engagement'.

The relevance of Another Develop- ment

It is in these circumstances that we have to consider the relevance of Another Development for the SADCC region. The concept of Another Development was first elaborated in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report (*What Now*), which was launched in September 1975 as an independent contribution to the debate about development and international cooperation at the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assem-

bly. It took as its point of departure a critique of the predominant conventional development strategies, focusing on their inability to provide for even the most basic needs of the people of the Third World, or indeed to resolve the crises in the industrial societies.

Another Development rests on five pillars—it should be need-oriented, self-reliant, endogenous, ecologically sound and based on structural transformations. It should be seen as an integrated socio-economic, political and cultural process.

There is plenty of evidence that conventional policies are becoming increasingly incapable of satisfying the basic needs of the people of the SADCC region—whether for food, health, habitat, education or employment. The region desperately needs a new approach based on the five pillars of Another Development. Moreover, the more development policies emphasize self-reliance and mass-orientation, the greater will be the options for effective action by the Front Line States and SADCC. They will also become less vulnerable to the 'strategic application of economic levers' by Pretoria. Development strategies in the contemporary Southern African situation should complement and reinforce the region's contribution in support of the national liberation struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as the efforts to transform the existing pattern of regional relations.

Applied to the SADCC region, Another Development is a form of struggle fitting into the broad spectrum of the struggles of the region and led by the peoples most affected by exploitation.

An essential element

It is essential if the region is to draw inspiration from the ideas of Another Development that participatory, people-orientated projects have their place on the region's development agenda. Projects promoting collective self-reliance within and among countries, and more especially those which promote production geared towards satisfying human needs, must be taken more seriously and receive more resources and support than they have up to now. There needs to be a shift in emphasis on the part of governments, donor agencies and regional organizations, and at the same time popular mass-based organizations need to assume more of the initiative.

II. The Political Content of Another Development and its Relevance to the Demand for a New International Order

The Maseru Declaration: Another Development for SADCC Countries', adopted at the meeting in Maseru, forms the basis for this Agenda for Action summarizing the views advanced during the course of the seminar. The areas discussed were dealt with in three groupings or clusters. The first comprised Education and culture. Health and welfare and the Interaction between man and environment. The second, more technical one comprised Food and agricultural production, Industry and energy, Habitat, Transport and communications, while the third comprised Participation and mobilization, Information, Communications and the media. Transformation of structures, Human rights and Refugees, and the Role of research institutions.

The Maseru Declaration and the conclusions summarized in the Agenda for Action resulted from five days of seminar discussions both in plenaries and working groups, following the Opening Address by His Majesty the King of Lesotho, and the keynote speeches by Mr. E.R. Sekhonyana, then Lesotho's Minister for Development Planning, and the Chairman of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Dr. Ernst Michanek. The presentations began with Marc Nerfin's account of the origins and evolution of the concept of Another Development, followed by an examination of its relevance and applicability to the SADCC region. Then followed cluster papers for the three sectoral groups and papers dealing with the various subsectors.

The recognition in the Maseru Declaration that Another Development is a form of struggle fitting into the broad spectrum of the struggles of the region was an answer to those who raised questions about its socio-economic and political content.

The struggle involves both governments, in the regional and international space, and the people through their own organizations, as a participant observed in his presentation to the Seminar. A major weakness of the platform of the Third World countries, however, is that most of them, while championing the cause of democratizing international relations, either oppose or take no decisive steps towards the democratization of their national Socioeconomic structures, which impede the development process. While they advocate the drastic redistribution of the world's resources.

there is little or no redistribution of wealth within their own national systems. They also continue to maintain a 'love-hate' relationship with the Western centres of power, which reveals the political and philosophical outlook of the Third World leaders concerned. Such inconsistencies make it difficult for the states in question to mobilize effectively their people for national development.

This was a situation which Marc Nerfin, one of the leading exponents of Another Development, had described ten years ago in pointing out that 'the New International Economic Order might simply result in strengthening the sub-centres of exploitation at the regional level and the local elites at the national one. Those elites, which are also the relay stations of the centre in the periphery, may use the increasing resources resulting from the new order for their own benefit and as a means to aggravate the exploitation of their own people.'

This was one reason why the Co-directors of the seminar, Patrick van Rensburg and Michael Sefali, saw the struggle for development alternatives in the SADCC region not only in terms of government action, and not only and exclusively as expressed in demands on the oppressors and in resistance to oppression, but also and equally, or more importantly, in terms of collective action by the peoples of the region to alleviate the worst of their conditions and raise the level of their struggle—and their consciousness—in the process.

Another Development has a profound political meaning. Rejecting the 'imitative style of development, or mimetism', which is seen as 'an inevitable result of the belief in integration strategies', the idea of Another Development places the people at the centre of the development process. To quote The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report *What Now: Another Development*.

The more a Third World country has integrated its economy into the international system, the more dependent it has become and the greater the rigidities and constraints hampering independent national goal-setting. More fundamental still, the stress laid on the quantitative nature of the goals to pursue, and the quantitative benefits of linking to the growth process of the centre, has tended to stifle attention to the qualitative elements of development. By integrating into the system, a country had to produce what the system would buy at a price the system would pay, thus conditioning national development strategies into very narrow economic, social and political confines. To grow, a country needed to produce primarily what the system wanted and not what the majority of its people needed.

III. The Agenda

In the actual conditions prevailing in the SADCC countries, which reflect their continued heavy dependence, the Agenda for Action which arises out of the conclusions of the Seminar's working groups, recognizes above all that the problems of dependency cannot be solved by the more intensive application of conventional development strategies which created the problems in the first place. The working groups recognized that collective self-reliance at all levels, nationally and internationally, provides the key to the solutions.

Another Development for the SADCC countries would mean:

- Effective popular participation in *all* processes of decision-making.
- The transformation of social structures to facilitate effective participation in decision-making, to ensure that people manage their own affairs and can hold accountable those they elect to representative bodies at higher levels, and the appointed officials who work amongst them.
- The full exercise and enjoyment of human rights, monitored by Ombudsmen and backed up by Legal Aid Centres.
- The establishment of local, district and national papers, and publishing houses, dedicated to the right to inform and be informed, to facilitate effective participation in decision-making at all levels.
- The gearing of agricultural production primarily to the growing of food for the domestic market, with exports limited to surpluses; secondly to the production of raw materials for manufactured goods that meet local needs; and thirdly to exports of primary non-food commodities; the system as a whole being supported by land reform, the introduction of irrigation, and sound all-round back-up services and infrastructure.
- The coordinated development of both light and heavy industry and mining for the region as a whole, designed to meet local demand, with an emphasis on decentralization of industries to the rural areas and in particular the establishment of small industries owned by the rural and semi-urban populations on a self-reliant basis.
- The allocation of higher priority to resources for housing, in the recognition that it is a basic need, that it can generate substantial employment opportunities and stimulate the economy, utilizing local building materials and techniques and developing African designs, and the adoption of Habitat as a SADCC operational sector.
- The integration of purposive and meaningful productive work into the education system at every level, as part of planned overall development

at local, district and national levels, organized as part of the learning process and resulting in goods and services useful to the community.

- The development of an endogenous science and technology base with appropriate research involving the ordinary people and linked to the integration of education with production at all levels and in all modes of the educational system and in all the production systems.
- The allocation of the resources needed for a primary health care system, aimed at involving the people themselves in the prevention of illness and the promotion of a healthy way of life through the development of a sound environment and the satisfaction of all basic needs, in the recognition that the satisfaction of each is at one and the same time the condition and the result of the satisfaction of all.
- The direction of research towards support of these objectives and towards the further implementation of the Agenda for Action.
- The establishment of a SADCC weekly paper linked to local, district and national papers, publishing houses and printing presses, to strengthen support for Another Development and for collective self-reliance in the region.
- The reorientation of international development cooperation, and more especially the Nordic Initiative, towards support of Another Development and the strengthening of collective self-reliance within the SADCC region.

The Seminar working groups spelt out the implications of these recommendations in some detail, as reflected in the following excerpts from their reports.

Collective self-reliance

Collective self-reliance at the regional level is as necessary to the implementation of Another Development as it is at the local, district and national levels. Collective self-reliance among SADCC countries is an important shield against economic domination and destabilization by South Africa.

But it can only be achieved effectively if a sound and appropriate, integrated system is established which takes account of the resource endowments of individual member states. Open markets in the region would favour South Africa more than any SADCC state. Collective self-reliance should therefore ensure protection of the SADCC market against South African domination. It should transcend pure market exchange arrangements by institutionalizing and jointly financing integration in production in the agricultural, industrial, energy and transport and telecommunications

sectors, but should also ensure that this integration is supported by close cooperation in the fields of education, culture and training, health, habitat, information and communications. Another Development is an integrated process and the linkages of its components strengthen each other so that the satisfaction of one need helps in the satisfaction of others.

Transnational corporations, operating in the SADCC region, often have interests inimical to the interests of the SADCC countries and their peoples. Some of them support South African domination and promote migrant labour, which has a negative effect on families, and places limits on the development of women, children and youth and heavy burdens on them. Generally, they promote lop-sided, externally-controlled, mimetic development and its dependency structures. Apart from extracting wealth, they also have harmful effects through the media, through cultural manipulation and consumerism and through the dumping of dangerous drugs, chemicals and other harmful products.

Owing to the places transnational corporations occupy in the economies of the SADCC countries, economic independence can only be gained by guarding against their dominance and by carefully monitoring their operations in order to formulate concerted demands on them to make them more accountable. A well-planned policy of collective self-reliance is therefore an essential part of the development efforts of the SADCC region.

Participation and mobilization

Although the political systems of the SADCC states vary, Another Development requires that ways be found in each of these countries promoting popular participation, especially of farmers and workers and of women and young people. The process should flow from the lowest to the highest level, in all political, economic, cultural, social and development activities, and in all the steps and processes involved, including planning, organization, management and, above all, in *all* decision-making.

Effective mobilization of people in activities depends on their real and meaningful participation. Leadership, which is recognized as necessary to the process, should liberate people and not dominate, oppress and silence them, and it should facilitate their participation, going beyond rhetoric and lip-service to it. Representation is necessary at higher levels of social organization, but the leaders and the representatives must not distance themselves from the people, must not adopt alienating lifestyles or fail to inform and be informed by their constituencies, but should communicate

with them, and must not reduce participation to merely seeking endorsement of positions already worked out.

Transformation of structures

Present-day political, economic and social structures in the countries of SADCC are not always responsive to the need for people's democratic participation, so new means of institutionalizing this must be found. At all levels, people must have the right and the means to establish and manage their own organizations, e.g. cooperatives, organizations of women, of youth, of workers and of consumers, and community associations, with minimum interference from central government and other official bodies.

Representative bodies such as Parliaments and Councils, and their members, should be accountable. Elected representatives who abuse their mandate should have to explain themselves to their constituents and should accept criticism, and in extreme cases, procedures should be available for their recall and replacement. And in all cases, elected representatives must be required to report regularly to their constituents.

Communities, especially at local level, should be given greater control over the allocation of resources and the disbursement of funds intended to benefit them, and over the appointment and control of officials meant to serve them.

Civil servants and other appointed officials must also be held accountable, as much as elected representatives and leaders, and ways and means of ensuring this accountability must be sought for at all levels of the bureaucracy. Promotion should be based on service to communities and on the individuals' contribution to the development of communities. Constant efforts should be made to inform civil servants at all levels of the need for Another Development and to make them aware of their own potential to influence affairs and effect change.

Human rights

The exercise and enjoyment of human rights are a prerequisite and cornerstone of Another Development. For this reason, SADCC countries are urged to sign and to abide by the OAU Charter of People's and Human Rights, which until recently had only been signed by two SADCC member-states—Tanzania and Zambia. 'Ombudsmen' should be appointed by parliaments as guardians against violations of human rights and to ensure that governments and their agents are made accountable to the people.

The independence and integrity of such Ombudsmen should be strictly respected and facilities enabling them to work effectively, such as access to pertinent government documents, should be instituted.

While it is important to recognize the need for national and state security, these should never be used as pretexts for denying the people and the media access to information in the different aspects of government functions and intentions. In order to counteract the tendency of governments towards commandism, education to make people aware of their rights should be established or intensified. Legal centres should be set up to give people access to legal aid, as legal fees paid to private lawyers and advocates are high and out of people's reach.

Refugees

The refugee question is of particular importance within the SADCC countries and can be expected to grow as the South African apartheid regime increases its repression of the people. Political upheavals and natural disasters are also factors contributing to the refugee movements within the SADCC region. The granting of asylum is the responsibility of all countries and the principle of 'non-refoulement' should be strictly adhered to. Maximum publicity should be given to any cases of violation of this principle in order to prevent recurrences. The relevant United Nations and OAU conventions on the refugee problem should be observed and respected and the treatment of refugees should be humane, bearing in mind that rather than being a problem, refugees can represent an appreciable development potential.

Information, communication and the media

Two kinds of information can be identified. At the political level information must enable people to make the best possible decisions by providing them with all the background necessary. The information needed for political participation should be provided in a continuous process, and in time for it to be assimilated and digested. At the practical level, information on ways and means of solving material, technical and technological problems in, for instance, food production, health and housing, should be developed and communicated to individuals and communities in a language that is simple and easy to understand. Relevant traditional forms of communication should be encouraged and improved upon and the information should come both from above and from below, and should flow horizontally from people to people, while respecting the needs of each nation for cultural integrity and endogenous development.

The need for both these kinds of information should be met through educational journalism and rural and community newspapers. Although it is realized that financial and capital resources may be difficult to obtain, the problem of not knowing what can be done and the existence of undemocratic structures may prove to be the most important inhibiting factors.

By rural and community newspapers are meant rudimentary or developed newsletters or broadsheets—handwritten, typed, mimeographed or printed—so long as they serve the purpose of participatory communication. Such newspapers can be produced simply, utilizing organizational and other resource bases such as, for instance, the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP) in Botswana and ZIMFEP in Zimbabwe. Care must be taken, however, to ensure that such newspapers are not hijacked and turned into mouthpieces of local power centres and powerful individuals.

The establishment of an information and communications policy inspired by the objectives of Another Development is urgently needed in the SADCC region. Such a policy should set out a code of conduct for media personnel and for leaders who are often called upon to respond to questions from, and provide news to, the media.

Most SADCC countries have national newspapers, but others do not. Regional cooperation and solidarity from donor agencies should be coordinated in order to assist in establishing national newspapers where they do not exist. National papers should reflect national concerns, with development issues given priority. It is therefore important that those heading such newspapers should be among the best and most committed individuals as well as being professionally competent in newspaper organization and management. Training of journalists and other editorial and production staff should be done as a matter of priority, and working conditions of journalists should be improved.

Communications must be based on people's need for information as well as entertainment within the framework of their best cultural traditions. Communications should be for development and not for consumerism. Group listening points should be used and, where television exists, group viewing. In this respect, large investment in such projects as colour television and full colour pictures in newspapers must be avoided until such time as the basic information and press requirements in the rural areas are met. It is a denial of people's rights to inform and be informed to undertake such large investments for the benefit of a few, when in the interest of the people an

effort should instead be made, wherever possible, to set up local, community-based and community-controlled broadcasting facilities and to make available, at low cost, batteries for receivers.

Book production and distribution should be given adequate consideration and be provided with adequate resources. Within the SADCC region, studies should be made of how the book industry and book trade can be developed. Cooperation between autonomous publishers, printers and booksellers could go far to meet regional education and cultural needs.

Food and agriculture

While it is true that part of the cause of the present food crisis in Africa can be blamed on natural disasters such as droughts or even regional wars, other reasons, particularly inappropriate forms of production, have also come into play. These include shortcomings in public policies which have relegated agriculture in general, and food production in particular, to the sidelines of national development efforts. These policies have starved agriculture of investment resources commensurate with its significance and role in the African economies.

Other reasons for the crisis are: exploitative land tenure systems, insufficient or inappropriate incentive structures and marketing arrangements, neglect of irrigation, neglect of agricultural inputs and implements, lack of warehousing facilities, poor or inadequate transport and communication facilities, ineffective support services, and lack of effective peasants' organizations.

The exploitative land ownership patterns act as an impediment to increased agricultural production in general and peasant production in particular. Land reform which distributes land to the peasants and the landless irrespective of gender and ensures them land ownership rights is a necessary prerequisite to accelerated agricultural development in those SADCC countries with large private landed properties.

SADCC countries should undertake to formulate sound national food policies with strategies for achieving food self-sufficiency in the near future. The basic assumption in this activity is that food is produced for the domestic market, and that only surpluses should be exported, firstly to the other SADCC countries and then elsewhere.

Agriculture in the SADCC countries is excessively dependent upon the natural weather conditions which makes it prone to natural disasters.

Irrigated agriculture must be adopted and developed in the SADCC countries in order to: (a) minimize agriculture's dependence on the fluctuations of the weather; (b) stabilize production from season to season or year to year; and (c) enable better and effective utilization of agricultural inputs, especially improved seeds and fertilizers.

Irrigation is a highly technical question, especially in the spheres of design, maintenance of irrigation equipment, canals and management of water distribution, and therefore requires the presence of irrigation engineers and technicians. Training of this type of manpower must be undertaken simultaneously with the plans to develop irrigated agriculture in all the SADCC countries.

Water resources in most SADCC countries are underutilized or even wasted. Water development programmes must be formulated which ensure better and multi-purpose use of the existing water resources. There is a need to look closely at the interlinkages between various aspects of the rural environment with respect to land ownership/land tenure systems, irrigation, water storage, dam/pond fishing, etc. Control of water apportionment is important in order to avoid the problem of disenfranchisement of the irrigation farmers.

Agricultural production must observe, as closely as is possible, agroecological zones which take advantage of natural resource endowments and specificities of crop regimes.

Agricultural support services (e.g. extension, research and agricultural credit) are ineffective in almost all SADCC countries. These services should be strengthened both in the allocation of resources (manpower and finance) and in the provision of facilities and equipment, and be reoriented towards meeting the needs of peasant agriculture.

Incentive structures should be reviewed and expanded to cover both production and consumption incentives, i.e. pricing policies and availability of consumer goods in the rural areas.

There is a need to expand the scope of understanding and knowledge of the various aspects of peasant agriculture. These are, for example: the effect on peasants when national economies are faced with enormous economic and political difficulties (wars, sharp falls in export crop prices, economic sabotage, etc.); the negative effects of irrigation (such as bilharzia); farming systems; use of underground/fossil water for irrigation; production of high

yielding varieties, etc. Research in these aspects and others should be a crucial component in the SADCC countries' endeavour to grapple with the food crisis. Research should be reoriented and directed towards solving the problems facing peasant agriculture and should be based on participatory research methodologies.

Industry and mining

The mining and industrial sectors are crucial to collective self-reliance and the efforts to achieve greater independence and to cope with South African destabilization. Both heavy and light industry should be built, which can directly satisfy the basic needs of the population as a whole.

It is in the mining and industry sectors that there is the greatest scope as well as the greatest need for coordination and integration of production in the SADCC region. Much of the initiative and action will be with the governments and with private enterprise, but there is an important place for decentralization and for small- and medium-scale industries and mines in both rural areas and on the urban periphery.

It may be difficult to redirect the current thrust towards ever higher levels of mechanization and automation, which is integral to the existing international economic order and the economic domination of the industrialized West. However, the inability of governments and private enterprises to organize production and distribution adequately, creates the possibility for the rural peoples and the urban unemployed to be involved on a self-reliant basis in small-scale manufacturing enterprises to satisfy some of their own needs.

In the process of integrating and coordinating regional production, wherever feasible official pressures need to be applied on, and incentives offered to, industrial enterprises and ventures, whether private or communally operated, to move away from import substitution which meets the needs of a few, and is dominated by inappropriate, patented technologies, towards production to meet basic needs.

A number of industrial plants in the region are greatly under-utilized largely because raw material supplies are inadequate and a lack of foreign currency results in shortages of necessary imported inputs. Measures to promote trade in both raw material supplies and finished products, backed up by a common foreign currency pool, need to be considered as part of the costly process of rehabilitating such plants.

Little progress has been made in the region as a whole in experimenting

with, developing and identifying appropriate and smaller-scale technologies and this needs urgent action as part of the establishment of an endogenous science and technology base for the region.

Inadequate progress has been made, too, in the support of rural artisans and craftsmen in making hoes, bushknives, axes, ploughs, files and other tools and equipment, or in producing processed foods, clothing and building materials.

Some steps have been taken in several countries to train entrepreneurs and artisans and to provide financing, but these are generally oriented towards creating private entrepreneurs and the numbers involved are very small. Much greater support is needed for experiments with producers' cooperatives, community-based organizations, municipally-controlled ventures, joint ventures and other similar approaches.

In addition, policies are needed which protect small-scale industries in urban as well as rural areas.

In the SADCC region, Habitat has not always been accorded the importance in policy formulation that it deserves, considering its central role in the welfare of the populations.

Higher priority must be given to Habitat questions. Shelter is a basic need but it is costly and, like Health and Education, it requires a measure of subsidization. But these investments in housing are not only a way of meeting a basic need. They also stimulate labour-intensive job-creation and the local production of building materials and furniture.

The approach to Habitat improvements should be supportive of peoples' involvement, with the minimum of restrictive policies and regulations. Standards should not be enforced which are impossible for the poor to achieve. However, a socially just policy would restrict speculation in land for housing. Many governments of the region subsidize high-cost housing and expect cost-recovery in respect of provision of housing for the poor. This policy needs to be reversed.

Local building materials and techniques can be developed and improved. Habitat is part of the inherited culture to be cared for.

Special attention has to be paid to health risks; pit latrines can be improved,

stoves can be improved to remove smoke and risks of accidents to children. Improved stoves are also needed to save energy. Reafforestation is called for to provide firewood and improve the climate in residential areas and villages. People can mobilize themselves to improve their Habitat in cooperatives or other collective organizations. An open attitude of support must be adopted; experiments and research are needed.

The genuine participation of women in decisions is likely to give Habitat projects a more appropriate design and a higher priority. In designing Habitat projects consideration should be given to the special conditions of the *de facto* and *de jure* female-headed households.

Radical changes have to be made in urban policies in order to transform the cities into more equitable and socially just places. The existing planning tools and ideologies are to a large extent inadequate and have to be developed and adapted to the real situation.

Consideration should be given to the establishment of a Habitat sector within SADCC with the main objective of using shelter and settlement as positive tools in the accelerated social and physical development of the region. High priority should then be given to research into the best means of achieving these goals in both rural and urban areas.

Education and culture

Education and culture can be either enslaving or liberating. Enslaving education and culture arise from colonization and continue to serve the dependency structures, promoting internalization of foreign values, reinforcing class structures, and creating producers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured goods. The colonially-inherited educational system benefits a selected few who, through the hierarchical structure of schools, learn to accept their positions in a stratified society.

Culture is often narrowly defined and reduced to its outward forms and symbols, but it should be seen as embracing all facets of human activity and is expressive of the social, economic and political life of societies and communities. It encompasses material objects, both useful and decorative, and also the abstract knowledge and ideas which people generate in their social life. Indeed, the material and abstract are closely interlinked and shape and influence each other.

Whilst there are national aspects of culture, such as a common language, it

is no more homogeneous than society itself, and like education, invariably reflects the conflicts rooted in society and especially in class divisions.

Another Development roots itself in the aspirations of the poor majority, especially for social, cultural, educational, economic and political fulfilment, and opposes the flaunting of wealth by elites in 'parade culture', particularly because it constitutes a barrier to communication.

The movement for Another Development in education and culture should also build on, and draw its inspiration from, traditional education and culture, which were universal not only in that they drew in everyone but also in that they encompassed all aspects of community life, utilized all available local material and human resources, and developed locally relevant skills.

Education with production is the cornerstone of Another Development in education, and through it an all-round education can once again be achieved, more especially because production involves complex mental activity as well as the manual.

Another Development gives as much priority to out-of-school education as to formal education, and as part of its commitment to mobilization of the whole population, pursues the twin goals of education for all *and* productive, gainful employment for all. It favours a shift in teaching methods from didactic to participatory, which can best be achieved through linking theory and practice and the active and democratic cooperation of learners and teachers in integrated systems of education, production and socially useful work. It envisages a literate population but also one that thinks scientifically and seeks to apply science to the problems of material and social life.

Education with production can serve the all-round development of local communities and revitalize their culture through the promoting by schools of joint activities, projects and research. Schools are a powerhouse of talents and have access to a variety of skills and can offer these to communities to diversify their development.

Education with production must be integrated at every level of the formal system, drawing in all pupils and not only the failures from the conventional academic streams. All students need to be involved, as part of their learning, in every aspect of the processes of production, development, or socially useful activity, from planning to delivery.

If education means that people learn to create employment for themselves and to manage their own enterprises, then it must provide them with the skills and knowledge, and the experience, for the purpose. It also entails knowledge of the overall socio-economic and political structures and policies that govern society's affairs, of banking and finances, of legal structures and legislation, of economics and fiscal policies. Pupils therefore need the extension of their curricula, not only to provide the knowledge missing, but to involve them in continuous opportunities to apply it, in real life activities.

All development agencies need to recognize the potential role of the educational system linked to production to help create employment, and to promote development and stimulate the economy in a number of ways.

A positive and determined effort is needed by the educational authorities and the development and economic agencies to link, coordinate and integrate their plans and activities and to provide regular and practical support on a mutual and organized basis.

Broadening objectives from education for all to education and work for all, means transcending conventional education planning, but also transcending both conventional economic and conventional manpower planning, which are based on what happens in the formal sector only.

There would need to be strong, permanent, coordinating bodies which could draw on the resources of these agencies and which would concern themselves with several major functions. These should relate to: (a) various aspects of production and more especially identification, through research and international networking, of the kinds of production to undertake and the relevant technologies within particular educational institutions; (b) the various aspects of the 'pedagogy'—the principles and practice of teaching and learning and the linking of theory and practice—of education with production; (c) the whole range of staff training and recruitment; (d) technical support such as accounting, planning and undertaking feasibility studies, applications for funding and other professional services.

Above all, these coordinating bodies need to be *sympathetic* to the goals of Education with production and should not in practice undermine it.

An endogenous science and technology base

The historical destruction of local economies by the colonial intervention also brought about the deskilling of societies and the disruption of the indigenous technological capacity. It is a process which continues to this day, along with the creation of labour reservoirs in the countryside and the growth of enclaves which are more an extension of the industrial world than a natural outgrowth of the local society.

Some modalities for the acquisition of new and modern skills have been instituted within the educational and training systems and the on-the-job training systems in the enclaves and among migrant workers. But these operate within the context of foreign-dominated development geared either to raw material exports or import substitution; inappropriate and patented technologies and externally oriented management both militate against the development of an endogenous technological base. Educational and training systems are geared to preparing candidates for employment within these lop-sided enclave economies, and do not help develop a popular awareness of science and its application or help to promote scientific and technological advances in agriculture, habitat, energy, industry, mining, health or other sectors.

The establishment of an endogenous science and technology base requires the inculcation of new perceptions and a new awareness of the relationship between man and machine and man and nature, as well as new manual skills, none of which are generated within society as now organized, and few of which can be acquired from purely theoretical learning.

The linking of education with production at all levels and especially the higher levels, and the integration of research into the work/study process, may help speed up the creation of an industrial and technological environment. This requires not only the integration of productive work with educational activities in schools and universities, but the introduction of science and technology into adult education and literacy programmes for farmers and workers. It is of course essential that research, investigation and enquiry, while also looking abroad, should be coordinated and directed in the regional interest and not dominated by foreign interests.

The pursuit of endogenous technological development and the popularization of science require close collaboration and consultation between all the agencies involved directly in the production and development process in all sectors, and those engaged in education and communications, at local and national levels.

Health

The concept of Primary Health Care as elaborated at the Alma-Ata Conference in 1978 owes much to the ideas of Another Development. There is a need for a redefinition of the health concept, taking into account the socio-economic and socio-cultural determinants of the health status of a population. No lasting improvement can be achieved through the development of health services alone. Health is the responsibility of the individual, the community and the government as a whole. In certain countries, significant changes in health will be possible only through fundamental social and economic change.

The principles of Primary Health Care are: (a) equitable distribution; (b) community involvement; (c) preventive and promotive approaches; (d) appropriate technologies; and (e) inter-sectoral action.

Primary Health Care is therefore a radical alternative approach and not a new fashion, and it is community-supportive and not community-oppressive. A striking illustration of the Primary Health Care approach in the SADCC region is the Bindura Farm Health Worker Project in rural Zimbabwe, which developed in response to the ill-health suffered by low-paid workers on commercial farms.

The project arose out of a survey documenting in particular the effects of malnutrition on the workers' children. When the results of the survey were reported back to the people concerned, the outline of a scheme to remedy the situation was agreed in discussions among hospital staff, the farm workers and their wives.

The scheme involved selection, by the workers and their wives, of a group of—mainly illiterate—mothers from the community itself, for a month's training in an appropriate-technology village. The mothers were trained in nutrition, health subjects, water and sanitation awareness, and, at their request, pre-school organization. They themselves developed a simple popular theatre approach which was later adapted as a health education technique.

Once the women had returned to their villages, they were supported by a mobile team providing a monthly back-up service as well as preventive, promotive and curative services. Improvements in sanitation were achieved by training communities in the construction of low-cost latrines.

The scheme has spread to 13 other villages covering more than 400,000

people. One result of the project is that 20 communities combined together to construct a large rural health centre with government support. The scheme, which has been evaluated externally, has resulted in noticeable improvements in nutrition status, immunization status, environmental hygiene, happier, healthier and more awake children, the release of mothers for adult education and work, and significant popular participation in large and regular meetings held to discuss the programme.

A weekly newspaper for the SADCC countries, dealing with political, economic, social, educational and cultural issues, should be established, to be made available throughout the region. It should promote a common identity among the peoples and governments of the region and promote a greater awareness of the need for and the potential of closer association, common purpose and common action in collective self-reliance. It should spread awareness of the need for and potential of Another Development in solving problems and achieving SADCC's objectives whilst supporting the wider struggles in the region.

Initially, four centres in four different countries, each of them engaged in producing local newspapers and supporting local book publication, and linked to rural presses, should jointly produce the SADCC weekly newspaper, articles, reports and stories for it emanating from and being exchanged among the joint publishers as well as with other African and Third World countries.

In order to facilitate the sharing of development information among SADCC countries, governments in the region are asked to implement the Non-aligned Movement resolution concerning the low telecommunications tariff for development information, already successfully applied by a number of non-aligned countries.

This should facilitate the achievement of the paper's objectives and also enable it to be a forum for information and ideas on a South-South perspective, using the material from different news agencies such as the non-governmental Inter Press Service and the governmental Pan-African News Agency.

A great deal of financial resources and manpower, at present going into research, enquiry and investigations into matters falling within the areas in

which SADCC has established sector activities, ends up only serving and strengthening conventional development strategies.

The Seminar discussions and the concerns expressed by participants have indicated a number of fields in which further research and enquiry are necessary. These include population problems, approaches to communications, science and technology questions, the potential and limitations of appropriate technology, the field of education with production, various aspects of agriculture, habitat and industrial policy, and the impact of transnationals.

Research in the SADCC countries should be linked to development in general and to production processes in particular and should constantly keep in mind Another Development as crucial to its terms of reference. Research should as far as possible be collective and participatory, especially when it is being undertaken in the rural areas.

As far as possible, research should also be geared towards action. An example of this approach is to be found in initiatives already taken by the Foundation for Education with Production to develop guidelines and frameworks for research into education with production in theory and action. Research findings are already proving valuable for use as material in training courses, as the basis for analytical publications, for application in project feasibility studies, and in publicity and information campaigns, and seminars.

It was noted during the course of the seminar that there already exist in the region relevant research findings which could be put to use but which are unknown to governments and other potential users in the countries of the region. In the same way, there are a great many projects and programmes in various fields throughout the region, which are not even known to innovators and practitioners in the same fields, and on which information needs to be disseminated.

Sectoral or subject research networks should be established and promoted as an effective way of exchanging information on, and rationalizing research conducive to, Another Development in the region. A register of research, researchers and research institutions, and other institutions conducting research incidental to their main activities, would help make known the content and extent of current research.

Regional consultants, either alone or if necessary paired with an external

consultant, should be used in preference to foreigners. The development of a low-cost exchange programme is needed, involving practitioners in all sectors, along with a central register to be kept by, for instance, the SADCC Secretariat.

International cooperation in development, trade and aid, and in cultural and political affairs, which supports Another Development in SADCC countries and strengthens the region's capacity for collective self-reliance, is to be welcomed.

The support of sympathetic countries and international organisations outside the region is important because the SADCC countries are clearly lacking in capital, entrepreneurship and managerial skills, technical expertise and know-how, technology, plant and spare parts, and various inputs in transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, mining and industry. Friendly countries can enhance the collective action of the SADCC countries.

The Nordic Initiative on broader economic, political and cultural cooperation between the Nordic countries and SADCC is seen as potentially helpful in achieving the goal. In the absence of wider progress on the global scene towards a new international economic order, comprehensive cooperation in this spirit, between selected groups of industrialized countries and SADCC is desirable, and the Nordic Initiative could become an important model of such cooperation.

The economic integration of the SADCC countries, and their social and economic progress through collective action, are not just the concerns of the governments of the nine countries. Progress will be quicker and more sure if the need for collective self-reliance is understood and supported by the people of the countries at large, especially now, when international sanctions against South Africa are becoming increasingly likely, and with them the probability of incidental damage to the SADCC economies so interlinked with South Africa, and of retaliation against all nine member-states.

The major role lies with governments, certainly, but governments ought to represent people and should be responsive to their wishes. The SADCC Secretariat also has an important role, but it can do no more than the governments collectively agree to.

The third system, whether national or regional, inside SADCC or outside the region, has a very important role to play in promoting an awareness of SADCC, but also in promoting regional cooperation in the implementation of its own activities. Third system organizations in the region are active in education, in agriculture, in small-scale industry and crafts, in the identification and promotion of appropriate technology, and of alternative and innovative approaches to all aspects of production and development, in promoting cooperatives and community action, in primary health care, in legal aid, in recreation, culture and sports, in housing, in job-creation generally and in publishing and disseminating information.

In all these and other areas they can enlarge the scope of collective self-reliance and provide a lead for governments because the mobilization of SADCC's own resources is not just a function of governments, but also involves the common people and their own organizations.

It is important to stress, in this regard, international support for independent initiatives and activities undertaken by people's organizations, and support for the small- and medium- as well as large-scale projects, programmes and activities. International cooperation in this context should also be promoted between people's organizations in the different countries.

The low level of internal SADCC trade (4.5 per cent of the total) is explained, *inter alia*, by inadequate knowledge of source and market opportunities and the nearly total absence of regionally-oriented commercial institutions. Countries in the Customs Union lack enterprises capable of identifying and importing from those global low-cost sources that exist. There are enormous opportunities here for the second and the third systems.

While governments and the peoples of the SADCC region have goals in common in the struggle for Another Development, there are also contradictions between them.

There can be no question of independence, especially from South Africa, or of building a capacity to cope with its likely retaliation in the face of international sanctions, without setting up core and priority industries and a sound administrative and physical infrastructure, both social and economic.

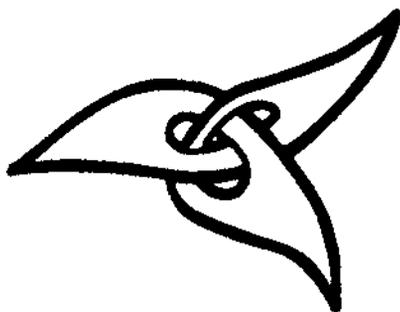
But the people have the right to insist that the application of such a strategy should be for their benefit and not at their expense and that they should also be able to apply their own solutions under their own control.

List of participants

Luis Bernardino (*Angola*); Walter Bgoya (*Tanzania*); Charles Chikerema (*Zimbabwe*); Chen C. Chimutengwende (*Zimbabwe*); Robert Davies (*Mozambique*); Sven Hamrell (*Sweden*); Ge Ji (*China*); Roy Johansson (*Sweden*); J.A.K. Kanda-wire (*Malawi*); A.W. Kgarebe (*Botswana*); Richard Laing (*Zimbabwe*); A. Lema (*Tanzania*); J. Letsholo (*Botswana*); Archie Mafeje (*South Africa*); David Magang (*Botswana*); Walter Makhulu (*Botswana*); Liberty Mhlanga (*Zimbabwe*); Ernst Michanek (*Sweden*); His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II (*Lesotho*); Taka Mudariki (*Zimbabwe*); Micere Mugo (*Kenya*); Dan Nabudere (*Uganda*); Mpiliso Ndiweni (*Zimbabwe*); Marc Nerfin (*Switzerland*); Juma Ngasongwa (*Tanzania*); M. Ngidi (*Botswana*); Olle Nordberg (*Sweden*); Kingston Nyamaphane (*Zimbabwe*); Kuena Phafane (*Lesotho*); Patrick van Rensburg (*Botswana*); Andries M. Rukobo (*Zimbabwe*); Sten Rylander (*Sweden*); Ann Schlyter (*Sweden*); S. Santho (*Lesotho*); Michael Sefali (*Lesotho*); E.R. Sekhonyana (*Lesotho*); Martin Wilkens (*Sweden*).

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**DESARROLLO A ESCALA
HUMANA**

una opción para el future

Cepaur
Fundación Dag Hammarskjöld

Human Scale Development

For 18 months during 1985 and 1986, a project on 'Human Scale Development' was carried out in Latin America by the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. The aim of the project was to elaborate guidelines for future action in such areas as unemployment, local development financing, human needs, scale and efficiency, i . e . in areas that were not penetrated in depth in The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What Now: Another Development. The project was managed by Manfred Max-Neef, Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn of C E P A U R under the guidance of a project team consisting of Felipe Herrera (Chile), Jorge Jatobá (Brazil), Hugo Zemelman (Mexico), and Luis Weinstein (Chile). In addition to the project team six persons participated in all the three workshops organized in Latin America, namely Jorge Dandler (Bolivia), Rocio Grediaga (Mexico), Sven Hamrell (Sweden), Claudio Herrera (Chile), Jesus Martinez (Colombia), and Luis Razeto (Chile). The three workshops, which also drew heavily on national and local resource persons, dealt with 'Work, Unemployment and the Invisible Sectors' (Vicuna, Chile, April 1985), 'Generation of Resources for Local Development' (Garanhuns, Brazil, August 1985) and 'Human Needs, Scale and Efficiency' (Punta Arenas, Chile, November 1985). A final evaluation seminar was held at the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre in Uppsala in June 1986, when the project team presented the draft report to a number of specially invited Latin American experts.

The report, Desarrollo a Escala Humana: una opción para el futuro, was published in Spanish as a special issue of Development Dialogue in December 1986. It is for the time being only available in Spanish and has been widely distributed in Latin America.

In this issue of Development Dialogue, we are publishing a contribution by Jorge Jatobá on 'Alternative Resources for Grassroots Development: A View from Latin America'. Jorge Jatobá was the convenor of the second workshop organized in Garanhuns in 1985. His contribution is largely based on the report he prepared for the project and highlights and develops many of the issues raised at the Garanhuns workshop, which was organized in cooperation with the Federal University of Pernambuco. As part of the workshop, a study visit was arranged to Brasília Teimosa ('stubborn Brasília'), a low-income settlement in Recife, Brazil. Some of the problems encountered by the inhabitants in this settlement are elucidated by Alexandrina Sobreira de Moura in a following paper. It is preceded by John Friedmann's Latin American essay 'The Right to the City', which, while not being part of the project, provides a good overview of the issue of human settlement in 'Human Scale Development'.

Alternative Resources for Grassroots Development

A View from Latin America

By Jorge Jatobá

'The search for a more theoretical approach to the problem of development constitutes a challenge to social scientists in Latin America and worldwide. We require this kind of epistemological effort in order to enhance our ability to understand and interpret the process of social change and to formulate policies to promote Another Development' writes Jorge Jatobá in this article, which is based on the discussions at the Garanhuns Workshop on 'Generation of Resources for Local Development' and is offered as the author's contribution to the CEP/AUR/DHF project on 'Human Scale Development'.

But in order to formulate and promote such policies in the present context of Latin America, Jatobá argues, we must first grasp 'the inner meaning of local community organizations' and 'find ways of helping these organizations to survive as an economic and social group, even though such an aim may conflict with the inexorable logic of capitalist development'.

Venturing into this area, which so far has been little explored by economists, Jatobá emphasizes that the generalized concept of resources for alternative development contains three dimensions: 'first, the use of non-conventional resources; second, the search for a financial support structure suitable for local community organizations (rather than the conventional dependence on the public and private banking system); third, the ability to generate a surplus and thus provide self-supporting capital.'

Drawing on his work both as a professional economist and a senior civil servant in the Federal Brazilian Government and basing his arguments on the many concrete experiences gained by different community organizations in Latin America in recent years, Jatobá arrives at a number of significant conclusions about how development efforts in Latin America should be redirected in order to achieve the objectives of Another Development.

The general conclusions drawn by Jatobá are summarized at the end of his paper in 13 points and only a few of them can be mentioned here. On the basis of the discussions at the Garanhuns workshop, Jatobá proposes, inter alia, that 'the concept of labour must be broadened to indicate that workers serve not only as factors of production but also as the means for generating other resources'; that 'the concept of available resources should include such non-conventional qualities as autonomy, solidarity, historical memory, community creativity and political participation in addition to methods for organizing production



(machines, tools, lands, labour skills) cited in the conventional definition'; that alternative means of financial assistance, such as decentralized credit, local banking, barefoot banking etc., should be identified and implemented; that local community organizations, to preserve their self-reliance, should oppose any form of cooption by or subordination to public or private institutions or national or international donor agencies and should only receive private donations or public funds as temporary and transitory sources of investment.

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Introduction

This article is an abridged version of a report that the author wrote to summarize discussions on 'Generation of Resources for Local Development' that arose at a meeting held in Garanhuns, Brazil, in August 1985. This meeting took place as the second in a series of three seminars held in connection with the project 'Human Scale Development', an investigation carried out by the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile, in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.¹

The article takes as its starting point three principal elements of Another Development described in the Dag Hammarskjöld report, *What Now*²: satisfaction of needs, starting with the eradication of poverty; endogenous development and self-reliance, in the sense that development relies on the strength of participating societies; harmony with the environment.

With respect to the first principle, we recall the opening speech at the Garanhuns seminar, delivered by Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop Emeritus of Olinda and Recife: 'Who does not know that, nowadays, men and women, given the advances in technology, are capable of eradicating misery from earth? However, with so many resources going to the arms race, the extraordinary victory of mankind that would result from the elimination of absolute poverty on the planet's surface becomes impossible.'

The concept of self-reliance is central to our discussion. Indeed, we regard development to be possible only when a society relies on its own accumulation of resources and can exert control over the system that governs its relations with other groups. 'What Now' clearly explains:

If development is the development of man, as an individual and as a social being, aiming at his liberation and at his fulfilment, it cannot but stem from the inner core of each society. It relies on what a human group has: its natural environment, its cultural heritage, the creativity of men and women who constitute it, becoming richer through exchange between them and other groups. It entails the definition of development styles and of life styles. This is the meaning of an endogenous and self-reliant development which (a) stimulates creativity and leads to a better utilization of production factors... thus laying the basis for a search for new resources, for utilizing known resources in new ways... [and] (b) reduces vulnerability and dependence.³

The article will elaborate an analytical framework to guide us in our search for alternative development strategies. Our search for an ideal outline, however, will be harnessed with a strong sense of realism and a ready awareness of lessons from history. In this respect, the article relies on the following premises: (a) that Latin America (except for Cuba) is part of a world where capital accumulation rules over production relations and markets; (b) that the state as a policy-maker and investor will continue to play an important role in national development; and (c) that local community organizations have a potential to grow along the lines advanced by Another Development.*

This article, more than just an abridged description or assessment of the discussions held during the seminar, is an expression of the author's own interpretation of historical and social phenomena and is offered as his contribution to the project, 'Human Scale Development', in its attempt to explore the possibilities for Another Development in Latin America.

Work, unemployment and the invisible sectors

The phenomenon of surplus labour, made up of both unemployed and underemployed workers, is one important trait of the Latin American labour market. Moreover, this pool of surplus labour has increased during the economic crises experienced in the region since 1981 with the addition of laid-off workers and new entrants to the labour force.

When one analyses the performance of Latin American labour markets since the 1950's, two seemingly paradoxical characteristics stand out: continued underemployment has shifted from rural to urban areas, and em-

*We will use the term 'local community organizations' as synonymous with small economic organizations and grassroots organizations. The common and fundamental feature of the terms as used is that they refer to local development.

ployment in the modern non-agricultural sector has grown substantially.⁴ These two phenomena occurred within the context of rapid growth in both Gross National Product and capital accumulation—similar to what today's industrialized countries experienced at the time they were sustaining major changes in the occupational structure of their labour force—and were simultaneous events. The increase in the number of modern non-agricultural jobs was, in absolute terms, far fewer than the numerical increase in the labour force,⁵ thus explaining the paradox mentioned, i.e., that a substantial growth of modern non-agricultural employment was concurrent with an increasing amount of urban underemployment. These urban unemployed included primarily family-owned, low-productivity small businesses, self-employed workers, below-subsistence non-wage labourers and other small economic organizations that are located on the periphery of the modern market economy. They compose the so-called informal or non-organized segment of the labour force.

Yet people judged unproductive by the conventional concept of the labour force are, nevertheless, engaged in activities that are important as sources of income within the social and cultural context of the region's economies. * So by adding these people to those already composing the informal sector, we get the composition of the invisible sector, a broader estimation that is difficult to identify and measure precisely.

The difficulty in measuring this sector reflects the lack of an overriding theory to assist us in understanding its origins, composition and dynamics. The lack of a theory, together with the grassroots nature of many social movements initiated, organized and developed in Latin America by people from the rank and file of these groups, may help explain why social scientists in Latin America and elsewhere have been so unsuccessful in their attempts to understand the meaning, nature and development of social change in this region of the world. This inadequate theoretical apparatus also impedes the establishment of a taxonomy to assist in identifying relevant variables as well as the design of a research methodology to guide the investigation of social movements and grassroots development.

A reassessment of the concept of work is a necessary first step in our reformulation. This conception should go beyond the simple notion of work as a job performed for which the worker earns a wage while remaining

*The labour force is conventionally comprised of people who are working or actively seeking employment during the reference week of a particular household survey.

subordinate to capital. In conventional analysis, in other words, an employee in the formal labour market depends upon capital to earn a wage income in payment for selling his labour. Yet within the heterogeneity of the Latin American economies, we find working conditions that do not fit this conventional notion. Work may assume different forms at the individual or collective level, in the former being performed by the self-employed labourer and in the latter being organized by the family or as small community enterprises and still smaller production units. For the countries of the region, therefore, labour is more than a mere factor of production or component of derived demand. Consequently, these conventional analytical categories, applied to work performed in a formal labour market, will not help in our effort to understand work that emanates from different motives and rationales.

We should also assess the historical significance of the different forms of individual and community work in Latin America. In other words, we should evaluate these different forms of labour organization as alternative routes of advancing towards a new style of development. With an initial understanding of the motives and rationale for these local community organizations and an identification of the predominant social actors involved, we may be able to transform these organizations into feasible agents of social change. Our endeavour, however, must simultaneously take account of the continuing role of capital as an instrument of economic modernization in Latin America and of the state as an ever-present political institution ensuring the viability of the process of accumulation.

This search for a more adequate theoretical approach to the problems of development constitutes a challenge to social scientists in Latin America and worldwide. We require this sort of epistemological effort in order to enhance our ability to understand and interpret the process of social change and to formulate policies to promote Another Development.

To develop an understanding of social change and of possible alternatives to the current style of development, we must first grasp the inner meaning of local community organizations. These communities will therefore be the subject of a more detailed assessment in the following section.

The local community organization as one dimension of the invisible sector

The invisible sector manifests itself through a broad range of small-scale production units and other economic organizations that operate in those narrow economic spaces not yet occupied by capitalist firms. The rationale for these organizations may be any one of the following: (a) a need to

survive because of economic and political crises or job scarcity in the formal labour market; (b) a conscious determination not to succumb to the hierarchical discipline, routine, and alienation typical of salaried jobs in the formal labour market; (c) a decision to honour historical tradition. Nowhere do we find the profit-seeking principle of capitalist development. Yet many of these local community organizations are subordinate to the modern capitalist sector since their very growth depends to some extent on the pace of capital accumulation.⁶ Therefore, distinct rationales, plurality of organizational structures and subordination to outside capitalist accumulation make these small economic organizations different from those modern sector firms that operate where oligopolistic competition prevails. Furthermore, the invisible sector forms a heterogeneous group by itself because it consists of many distinct motivations, a diverse configuration of enterprises (family-owned small businesses, cooperatives, individually-owned production units, etc) and a broad range of economic operations (manufacturing, commerce, personal services etc.)

Many of these organizations have an unstable and short-lived existence. Indeed, they face many difficulties in surviving as single economic entities. From this standpoint, they depend on the following economic factors: size of market, location, cost structure, divisibility in sales, barriers to entry, broadening sources of supply, avoiding dependence on buyers (intermediaries and merchant capitalists, especially), access to credit, etc.

A problem of a quite different nature is the survival of these small economic organizations as a collective entity. In this case, two points must be stressed. First, as Schumpeter has shown, capitalist development contains the power of 'creative destruction' in that it either opens up or closes down the economic space that restrains or stimulates the emergence of small economic organizations. Thus we must find ways of helping these organizations to survive as an economic and social group, even though such an aim may conflict with the inexorable logic of capitalist development. In order to increase these possibilities, government policies should rely more on considerations of equity than on the demands of economic efficiency. If the emphasis were to remain on efficiency, a majority of local community organizations would be short-lived, resulting in limited accumulations of wealth and frustrated attempts to survive. Second, as history has shown, the state often plays a determining role. If the state were to behave in such a way as to neglect or repress these local community organizations, the survival of a group would be threatened.

These two points have been made in order to stress once again the roles of

capital and the state when assessing the possibilities for local community development in Latin America. Furthermore, this perspective highlights how the problems at the micro-social level are connected with those of the larger society.

However, although one should not identify development alternatives with grassroots development, one might see in these organizations an embryo of a different way of organizing social production and labour that could give birth to Another Development.

The use of such a potential requires, however, a critical assessment of the notion of resources for development. Indeed, an appraisal of recent development experiences in Latin America shows that the conventional concept of resources is inadequate if one wishes to comprehend the inner nature and potential of local community development.

**Resources for
Another Develop-
ment: the need for a
reconceptualization**

The concept of capital and labour as homogeneous factors of production has met strong criticism recently. These concepts—together with the neo-classical notion of production function—are considered reductionist and oversimplified. In their purest forms, they leave out important real features for the sake of analytical formalism or econometric evaluation. Interpreting labour solely as a factor of production, furthermore, invites criticism of an ethical nature, for this places human labour at the level of priced goods in the marketplace.

Yet labour and labour markets are deeply heterogeneous concepts. Labour should not be restricted to serving as a single input in the production process because, in fact, it mobilizes social energies, allows community creativity, provides solidarity and combines organizational experience with practical knowledge in a unique way to meet both individual and community needs. This qualitative dimension of labour assumes special significance in both economic and non-economic activities of local community organizations. Labour, in this sense, comprises elements that are non-measurable and fluid, and goes far beyond the restrictive concept of a factor of production. Taken in this broader sense, labour enhances the quality of work, increases productivity and compensates for the scarcity of capital, a trait common among small economic organizations.

The generalized concept of resources for alternative development contains three dimensions: first, the use of non-conventional resources; second, the search for a financial support structure suitable for local community organ-

izations (rather than conventional dependence on the public or private banking systems); third, the ability to generate a surplus and thus provide self-supporting capital. Each of these problems will be considered in turn.

Local community organizations in Latin America have identified certain non-conventional resources as having been strategic during their initial stages of development. These groups—which had been organized by a relatively small number of people in an effort to survive as individuals or as a social group, while escaping the alienation and authoritarianism typical of the social organization of labour in capitalist firms—used resources other than conventional inputs (machines, tools, etc.) in an attempt to assure their subsistence and, in some cases, growth. The non-conventional resources upon which they relied include the following:

1. Social consciousness, a cornerstone of the community social project that generates common responsibility;
2. Organizational ability, gleaned by the local community from past experience;
3. Technological adaptability, developed by way of community creativity;
4. Social energy, derived from mutual help efforts;
5. Financial donations.

These are resources that make up the community's practical knowledge. Further, these non-conventional manifestations of wealth—rooted in the community except for financial donations that come from outside—are quite abundant and can serve to store or activate that community energy needed for social change.⁷ Conventional economic resources, on the other hand, are typically scarce and severely rationed by the overriding economic system.

Once recognizing the existence of these internal forces, we must inspire concrete actions to unleash and mobilize these energies—these non-conventional resources—in favour of Another Development. This task may not be easy. For those resources that are vanishing, such as the community's cultural heritage and common identity, the job is to recapture their potential as agents of development. For those resources that are inactive, such as unemployed labour and accumulated knowledge (technological, scientific, et al.), the challenge is to mobilize and reinforce their capacity to contribute to Another Development. Finally, for those resources that are acquired with experience, such as creativity and, organizational ability, the objective

is to enlighten community members on how their control over their potential could significantly change their lives.

This approach to the use of non-conventional resources stresses that man's ability to mobilize his imagination, sensitivity, will and intellect in addressing both personal and social development problems is the main agent of social transformation. In other words, by creating an individual and social consciousness, man will transform his own internal resources into agents of social change.⁸

Other non-conventional resources possessing an historical-anthropological nature can be mobilized towards Another Development.⁹ These include:

1. Social networks, that is, the value systems generated by historical tradition;
2. Collective memory, depicted by the social history of the community;
3. Cultural identity, expressed in ethnic consciousness;
4. A way of looking at the world, reflected in man's interaction with nature.

These resources can be important agents of social change since they are deeply rooted in the community as anthropological and historical customs and traditions. Furthermore, only particular communities can channel these resources toward Another Development, for these qualities are inherent and specific to each social group.

Still other resources that lie at the macro-political and social level can be used in favour of Another Development. Social and political energies could be activated by:

1. Exploring new possibilities opened by government-sponsored programmes that are often based on experiential investigations to suggest another route to development;
2. Acting on historical circumstance to strengthen the power of civil as opposed to state authority;
3. Learning from all social experiments, whether spontaneous or not, now taking place in Latin America;
4. Identifying social actors at both national and local levels to lead experiments with alternative development strategies.

Thus there are diverse non-conventional resources that either have been used or have the potential to be used to promote different styles of com-

munity development. These resources issue from the individual or the group and are imbued with that social energy necessary to inaugurate social transformation. However, these internal resources, important as they may be, do not meet all the needs of the local organization. To undertake production, any organization must obtain conventional economic resources such as machines, tools, labour skills, raw materials, and other inputs. And the acquisition and storage of these conventional resources requires financing. But the local community organizations do not possess easy access to credits since they have no security to offer for their loans. Thus, being excluded from conventional mechanisms of credit concession, these organizations need alternative methods to finance their new investments and to pay for their day-to-day production activities.

Non-conventional financing

Before we describe alternative possibilities for financing small economic organizations, we must recall the 'mixed' nature of the region's economies, an outcome of a generally high degree of state intervention in economic affairs. The two main traits of these mixed economies in Latin America, moreover, are state capitalism and centralization. The centralization process produces a lack of power over productive resources at the local community level and, consequently, an almost total dependency of local communities on the federal government. The local communities thus have almost no control over their own destinies since they lack the political and economic means for initiating change. Given this reality, most of the countries in Latin America will require nationwide fiscal and monetary reforms. Such reforms should make economic resources and political manoeuvrability accessible to the municipalities and even to the smaller communities throughout the region. Further, public and private funding sources could thereby be located nearer to the communities seeking assistance. As will be seen, a decentralized fiscal and monetary apparatus permits a more unencumbered channelling of financial resources to local community development projects.

Since, as is well known, conventional credit programmes do not reach small-scale economic enterprises, it is necessary to create alternative credit mechanisms to meet the needs of these organizations. Yet, to meet these needs, local financial sources must fulfil several preconditions. First, they must continually support local undertakings, especially those aimed at promoting Another Development, and thereby promote community creativity. Second, they should increase the circulation of money, i.e. allow local savings (surplus) to circulate the greatest number of times possible in order to broaden the possibilities of credit from a given amount of savings.

Third, the local financial institutions should permit local savers to decide where they want their savings invested in order to enhance the level of community participation in and commitment to forthcoming endeavours. Fourth, the institutions should be established on a cooperative basis and managed by local people, that is, they should be decentralized. Fifth, in order to protect the local institutions against occasional liquidity crises, an official bank should provide overriding guarantees on credit granted.

Local banks are not the only institutions available to provide credit to small economic organizations. In the case of an alternative source, 'barefoot banking', investment opportunities for local undertakings are identified by trained people, community members, who pinpoint prospective or current economic activities that are especially adapted to local availabilities of natural resources, labour skills and markets. The activities financed become joint ventures between the local undertaking and the supporting financial institution, in many cases the central bank. Experience with this kind of financial mechanism has occurred in Bangladesh and Venezuela and is described in a later section of this article. A distinctive feature of this mechanism is that the bank goes to the community in search of investment opportunities and not the community to the bank for investment capital.

Many studies have reported that local communities engaged in informal economic activities have shown a substantial potential for generating savings.¹⁰ Thus local savings institutions could assume an important role by providing credit to these local projects with prospects for self-generating development.¹¹ This goal could be reached if the local banks were to become true people's banks, devoted to the support of community projects.

But local financing, whatever form it may take, must overcome the restrictions imposed by security clauses on credit concessions. It is desirable that a common fund be established against occasional default.

In order to assess the ongoing economic prospects of their commitments, many financial institutions require technical feasibility studies to be undertaken before providing credit assistance and during the follow-up after project implementation. Although the local communities may be unable to initiate these investigations by themselves, their continued participation in designing the project's goals and means is indispensable. To overcome this difficulty of project initiation, certain institutions in Latin America provide technical guidance to local community organizations for their feasibility studies. These institutions also supply manpower and management training to the owners and workers of small local businesses and carry out pro-

grammes for adapting technology and for refining organizational skills. The institutions that render such technical support to small economic organizations need to be strengthened as a means of fostering alternative development projects. Examples of such institutions are given below.

In the following section, however, we will first assess the ability of the local community organizations to generate a surplus, that is, to provide self-supporting resources, and will then examine the issue of a community's self-reliance and of the possible risks of cooptation.

One of the most important sources of self-reliant growth is the ability of small economic organizations to provide their own resources. Indeed, this is the most desirable method of growth but is not always forthcoming in the case of bank financing, government grants and donations. These latter financing alternatives allow the growth of dependence and pose the threat of co-optation. Financing with self-generated resources, on the other hand, allows the organization to exert control over its own goals, a necessary achievement of any alternative development project. But this problem of producing an economic surplus should be viewed from the perspective of basic economic survival and not from the standpoint of capital accumulation. If small economic organizations are unable to provide for their own reproduction, their ability to survive, either individually or collectively, will be at stake, and the viability of an experiment with a different style of development will be threatened.

The search for more autonomy assumes special relevance when one recognizes that small economic organizations are subordinate to capital not only because of their economic ties with the modern market but also because they operate in those narrow spaces left open with the ongoing development of the capitalist economy. This existence does not render Another Development infeasible but rather provokes due consideration of the challenges for achieving this alternative, which are much more complex than we might have originally thought.

It has been argued that the issue of self-reliant development is so closely associated with the insertion of the local community organization in the marketplace that these two aspects cannot really be analysed separately. Indeed, the argument asserts in addition that a goal of absolute autonomy is unattainable¹² and that only a degree of relative autonomy can be achieved. Thus, in order to assess this goal, it is necessary to see how local community organizations relate to other entities and to institutions such as the market-

place, the state, the banking system and the donor agency. Autonomy can be reached, in other words, only through a set of interactions with other institutions.

Yet, again, self-reliant development is attainable only if the small economic organizations can provide for their own reproduction and growth through the generation of an economic surplus. Therefore, although we have posed the problem of autonomy within a broader framework and emphasized its relative concept, the provision of the local community's subsistence and growth with self-supporting resources is considered to be an important precondition for the attainment of self-reliance.

An issue closely related to autonomy is the attempt by institutions like the state, political parties and even private donating and financing agencies, to gain determining influence over the local community organization's goals. This cooptation is attempted through political manipulation of the social actors, thereby inducing the community to lose its identity and to deviate from its original objectives. Once this process takes place, a dependent relationship develops between the local community organization and the established structures of power, leading inexorably to the community's loss of control over its resources and designs.

This problem might arise, for instance, as a result of the allocation of public funds and other state subventions,¹³ depending on the conditions of the political process, the nature of the state agency granting the funds and the ideological orientation of the party in power. Cooptation is likely to happen in the context of authoritarian regimes when public grants contain 'messages' to the beneficiaries either to indulge in political behaviour that accords with the state's ideology or to avoid actions that the state might consider unsuitable to the existing political and social order. But even in the case of democratic rule, the allocation of public funds and other governmental aid intended to foster local development may be followed by ideological messages that restrain the functioning and the autonomy of social movements and, for that matter, of local community organizations.

In any case, it is advisable that local communities, whenever they receive public funds, resist pressures to make them dependent upon the state. This is especially important given the political instability of the region. However, since the power of the state to allocate such resources is quite substantial, the communities must find means for obtaining the assistance they need from the government while circumventing any dependence on the state's will.

The issue of autonomy is not restricted to the relationship between the community organizations and the state. Indeed, local community organizations are connected not only with the public sector but also with the market economy and with a network of donating institutions. The latter tend to have their own logic and criteria for funding and may subject recipients to different appraisals and to recurrent pressures that constrain their autonomy.

It is therefore desirable that the local community organizations, whenever possible, struggle to generate their own resources. This is attainable only as an outcome of successful participation in the market economy. Once this success occurs, moreover, these communities can cease demanding donations and public funds. We must acknowledge, however, that this outcome, although desirable, is very difficult to achieve. More realistically, the local community organizations could continue to receive donations and government transfers as a transitory measure, though these funds should be used only as long as they are strictly necessary. This external source of financing might otherwise give rise to more dependence instead of generating the conditions for self-reliant development.

In the next section, we will report some experiences of local community organizations and will see how the use of non-conventional resources and financing as well as the struggle for self-reliance pervade the history of social movements and local community organizations in Latin America and elsewhere.

Chilean popular economic organizations have one of the most interesting experiences with local community organization in Latin America.¹⁴ These organizations were founded 13 years ago amidst the chaos and political turmoil that followed the 1973 coup d'état. The subsequent Chilean regime was hostile to the political posture assumed by these communities. An economic outcome of a political crisis in which their very existence was at stake, these community organizations, both individually and collectively, have been threatened since their inception. The communities are now comprised of approximately 100,000 people who live in 'poblaciones' of Santiago and other major Chilean cities.

With weak linkages to the modern market economy, these local communities have developed such activities as construction, production and sale of goods and services; joint purchase of goods and inputs; planting and harvesting of fruit and vegetables; and community cooking. Further, they

have remained in almost complete political and social isolation. Their ability to survive as either individuals or a social group has depended upon their accumulation of resources and the community's creativity. They made extensive use of what we have called non-conventional resources in order to assure their reproduction.

The history of these communities reveals some interesting features. For instance, failure was much more frequent among those communities that had received donor-financed assistance than among those that had not. The failures may have been due to improvisation, to the smallness of the undertakings or to their weak connections with the market economy. Conversely, the local community organizations that did not receive donations were able to reach higher levels of successful organization. These findings suggest that donations, or any other kind of aid, are helpful only as long as they are complementary to a continued use of conventional and non-conventional resources. The former will be used successfully only if the local communities are well organized and united as a result of the social energies released and achievements obtained from the latter.

Yet, given the great economic and political hardships that these communities are facing, the goal of self-reliant growth may seem quite unattainable. On the one hand, the communities are dependent on external sources of funding for their very subsistence, while, on the other, they encounter adverse conditions for their growth in the crisis of the Chilean economy and the hostility of the state. Their survival, so far, is based on their strength and their ability to mobilize the hidden social energies—the non-conventional resources—of their communities.

We will now briefly describe two cases of such alternative methods of providing credit to local community organizations. The first is an experience with local banking credit administered by the Banco do Brasil. The second is an experiment with barefoot banking that was undertaken by the Grameen Bank project in Bangladesh.

The Brazilian programme, 'Fundo de Desenvolvimento de Programas Cooperativos ou Comunitários de Infraestructuras Rurais' (FUNDEC), was conceived and implemented by the largest state bank in Brazil, the Banco do Brasil.¹⁵ The bank uses its numerous branches to carry the programme to the poorest rural communities of the country. Thus it provides local financing through a nationwide banking system. The FUNDEC programme is based on the idea that the development of local community organizations requires not only financial aid but also—and mostly—the

generation of resources by the community itself. Local communities are selected to participate in the programme because of poverty, smallness, lack of productive resources or basic facilities, organizational ability and potential to mobilize social energy. Credit, that may cover up to 100 per cent of the community's needs, is provided to an association with legitimate representation at the local community level. The association may purchase such items as storage buildings, tractors, machines and other working tools to be used cooperatively and owned communally.

Financing conditions for these Brazilian communities are favourable: real interest rates are low, the principal can be paid back over a twenty-year period with a flexible grace period that depends on project maturation, and there are no security clauses on credit concessions.

Each community participates in elaborating its project design by pinpointing local problems and needs and by proposing solutions. The community, collectively responsible for successes and failures, undertakes simple projects that are adapted to the local availability of natural resources, markets and labour skills and respectful of social and cultural traditions.

The Grameen Bank project in Bangladesh was initiated in 1979 after three years of experimentation with barefoot banking¹⁶ and with the following objectives: (a) to create new job opportunities in communities experiencing a high degree of labour underutilization; (b) to provide credit, without security requirements, to the poor, and especially to the landless; (c) to foster the community's organizational ability and thereby its development potential. These project goals are based on the hypothesis that communities can reach self-reliance by means of local financing. A distinctive feature of the project is that the bank approaches the community in search of opportunities for investment and not vice versa. To initiate this financing, a team of seven people, community members working in cooperation with the banking institution, locate prospects for local investment. Once the investment opportunity has been chosen, a group of five community members becomes responsible for its implementation. Each group member repays the loan in weekly instalments equivalent to 2 per cent of the credit granted. Each member is additionally required to save one monetary unit per week which, together with a 5 per cent flat rate on the total amount of the loan, forms a group fund for the provision of occasional supplementary credit to group members at group discretion. Further, an emergency fund made up of 50 per cent of the interest due covers unexpected expenses such as those from death or default. These funds constitute a source of forced savings in which each saver has invested, while they provide security and a sense of

self-reliance to the investor. Credit recipients have shown an excellent repayment rate, only 2 per cent of the beneficiaries being liable for overdue payments, a default rate lower than that in the country as a whole.

The Grameen Bank project has been very successful.¹⁷ It has provided benefits when measured in terms of income and consumption improvements or increased capital intensiveness. Rates of return have been high and attest to the profitability of the undertakings supported. The project has induced change at the community level by increasing the social consciousness of community members, especially women, among whom different attitudes towards work and family were observed. And, finally, the project has instigated increased community participation and self-reliance at both individual and social levels, reinforced by a system of forced savings providing protection against unforeseen occurrences.

An experience similar to the Grameen Bank project is the Venezuelan *Funda Común* programmes. Overhead costs, however, were significant in both programmes. In the *Funda Común*, for example, the costs of creating job opportunities were higher than those experienced by similar urban employment projects.

Providing credit to small economic organizations involves local financial institutions in the mobilization of savings for local development. This credit led to increased savings in both the Grameen Bank project and the *Funda Común* programme rather than the other way around. Such a relationship between savings and credit has been the subject of recent investigations that have emphasized the mobilization of savings and the provision of local credit as important means to encourage development undertakings by poor communities.¹⁸

Mexico provides another example of alternative financing with its so-called 'Cajas Populares' or local savings institutions that provide credit for various community needs. The 170 *Cajas Populares* in Mexico constitute an experiment with self-management in a country where the state normally exerts an enormous 'coopting' pressure on local community organizations. These organizations represent an experience with local, self-managed savings institutions.

Several private and public institutions in Latin America provide technical and organizational assistance to local community organizations. The *União Nordestina de Apoio às Pequenas Organizações Economicas (UNO)*, headquartered in Recife, Brazil, for example, provides training pro-

mes to owners and workers of small economic organizations, sponsors technological adaptation research and gives free consultancies on administrative and accounting techniques. The UNO also promotes alternative financing for local community organizations. Local banks, in response, opened new credit lines with no security clauses, an emergency fund to account for any defaults, and a turnover fund to multiply the financing capabilities of a fixed amount of savings. Additionally, the UNO encourages the creation of small producers' associations.

Another similar institution is the Colombian Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA), a government agency responsible for training the owners and workers of small businesses and for organizing small producers into associations that will reinforce their ties with and bargaining positions relative to the modern market economy. These private institutions (like UNO) and government institutions (like SENA) deserve support in their efforts to promote alternative development strategies.

In this final section, we will summarize the main conclusions and ideas presented in this paper. Our summary will mirror, essentially, the ideas expressed in the sessions of the seminar held in Garanhuns, a collective intellectual effort to understand and interpret the historical, economic and social facts of our development in order to redirect the development path and effect the objectives stated in 'What Now'. These propositions for Another Development are the following:

1. The concept of labour must be broadened to indicate that workers serve not only as factors of production but also as the means for generating other resources.
2. A more thorough theoretical understanding of the invisible sector in general and of the informal labour market in particular should be developed.
3. The concept of available resources should include such non-conventional qualities as autonomy, solidarity, historical memory, community creativity and political participation in addition to methods for organizing production (machines, tools, land, labour skills) cited in the conventional definition.
4. Alternative means of financial assistance—such as decentralized credit, local banking, barefoot banking and the mobilization of local savings for local investment—must be identified and implemented.

5. The generation of self-supporting resources by small economic organizations must become a feasible alternative for the assurance of self-reliant development.
6. Local community organizations, to preserve their self-reliance, should oppose any form of cooptation by or subordination to public or private institutions or national and international donor agencies.
7. Self-reliance is attainable only if the local community organizations can achieve their own subsistence and—more desirably—growth under conditions of adversity in market competition and can resist cooptation.
8. Local community organizations should receive private donations or public funds as only temporary and transitory sources of investment.
9. Decentralization at the national level and support of potentialities at the local level are essential for achieving different styles of development and for attaining self-reliance.
10. Local community organizations must avoid hierarchical power structures where authoritarianism supersedes democratic participation.
11. Community organizations should strive to strengthen the power of their local civil society, not the power of the state.
12. Local community organizations as well as newly emerging social movements depend on the ability of social actors to mobilize resources for alternative development projects.
13. Social scientists must meet the challenges of Another Development by building an epistemological and methodological framework to promote better understanding and subsequent social change.

Notes

1. CEP/AUR/Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 'Towards a Human Scale Economics: Project Document', CEP/AUR, Santiago, 1984, mimeo.
2. 'What Now: The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report on Development and International Cooperation', prepared for the Seventh Special Session of United Nations General Assembly, held in New York, 1-12 Sept. 1975.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
4. PREALC, *Dinámica del sub-empleo en América Latina*, CEPAL, Santiago, 1981. This study, undertaken for 14 Latin American countries between 1950 and 1980, reported that both formal employment within the urban labour force and participation in the urban informal sector had increased, the former at a rate of 14.4 per cent.
5. Formal non-agricultural employment grew at an average rate of 4.2 per cent between 1950 and 1980, but the fraction of modern non-agricultural jobs was only 26.5 per cent at the beginning of the 1950's. See *ibid.*
6. See, for example, Souza, Aldemir and Araújo, Tarcisio, *Apoio a microempresas: limites do possível*, Massangana, Recife, 1984, and Razeto, Luis M.,

Economía de solidaridad y mercado democrático, Programa de Economía del Trabajo, Santiago, 1984.

7. Previous frustrated attempts to organize social movements have been recycled and reassessed for use as agents of social change. See Hirschman, Albert O., 'El principio de conservación y transformación de la energía social', *Desarrollo de Base*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1983, pp. 3-9.
8. See, for example, Weinstein, Luis, 'La racionalidad integradora y el desarrollo alternativo: una propuesta de articulación del desarrollo personal, las necesidades humanas y el cambio social', CEPUR, Santiago, 1985, mimeo.
9. The concept of a life strategy is broader than the notion of simple survival because it embodies the idea of social identity and historical memory. I thank Jorge Dandler for this observation.
10. See 'The German Savings Bank and Giro Association's Development', Ministry for Economic Cooperation, Federal Republic of West Germany, mimeo; Osner, Karl, 'Overcoming Poverty through Self-Help', and the Report on the Initiative of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation for the meeting, 'Strategies for the Mobilization of Savings for Development', sponsored by the Swedish Savings Bank Association, in Stockholm, 10-11 June 1985, mimeo.
11. There is substantial literature on the theme of savings for development. The United Nations and other international institutions have sponsored discussion meetings on the issue, from which the following papers are available: (1) Causse, Jean, 'Necessity of and Constraints on the Use of Savings in the Community in Which They Are Collected', in Kessler, Dennis and Ullmo, Pierre Antoine (eds), *Saving and Development*, Proceedings of a colloquium convened by Caisse des Dépôts et Consignation, Centre National des Caisses d'Épargne et de Prévoyance, and Swedish Savings Bank Association, held in Paris, Economica, Paris; (2) Gourvez, Jean-Yves, 'Intermediation and Traditional Circuits: Conditions for Mobilizing Financial Savings', in *ibid.*; (3) Holst, Jurgen, 'The Role of Informal Financial Institutions in the Mobilization of Savings', in *ibid.*; (4) Wirasingere, Augustus Octavius, 'Mobilization of Savings in Sri Lanka: Behaviour of Savers and Its Policy Implications', in *Savings for Development*, Report of International Symposium on the Mobilization of Personal Savings in Developing Countries, held in Kingston, Jamaica, 4-9 February, 1980, U.N., New York, 1981; and (5) Yates, John C., 'Mobilization of Savings from Established Institutions for On-lending to Small Farmers and Entrepreneurs', in *Savings for Development*, Report of Second International Symposium on the Mobilization of Personal Savings in Developing Countries, held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 15-21 March, 1982, U.N., New York, 1984. All papers cited are also on deposit with CEPUR in Santiago, Chile.
12. On this issue we closely follow the analysis developed by Razeto, Luis, M., 'Autonomía, donaciones y relaciones de mercado: aspectos cruciales en el desarrollo de las organizaciones económicas populares, solidarias y cooperativas', CEPUR, Santiago mimeo.
13. *Ibid.*

14. This description of the Chilean community organizations is based on Luis Razeto's presentation at the Garanhuns seminar; more detailed analysis is available in his book, *Economia de solidaridad*. For a description of other local community organizations in Latin America, see Max-Neef, Manfred, *From the Outside Looking In: Experiences in 'Barefoot Economies'*, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, 1982; in Brazil, Aveline, Carlos, *De baixo para cima*, Vozes, Pôrto Alegre, 1981; and in Bolivia, Tandler, Judith, et al., 'Asociaciones de cooperativas: el ejemplo de Bolivia', *Desarrollo de Base*, Vol. 7, No.2, 1983, pp. 19–38.
15. Banco do Brasil, 'Concepção e experiências do FUNDEC', Brasilia, July 1985, mimeo.
16. For more detail, see Hossain, Mahabub, 'Credit Programme for the Landless: The experience of Grameen Bank Project', Dhaka, 1983; Yunus, Muhammad, 'Grameen Bank Project in Bangladesh: A Poverty Focused Rural Development Programme', Dhaka, 1982; and 'Group Based Savings and Credit for the Rural Poor', Dhaka, 1984.
17. See Ghai, Dharam, 'An Evaluation of the Impact of the Grameen Bank Project', Dhaka, 1984.
18. See, for instance, Levante, M., and Marc, E., 'The Process of Accumulating Capital, Monetary Savings and Grassroots Development', June 1985, mimeo.

The Right to the City

By John Friedmann

'The development paradigm still popular with Latin American elites is in deep trouble', writes John Friedmann in this contribution and emphasizes that an alternative development will come 'neither from the state nor from the powerful international organizations that represent the old order of things, but from among the people themselves, as they perceive new possibilities for action'. And he goes on to note that 'in many of the working class barrios of Latin America, a new, still fragile polis is taking shape. What appears to be happening is an extraordinary revival of people's power (poder popular). Instead of seeking a violent solution, people's power is, at least for now, engaged and increasingly conscious of itself in the daily struggles for physical existence, in processes of collective self-empowerment, and in the continuing defence of its territorial base. Emerging new forms of people's organizations may be interpreted as prefiguring the future of the Latin American city, with its strength in the barrios rather than in the institutions that are still symmetrically arranged around the Plaza de Armas, or the more recent citadels of oppression. Despite its Spartan circumstances, life in barrios is a generous and optimistic life, based on mutual aid, cooperation, and democratic self-governance. And for the first time in history, women are taking an active and even leading part in its regeneration.' So, John Friedmann concludes his article, 'even if the economy should miraculously stage a comeback, the question will still have to be faced whether the Latin American city wants to imitate streetless Los Angeles or recover its public spaces for a new polis'.

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They graciously gave me the inferior role of chronicler; I record—I don't know for whom—the history of the siege.
Zbigniew Herbert, *Report from the Besieged City*

A city without streets

I come from a city without streets. The dominant feature of Los Angeles is without question its freeways. And freeways are designed for rapid movement. With the windows rolled up, we race in our private capsules of steel and glass at 60 miles an hour. If someone cuts in ahead of me. I curse and yell, but the other driver cannot hear me, I doubt if he can see me in his rear



Garden Grove, California, suburban scene. Residential areas next to highway, protected against noise by a wall. No sidewalks, no pedestrians allowed.

view mirror. His radio is turned up, screaming with the insistent rhythm of punk rock. The music drowns out the roar of the columns of traffic on either side of us. No place is very far away in L.A. We go from somewhere to somewhere at a frantic speed, now dipping under the city, now riding high above its roofs. The buildings next to the freeway are turned away from it, shielded by noise barriers 18 feet high. Freeways render the city invisible.

People make love on the freeways. Sometimes they also die there. Streets are meant to be places of encounter, but the streets of Los Angeles are empty. If you are caught walking the street, you feel guilty; chances are a squad car will pull up next to you, demanding to know what you are doing there at this hour, as if you had a god-given right to be there.

The other 'dominant feature' of the city is the dozens of new shopping centres that have sprung up at strategic locations over the past ten years or so. The first few stories of each centre are typically devoted to parking. (It costs more to build a parking-space in Los Angeles than to house a working-class family in Latin America: a rough estimate is \$15,000 per

slot). The rest is developed as a series of pedestrian malls. Shopping centres are air-conditioned mazes given over to the single activity of spending money. As you stroll from window to window, piped music relaxing any vestigial buyer-resistance you may still offer, TV monitors discreetly observe your every move, their unblinking eyes rotating indefatigably in 120 degree arcs. And the ever-present Pinkerton guards in their blue uniforms can be seen to murmur secrets into their walkie-talkies, reporting to Central Control, ever watchful of the slightest irregularity in this environment controlled to perfection, this fascist Utopia.¹

Because shopping malls charge high rentals from merchants, only the better sort of shop can open up along its dust-free corridors. Unlike the street, a shopping centre is by its very nature exclusive. Only those who can afford to buy its luxurious merchandise are also allowed to contemplate its waterfalls and glittering mirrors.

There are only four streets in L.A. that are also places of encounter. One is Broadway, an Hispanic working-class street in the central city. Another is Hollywood Boulevard which gets lively especially on weekend nights, as punks, motorcycle gangs, street people, runaway kids, drug dealers, sight-seers, and prostitutes are barely kept in check by extra contingents of the Los Angeles Police. The third is the boardwalk on Venice Beach which has some aspects of a circus side show. And finally there are a few square blocks in the entertainment district of Westwood near the University of California which on weekend nights caters predominantly to raunchy teenagers and undergraduates.

Together with Tokyo, Los Angeles is the premier control centre for the Pacific Rim economy. As such it is efficiently designed. Its object is to facilitate movement: the movement of cars on freeways, of money through its banking system, of information through its system of computers, of people through its shopping and entertainment areas. People fantasize about life in L.A. They think they can experience here the ultimate freedom, 'to do whatever you please so long as you don't hurt anyone else'. And if you make lots of money, the fantasy comes true at least to this extent: you can spend it any way you please, because everything is up for sale. But as an environment, the city is more like Jeremy Bentham's model prison, a gigantic Panopticon, its famed diversity of life styles barely managing to hide the fundamental uniformity of its movement patterns. Like prisoners tramping in a yard, the people of Los Angeles move monotonously in only one direction under the nervous scrutiny of the uniformed guards in the tower.



'Se tomaron las calles': militant Basque students take over the street in Pamplona, Spain.

Cuando se tomaron las calles

There are only two occasions when people take to the street and claim it as their own: when they arise in protest against the authority of an oppressive state, and when they celebrate. Protest and celebration are not very far apart. Perhaps it is because of this that the state is ever eager to maintain the drab, everyday uniformity of the city. Even the slightest crack in the enforced discipline is perceived by the authorities as an invitation to anarchy.

A few years back, a friend invited me to join in the festivities celebrating the anniversary of Saint Anne, patron saint of the city of Tudela in the Basque province of Navarra. For three nights and days, the ancient centre of the city, with its rabbit warren of narrow streets clustered around the Plaza Mayor, sprang to life. As young and old poured forth into the streets to take possession of them, the city refused to sleep. *Se tomaron las calles* in a great celebration of the convivial life. For seventy-two uninterrupted hours, with their own ebb and flow of time, thousands of people, loosely grouped into small bands of friends and relatives, danced, ate, drank, conversed, then danced again. In the mornings, collective breakfasts were improvised on the streets. Neighbours and friends shared long tables heaped with olives,



The shopping center as a controlled environment: West Los Angeles. All political activity is excluded from this semi-private space.

tomatoes, onions, and crusty fresh bread, meats were roasted over small fires built on the pavement nearby, the red wine flowed copiously. Later, following mass in the Cathedral, a solemn religious procession carried the patron saint's image through the city. And then there was the running of the bulls.

It was in Tudela that I learned that a city can truly be called a city only when its streets belong to the people. Before they are traffic arteries to facilitate

the city's commerce, streets are places of human encounter. It is in its streets that people express their sovereign right to the city as a political community, with a memory of itself and a name:

La solidaridad entre los vecinos de la periferia y los del Centro Antigo señalará el camino en busca del derecho a la ciudad. Posiblemente cualquier grupo gobernante municipal que no acepté en su programa esta dinamica de la ciudad estará cayendo en el juego de la petrificada sociedad burocrática. Aceptará que el espacio es una forma de producir más.²

It is much the same in Recife or Rio during the season of carnival. In February of each year, the favelados come down from the hills. They come by busloads from the working-class suburbs to the heart of the city to celebrate life on the streets that, during the rest of the year, are effectively denied to them.

The convivial life of the carnival does not mesh well with the high velocity of money which is a prime indicator of success in our societies. And when the holiday is over, the streets return to being traffic arteries with their carefully timed light signals of STOP and GO. Displaced from the street once again, the people return to their barrios and favelas on the periphery of the city of the rich. The glorious memories of the few days when they took to the streets in celebration of their sovereign right to the city will keep them going for another year.

**Another fascist
Utopia**

Santiago, Chile, in 1983 is a city stretched taut to the limit. Only a third of the population have steady employment. Hunger has invaded the city.

In the Calle Huérfanos young men and women from the proletarian suburbs are spreading their wares on the pavement. Carefully, they fold blankets on the sidewalk and arrange green and pink plastic toys, combs, mirrors, glass beads, batteries, and cheap watches in a display meant to invite the passers-by. Some of the women keep small children by their side and occasionally a swaddled baby. Their smiles are forced, but when it is a matter of eating or not eating, you learn to be hungry and to smile at the same time.

Suddenly, like wind rustling through leaves, tremors of agitation sweep down the row of hawkers. The carabineros are coming to clear the street! Blankets and babies are scooped up, and moments later the hawkers have vanished into the shadows of archways and alleys. It is the way the state lets you know that it alone shall decide who may use the street, for what



Victim of police violence in the streets of Santiago, Chile.

purposes, and when. Calle Huérfanos is for the well-dressed shoppers and licensed establishments. In Calle Huérfanos, hawkers are in criminal violation of the state's pleasure.

It is some months later now. A Belgian priest working in the suburbs is killed by a stray bullet. The bullet was intended for a Chilean worker, but it missed, and so the Belgian priest died in his stead. Word of the killing spreads from barrio to barrio, as Santiago's workers rise up enraged. Unarmed they descend upon the city, that the entire world may know of their rage against political repression. For two days, the city becomes the

ancient forum where people come to be seen and heard, speaking on matters of common concern. In front of the cathedral, a group of working people, both young and old, are holding hands. Defiantly, they sing the national anthem. And when the carabinieri arrive, they hold their place.

In riot gear, complete with lucite shields and visored helmets, the carabinieri appear like hard-shelled beetles from another planet. They are coming quickly now, on the double, forming a phalanx. Mercilessly, they swing their batons, cracking the skull of whomever crosses their path: old women, school kids, unemployed workers. Rapaciously, they pounce on any convenient victim, like god's avenging angels, beating them unconscious. Now and then, they capture an unlucky citizen, drag him across the street and throw him into a waiting van. Weeks later, some of those captured will re-emerge from the dungeons, the marks of torture upon their broken bodies. Others simply disappear.

Random violence holds the city in fear. The streets of Santiago are empty. Still in their riot gear, clusters of carabinieri lounge at the corners, looking for victims. They can crush whomever they choose, whenever they choose. For in Santiago, Chile, the law is with those who hold a monopoly on violence, terrorism is officially sanctioned, no one is safe. Thus excluded from the city, the people retreat into the shelter of their neighbourhoods.

Therecoveryofpoli- In Peru, self-built working-class suburbs used to be called *pueblos jóvenes*.
tical community

In Santiago, they are called *invasiones*, *callampas*, *barrios populares*. Here, excluded from the city by force and from earning a decent livelihood in the economy, workers have secured a small space for themselves. Their object is neither to accumulate capital nor to increase the velocity of money, but to survive as free and independent citizens.

And thus their neighbourhood becomes the City. In hundreds of working-class barrios throughout Latin America, the idea of a *polis* is brought back to life without fanfare or even knowledge of the extraordinary nature of this event. A perennial idea is reawakening in the face of prolonged economic crisis and official terror. A revolution without violence, the *polis* is engulfing the *ancien régime* that ever more desperately is clinging to its privileges.

The emerging *polis* is a convivial society. In the course of its practice, it is discovering its own forms and institutions. Dense social networks cross and recross the barrio, giving rise to those myriad activities that, taken together, sustain life. The barrio's inhabitants are engaged in building, insofar as they



Member-owners of GAMESCA and technical assistant on loan from another worker-owned metal enterprise, Lima, Peru. (Courtesy Interamerican Foundation)

can, a self-reliant economy to produce their own food, clothing, and shelter. Some may be engaged in cooperative ventures—*organizaciones economicas populares*—that help to bring cash into the community and strengthen internal social relations. Their celebrations mark the high points of the convivial life: fiestas and communal eating, anniversaries and deaths. In some cities, such as Santiago, security measures are taken to protect the autonomy of their life space and to limit the damage if the state succeeds in its periodic harassments. In this way, the people secure for themselves the space they require for their life and livelihood. In all these efforts, the barrio can count on only a few friends: the progressive Church, one or another of the political parties, perhaps a handful of university students who have declared their solidarity with them and help to connect the barrio to the outside world.³

The new *polis* is still a fragmentary space; its limits are the limits of its social networks. What used to be one city, ruled from above, is now becoming

many. By force of circumstance the polis remains small. Being small, it also lacks power. And lacking power, it cannot provide material benefits in excess of simple physical survival.

The discreet charm of the bourgeoisie

The country club El Golf looks out upon a vast expanse of verdant green, assiduously cared for by scores of gardeners who clip the grass and trim the hedges in the English fashion. Under the yellow and blue canopy of the terrace, tables and chairs are artfully arranged. Members of local elite families are engaged in casual conversation, as waiters wearing jackets of starched white cotton silently serve the afternoon tea. One can hear the ice tinkle in the glasses. Off to one side are the tennis courts, where the younger generation is still engaged in desultory exercise. A hawk glides gracefully across the cloudless sky. The scene is worthy of a Gainsborough. As the late afternoon sun casts its golden glow over this idyl, a tall man in an officer's tunic of uniform grey, his hair clipped close in military fashion, steps out unto the terrace from inside the main building. A senior member of the military junta that has recently seized power, he takes his seat at one of the tables. There are *abrazos* all around. And the Vice President of the local City Bank branch exudes cordiality: 'Ah, mi Coronel. Qué gusto en verlo. Sinceramente, le echamos de menos.' *

The purpose of this little sketch is to make a point. The country club looks away from the city. It is cut off from the city by a security gate. What the elite most crave is the illusion of rustic tranquility. What they most crave is to talk with clones of their own kind. What they most fear and despise is the city and its streets crowded with people who are quite unlike themselves and whose movements are barely controlled by the official terror. What they most fear and despise is the *polis*, because the *polis* is also their nemesis. And so they must gag its voice and, in the park-like rustic setting of El Golf, try to forget that the *polis* exists.

The economist as magician

Several years ago, as a member of a World Bank mission, I surveyed a number of the smaller centres in the surrounds of Mexico City, places like Pachuca, Toluca, and Querétaro. In a typical visit, we would be given a technical briefing in the morning and, after lunch, the Mayor would take us on a guided tour. Invariably, we would end up on a small hill above the town, and from a convenient look-out point, gaze down upon the city whose splendid panorama extended before us. Proudly, the Mayor would point

* 'A Colonel. How happy I am to see you. We have really missed you here!'

out to us the principal landmarks and comment on the problems he and the City Council were facing. Afterwards, we would inspect the critical sites. And I thought, how fortunate the city which can still be surveyed from a hilltop and where the eye is actually connected with an object on the ground.

The currently dominant view of the city is not the view from a hill. Let's listen to how economists talk about the city amongst themselves. Here is a current example:

The paper opens with a redefinition of the urban question in terms of the logic of industrialization. It is shown how processes of vertical and horizontal disintegration lead to increasing external economies of scale, and how these then translate into a basic urban dynamic.⁴

One might be tempted to conclude from this quotation that economists don't like to talk about cities at all. As if by magic, they have made the city disappear into thin air. What they make visible instead is a presumptive universal process; in the case just cited, it is the 'logic' of industrialization that, in turn, gives rise to a 'basic urban dynamic'. This process is described as being independent of the city; although it shapes the city, it is determined as a global process from within itself, a part, for example, of the 'international division of labour'.

To the economist, then, the city is at best a location point in an abstract space that displays certain characteristics important for capital accumulation: a docile labour force available at a low price, accessibility to other economic activities, connectivity to the international system of markets, and a 'climate' conducive to making a great deal of money. In the economist's language, particular cities are dissolved into market configurations, their history is replaced by something called the urban dynamic, people disappear as citizens of the *polis* and are subsumed under the categories of abstract urbanization processes, while human concerns are reduced to property, profits, and competitive advantage.

I don't want to be misunderstood. Economic analysis may indeed lead to new insights. But these will be of use primarily to the managers of the 'urban dynamic', the large transnational corporations and the comprador elites who work for them. Efficiency is the managers' watchword, as they consider the velocity of money and their returns on investment. Where cities are planned with managerial principles in mind, they are designed to share the fate of Los Angeles and to become a city without streets.

But in Latin American cities, most of the people don't even work for the transnationals; increasingly, they don't seem to be working much at all. In order to survive they need their barrio, their *polis*, their life space, their bastion to defend as best they can. They need a territorial base.

Generative or parasitic cities?

More than 30 years ago, the economic historian, Bertram Hoselitz, one of the pioneers of development studies, posed the question whether cities in what were then still called the 'backward' economies would turn out to be 'generative' or 'parasitical'.⁵ Would they, he asked, have a favourable impact on economic growth or produce the opposite effect, draining their respective regional and national economies of resources for the enrichment of privileged urban classes who render no productive services in turn.

Since then, a good deal of energy has been spent on this question, as development economists have speculated on the existence of 'growth poles', and anxious planners, too much in a hurry to wait for the evidence, have devised policies that would concentrate investments in cities they believed would be likely to sustain long periods of economic expansion. As a matter of historical record, urban-based industrialization was indeed spatially concentrated. In this sense, growth pole theory was merely stating the obvious. But the theory went beyond the historical record to argue that economic growth would not only be spatially concentrated; it would diffuse *outwards* from 'poles' to the regions surrounding them and *down* the urban hierarchy, from large to small. Couched in the language of spatial diffusion theorists (which was a geographic speciality), it was an almost metaphysical concept. In the 1960's, it nevertheless had a great deal of credibility. From South Korea to Chile, regional policies were based on it.⁶

The growth pole approach to spatial planning remained popular for about a decade. **By** the early 1970s, however, it came to be challenged on both theoretical and empirical grounds. New understandings were emerging about the nature of the transnational economy, the restructuring of the older industrial regions of Europe and North America, and the new international division of labour that rendered the theory of growth poles obsolete.

At issue, in part, was the meaning of economic growth. The measure of growth poles was their volume of production. But when we consider the fate of cities as places for making a living, the relevant criterion must be employment. And in respect to employment, the record of Latin American cities is dismal.

Let us look briefly at three sets of data. In the twenty years between 1960 and 1980, overall manufacturing employment in Latin America showed scarcely any gains at all relative to the total number of jobs. Only the services sector, a residual category, expanded impressively from 33 to 45 per cent over the same period.⁷ But even services have limits to their capacity for productively 'absorbing' labour. In countries where there are no 'safety nets', and where the cruel dictum holds, 'if you don't work you don't eat', open unemployment stood at 10 per cent in 1983, and another 20 to 50 per cent of the labour force was irregularly employed in relatively unproductive occupations. The most dramatic evidence, however, has been the decline in real wages. In many countries, urban wages in 1983 were less than they had been in 1970.⁸ During the intervening years, labour productivity was declining (and because of disinvestment, is likely to decline still further in the future), while the exploitation of labour intensified. In socially relevant terms, major Latin American 'growth poles' can hardly be said to have grown at all over the past decade or two; actually, they were declining.

Nor have any of the theoretical assumptions about growth poles been substantiated. More often than not, entrepreneurs have turned out to be foreign corporations that make their investments from board rooms in New York, Los Angeles, or Tokyo. Most production and process innovations come from overseas as well. Local elites acquiesce in this 'style' of development, because they prefer elegant consumption to the uncertainties of entrepreneurial risk. Their investments tend to flow into real estate, or they are channelled abroad. The Latin American bourgeois would seem to have little in common with his Euro-American counterpart so highly admired by Schumpeter.⁹

Neither do growth poles 'spread' development into their hinterlands. Quite the opposite is true. Wealth tends to be transferred from the periphery to the centre through a series of mechanisms that include migration, policy bias, transport subsidies, a differentiated pricing system favouring urban producers, and direct capital transfers. As a result, income gaps between large metro-regions in Latin America and their rural peripheries have been increasing.

In sum, we are obliged to conclude that Latin American cities, located as they are on the periphery of the global economy, are more accurately regarded as 'parasitical' than as 'generative'. Expressed in human and social terms, their growth is an illusion. This situation is likely to remain unchanged until a new development, not exclusively based on outside control,

unlimited accumulation, and vast social inequalities comes to replace the model currently in force.

Towards an authentic development

The development paradigm still popular with Latin American elites is in deep trouble. There are hopes for its speedy revival, but this is an unlikely prospect.¹⁰ If there is to be another development, it will come neither from the state nor from the powerful international organizations that represent the old order of things, but from among the people themselves, as they perceive new possibilities for action.

In many of the working class barrios of Latin America, a new, still fragile *polis* is taking shape. What appears to be happening is an extraordinary revival of people's power (*poder popular*). Instead of seeking a violent solution, people's power is, at least for now, engaged and increasingly conscious of itself in the daily struggles for physical existence, in processes of collective self-empowerment, and in the continuing defence of its territorial base. Emerging new forms of people's organizations may be interpreted as prefiguring the future of the Latin American city, with its strength in the barrios rather than in the institutions that are still symmetrically arranged around the Plaza de Armas, or the more recent citadels of oppression. Despite its Spartan circumstances, life in the barrios is a generous and optimistic life, based on mutual aid, cooperation, and democratic self-governance. And for the first time in history, women are taking an active and even leading part in its regeneration.

As a form of development, the new barrio organizations are deficient, because they are trapped in production at the lowest level without the possibility for significant accumulation. The next step, therefore, must be to move towards a regional confederation of barrios and the joint undertaking of large-scale production. Reflecting their different origin, these new forms of production will be geared less to individual market demand than to socially recognized needs that are so much more urgent. The goal of a confederation of barrios would be a politically engaged, productive, and convivial life. Its staging area is the city itself which, by ancient right, belongs to the people. Historically, the city has always been a place of both oppression and the fierce struggles for life against it. An alternative development which addresses people's genuine needs appears as a form of liberation which demands a frankly political solution. Its promise is to give people a genuine voice in their affairs and to transform the city from parasite into a stage for the creation of a culturally authentic and socially progressive life.

To some, this extension of current regenerative efforts in the barrios of Latin America may seem a pipe dream, a comforting thought in times of great trouble. Much will depend on the outcome of the present economic crisis. If unemployment should deepen, if the economy should fail to make a strong recovery over the long pull, an alternative development grounded in *poder popular* may well be the only alternative to mass starvation. A visionary leadership and the unity of the people will be needed to confront the challenges of their new situation in a politically creative way. If the economy should miraculously stage a comeback, the question will still have to be faced whether the Latin American city wants to imitate streetless Los Angeles or recover its public spaces for a new *polis*.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Mauricio Salguero and Francisco Sabatini for their many helpful suggestions and comments in the elaboration of this paper.

Notes

1. Margaret Crawford concludes her 'history' of the American shopping mall with these words: 'As the line between consumption, historical experience and urban reality vanishes, the mall has now become the prototypical American urban form, establishing shopping experiences and development profits as the basis for a new way of life.' (Crawford, Margaret, 'The Mall and the Strip: From Building Type to Urban Form', Italian version published in *Urbanistica* 83, November 1986). The big commercial developer replaces City hall, citizenship has ceased to matter (and is in any event excluded from the privately controlled premises of these commercial behemoths), and history which is necessarily and always the history of a place and its inhabitants, has collapsed into the profit sheet.
2. 'The solidarity of the neighbours from the periphery and those from the Old City Centre signals the path in search of the right to the city. If some group of governing municipal officials should, by chance, not accept this dynamic of the city into its programme, it will be falling into the games of a petrified bureaucratic society. It will accept that urban space is merely a form designed for producing more.' Tabuenca, Antonio García, Gabiria, Mario and Tuñón, Ptxi, *El Espacio de la Fiesta y la Subversion. Analisis Socio-Economico del Casco Viejo Pamplona*, Hordago, Pamplona, 1978.
3. This description of the barrio as a political community owes much to Hannah Arendt's account of the revolutionary tradition. Forms of direct territorial democracy have always appeared with astounding regularity at precisely the periods where the old hierarchies of power are no longer functioning and the new relations have not yet become firmly established. In support of her thesis, Arendt cites the Paris Commune of 1871, the factory councils or Soviets of 1905 and 1971, the German Raethe in their attempt to found a workers' democracy in 1919, the anarchist movement in the Catalan region of Spain in 1936, and the Hungarian uprising of 1956. (Arendt, Hannah, *On Revolution*, Viking, New York, 1965).

4. Scott, A.J., 'Industrialization and Urbanization: A Geographical Agenda', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1986, Vol. 76, No. 1 (March), pp. 25-37. Allen J. Scott is actually an economic geographer and would object to being called an economist. Still, I would argue that he is using the language of economists, with the only difference that he is interested in spatial aspects of urbanization, a topic that is of relatively little concern to card-carrying members of the economics profession.
5. Hoselitz, Bert F., 'Generative and Parasitic Cities', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 1955, Vol. 3, No. 3 (April), pp. 278-294.
6. The idea of a *pôle de croissance* was the brain child of the French economist, Francois Perroux, who, in turn, had adapted it from Joseph Schumpeter's entrepreneurial model of economic growth. According to Perroux, cities displayed dynamic economies not merely because they housed highly interconnected and rapidly expanding industries, but also because they were powerful centres of innovation. To put the innovations in place, Perroux relied on a local entrepreneurial class, backed by appropriate technical knowledge. The notion that most relevant innovations in production would actually be imported from abroad formed no part of his theory. (Latin American dependency theory which came later would take a strongly critical view of 'growth poles' for precisely this reason. See Coraggio, Jose Luis, 'Hacia una revision de la teoría de los polos de desarrollo', *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbanos Regionales*, 1972, No. 2, pp. 25-40). Growth poles were thus thought to be 'generative' cities in Hoselitz's sense. They would stimulate the development of their regions and, beyond them, the national economy as a whole.
7. Table 2 in article by Pinto, Anibal, 'Metropolización y terciarización: malformaciones estructurales en el desarrollo latinoamericano', *Revista de la Cepal*, 1984, No. 24, (December), pp. 17-38.
8. Table 6 in article by Garcia, Norberto and Tolman, Victor, 'Transformacion ocupacional y crisis', *Revista de la Cepal*, 1984, No. 24, pp. 103-106.
9. Some countries allow the state a significant entrepreneurial role, particularly in the heavy industrial sector, and some states insist on joint ownership of national subsidiaries of foreign corporations. But neither of these practices invalidates the broad conclusions drawn from Latin American entrepreneurial behaviour, that most people with business acumen prefer the safety of real estate to the uncertainties of modern manufacturing.
10. Sunkel, Osvaldo, *America Latina y la Crise Economica Internacional: Ocho Tesis y una Propuesta*, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano S.R.L., Buenos Aires, 1985.

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Brasília Teimosa

The Organization of a Low-income Settlement in Recife, Brazil

By Alexandrina Sobreira de Moura

A striking illustration of the main thesis in the preceding article on 'The Right to the City' is provided by Alexandrina Sobreira de Moura's detailed case study of how the poor people struggled to have their land tenure rights recognized in what has become known as Brasília Teimosa, 'Stubborn Brasília', a low-income settlement in Recife, Brazil. 'This kind of democratic and participatory process of legalization first took place in Brasília Teimosa and served as a model for many other settlements in which poor people struggled to have their rights recognized. In Recife, as in most urbanized cities in Third World countries, squatter movements have become a component of daily life and a challenge to the state housing policies. Brasília Teimosa tells us how the people organized themselves and tried to find their own alternatives in solving the housing question within a low-income settlement.'

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Urbanize them? Remove them?
Extermination with sticks or fire?
What can be done
With all these people who arise
Out of the ground,
Ants from an infinite ant-hill?
Shall we teach them to be patient;
Counsel acceptance and renunciation?
Or should we conduct a survey
And be sure they register
For the next election?

The beat of a samba interrupts
Such serious cogitations

Meanwhile, another favela appears,
The larva of a people
Questioning, insinuating, assertive, defiant;
People like us—loving, hoping, appalling.
The holy commandment of life explodes
In laughter and in pain.

*Excerpts from a poem
by Carlos Drummond de Andrade*

Introduction

This paper focuses on the struggle of low-income people for housing in Recife, Brazil. It tells a story of a settlement that became the most organized in the city and that resisted, over the years, the government's expulsion

efforts. The dwellers have been so persistent and stubborn in defending their rights that the settlement has come to be known as Brasília Teimosa, which means Stubborn Brasilia.

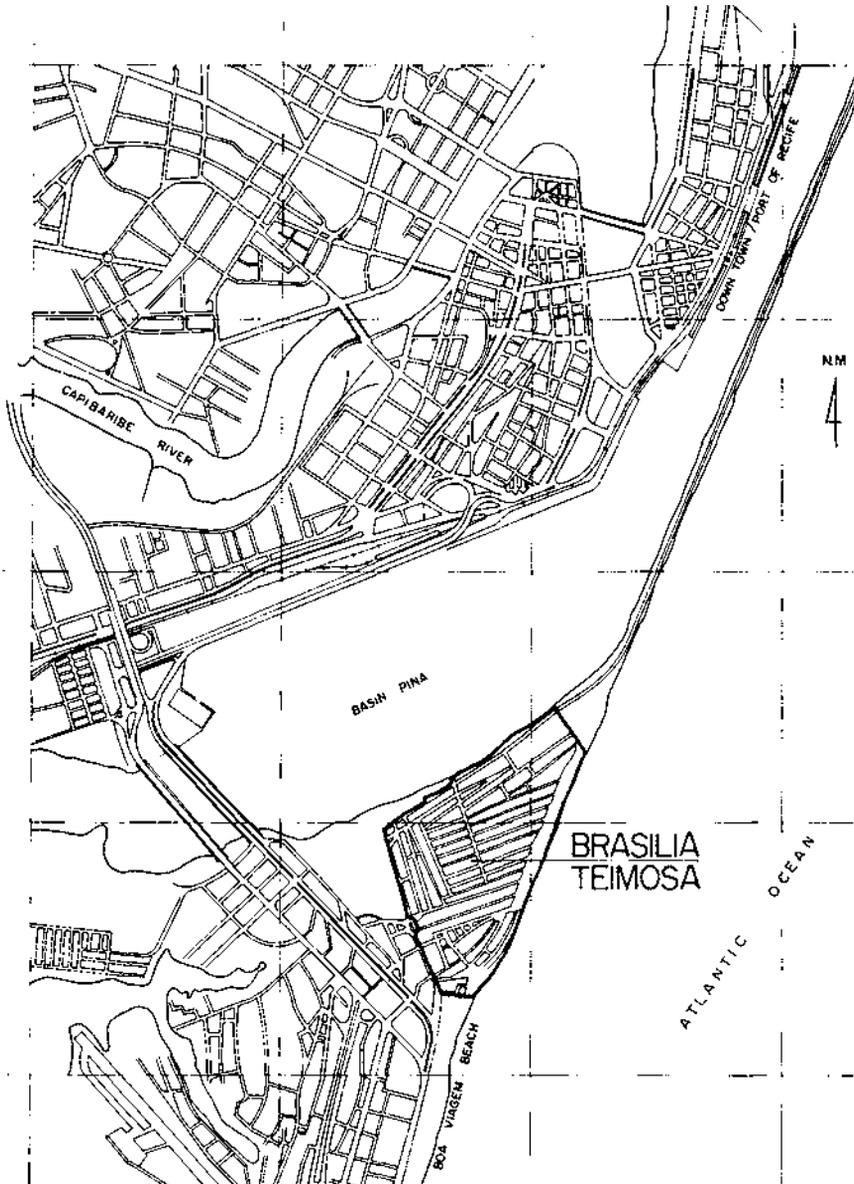
A case study of Brasília Teimosa (BT) was carried out by the author in order to analyse the process of legalization of land tenure rights that began in BT in 1980 as a result of years of struggle by the 'stubborn' inhabitants. However, I do not intend to concentrate in this paper on this process of legalization, in which the BT dwellers, and members of the housing agencies, the Church, the Bar Association, and municipal government, determine which persons deserve to receive land titles.' This kind of democratic and participatory process of legalization first took place in Brasília Teimosa and served as a model for many other settlements in which poor people struggled to have their rights recognized. In Recife, as in most urbanized cities in Third World countries, squatter movements have become a component of daily life and a challenge to the state housing policies.

Recife, the capital of the State of Pernambuco, now has 1,300,000 inhabitants and one of the highest demographic densities in Latin America (5,980 inhabitants per square kilometre). As one of the nine metropolitan macro-poles of the country, Recife is expected to promote the economic development of the nine municipalities that make up Greater Recife (RMR). However, it is unable to incorporate current migration waves, either in production terms (employment), or in reproduction terms (housing). In fact, after Bogotá and Chimbote in Peru, Recife has the highest number of squatters living in low-income settlements in Latin America and the Caribbean. About 193 settlements² occupy approximately 15 per cent of the city's area and are inhabited by almost 50 per cent of Recife's population. The average monthly income is less than US\$150 for 75 per cent of the families. There is, however, a large percentage of families that earn between US\$50 and US\$100.³

Within this context, many programmes have been carried out by the state at the federal, state or municipal level in order to 'eliminate', 'correct' or improve the low-income settlements. Dwellers, in their turn, have responded in various ways to the state housing policies. Brasília Teimosa tells us how the people organized themselves and tried to find their own alternatives in solving the housing question within a low-income settlement.

Geographical location

Brasília Teimosa is located on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, on the south side of Recife, between Boa Viagem Beach and the port area. BT is a



50-hectare triangular and flat peninsula made up basically of successive landfills that have occasionally been flooded⁴ when the water level of the Tejipió/Capibaribe rivers rises. Their estuary is the northwestern border of BT. The effects of the ocean tides are mitigated by the countless reefs to be found along the coast. BT is five kilometres from downtown, to which it is linked by excellent roads. It is also near Boa Viagem, an upper middle class neighbourhood that absorbs 7.6 per cent of the labour force of BT.

History
The land

In 1934, the state of Pernambuco bought two lots from the Viscount of Livramento's heirs, intending to build a fuel park. This area, called 'Areal Novo', was landfilled by the state and protected by walls.⁵

In 1953, the Federation of Fisherman Colonies of Pernambuco (FFCP) applied to become the *emphyteuta** of this area, with the goal of constructing a headquarters for the fishermen.

The request was approved by Getúlio Vargas, President of Brazil at that time.

In 1953, the FFCP transferred 0.6 hectares to the Recife Yacht Club. The FFCP was, therefore, deviating from the legal conditions of the emphyteusis. On these grounds the Governor of Pernambuco, Cordeiro de Farais, petitioned the President of Brazil, Café Filho, and asked that the FFCP no longer be the emphyteuta. The question ended up in the Supreme Court, which decided in favour of the FFCP.

After several years, the legal dispute over the emphyteusis of BT was concluded. In 1979, the mayor of Recife got the emphyteusis of Lots 270 and 270-A. These lots were no longer called Areal Novo. Things have changed in the urban features of Recife and by the end of the 1950's families squatted on Areal Novo and built BT.

Settlement of BT

When the state of Pernambuco started the landfill of the purchased lots, a few families encroached upon the area. One of the first squatters said about the beginning of the people's struggles in BT: 'In 1938 there was landfill. There was barbed wire everywhere. The police came to destroy people's shanties, but we built them again'.

For twenty years squatters gradually arrived in BT. However, the most important period of settlement took place in 1957-58. It was a period of severe drought that increased the rate of immigration flow to Recife and the rate of squatter settlements.

At that time, Brasília, the capital of Brazil, was being built. Squatters of the area previously called Areal Novo, were also building a new 'city', while

*Emphyteusis is a contract by which a landed estate is leased to a person, either in perpetuity or for many years, upon the payment of an annual rent (*foro*). The *emphyteuta* (lessee) is entitled to use another's estate as if it were his own (*Black Law Dictionary*, p. 471). In Brazil, emphyteusis, also called *aforamento*, of immovable public property, is ruled by Decreto-Lei no. 9760 from 6/5/46, Arts. 99-103.

being threatened by police, City Hall, would-be owners and some FFCP fishermen. Considering themselves very courageous and stubborn, they named the new settlement 'Brasilia Teimosa'.

Squatters arrived in BT during Carnival in February 1958. In April a local newspaper announced: 'Three thousand wooden houses were built clandestinely. City Hall considers itself powerless to avoid this invasion.'⁶ The conflict had begun. The Port of Recife administration which owns 10.1 hectares of BT, demanded that City Hall expel the squatters. City Hall, however, maintained that it was not supposed to cope with invasions that took place on land owned by the state. While this debate went on, squatters and members of FFCP defended themselves against police aggression. From the very beginning, the squatters created rules for their own settlement and started to organize the people in order to remain in BT. One inhabitant recalls:

For six months, we had to use clubs and knives... Police destroyed houses in the daytime, we rebuilt them at night. ... We organized a demonstration to talk to the mayor and explained that everyone had two lots at the most. One for building a shack, another for building a store... But I knew people who had 30 lots...

The last part of this interview explains why in 1960 the mayor of Recife, Pelópidas Silveira, denounced the squatters as 'shanty exploiters'.⁷ According to Mr. Silveira, the former Governor turned a blind eye to the invasion of BT when it came to the inhabitants running a very profitable business: building shanties and selling them for a good price. But squatters in BT did not cease their political organizing and in 1961 they started demanding an urban infrastructure and the legalization of the land.

At that time, BT's squatters held regular street demonstrations to demand their rights. However, after the coup d'état in March 1964, many residents' associations,⁸ whether formalized or not, were repressed and their members had to escape from the military regime's persecution.⁹

Over the years, however, the original squatters and the newcomers to BT came to be considered by the political authorities as a strong, organized community. In 1977, the Urbanization Enterprise of Recife (URB) decided to remove BT's occupants* in order to undertake a project aimed at

*At this point, I would rather call BT's inhabitants 'occupants' than 'squatters', because many of them are not original squatters. They bought houses from former inhabitants and, technically speaking, they are occupants since they possess direct ownership of the houses.

increasing tourism. This was a project to construct hotels by the beach and a pier for leisure boats. But, once again, the people resisted the URB's plans and overtly protested against the plans for removal.

One year later, urban policies on low-income settlements in Recife had changed. It was a result of the political momentum of redemocratization in Brazil that led the way to a better organization of society. Also, the free press came back, little by little, in the whole country. In this sense, one can see why the URB removal project¹⁰ was transformed into a project for the 'humanization' of BT, in which the people would have land rights and the infrastructure would be improved.

However, BT's occupants, led by the Residents' Association, were fed up with promises. As an old occupant said:

We decided to create our laws, our urban plans... How could we trust in URB, FIDEM or the President if what they want is to drink from coconuts on BT's beach? We do not know the techniques, but no technician can appraise the value of my shanty. It's worth 26 years of struggle...

Then, in 1979, BT's occupants started to work on the project that formed the basis of the legalization process that has been going on from 1980 to the present. These are certainly the most important years of BT's history since the community has finally had its land tenure rights acknowledged.

BT has a population of approximately 20,000, living in 4,000 houses.¹¹ The average household numbers 4.8 people. Households occupy houses or live in sublet rooms. A house takes up an area some six metres by ten, and sublet rooms are approximately half that size. So, the demographic density is around 362 inhabitants per hectare.

Women under the age of 29 constitute the majority of the population (51.7 per cent), and half of the whole population, in accordance with the overall pattern of Brazilian demography, is very young: 51.6 per cent are under 20 years of age.

As for the level of illiteracy, 64.6 per cent of those over six years of age do not attend school, and about 19.75 per cent are illiterate. In a typical low-income settlement in Recife or BT, people rarely have a college-level education (1.11 per cent). In BT, there are three public schools where classes continue to the last year of high school.

In BT, commerce, fishery and activities linked to civil construction are the most important occupations.¹² Half of the heads of household surveyed do not have legal protection,* around 30 per cent of them are underemployed, and 19 per cent are unemployed. They work mostly either in BT (19.5 per cent) or in two very close neighbourhoods (31.4 per cent).

The great majority of families are headed by men, and only 1.3 per cent are financially supported by women. Concerning family income, 3.4 per cent of the families have no income and 84.6 per cent live with a minimal income that ranges from US\$150 to \$200. And while 31.6 per cent of the male heads of household earn between US\$50 and \$100, the same percentage of women who are also heads of household earn half this amount. These data, then, suggest a somewhat discriminatory society, where women do not have access to 'good' jobs or they are underpaid. This point is further underlined by the fact that among the heads of household only 3.5 per cent of the men do not have an income, while 22.1 per cent of the women are without any income.

Housing and infrastructure

The houses in BT are in general made from packing crates, box-wood and cardboard, and are built on an earthen floor.** Most of them (50.7 per cent) have concrete block walls, 44.5 per cent have wood walls, and the rest packing crate wood or mud walls. There is a cement floor and tiles in 8.5 per cent of the houses, 7 per cent have plain earthen floors, and 6 per cent have board floors. Most of the houses have no ceiling below the roof.

As for water services, most of the families (90.1 per cent) have drinking water. However, only 32.9 per cent have inside water; the rest have to haul water from sources up to 100 metres from their homes.

As for the place of origin of the heads of household, they come mostly from Recife (88.2 per cent). A great number of them, 86.4 per cent, have lived in the city for over six years and many of them (23.5 per cent) have lived in BT for less than one year. This fact, then, destroys the myth that the low-income settlements are populated by squatters coming from the interior.

*They are not protected by social security and labour legislation.

**There are, however, two areas called 'Vila da Prata' and 'Beira-Mar' that present even more precarious housing conditions than most of the houses in BT. In the former, 58 families live in wooden shanties. In the latter, 209 families live in lake dwellings along the sea. The urban infrastructure is almost non-existent.

Concerning electricity services, 93 per cent of the families have electricity but 20 per cent of the consumption is illegal and only 7 per cent of the families do not have any electricity.

In BT, the majority of the houses are designated strictly for residential purposes (90.6 per cent), but it is very common to find houses that have a double use (58.5 per cent): they are residential and commercial, for instance, or serve as religious, educational, or sports centres. Secondly, houses in BT that are not residential serve commercial objectives (69.4 per cent in all). However, from this total, 36.6 per cent do not have legal permission to so function.*

As I have stated before, the inhabitants of BT built their houses when they arrived, bought them from original occupants, or were merely tenants: or again they may have been assignees. Thus, out of 3,755 houses existing in BT, 54.4 per cent are occupied by owners, 37.7 per cent by tenants, and 7.9 per cent by assignees. Whether one owns or leases does not exclusively depend on family income. At all income levels, more people own than rent houses. However, the higher the income, the higher the rate of ownership.

Community organization

BT's political organization is well-known in Recife among government agencies and among other low-income settlements that would like to take BT as an example for their organization.

One can see that since the beginning of the settlement in 1958, there was a group of dwellers resistant to the removal and, although they knew they were squatters, or 'outlaws', they demanded the right to stay permanently in BT. An old occupant said: 'The police tried to expel us, and my brother organized a demonstration. Then, while the police were destroying our shanties for the third time, they screamed: "Communists!"'

The settlement, however, did not give up. In 1961, BT's occupants decided to demand a proper infrastructure for the area, which was dark and muddy. In the words of one woman: 'I studied at the Imperial Street [downtown] and for this reason my family hesitated to live here. Every night, I came from school, falling in the mud... All I could see was the "white" of the sea striking against the reefs. It, at least, was beautiful!'

*The poorest is the trader, the most likely to be illegal because he can neither afford to pay taxes nor fulfil the obligations required by labour laws concerning employees' rights.

After many attempts by the occupants to talk with the authorities and the press, in 1964 the government of Pernambuco started to introduce some infrastructure services to BT. But it was only in 1968 that the first artesian well was drilled in the area.

In the meantime, BT's occupants decided to elect a Residents' Association in order to represent the whole community regarding their social problems. It was 1966, the year of the formal register of the statutes. The association was comprised of: (a) a board of directors (six members); (b) a treasury council (three members); (c) the General Assembly of Occupants. The term of service for the board and council was two years and the decision-making power was in the hands of the General Assembly, which was normally supposed to meet once a month.

*Political parties and
the Church*

Popular organization in BT over the years was somewhat tied to the influence of politicians and the Roman Catholic Church. When interviewing the longest-term dwellers in BT, I did not detect any influence of these institutions on the organization of the invasion in 1958. However, one can see that politicians from different parties were always trying to be the people who 'gave' something to BT. As a lawyer and ex-president of the Justice and Peace Committee (CJP) said:

The consolidation of BT was done under the influence of traditional petty politics, i.e. people got organized in order to get electricity from a certain deputy. There was one, for example, who sold water to the people early in the morning for many years. Then, they understood how strong they had become and continued their historical consolidation.¹³

It is not possible to determine an *x* or *y* party leadership in BT. As the lawyer said, the political activities were pretty much 'personalist' and the people voted for candidates, not parties. Thus, one cannot look at BT's history and say that one political party controlled the area.

There was, after 1964, a tendency to support opposition parties. This fact is due to the notorious repression of the military regime towards many segments of society, including the Residents' Association, which had to stop meeting. The second reason has to do with the role of the church in Pernambuco after the coup d'état. In that same year, Dom Hélder Camara arrived in Recife to become Archbishop. He encouraged the participation of church members within urban settlements by opening people's minds to the political situation Brazil was experiencing. This fact partly explains why BT's occupants became better organized so that in 1966 a formal Residents' Association was elected in order to defend BT's rights.

At present there is a European priest who is a very esteemed person and counsellor in BT. The ex-president of the Residents' Association (1982-84 term) left to become a priest, and the Justice and Peace Commission (CJP) has been playing a very supportive role in BT. Legal aid for cases on legalization of urban tenure rights in BT is provided by lawyers who are members of CJP.

Concerning the political position of BT's people today, one can see that BT is an 'opposition settlement'. In 1982, an election year for governors, chamber representatives and councillors, the PMDB party won the vast majority of the votes in BT. The CJP's lawyers turned out to be the most voted-for councillors in Recife's history, and got most of their votes from BT's occupants.

Three years later, multi-party politics was again allowed in Brazil. All the parties tried therefore to acquire an electoral base. Some members of the Residents' Association leaned towards the Labour Party (PT) while others had ties with the PMDB politicians. As was the whole country, BT was going through a transitional phase in terms of defining which political guidelines to adopt. At present, there is in BT more awareness than ever of the value of community organizations and the political power to bargain.

It is important to point out that the political problems are not restricted to the Residents' Association. BT's occupants addressed the national question by taking part in the direct election of 1984. The occasion of the 18th anniversary of the Residents' Association also provided evidence of how integrated people were in Brazilian politics. First of all, they promoted a debate to which representatives of all parties in Recife were invited.

The most important issue raised dealt with the form of the forthcoming presidential election: either direct election or an electoral college. Apparently, BT's inhabitants agreed on the first option, also supported by the PT. At one point, the president of the Residents' Association said: 'The electoral college represents farmers' interests and not people's aspirations'. The audience also raised questions about Brazilian foreign debt and the possibility of Celso Furtado becoming a presidential candidate. But a man replied loudly: 'How is it possible to change the capitalist system in Brazil if the opposition parties are fighting over money? We are getting confused; for this reason the president has to be radical!'

This debate is an illustration of the political level of BT's community. The inhabitants are not only concerned with their internal problems but also

think about the national context. This is in part the result of the interaction of many politicians with the people and the influence of Church members who, in spite of their alleged 'apolitical' stance, have almost overt preferences for political parties. In Brazil recently, the Church has been seen as a force for the Labour Party. So one can understand why in a debate BT's people adopt the Labour Party's agenda.

In short, it is possible to conclude that at present the composition of BT's political forces reflects Brazil's chaotic situation in terms of organization of the parties. On May 15, 1985, at least 25 new parties were created. In addition, the main opposition party, PMDB, which is very influential in BT, is going through a leadership crisis that in turn gives rise to the political scepticism of the people in BT and elsewhere.

Residents' Association action

BT's Residents' Association has become stronger over the years in the sense that its bargaining power with the authorities has increased. In fact, it always has very specific demands and the power of mobilization to back them up is very persuasive.

According to many inhabitants one of the best examples of BT's mobilization is the bus boycott. It is always remembered by all dwellers as a great victory.* Recife's bus company, which served BT's community, refused to enter the area because of the muddy streets. As a result, the people had to get off and get on in the red light district.

My daughters came home late at night from school and had to walk through that zone... No one should allow situations like these! The board of directors had taken office recently and the people did not know if they believed in our form of struggle. We created slogans: 'Prize your walking, do not take Recife's buses'. In addition, the president prepared a petition that was signed by the vast majority of the inhabitants.

Afterwards, the district chief of police, who was the cousin of Recife's owner wanted to put the president in jail.

He arrived, but no one revealed where the president's house was. Everybody was ready to fight. The next day the local newspapers announced that we had thrown stones at the buses and the chief of police summoned me and other members of the Residents' Association. He said we were Communists... And I replied: 'How come? In our meetings we sing the National Anthem!'

*During the celebration of the 18th anniversary of BT's Residents' Association (7/21/84), I listened to the inhabitants' speeches about this boycott. From these speeches and a play they enacted, I wrote the following paragraphs.

Those facts made BT's dwellers famous with the authorities and gave credit to the power of our Association. As a consequence, the government repaired the streets and BONFIM's buses replaced the old ones.

Recently, the government bus company wanted to push BONFIM out of BT, but it has been opposed by residents who are satisfied with the transportation service and reject the government's idea.

Projeto Teimosinho

The second event that, in the words of a resident, 'has branded with a hot iron' the history of BT, occurred during the people's own urbanization project. In July of 1979, BT's dwellers wrote a *Manifesto of Public Opinion*.

Over the years we have resisted with dignity, under the solid leadership of the Residents' Association... We know that people have been greedy for BT, because of its good location. . . . But, for the same reason, we have to stay here: close to the sea's natural bounty, downtown, and Boa Viagem.

At that time, redemocratization had already begun in Brazil and BT's occupants, 'taking advantage of the political moment', decided to communicate to the government and the general public several resolutions approved in three General Assemblies:

1. Above all, we want, by legalizing the land for the present dwellers through emphyteusis, to provide definitive safety for our people.
2. We are carrying out our own project of urbanization with the participation of the whole community, and will seek sponsorship from the public for this.
3. If the situation arises, we will call for special laws to be enacted on legalization and urbanization.
4. Any collective question shall be dealt with through the Residents' Association.

This manifesto synthesized the guidelines for the Projeto Teimosinho. Moreover, it determined the sphere of state action in BT. In other words, BT's inhabitants stated what they wanted to do in terms of land use, and made it clear that the state would be excluded from the project. Only afterwards, they would need the state's cooperation to carry out what they had postulated

The manifesto also played an important role in raising the consciousness of BT's inhabitants insofar as everybody could discuss and see the result of the debate written 'in black and white'. On the other hand, the Residents'

Association was once again given confirmation of its legitimacy in representing BT's community interests.

BT's Residents' Association decided to no longer accept the government's diagnosis of their problems. They therefore developed a project run in conjunction with the Centre for Research and Social Action,* and financed, paradoxically, by the Housing Secretary. Four groups were in charge of the project: the CRSA technicians coordinated the work, along with BT's 'technical group' (including the president of BT's Residents' Association); besides these, a planning committee and a theatre group were created. The project began in June 1979 and ended in November of the same year.

The project's guidelines were basically:

1. To strengthen community action by making BT residents more conscious of their rights.
2. To create a self-administration process that could be an example for other low-income settlements in Recife.
3. To place the struggle for housing in BT in a broader context, i.e. not to isolate this question from other problems such as health, education, employment, etc.¹⁴

The reasons for developing the project were well-defined by the participants. On the people's side it was clear that: (i) the hidden threat of removal by the state caused a reaction among BT's occupants; and (ii) BT's Residents' Association was politically strong enough to command the project in the area.

As for the CRSA: (i) it was acknowledged by BT's occupants as the project's legitimate technical group; and (ii) it was recognized as being committed to people's interests.

However, the most important premise was one firmly imposed by BT's inhabitants during the General Assemblies. They made clear the role of the Residents' Association in providing the legitimate channel of political representation in BT. The project's conception and further execution would be under the Residents' Association's political control. It was also

*This Centre was a private enterprise which aimed to develop popular projects. Their members belonged to the PMDB and its directors were exiled during the military regime.

decided that 'if other entities were created aiming at economic, cultural, and educational action, they must be represented directly by the Resident's Association'.¹⁵

In short, they declared the political sovereignty of the Resident's Association within BT and extended its power to the future. By adopting these precepts, they were trying to prevent competition, both external (political parties or even CRSA domination of the political profits of the project) and internal.

Each part of the Projeto Teimosinho was openly discussed among BT's inhabitants. There was an intense mobilization to approach BT's problems from the people's standpoint. The CRSA and BT's Residents' Association organized 92 meetings in 22 weeks, circulated 31 issues of a cartoon newspaper,¹⁶ presented two plays in 16 sessions, and, at the end, subjected the project to a plebiscite before submitting it to Recife's Mayor.

In the first section, the project examines the perceptions that BT's occupants have of the problems and solutions related to: (i) land tenure rights; (ii) infrastructure services; and (iii) the precarious conditions of the two poorest areas in BT: Beira-Mar and Vila da Prata. In the second part, the project approaches the same problems from a technical point of view, and finally it details the 'alternatives accepted by the population' and approved by the plebiscite.

The focus on the issue of land tenure rights by BT's occupants led to the first experience of urban land being legalized in Recife following the decision of a special committee. According to the project's conclusions:

Above all considerations, to talk with any dweller in BT is to talk about legalizing land tenure. This question has to do with the permanent insecurity of inhabitants who face threats of removal and their problems in negotiating for houses and getting a license to improve them. ... To the inhabitants there is only one crucial problem: legalization of land.*¹⁷

This has been the major problem faced by BT's occupants in their struggle for land rights over the past twenty years. The project was an opportunity to ratify an old demand to which the government had never responded.

*Two-thirds of dwellers who live in their own houses want to legalize their *lots*. One-third of the tenants want to buy their houses and legalize the *land*.

The CRSA studied the residents' suggestions in depth and merged them into one proposal for the legalization of land. Afterwards, BT's people approved the rules set forth in this proposal. The articles of this 'property code' provided the steps for the legalization process that began in BT one year later, in 1980. Before the Projeto Teimosinho began, the Justice and Peace Committee's lawyer in conjunction with the Residents' Association members, created a special deed of assignment for houses (*benfeitorias*) which would apply to cases in which a resident wanted to sell his house. The occupant and the buyer signed the document at the Residents' Association in triplicate: one copy for the Association and one for each party to the agreement. Three hundred deeds were signed up to 1980, when the project was implemented.

The major rules of the Projeto Teimosinho concerning the rights of occupants can be summarized as follows:

1. City Hall must assign the land that was assigned to it by the Federal Government to the present occupants of BT, without imposing any burden on them.
2. The rule of thumb is: one house, one owner. It means that each resident is eligible to own one house. A person may, however, have two houses if one of them is used for business activities begun before June 1, 1979. The area of the sum of the two lots must not exceed 150 square metres.
3. The Residents' Association should have the emphyteutical rights to the places of business: (a) if the owner does not live in BT, (b) if the sum of the lots (item 2) exceeds 150 square metres.
4. Occupants who are forced to move in order to meet the urbanization requirements are entitled to receive another lot within BT.

These rules were discussed and approved by BT's occupants.* They thus determined not only the rights of BT's occupants and landowners, but the role to be played by City Hall and housing agencies in the process of legalization. The rules also challenged the concept of invasion. Squatters do not consider themselves *invaders* since this word connotes illegality. Throughout the project BT's dwellers were called *occupants*, not *invaders*. The word *invader* was, however, applied to Captain 'Terra', a middle-class man who built many houses and made profits by renting them. The concept of property developed among squatters in Recife takes into account the residents' length of occupancy and their housing needs.**

*Roberto Maçães owned 0.6 hectares under the emphyteusis system. Captain 'Terra' owned 0.3 hectares as a result of invasion of land.

These two factors justify the actions of occupation which, for that reason, cannot be considered illegal. Captain Terra, however, is an *invader* because of his profit-oriented actions in BT. The whole purpose of the legalization proposal was to attempt to distribute the land among the occupants. The main rule—one house, one owner—was the point on which every occupant agreed, yet the non-occupant owners could not accept it. So Projeto Teimosinho initiated a unique experience in terms of legalization and at the same time planted the seeds of yet another conflict in BT's history: the conflict among BT's landlords who did not agree with the Projeto Teimosinho and tried to expel the tenants.

Current situation

In March 1985, Brazil entered the age of the New Republic. A civilian government took office and created a Ministry for Urban Development and Environmental Issues. The Minister, Flávio Peixoto, came to Recife to meet with leaders of the PMDB (ex-opposition party) and 32 low-income settlements. The discussion, once again, centred on the need to legalize land tenure rights.

In September of the same year, the Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast (SUDENE) discussed with 24 community representatives (including leaders of Residents' Associations¹⁸) the New Republic's Plan for Northeast Development (I-PND). The final document mandates that:

As for property and the use of urban land, the state must review immediately the legal and institutional instruments in order to adjust the land to its social function. It is necessary, therefore, to regulate the real estate market and expropriate land for public use.¹⁹

This plan has been approved recently by the Congress.

The legalization of land tenure rights in urban areas became a subject of heated debate, meetings, documents, and urban projects. But in fact, very few titles have been delivered to the occupants. The process has been carried out slowly. Perhaps the prospect of direct elections, that will determine the Congressmen who will vote for a new Brazilian Constitution, will accelerate the legalization process, as the former mayor of Recife did in 1981. Perhaps the strong consensus which was created around the issue will turn it into a constitutional matter. So, step by step, the squatter move-

**It is common to hear someone say 'The house is mine, I built it. The land does not belong to anyone, but by landfilling I also built my own land'.

ments have seen a major legal change by having their rights protected by the Constitution. In fact, the low-income people who attended the Fifth National Congress in Defense of Favelados (MDF)²⁰ discussed the projects that should be included in the Constitution that will be elaborated in 1987.

On the local front, Recife's mayor, who was elected in 1985, made the housing issue a priority of his term. Currently many of those opposed to the Old Republic urban plans are working with City Hall, including the leaders of low-income settlements.

In BT, the political cooptation of the leadership has been very strong, since the politicians know the importance of this low-income settlement to the coming electoral campaign. During the mayoral elections, the Residents' Association was split between the two most important candidates because it did not want to run the risk of supporting only one candidate. The principal leaders are currently working at City Hall, and the community organization, which now focuses less on local problems, is consequently less cohesive. It is no longer limited to the mould of special interest organizations and is now addressing questions concerning the future Brazilian Constitution.

Notes

1. This aspect has been developed in the author's dissertation on which this article is based. See Sobreira de Moura, A., 'Legalization of Urban Land and Legal Changes', doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School, 1986.
2. In 1983, City Hall stated that there were 72 low-income settlements, see SEPLAN/PCR and URB, *Urbanização de Favelas-Recife, 1979–1983*, Recife, 1983, p. 6. In 1985, this researcher and an architect, Angela Souza, located 193 settlements by using data from the Foundation for the Development of the Recife Metropolitan Region (FIDEM) and visiting these places. In March 1986, two more invasions occurred: one in Born Pastor, the other in Casa Forte.
3. SEPLAN/PCR and URB, *Urbanização de Favelas*, op.cit.
4. There are occasional floods in 31.6 per cent of the houses and frequent floods in 19.7 per cent of them. There is permanent flooding in 0.5 per cent of the area, where the poorest people of BT live.
5. Conselho de Moradores de Brasília Teimosa/Centro de Pesquisa e Acao Social, 'Projeto Teimosinho: Brasília Teimosa', unpublished report, Recife, 1979.
6. 'Jornal do Comércio' (daily newspaper in Recife), 11 April 1958, p. 3.
7. 'Diário de Pernambuco' (daily newspaper in Recife), 29 November 1960, p. 12.
8. The first legal Residents' Association in BT dated back to 1966 but, even before that, there were groups that presented community demands to City Hall and the Governor of Pernambuco.

9. In Recife there was a federation of residents' associations that embraced associations from different neighbourhoods. According to a leader of this federation, most of the members were hunted by the forces of the new political group and, consequently, the federation vanished. Despite this fact, many residents' associations continued to struggle for land and houses, but without giving political connotations to their demands.
10. To carry out this project, the URB, in agreement with City Hall and the Foundation for the Development of the Recife Metropolitan Region (FIDEM), hired a well-known group—Jaime Lerner Urban Planning—to survey BT's physical and social conditions.
11. The data in this section are, unless otherwise identified, from a 1980 survey carried out by URB, Programa Promorar, BNH, Levantamento Sócio-Econômico, Brasília Teimosa, Recife/PE, Relatório Final, April 1981.
12. Data collected for URB by Jaime Lerner Urban Planning in 1979. However, the most recent research, also done by URB, shows that commerce absorbs more of the labour force than civil construction does. On the other hand, the Projeto Teimosinho indicates that 59 per cent are unemployed and make their living from odd jobs.
13. Interview with Dr. Pedro Eurico de Barros e Silva, ex-president of the Justice and Peace Committee and present councillor for the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (5 January 1984).
14. 'Projeto Teimosinho', op.cit., pp. 1–2.
15. Ibid., p. 29.
16. These cartoon newspapers were delivered door-to-door. The first issue explained the project, the second one discussed the legalization of land, and the third raised infrastructure questions. The last one summarised the project's conclusions.
17. 'Projeto Teimosinho', op.cit., p. 15.
18. Two leaders participated in this meeting: Carlos A. Silva (Vila das Crianças) and Moacir G. Filho (Brasília Teimosa).
19. SUDENE/MINTER, 'I Plano para Desenvolvimento do Nordeste na Nova República', Recife, 1985 (unpublished).
20. This Congress was held in Recife on 27 July, 1985. The principal topic dealt with incorporation of the *favelados*' claims into the new Constitution. According to the final decisions made at the Congress, the Assembly for this Constitution was to convene in April 1986.

Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen

An Introduction to the Third System

By Marc Nerfin

Since 1978, the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) has published 58 issues of the IFDA Dossier. From a modest start the IFDA Dossier has grown to become one of the most important instruments for the promotion of Another Development and for the strengthening of the third system—it is now published in an edition of about 20,000 copies. In this article, the President of IFDA, Marc Nerfin, provides an overview of the unfolding of the ideas of Another Development and the Third System over the past decade and a preliminary stock-taking of the first 55 issues of the IFDA dossier.

In analysing the present crisis, Marc Nerfin takes as his point of departure the fact that both the governmental power and the economic power, i.e. the first and second systems, have 'more often than not proved unable by themselves to offer solutions to the crisis and even less to contribute to the search for alternatives. (They have proved unable to respond to the cry for peace and Another Development). They are more part of the problem than of the solution. There is thus a need to go back to fundamentals, and to discern in the function of human agencies, those who may be better able to ensure the continuation of life on this planet, i.e. citizens and their associations, together forming the third system.' Marc Nerfin then goes on to discuss the characteristics of third system associations and the specific issues around which they are building their activities. He also dwells on the relationship of the third system to the first and second systems and gives the reader an opportunity to share his vision of the future potential inherent in the third system.

Copies of the IFDA Dossier may be obtained from the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, 4, place du Marché, CH-1260 NYON, Switzerland.



The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others.

Gandhi

Introduction

The formal title of this paper, presented at an ARENA/UNU workshop on Alternative Development Perspectives in Asia, Dhyana Pura, Bali, Indonesia, March 1986, was, as requested by the organizers, *The North-South impasse: Potential for creativity?—The IFDA third system contribution and experience.* *

There is indeed a North-South impasse, but to understand it, it appears necessary to (a) analyse its underlying causes and (b) consider the role of the different social actors, since the impasse may not be the same for different actors.

First, the 'impasse' is only an aspect of a general crisis, itself reflecting the historical changes which have occurred on this planet over the last forty years. To put it bluntly, the world as seen from San Francisco in 1945, at the founding of the United Nations, was essentially white, Western, Christian and elitist; its basic paradigms were Newtonian.⁷ Today, largely as a result of the 'great awakening' of the Third World, but also because we can now see our planet from outer space, humankind is recapturing its wholeness. What has not changed, on the other hand, is the unequal exchange, whatever the innovations in its mechanisms, the hegemony of the North over the South, and underdevelopment. The crisis is at the same time economic, financial, environmental, social, cultural, ideological and political, as well as one of security.**

In terms of the *human condition*, the crisis fundamentally means the permanent threat of the nuclear holocaust and the already real, daily, holocaust of hunger, which kills 40,000 children every day—the equivalent of a Hiroshima every week.⁸ These statistics cannot be repeated often enough: do we really understand the meaning of these four words, *a Hiroshima every week?*

But one must be aware of what underlies this massacre of the innocents. It is the fracturing into two of every society, much worse than the traditional East-West or North-South rifts: the two Indias, the two Chiles, the two USAs; the two worlds. There is the world of the powerful, of the rich, of the employed, of those who participate; and that of the powerless, of the poor, of the unemployed, of the dispossessed, and, worse, of those who, being no longer economically useful, can be dispensed with.^b This fracture is the result of underdevelopment, maldevelopment and other poisoned fruits of the same misdirection of human affairs everywhere on this planet.

The only way out of such a crisis is a new, alternative society, what we have called Another Development.¹⁹ In a nutshell, this could be described as (i)

* This paper includes two series of references. The first one, indicated by letters, refers to the *IFDA Dossier*, and the second, indicated by figures, to other sources.

** Rather than dwelling here on the matter, may the author refer readers to his paper 'The future of the United Nations system: Some questions on the occasion of an anniversary'.³⁶

need-oriented (but by no means limited to the so-called 'basic needs'); (ii) self-reliant; (iii) endogenous; (iv) in harmony with nature and ecologically sustainable; and (v) going hand in hand with people empowered to make structural transformations. In other words, Another Development means people organizing themselves so as to develop who they are and what they have, by themselves and for themselves.

Second, the powers that be, governmental or economic, have more often than not proved unable by themselves to offer solutions to the crisis and even less to contribute to the search for alternatives. They have proved unable to respond to the cry for peace and Another Development. They are more part of the problem than of the solution. There is thus a need to go back to fundamentals, and to discern in the functions of the human agencies, those who may be better able to ensure the continuation of life on this planet.

A modest contribution to the debate, more in the nature of 'ideas in progress' than anything else, this paper starts with a definition of human agencies and, on the basis of the IFDA experience, examines the world development of the citizens' movement, discusses the relations between people and the third system and advocates global networking as a tool of people's empowerment.

A definition. Contrasting with governmental power and economic power—the power of the Prince and the Merchant—there is an immediate and autonomous power, sometimes evident, sometimes latent: people's power. Some people develop an awareness of this, associate and act with others and thus become citizens.* Citizens and their associations, when they do not seek either governmental or economic power, constitute the third system. Helping to bring what is latent into the open, the third system is one expression of the autonomous power of the people.

A snapshot of the third system constellation

Associations are legion.** The 21st edition (1984/85) of the *Yearbook of International Organizations* describes 7,109 international 'non-governmental organizations' and 5,577 internationally-oriented national bodies. The

* The author must confess here to an ethnocentric shortsightedness: the concept of *citizen* is probably meaningful only in a Western (including Latin American) context and in the 'modernized' fringes of the world polity. There may be equivalents in other cultures—like for instance the *Mwananchi* in Swahili—but the question remains wide open and the author would be grateful to interested readers, especially those of African, Buddhist and Moslem cultures, for advice on the matter.

1981 *Directory of non-governmental organizations in OECD countries active in development cooperation* includes the profiles of 1,702 such bodies. There are many times more than these in the national and local spheres. In India, in 1978, a questionnaire on their participation in development was sent to 1,400 'NGOs'—of which more than 90 per cent had no effective international links.' In France, associations were in the hundreds in the 1930s; in the thousands in the 1950s; 10,000 in 1960; 30,000 in 1977 and anything between 300,000 and 500,000 in 1981, a year during which some 100 new associations were established every day.^d

These associations, by their sheer numbers, invite and at the same time defy classification. For the purpose of this introduction, a snapshot of that part of the galaxy of associations which could be considered as third system may suffice to help us discern some structure and some trends.

Third system associations are formed by citizens whose situation in society, and/or some personal reason, whether intellectual, moral or spiritual, makes them anxious to improve their lives, individually or collectively, and that of others. Social history suggests that individual motivation is more important, collective motivation more ardent, and the combination of both stronger. A worker usually remains a worker, and his/her reasons to be active in a trade union are part and parcel of her/his social existence. The same holds true for members of ethnic minorities (or majorities). A woman has even deeper reasons to be a lifelong feminist activist. But not all workers, all women, and so on, become citizens, and the personal motivation is always essential. Motivations are many, but observation of the third system as it currently unfolds—i.e. beyond its 'traditional' manifestations like the trade unions—suggests that there are only a few deep-seated mobilizing themes; peace, women's liberation, human and peoples' rights, environment, local self-reliance, alternative life-styles and personal transformation and consumers' self-defence as well as, in some industrialized countries, solidarity with the people of the Third World, including refugees and migrants, and, in Eastern Europe, or at least in Poland, a new form of trade unionism.⁵⁰

** Words are never innocent. The phrase 'non-governmental organizations' is politically unacceptable because it implies that government is the centre of society, and people its periphery. To insist on people's autonomy also requires some semantical cleaning up. Except in quotations, we will use, instead of 'NGO', the expressions 'association', whose sense is wide enough, and 'third system', in the precise acceptation proposed in this introduction.

The multiplicity of forms under which these associations appear correspond to the diversity of motivations and circumstances. Because they reflect the autonomy of the people, associations are often allergic to the forms defined by the establishment. The term is therefore used here, purposely, in a rather loose sense.

Many associations are officially recognized and/or registered, with a formal constitution, membership, committees, channels for reporting and accounting, etc. Others are just *ad hoc* gatherings of like-minded individuals who occasionally share ideas and experiences through a round-robin letter. In between, the spectrum includes all other possible configurations: some are underground; others do not care about their legal status and just exist; a few even resemble political parties, such as the Greens in Western Germany,^{c,8} but are still part of the third system as long as they do not exercise executive power. There may also be groups of marginal shareholders who try to voice social concerns in a transnational corporation. Quite a few, especially in Buddhist and Christian cultures, have a spiritual foundation. Some have a few members only; others constitute vast movements, occasionally assembling several hundreds of thousands of people. In short, third system associations are as diverse as societies themselves.

Citizens and their associations usually act in a determined space—local, regional, national, multinational, global—but also, and increasingly so, in several spaces simultaneously. Amnesty International, to take only one example, acts in the global space through representations to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in the national space through pressure on governments, and in the local space through the many groups which 'adopt' a political prisoner and campaign for his/her liberation.

Whatever makes citizens join forces and wherever they take action, third system associations/activities can be considered under a few broad, non-mutually exclusive and non-comprehensive clusters.

Some are geared to the realization of a *project* intended to respond to a crisis situation, to solve a specific problem or pursue a more general objective: organizing people, especially the poor;^f improving their daily life^g or their environment;^h extending technical or financial support to local initiatives;ⁱ promoting popular theatre;^j linking education with production;^k ensuring equal access to jobs; decreasing working time, opposing construction of a nuclear facility (or the deployment of missiles); reconverting the manufacture of arms into that of socially useful goods;^l preventing the export of dangerous drugs to the Third World or the careless storage of toxic wastes;

campaigning for the liberation of a political prisoner; sharing appropriate technologies;^m building new North-South relations;ⁿ facilitating the exchange of experiences through networking and cross-cultural dialogues; or searching for alternatives. In the Third World, there is a new and growing tendency among intellectuals,^o including women^p and lawyers,^q to serve the people.

Advocacy activities may be seen as constituting a second cluster. Associations may be formed to advocate peace,^r a new world order, the New International Economic Order or a federalist world; a world without hunger;^s a new approach to international security; better terms of trade for Third World countries; the recognition and effective respect of minority rights;^t breastfeeding;^u consumption of local products; Another Development in health; equality in opportunities among individuals and societies; protection and enhancement of the environment; ecodevelopment; cultural pluralism and respect for the Other; reform to strengthen the United Nations...

A third cluster of associations deals with *accountability* ('those who hold power must be held accountable for the consequences of its exercise')^v and the necessary mechanisms. The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal and its predecessor, the Russell Tribunal, are examples as far as the Prince is concerned; the International Organization of Consumer Unions,^w IBFAN^x or Ralph Nader's Corporate Accountability Research Group and its *Multinational Monitor* as far as the Merchant is concerned.^y

The three types of activities usually imply some underpinning policy-oriented research and have a broad educational role, and some associations devote themselves primarily to such functions. The association's activity often takes (exclusively or not) the form of a publication such as, to chose examples in the feminist movement, the Latin American *ILET Fempress*, the African *La Satellite*, the *Tribune* or the ISIS periodicals,^z or the *Samizdat* in USSR, third system activities not being limited to the West or the South.

This hazy picture may perhaps, at this stage, be complemented by a more focused look at three specific spots in the Third System constellation. First, *peace*. In Western Europe, the largest post-1945 manifestations took place in the autumn of 1983. Half a million people marched in the streets of the Hague, 600,000 in Rome and one million in West Germany, to oppose the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. In North America, one million Americans overwhelmed New York Central Park and mid-town

Manhattan on 12 June 1982 on the occasion of the United Nations General Assembly Second Special Session on Disarmament—a demonstration far larger than any during the 60s anti-Vietnam war protests, and possibly the largest ever in New York City.

Even before the New York event, George Kennan, a senior US establishment figure and veteran diplomat, made this important comment:

The recent growth and gathering strength of the antinuclear-war movement here and in Europe is to my mind the most striking phenomenon of this beginning of the 80s. It is all the more impressive because it is so extensively spontaneous (...) At the heart of it lie some very fundamental and reasonable and powerful motivations: among them (...) a very real exasperation with their governments (...) They are the expression of a deep instinctive insistence, if you don't mind, on sheer survival (...) Our government will ignore this fact at its peril. This movement is too powerful, too elementary, too deeply embedded in the natural human instinct for self-preservation to be brushed aside.²⁵

Further, as Hilikka Pietilä observed, the peace movement is no longer a single-issue movement as the traditional peace movements were. Today the peace movement brings together and unites several different movements which all perceive the arms race and nuclear weapons as a common threat. This perception is shared by conservationists, various green movements, movements for a new life style, opponents of nuclear energy, activists for Third World countries and, first of all, the new women's movement.

Second, *women's liberation*. In the same paper, Hilikka Pietilä continues:

The most interesting and the most original of these movements is the women's movement. It is the most comprehensive and the least prejudiced of the movements which have started and developed their activity over recent years. It receives substance and enhancement from widening and diversifying women's research, which opens up new perspectives for equality between men and women as well as for social transformation altogether. An analytical, cognitive women's movement as such is a peace movement. Here it differs decisively from the so-called equal rights movement, which has not questioned the basic structures and values of the present social order, and which pursued equality for women in men's world mainly on male terms.²⁶

Social orders created and dominated by men have failed. Another Development, implying as it does new structures, calls for the rejection of any imitation. Competing with men just to do more of the same, and to run the same society with the same methods, women would only reproduce out-

dated and inappropriate patterns. The women's movement, which asserts itself everywhere, in all regions and in all spaces, has the opportunity to be imaginative, innovative, alternative. Like the Third World, the young, the alienated, the exploited, the dispossessed, women represent at the same time the difference, with its promise of change, and the totality which prefigures a better world. They may be the midwives of Another Development.

Hazel Henderson has noted that

these non-governmental organizations formed over the past fifty years by women, their proliferation in many countries, and subsequent convergence on world problems and the restructuring of policies to address them, are a prototype for international action.²¹

For her part Marilyn Ferguson writes that women

represent the greatest single force for political renewal in a civilization thoroughly out of balance. Just as individuals are enriched by developing both the masculine and feminine sides of the self (independence and nurturance, intellect and intuition), so the society is benefiting from a change in the balance of power between sexes.

And she quotes Gandhi who once said,

if satyagraha is to be the mode of the future, then the future belongs to women.¹¹

Third, *accountability*. The principle of accountability and its enforcement emerges perhaps as the central theme in the efforts to re-assert people's autonomous power vis-à-vis the Prince and the Merchant.^w Appropriate mechanisms are not in themselves enough, and formal recognition by the Establishment of the need for accountability is even less of a sufficient answer; but the systematic exercise of accountability measures would help us progress in the right direction.

As an instrument of democracy (that is, strictly speaking, people's power), accountability may progressively circumscribe the power of those who hold it. The act of making Prince and Merchant accountable may instil a new sense of self-confidence among the people. It is a natural concern for citizen's associations.

An example in a specific field is provided by the Consumers Association of Penang (Malaysia). CAP monitors prices, advertisements, marketing tech-

niques, sales of dangerous goods, inadequacy of health care, public transportation and housing. It alerts authorities and the people to any abuse. It carries out research into basic needs satisfaction, fights environmental deterioration (e.g. chemical pollution, deforestation, over-fishing), provides support to local initiatives, organizes educational programmes, publishes a widely circulated monthly paper, *Utusan Konsumer*, in Malay and English, disseminates statements in these two languages as well as in Mandarin and Tamil, and publishes pamphlets and postcards. More specifically, it handles complaints from people about abuses they suffer from either Prince or Merchant.

A CAP comment is relevant to this discussion:

In ex-colonial societies where the people have far too long been used to the passive acceptance of life's injustices, the successful lodging of a complaint changes the perception and attitude of individuals who now see that redress can be obtained if one is willing to do something positive about it. The Complaint Service thus becomes an effective means and channel through which the public is able to exercise its rights to fight business malpractices and to press for fair and better services from companies and government departments as well as to demand protection of these rights from authorities.^{bb}

People and third system

The phrase 'third system' in the sense accepted here, and in the practice it is associated with, was coined in September 1977. It was first embodied in the title of the 'third system project' carried out between 1978 and 1980 by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives as a contribution to the elaboration of the United Nations International Development Strategy for the 80s.^{35,v} As implied in the definition used here, the concept extends well beyond the modest context of its origin.

The association with the phrase 'Third World' is not only deliberate: as a matter of fact, both phrases come from the same source; both are meant to evoke *le Tiers Etat*, 'the third estate' of the French *ancien régime*. Before the 1789 revolution, French society comprised three 'estates', the nobility, the clergy and the third estate, i.e. the vast majority. Alfred Sauvy was the first, in 1952, to use the phrase 'Third World' to refer to the periphery, or the South, a phrase which has since then gained wide acceptance.^{42*} However, 'third system' is conceptually closer to 'third estate' than 'Third World' is to either. The latter concept is geo-political; it concerns countries. The former two are socio-political; they concern people, and that is what the third system is about.

For in the beginning were the people. As history unfolded, various social groups and individuals emerged as self-appointed rulers and leaders which, to put it schematically, managed to extract from the people, the direct producers, a tribute or plus-value. To this effect, warriors, landowners, aristocrats, clergymen, merchants, money-lenders, capitalists, generals and bureaucrats established various forms of government and economic organization. As a result of this evolution, people are dominated, at this particular point in history, by governmental power, that of the Prince, and by economic power, that of the Merchant, sometimes united, sometimes antagonistic but always present.

Government still fascinates, understandably so when it is sought as a tool for change at the service of people, less so when it is opposed.

The Prince may well be the object of hate or sarcasm, yet he is somehow admired. Even when a particular prince is really bad, the very manner in which the criticism is construed implies the possibility of a good prince, a prince-philosopher (me? or the friend who may listen to me?).

Princes of the literary kingdom themselves, though princes in their own right, often bow in a way to the political Prince. Consider for instance three great contemporary writers of Latin America, a continent which has had and still has its bad princes: Miguel Angel Asturias with *Mr President*, Alejo Carpentier with *The recourse of the method* and even Gabriel Garcia Marquez with *The autumn of the patriarch*: the Prince is torn into pieces, and yet somewhere floats the incense of mythification.

The alternative to the Prince, for a handful, is age-old anarchy. The Prince as a person does not really matter, it is the institution which is bad, so let's get rid of it. With neither God nor Master, let us join forces and tomorrow the International will be Humankind.

The Merchant used to be close to us. The growing geographical and economic distance between producer and consumer made it at the same

* That Sauvy implied that the OECD countries (the West) and the CMEA countries (the European East) were the other 'worlds' does not justify the use of the expressions 'first' and 'second' world. In this context, ordinal numbers are historically, conceptually and politically misleading. Further, it may be noted that the Chinese use a different classification which is more action-oriented in geo-political terms. By 'first' world, they mean the two superpowers, and by 'second' world, smaller industrial countries in both Western and Eastern Europe.

time more mythical in our perception and more real as a determinant of our daily lives. It has now grown into a monster/hero whose misdeeds are proportional to the services it renders. We resent its influence and its riches because we are under its influence and because its riches come from us as participants, through the market, in the process of production and consumption. For instance, we oppose transnational corporations—to a point: I don't like Nestlé, but I don't give up coffee. I don't like ITT, but I need to communicate with my fellow networker in Chile. I don't like Hoffman-La Roche, but what may happen to my child without this irreplaceable drug?

One alternative to the Merchant is workers' self-management, peasants' cooperatives and equal exchange among them. But not everyone likes to be a manager, and almost everywhere self-management has begotten new managers and restarted the process of alienation. Another alternative is the Plan, as a people-serving agent of rational production and distribution of socially useful goods and services. Whilst it may alleviate some of the Merchant's shortcomings, the Planner still has a lot to learn, including how to recognize the Plan's limits.

The permanent fascination of the Prince, the enduring reliance on the Merchant and the elusiveness of Utopias suggest not only that Utopias need to be revisited, but also that, however poorly they perform, neither Prince nor Merchant have outlived their usefulness.

At the present level of productivity, with its implications in terms of surplus extraction, ideological manipulation through the mass media and the so-called cultural industry, economic, social and political organization, and weaponry for both external and internal use, the fact is that some form of government, in the boundaries of the current nation-states system, is unavoidable, and to a point, necessary; in a world dominated by two superpowers, smaller or less powerful states still offer some protection against total subservience. Similarly unavoidable and to a point necessary is some form of economic organization, private or public, guided by the 'invisible hand' or by the Plan, mixing one way or the other transnational corporations, state enterprises, national and local capitalisms. When the most basic human needs remain unsatisfied, those able to foster production—provided it be socially useful and ecologically sustainable—as well as those able to ensure some social security through redistribution still have an essential function. Neither the withering away of the state nor generalized producer/consumer self-management are on today's agenda.

This is to say that we have to recognize that Prince and Merchant, as

alienated from us and as alienating as they are, remain parts of the realm of necessity. But understanding necessity never prevented liberty.

At the time, Prince and Merchant control only parts of power. Whether they exist *de facto* or *de jure*, whether legitimate or not, whether serving the general interest or not, they cannot possibly represent society in its totality and its differences. Moreover, they exert their powers *upon* society. Their powers are subsidiary to that of the people. Their very existence depends on the people. They are, in a sense, our creatures. People—the women and men we are—also have power, which we can exert on Prince and Merchant as well as on ourselves. People's power is thus the only autonomous power.

Beyond the principles, as essential as they are, stands reality. People—societies—are not homogenous.

To come back to an earlier analogy, the French third estate was not homogenous. Opposing the nobility and the high clergy were the merchants, the artisans, the peasants, the first industrial capitalists, the intellectuals, some parish priests. Their interests, beyond the abolition of absolutism, could hardly be the same. The ideology, formulated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot and others, was essentially democratic—but the bourgeoisie, assuming leadership, merely used it to take over from nobility and church, which disappeared as both governmental and economic power. By and large, the people simply changed masters. A similar scenario occurred, in a different context and for different reasons, after the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia. Bureaucracy, not bourgeoisie, took over and one had to wait until the summer of 1980, in Poland, to see the people—the workers—get together and organize as an autonomous social force in a society born out of the quest for justice and socialism.

This suggests two observations.

First, whatever the ideology, the social origin or the motivations, no minority, group or individual seeking or exercising power, any power, can be given a blank cheque. Whatever provisional or lasting benefits the people may get from a change of power, or from power or counterpower exercised on their behalf, they will remain in a subservient situation if they do not retain their autonomous power. This is not to condemn those who aspire to, or get, governmental power—many are genuinely honest and try in earnest to achieve what they had set out to do—but a reflection of the nature of the Prince and a reminder that in the polity as in the economy, the division of labour breeds 'disabling professions'.²³

Second, people, save in exceptional circumstances, do not act politically as such, *en masse*. Not all people act as citizens, and people are not naturally good; they may be, for instance, racist, and are easily manipulated by propaganda. Enlightened minorities (or leaders), self-propelled but responsive to society, either act on behalf of people or, better, perceiving a problem and outlining a solution, formulate a *project* in which people recognize themselves. They join forces, thus creating the *movement* through which the latent power of the people is made manifest.

The third system is thus not coterminous with the people. It brings together only those among the people who are reaching a critical consciousness of the role they may play. It is not a party or an organization, but the movement of those associations or citizens who perceive that the essence of history is the endless effort for emancipation by which we grope towards mastery of our own destiny, an effort which is, in the final analysis, coterminous with the process of humanization of man (in the generic sense). The third system does not seek governmental or economic power. On the contrary, its function is to help people to assert their own autonomous power vis-à-vis both Prince and Merchant. It endeavours to listen to those never or rarely heard and at least to offer a tribune to the unheard voices.

Networking

Realities, telecommunications and perceptions* progressively confirm the oneness of humankind and its planet. The risk of nuclear holocaust and the combination of underdevelopment and maldevelopment also make us one. Environment and health hazards underline our interdependence. Two thirds of the planet—its oceans—are open to global management, as is outer space. Citizens and associations working in local spaces cannot limit themselves to these spaces, however fundamental they are. Those working in the global space cannot limit themselves to their sectoral concerns, however crucial these are. Beyond spaces and themes, all need to share experiences and ideas, to feel they belong to a larger whole, to relate to others.

The other systems of power do have their own linkages, mechanisms of consultation and joint action. Princes, whether they somehow represent their people or oppress them, have their fora. They are regional like the

* and also the recent discovery that we may well be, all of us on this planet, the descendants of a *single female* ancestor who lived in Africa 140,000 to 280,000 years ago.

League of Arab States, the Association of South East Asia Nations, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Economic Community of West African States, the European Economic Community, the Gulf States Corporation or the Sistema Economico Latino Americano. They reflect specific historical circumstances, like the Commonwealth or the Organization of the Islamic Conference. They are also global: the United Nations system of agencies, programmes and conferences. Those Merchants who operate across national borders have formed transnational corporations. The third system as such has nothing of this sort. And its links cannot be the same as those of the powers which it intends to circumscribe or influence and which it wants to make accountable.

There seem to be two possible approaches to third system global relations. The first orbits around the United Nations system; the second, networking, while not necessarily excluding the first one, reflects better the nature and goals of third system associations and movements.

The United Nations approach itself is at least twofold. The first branch involves some improbable journey towards a remote Utopia but nevertheless deserves to be mentioned. After all, the Charter opens with the famous 'We the *peoples* of the United Nations', and not with 'We the *governments* of the united *states* of the world'.

The EEC Commission, which has more power than the UN Security Council, co-exists with the European Parliament whose role may be limited but whose members, elected as they are, somehow speak for the people of the member countries.

Another possible analogy is offered by the International Labour Organization, whose General Conference is composed of four representatives of each member-state with individual voting power. Two are delegates of government, one of the employers and one of the workpeople. This does not go very far, especially since the 'non government' delegates are chosen by the particular country's government in agreement with its most representative industrial organization.

Something along these lines, however, would be a significant improvement in the representativeness of the United Nations proper, where some 700 'non-governmental organizations' are in some sort of consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. They are a mixed bag of organizations, ranging from the International Association of the Soap and Detergent Industry to the Christian Peace Conference. Most are essentially

Western, and whether their relationships with the ECOSOC are 'obsolete and unproductive', as some say, does not really matter.⁵ Furthermore, there is a persistent habit, in the 'public information' sectors of the United Nations, to consider 'NGOs' as mere conveyor belts, of intergovernmental or bureaucratic wisdom distilled from above, to the 'public' which is seen as a passive receptacle.

It is of course not prohibited to dream of another United Nations.

Utopian as it may appear today—as did so many ideas, now part of the conventional wisdom, before someone took the first step towards implementing them—couldn't we sketch out a possible UN of 2025? Redeeming its original sin of having been conceived, brought into being and grown up as an organization of governments, the UN of our children and grandchildren will probably reflect better the societies of the world and the actors who make them alive.

This could for instance be achieved through a three-chamber General Assembly of the United Nations. The *Prince Chamber* would represent the governments of the states. The *Merchant Chamber* would represent the economic powers, be they transnational, multinational, national or local, belonging to the private, state or social sectors, since at the same time we need them and need to regulate their activities—which is better done with them. The *Citizen Chamber*, where there should be as many women as men, would, through some mechanism ensuring adequate representativeness, speak for the people and their associations. At the very least, this would make it possible for citizens to hold Prince and Merchant *accountable* for the consequences of the exercise of their power (...).

Perhaps some imaginative and innovative institution designers could start working and offer to the world community some ideas on how to move from the present state of affairs to something more apt to enable people to participate in the management of the planet.

It would be futile, at this stage, to direct the exercise at governments. Like most past re-structuring efforts (by far more modest), this one will, in the short term at least, strike the shelves of politico-bureaucratic lack of vision and vested interests. The exercise should, on the contrary, not only be directed at, but carried out with, the social actors themselves, the women and the young, the peasants and the city dwellers, the producers and the consumers, the peace marchers and the ecological sit-in people, all those who are vitally interested in another development interweaving peace, justice and a better life for all.^{6c}

Could some steps be taken immediately, offering alternatives to the end-of-the-day-no-audience practice of 'NGOs' addressing the ECOSOC (or other bodies)? Could the ECOSOC Committee on 'NGOs' upgrade its role from

attending to procedural matters to considering policy matters? Could the Human Rights Commission, the Transnational Commission or the bodies dealing with disarmament listen to and interact with Amnesty International, the International Organization of Consumers Unions or the peace movements? What kind of policy and procedures for the submission and circulation of documents would ensure that relevant views are available to intergovernmental organs? Could some enlightened governments take the initiative to send more representative delegations to the General Assembly? For instance, since each Member has five delegates, could one represent the opposition, one the business community, and one the third system? Some governments do it to some extent, but could this not be made more systematic and open? Could one member be elected?

In the meantime, a 'major departure from the traditional relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations' must be mentioned. In October 1979, at a meeting on infant and young child feeding which took place 'at the centre of WHO/UNICEF decision-making process', various groups of participants were involved on an *equal* footing: representatives of governments, scientists, health workers, executives of infant food manufacturers, representatives of the United Nations system and constituent-based associations from both South and North. The composition of that meeting helped make it a 'qualitative leap forward in the approach to infant feeding'.²⁸ And there should be no surprise that the Executive Director of UNICEF, James Grant, could write that:

we have had a remarkable amount of structural change in the past 30 years (...) most of this change has been brought about by public pressure, with people ahead of governments (...). The outstanding example is the national liberation movements, which have all been against governments. The civil rights movement in the US was another case of people being ahead of the government and forcing change. And the environmental and women's movements ...¹⁶

The 1979 event—whether a unique happening or a precedent remains to be seen—came after almost a decade of a new presence of associations in United Nations meetings. The turning point was the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the environment, where as many interesting and far-reaching things happened in the adjacent Forum as in the inter-governmental assembly. Since then, associations have been present and active in most major United Nations conferences, advocating their views, exchanging information, organizing debates, monitoring the position of governments, lobbying delegates, publishing journals or linking up with people at large. Examples are the World Food Conference (Rome, 1974), the Seventh Special Session

of the United Nations General Assembly on Development and International Cooperation (New York, 1975), Habitat (Vancouver, 1976), UNCTAD IV (Nairobi, 1976), the Conference on new and renewable sources of energy (Nairobi, 1980), the Second Special Session on Disarmament (New York, 1982) and, above all, the most recent, the Women's Conference (Nairobi, 1985) where the parallel Women's Forum gathered more than 15,000 women from all over the globe.^{dd}

Whatever the immediate impact of such activities, they serve another and far-reaching purpose, not without similarities to last century's International Exhibitions. The First International—the International Workingmen's Association—resulted from a meeting of workers in London, in 1862, on the occasion of the International Exhibition. Perhaps the United Nations conferences of the 1980s will be seen, in retrospect, as having played a similar role, facilitating contacts between people otherwise scattered, opening new space to *networking*.

Networking is the other approach to third system linkages. There is nothing new in its practice: since the beginning of history, some people have always been in touch with others on the basis of common values and interests. What is new is that networking becomes progressively global because of the new perceptions of the oneness of humankind, and because technology makes it possible: air travel and the photocopying machine, and the tapes, and now, in a new revolution, telecommunications.

Above all, networking already offers a concrete alternative to conventional institutions serving Prince and Merchant. These are usually designed and operated in a pyramidal manner so as to provide for hierarchical relations between a centre and a periphery, a leader and those led (even when centres or leaders are the product of some consensus). They are the vehicle of the exercise of an outer power over others. They rest on a vertical division of labour between bureaucrats and membership. They nurture disabling professions and dispossess people. They are internally and externally competitive and foster bigness. They seek and dispense information rather than facilitating communication. They breed conformism and dependence. They are change-resistant and self-perpetuating. As a whole, they hinder rather than enhance freedom.

In sharp contrast, networks operate horizontally. Their centres are everywhere, their peripheries nowhere. Networking simply means that a number of autonomous, equal and usually small groups link up to share knowledge, practice solidarity or act jointly and/or simultaneously in different spaces.

They exercise an inner power over themselves. Based as they are on moral (as distinct from professional or institutional) motivations, networks are cooperative, not competitive. Communicating is of their essence. They ignore coordination as a specialized task. Leadership, if and when needed, is shifting. The *raison d'être* of networks is not in themselves, but in a job to be done. When there is one, they set themselves up. They adjust quickly to changing circumstances. They are resilient in adversity (for instance, that one entity is coopted by the establishment does not affect the whole). When they are no longer useful, they disappear. They are transient. Moving outside mainstreams and beaten tracks on somewhat marginal paths, they learn from each other to look elsewhere and beyond the conventional and the immediate. Being multidimensional, they stimulate imagination and innovation. They foster solidarity and a sense of belonging. They expand the sphere of autonomy and freedom.

The source of the movement is the same everywhere—people's autonomous power—and so is its most universal goal, survival. But the latent power of people materializes only here and there. This is what happens when millions of Filipinos occupy the boulevards of Manila,^{cc} when millions of Europeans assemble to oppose nuclear weapons, when the consumers of Penang lodge complaints against the Merchant's abuses or when the activists of Solidarnosc raise their voice. But these remain worlds apart. Networking may now be part of North American reality, and the basis of the work of the International Baby Food Action Network, but things still look as if these were only isolated islands emerging in the still unconnected archipelago of Another Development.

Some associations, for instance Amnesty International or the IOCU, are worldwide in coverage, but their concerns are sectoral. If the objectives and activities of Lokayan in India are akin to those of IBASE in Rio de Janeiro, as are the problems of the peasants in the African Sahel to those of the fishworkers in the Philippines, there is no real interchange among them. Efforts are underway,^{ff} but they are light-years away from the requirements, however widely these are felt.

What is sorely needed is to make any significant happening in any local space an event in the global space, and conversely; to intensify the sharing of experiences, to help every citizen in every association feel that she/he is not alone, that she/he belongs to a global fraternity. This implies a conscious effort towards global networking,^{gg} towards global third system communication.

It is now technically possible. Said Arthur Clarke in 1983:

During the coming decade, more and more businessmen, well-heeled tourists and virtually all newsmen will be carrying attaché-case-sized units that will permit direct two-way communication with their homes or offices, via the most convenient satellite. These will provide voice, telex and video facilities (still photos and, for those who read it, live TV coverage). As these units become cheaper, smaller and more universal, they will make travellers totally independent of national communications systems.⁹

This does not need to be limited to the Prince, the Merchant and affluent people: it may and will be used by third system associations.

In a less high-tech mode, and since the written word is still available to the third system, it remains possible to multiply, intensify and indeed generalize communication through inexpensive publications.

Like many others mentioned in this paper, IFDA has been endeavouring to meet, however modestly, the need of third system associations to *relate to each other, in whatever space they operate and whatever their cause, through its bi-monthly Dossier* which is published in a single trilingual edition (English, French, Spanish). Dedicated as it is to the search for Another Development, it publishes case studies, notes on experiences, alternative views and approaches and information ('news from the third system'), as provided by the network of its readers. It is global in its coverage, contributors and circulation. It reflects most current concerns on the alternative agenda, from peace to the women's movement, through local self-reliance, people empowerment, human rights, consumers' self-defence, environment or people's North-South solidarity. Every issue systematically features authors from the principal regions and cultures of the planet. Starting from a modest mailing list of some 2,500 addresses, it is now circulated in 18,400 copies and reaches many more readers in virtually every country. This is obviously a drop of water in the ocean, and many problems are unsolved, such as that of languages,^{hh} but at least the IFDA *Dossier* is available.

In its effort to communicate, the third system should also examine the potential of a Third World press agency, Inter Press Service, which now has a telecommunication network extending to some 60 cities in all continents.ⁱⁱ It is trying to promote alternative information (contextual rather than limited-to-the-spot news); visibility of new actors; direct South-South and South-North links; and to create a new type of communicator. Here again,

many questions remain open, including the critical financial one, but IPS is an instrument open to the third system and could be made use of.³³

Discussing the 'task, substance and strategy of the social movements' in trying to stop the apocalypse, Rudolf Bahro writes:

There are various seemingly irrational responses in vogue: the New Age Movement or the Aquarian Conspiracy.¹¹ One thing about them is correct: what is required really is a world-embracing counter movement, and there is no Archimedian point within the existing institutions which could be used to bring about even the smallest change of course. Without forces which attack from outside, the atomic holocaust is not to be staved off (...). Only the most basic social movements can bring about that break in cultural continuity without which we shall be unable to save our very existence.^{kk}

What Bahro says applies equally to the holocaust of dispossession; and the only alternative to these two holocausts is Another Development. Only the *movement*, whatever its name, third system or not, will enable life to continue on this planet—perhaps simply because it is life itself.

And what matters first is to make available to people in each and every space the instruments through which they may exercise their autonomous power. In the process of realizing this potential, the role of citizens and/or associations is both critical and temporary. There may be seeds of change, but if seeds perish, there is no harvest. The medium may not be the message, but the process is certainly the policy, if the process means *enabling* people to become citizens, *empowering* them to act autonomously, to hold Prince, Merchant and third system associations accountable for the consequences of the use of whatever power, opposed or complementary, they may have.

For the last thing to do would be to exonerate the third system from what it requires from the others. Only full *accountability* will help the third system to avoid bureaucratization, resist cooption, keep its role of countervailing power, preserve its capacity for permanent renewal, strive to run itself by imagination, in a word, remain what it sets out to be, the servant of the people.

Notes referring to the IFDA Dossier

The *IFDA Dossier* appeared twice in 1978 (Nos. 1 and 2). It was published every month in 1979 (Nos. 3–14) and every other month since January 1980. Numbers 15–20 thus correspond to 1980; 21–26 to 1981; 27–32 to 1982; 33–38 to 1983; 39–44 to 1984 and 45–50 to 1985. Every issue bears the date of the month of

publication and of the following month. No.50, published in November 1985 is thus dated *November/December 1985*. Indices by author, theme and association appeared in *Dossiers* 17, 28, 36 and 50. *Dossiers* 1 to 37, except 27, 28 and 30 as well as 44, 45 and 48, are out of stock, but the full collection and the 20,000-page background papers of the third system project, are available on microfiche from Interdocumentation AG, Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland, for SFR 950.

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Reaching the Grassroots

Publishing Methodologies for Development Organizations

By Christopher Zielinski

In concluding this article on publishing for the grassroots, Christopher Zielinski outlines the main differences between traditional academic publishing on the one hand and publishing for the grassroots on the other. Academic publishing, in which most international organizations are engaged, aims at covering the whole of a small target audience while publishing for the grassroots only can cover a sample drawn from a large target audience. Academic publishing, furthermore, fulfills a need while grassroots publishing, as it were, demonstrates a need and a way of fulfilling it. The former is also largely a 'support' activity while the latter is often a 'substantive' activity. 'Both forms of publishing aim at achieving multiplier effects. But, whereas publishing for the top echelons of the population pyramid can achieve them by conveying information downwards through hierarchical power structures, publishing for the grassroots can achieve them by promoting the adaptation and replication of prototypes, and can even involve the people themselves in a lateral spread of information along the base of the pyramid.'

Chris Zielinski, who has worked for various organizations in the UN system since 1971, wrote this article while serving with the World Health Organization in New Delhi, India. He has previously published several articles on publishing for the grassroots and on language matters. Chris Zielinski is currently Chief of Editorial Section, FAO, Rome.



Introduction

International organizations and the grassroots

Many international and other development organizations are conscious of the fact that the real problems they are addressing are 'out there'—both geographically, in the rural and marginal urban areas, and culturally, among the disadvantaged and weakly literate. Some international organizations, like FAO and WHO, have explicitly identified middle- and low-level agricultural extension or health workers as target audiences for their published output; ILO's 'basic needs' philosophy and UNESCO's literacy campaigns, almost by definition, also address themselves to the peripheries.

The goal of all of these organizations, in each of their fields of specialization, is to establish or strengthen systems that are 'democratic, decentralized, educational and participatory'.¹

In their policies, then, and gradually in their outputs too, these organizations are paying new attention to the grassroots, while maintaining their activities at government level.

Of course, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been there all along, but they have often been inhibited by resource limitations or restrictions imposed by governments.

For some years methodologies have been in existence which are of direct relevance to the grassroots. These methodologies have been promoted in the context of various substantive programmes—community water supply, to take an obvious example—and have been codified in such jargon terms as appropriate technology, community participation, community involvement, self-development, self-efficiency, self-help, self-care, self-sufficiency, and self-reliance. Clearly, organizations have a role to play in promoting certain activities at the grassroots. The question is, what is this role in the field of publications?

*Specialist texts for
specialists*

Publishing in the UN organization context has by and large been an activity involving the production of academic texts (but rarely textbooks) for university-educated audiences in industrialized countries. A report recently issued by the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU)² notes that, in 1981, some 1800 publications (excluding periodicals) were issued within the UN system, with a total output of approximately 3.6 million volumes, and an average press run of about 2,000 copies per publication. Typically, 80 per cent of sales is to the industrialized countries (UNESCO over 70 per cent, ILO—78 per cent, UN—91 per cent, WHO—80 per cent).

Such publications, written by specialists for specialists, do not need or receive elaborate sales promotion campaigns. Apart from the usual notifications placed in specialist journals and through booksellers, there is little scope for further marketing or more complex distribution procedures. Those who need the books will seek them out; others probably cannot be interested anyway.

The editing and production of these texts aims at clarity, dignity and seriousness. Jargon is a permissible shortcut through language; indeed, it is almost obligatory.

Such an approach is viable with publications aimed at specialists, who are used to dealing with uncompromising texts. The book is presented as an artefact: once the publications unit has edited and published a given text as

efficiently, accurately and attractively as possible, it has completed its job. There is no need to enter into elaborate pre- and post-testing procedures. Let the buyer beware!

What to publish

Given the statistics on the enormous paper output of the UN system, it may seem hard to imagine that an insufficient number of publications is being produced. There may be outrageous excesses in some areas, true, but there remain major sectors of the population which are not considered 'target audiences' for development-organization publications—generally the audiences at the peripheries, or grassroots. And yet, these are the prime target audiences for most development activities.

For example, a recent survey found that, out of WHO'S list of approximately 1,300 titles, only 11 titles were suitable for primary health workers. This is despite the fact that WHO had been committed to primary health care as a 'key approach' since the Alma-Ata Declaration of 1978. Such a 'key approach' surely needs the support of ancillary primary health publications.

This situation is not peculiar to WHO, but is paralleled to varying degrees in the lists of all the other organizations that espouse some form of 'basic needs' approach.

The usual explanation given for this apparent neglect is, 'We can't reach *everyone* with our publications'. The audiences are too vast, the implied ancillary activities of pre- and post-testing too time-consuming, the complexities of distribution too onerous. All of these perceived problems militate against attempting to publish for a grassroots audience.

Accepting defeat at the outset, most publishing activities tend therefore to be geared to 'reachable' audiences. But there *are* viable methodologies that can be employed. Certain concepts and methodologies related to publishing for the grassroots—specifically in the context of the large development organizations—are discussed below. The experience leading to these conclusions was obtained in South-East Asia, although I have endeavoured to abstract principles and generalize concepts.

Concepts in publishing for the grassroots
The population pyramid

More than half of the world's people live in the ten countries whose populations exceed 90 million. Of these ten countries, seven are generally classified as 'less developed': China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nigeria.

In these countries, as soon as you stop aiming your publications at the few thousand specialists in a given category and start to head down the pyramid, the numbers in the target audience swell dramatically.

In India, for example, something likely to be of interest to entomologists will have a potential audience of, say, 3,000; if it is of interest to physicians in general, the potential audience is 200,000; and if you want just one copy of your publication to reach each village, you need to prepare a print-run of about 600,000.

In descending the population pyramid in this way, a number of new factors appear which impose changes on the nature of the development-organization publishing activity.

For a start, it is clearly beyond the budgets of most development organizations to attempt to cover such large target audiences. As mentioned, the average print-run set for a UN-system publication is 2,000, and print-runs above 10,000 are exceedingly rare. It is, in any case, not the function of a development organization to try to reach the target audience of an entire country directly with one of its publications—that is the prerogative of a government, if it so chooses.

A development organization can usefully play the role of a 'government entrepreneur', taking on scaled-down versions of publishing projects that a government is reluctant to commit itself to on a large scale unless success is guaranteed. Although, compared with NGOs and commercial enterprises, they are not the fleetest of animals, international organizations can still leave many government bureaucracies standing. Governments can use these development organizations to execute specific projects for the same reasons that the development organizations use NGOs—because, comparatively, they can be flexible, innovative, and dedicated; because they can take risks; and (most important of all), because they can fail.

In dealing with the question of large numbers, the development organization should, as René Dubois put it, 'think globally but act locally'. The specialist skills resident in a development organization, derived from experience gained in many countries, can be harnessed to produce a good generalized product—to test it, and ensure and demonstrate that it is effective in promoting the behavioural changes desired; and to design the product in such a way as to facilitate its use and adaptation in different specific cultures and languages.

Table 1 Population and literacy in selected countries, 1984

Country	Population mid-1984 (millions)	Literacy 1981 (per cent)	Literate population (millions)
<i>Third World</i>			
China	1052	66	694
India	747	36	269
Indonesia	162	68	110
Brazil	133	75	99
Pakistan	99	28	28
Bangladesh	98	31	31
Nigeria	92	34	31
Mexico	77	83	64
<i>Industrialized</i>			
USSR	276	100	276
USA	236	100	236
Japan	119	100	119
Total world population is estimated 4,763,004			

Source: The literate population was calculated by multiplying population estimates for mid-1984⁴ by literacy rates for 1981.⁵ Literacy rates are adult rates and exclude semi-literates (who can read, but not write). The figures for the literate population are thus consistently larger than the actual numbers and should be considered as being notional only.

If a given 'target government' is not interested in taking on and replicating the product after seeing it, fair enough; the work may still be usable elsewhere.

Literacy

As shown in Table 1, the fact that the literacy rate in many Third World countries is low does not appreciably diminish the problem of numbers in the larger countries. Considering India again, the population of which was estimated at 747 million in mid-1984,³ the reported adult literacy rate of only 36 per cent⁴ still represents a population of over 200 million people, a literate population larger than that of the United States.

In many Third World countries, there are large sections of the population whose literacy is 'weak'—those who learned badly or late or in too short a time, and those whose lack of regular contact with printed matter has caused their reading skills to atrophy. Literacy is unfortunately not a one-way road. In a Unesco publication, Professor Robert Escarpit⁵ estimates that, of the global total of 150 million people who learn to read every year, only 50 million have any chance of becoming habitual readers, while the rest relapse into functional literacy or become poor readers. 'The two main causes of such a situation are the insufficiency and the inadequacy of available reading material', he says. 'The inadequacy may be economic (the price of books), institutional (the distribution network), physical (the material readability of the printed text), linguistic (the vehicular language), or cultural (literacy or content).'

Methodologies for Development Organizations

As already mentioned, most publications issued by international organizations are academic texts aimed at university-educated specialists, decision-makers, and the like. A fairly traditional publishing activity can be directed at this audience: texts are prepared by a technical unit in an 'official' UN language and passed on to the publications unit, which sees to the language-editing and production of the printed and bound end-product. Distribution then follows the usual channels adopted for academic texts.

Clearly, such a process is not appropriate for a large audience at the grassroots, given its size and level of literacy, as well as its linguistic, cultural and geographical characteristics. Publishing for the grassroots calls for a different methodological approach.

Demonstrations

In many countries, the population figures are such that a development organization could not afford the print-runs required to reach the entire target audience at the grassroots. It follows that since it cannot meet the entire demand, the organization should conceive of the nature of the activity as a *demonstration*. The approach adopted has to be shown to be valid (assuming that the project is successful) and, to do so, the product has to be subjected to rigorous testing at every stage. One has to demonstrate that one has a good example. In such cases, instead of trying to solve the problem of some perceived gap in information materials single-handedly, the organization should develop and demonstrate small-scale solutions.

Generalizing this idea, it would appear that, given the constraint of the numbers, publications aimed at the grassroots can logically *only* be examples, or *prototypes*.

Prototypes

The function of a prototype is to serve both as a basis for translation, adaptation and replication, and as a model end-result.

Clearly it is essential to submit materials intended for use in prototypes, particularly those aimed at the grassroots, to a rigorous cycle of pre- and post-testing. This should go further than clearing the text with supervisors and experts; the testing should be done on representative samples of the target audience. And it should always be borne in mind that it is the text that is being tested, not the audience: only the tester and text can fail.

Unfortunately, there are relatively few useful guides to pre-testing learning materials intended for the grassroots.⁷ This is clearly an area for further research.

For the purposes of this article, it can only be stressed that testing is essential. Not only can testing help to produce a good prototype, but the results of tests carried out can be used to demonstrate the merits of the prototype to anyone who might be interested in adapting and replicating it.

The approach to the use and promotion of prototypes will differ according to the specific country situation, as described below.

A country with a homogeneous culture. In a country with one main language and with a reasonably uniform distribution of the dominant culture, the prototype methodology consists of encouraging the government and others with access to printing (including, ideally, the communities) to reproduce as many copies of the tested and evaluated prototype as are required to saturate the potential market. Other international, bilateral and non-governmental agencies are often interested in supporting this kind of project, usually by a straightforward infusion of funds which does not require a great deal of staff time to administer.

The publisher can facilitate the replication of the prototype by making the original artwork, print masters, film positives, or even offset printing plates available to the funding agency or government. Co-publishing arrangements take this process one step further.⁸

Promotion material should be prepared and circulated to all bodies likely to be interested in replicating the publication. This material would describe the publication, cite the results of all pre- and post-testing work carried out, summarize the likely costs and benefits attendant on the project, and offer the artwork or other printing material.

A country with a heterogeneous culture. In a country with a heterogeneous culture, or within which different languages are spoken, a prototype developed for and tested in one area would need to be adapted and/or translated before it could be used in another culturally distinct area. Photographs may have to be substituted and other illustrations redrawn. The specifics of adaptation would probably have to be left to adaptors—the government or local authorities concerned, or some other funding agency. What the development organization can do is to provide some form of 'prototype adaptation kit' to facilitate the process of adaptation. The kit would contain detailed instructions on adaptation, samples, and even printing materials. Basic information is provided on the cultural icons embedded in the text or illustrations, focusing on the technical inputs in the content. This is particularly important when a fictional medium, such as a radio play

or comic book, is used to convey technical content in a deliberately innocuous way; some guidance to the arts of concealment employed is essential if the content is to survive adaptation.

Finally, given the tendency of translators to translate literally rather than to adapt, the prototype adaptation kit can be developed in such a way that the source materials are deliberately incomplete, so that they *have* to be adapted in order to be usable. ILO has experimented with the latter approach, producing illustrated texts with 'neutral' drawings, which with a few pen strokes by a local artist or even by the grassroots trainer, can be adapted to suit local conditions.⁹

To summarize, in the case of a country with a heterogeneous culture, or where several different languages are spoken, two items would be produced: the first would be a prototype of the complete text, which would be pre-tested and evaluated thoroughly; the second is the prototype adaptation kit, which could be a more abstract form of the prototype, shorn of cultural and social characteristics and giving detailed instructions on how to adapt the first prototype and thus produce further local models.

Promotion

Having concluded that publishing for the grassroots should consist of developing and demonstrating small-scale solutions to large problems, it follows that, once a solution is demonstrated as being valid and good, it must be *promoted*.

A development organization engaged in publishing for the grassroots should not consider a good product sufficient justification for a given publishing project by itself. The project can really be considered a success only if governments, or some other funding agencies, adapt and replicate it. The promotion of adaptations should therefore be considered an integral part of the publishing process.

Most international organizations eagerly welcome applications to translate their publications and some have even set aside funds to subsidize this activity (e.g., FAO pays a flat rate of US\$ 20 per 1000 words translated/published and often buys back a portion of the print-run for free distribution; WHO provides selected applicants with up to 25 per cent of total translation and publishing costs; Unesco's Asian Co-publication Programme buys back printed copies of translated texts to the value of \$1800).¹⁰

However, countries need to be advised as to which of the thousands of titles

published by the organizations should be translated, depending on their known needs and the indigenously produced materials that are already available. Sending out catalogues to government agencies for this purpose is not enough. Effort needs to be devoted within the publishing organization to making selections of suitable titles for translation. The selection should be costed for translation and publishing at the country level. Such short lists of titles, selected according to explicit policy considerations and equipped with dollars-and-cents costings, are readily assimilable as projects on the part of government bodies and can often find funding as a package deal—even if it is only out of unspent lapsable funds at the end of a fiscal year.

The activity of promoting the translation and replication of a publication can be carried out by involving officials at the various government levels, by interesting international and voluntary funding agencies, by selling rights to commercial publishers, and, ideally, by stimulating indigenous printing capacities at the community level. If necessary, promotion might also include supporting or subsidizing the translation of the publication into a local language, or taking the lead in arranging co-publication ventures by several entities (communities, government bodies, commercial book-sellers).

It is important that this promotion activity be seen as part and parcel of the publishing process in development organizations. Since organizations cannot meet the demand from their own resources, they must encourage and facilitate countries to meet their needs themselves. And this 'encouragement' must be a defined, structured activity, a process with steps denoting progress that can be monitored and evaluated.

Clearly, among the factors conducive to promoting translation and adaptation are the appropriateness of the publication in solving specific priority problems, and the interest and involvement of national and state authorities at all stages of the project.

There are also technical and other factors that can help to promote adaptation. These include technical feasibility (the ability of the printer to reproduce the medium and of the translator/adaptor to reproduce the message),¹¹ and low production cost (either an intrinsic quality of the publication, or one achieved through co-publication schemes or subsidies).

Conclusions

This paper has described publishing for the grassroots as a development-organization activity. In this context, the main differences between the traditional form of academic publishing and publishing for the grassroots, particularly in a populous Third World country, are as follows:

1. Academic publishing aims at covering the whole of a small target audience, while publishing for the grassroots can only cover a sample drawn from a large target audience.
2. Academic publishing fulfils a need, while grassroots publishing demonstrates a need and a way of fulfilling it.
3. Academic publishing is largely a 'support' activity (facilitating the dissemination of information as a relatively minor part of a technical programme) while grassroots publishing is often a 'substantive' activity (in which the *problematique* of the medium—the testing, evaluation and modification of intrinsic factors in response to extrinsic, 'live' data—dominates the project), which conforms to the stereotype of a development-organization substantive activity producing a 'catalytic effect'.

Both forms of publishing aim at achieving multiplier effects. But, whereas publishing for the top echelons of the population pyramid can achieve them by conveying information downwards through hierarchical power structures, publishing for the grassroots can achieve them by promoting the adaptation and replication of prototypes, and can even involve the people themselves in a lateral spread of information along the base of the pyramid.

Notes

1. *Ideas and Actions for Health*, Speeches of Dr U Ko Ko, Regional Director, WHO Regional Office for South East Asia, WHO, New Delhi, 1985, p. 55.
2. *Publications Policy and Practice in the United Nations System*, Document No. JIU/REP/84/5, Joint Inspection Unit, Geneva, 1984.
3. Projection in the *1983 Monitoring Report on World Population Trends and Policies, Concise Report on the Fifth Enquiry among Governments*, Document No. E/CN.9/1984/3, United Nations, New York, 1984.
4. *World Development Report*, World Bank, Washington, D. C., 1982.
5. Escarpit, R., in *Trends in Worldwide Book Development, 1970—1978*, Unesco, 1982.
6. *World Statistics in Brief*, United Nations, New York, 1983.
7. See Godwin, P., *Evaluating Manuals and Handbooks for Village-Level Health Workers*, UNICEF, New Delhi, 1978, (Internal document); Blumenfeld, Krishnamurthy and Godwin, *Testing the Readability, Comprehensibility and Relevance of Material for Village-Level Community Development Workers*, UNICEF, New Delhi, 1977, mimeo; and Haaland, Ane, *Pretesting Com-*

munication Materials—with Special Emphasis on Child Health and Nutrition Education. A Manual for Trainers and Supervisors, PSC Section, UNICEF, Rangoon, Burma, 1984.

8. Zielinski, Christopher, *Co-publication: An Approach to Joint Publishing by Developing Countries, Cooperation South*, UNDP, New York.
9. See ILO's booklet *Why a Family Budget?* and handbook on *Asian In-Plant Population Education*, and Richards, L. Hamish, 'The Dilemma of Specificity, an Approach to Prototype Materials by ILO', in *Appropriate Technology for Health Newsletter*, Vol. 10, WHO, Geneva, December 1981.
10. Personal communication and material provided by the Asian/Pacific Co-publication Programme, Asian Cultural Centre for Unesco, Tokyo, Japan.
11. See, for example, Zielinski, Christopher, 'Publishing for the Grassroots in India', WHO, Geneva, *World Health Forum*.

Dag Hammarskjöld Seminars, Workshops and Conferences 1962-1987

- 1963 - Seminar on International Law organized in cooperation with the Hague Academy of International Law, The Hague, June 4–July 13.
- 1964 - Seminar on Some International Organisations, their Policies and Activities in Africa, Addis Ababa, March 16–April 25.
- Seminar on International Finance and Development Planning, Lagos, June 2-11.
- Seminar on Inter-African Economic Cooperation, Carthage, Tunis, July.
- Seminar on International Law organized in cooperation with the Hague Academy of International Law, The Hague, August 18–September 25.
- Seminar on The Establishment of a Foreign Service, Lusaka, September 14–October 10.
- 1965 - Seminar on International Law organized in cooperation with the Hague Academy of International Law, The Hague, August 17–September 24.
- 1966 - Seminar on the Law of Treaties, Uppsala, June 16–July 16.
- Seminar on Development Economics, Uppsala, August 4–September 3.
- Seminar on International Law organized in cooperation with the Hague Academy of International Law, The Hague, August 11–September 16. Bilingual.
- 1967 - Inter-Nordic Conference on Legal Problems of Specific Relevance to Aid-giving Authorities, Uppsala, March 9-11.
- Seminar on the Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education: Means, Methods, and Possibilities, Uppsala, April 14–May 19.
- Seminar on the Law of Treaties, Uppsala, June 2-30.
- Seminar on Agriculture and Economic Development, Lund University, Sweden, June 10-24.
- Seminar on the Structure, Role and Functions of the UN System, Uppsala, August 11-September 8.
- Training Course in Export Trade Promotion, St. Gall and Geneva, August 14–November 3, in cooperation with the International Trade Centre/UNCTAD/GATT and the Graduate School of Economics and Business Administration at St. Gall.
- Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, Addis Ababa, October 9-18, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.
- 1968 - Seminar on the Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education: Means, Methods, and Possibilities, Uppsala, May 3–June 7.
- Training Course in Export Trade Promotion, St. Gall and Geneva, July 29–October 18, organized by the International Trade Centre/UNCTAD/GATT and in cooperation with the Graduate School of Economics and Business Administration at St. Gall.

- Seminar on the Structure, Role and Functions of the UN System, Uppsala, August 2–30.
- Conference on the Scholarship Policies of the Nordic International Development Authorities, Uppsala, December 9–11.
- 1969 - Seminar on the Legal Aspects of Regional Economic Integration, Uppsala, June 2–27.
- Seminar on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in Africa, Uppsala and Tunis, August 9–September 2. Co-sponsor: UN Economic Commission for Africa.
- Africa Regional Conference on the Integrated Approach to Rural Development, Moshi, Tanzania, October 13–24, in cooperation with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the Organization of African Unity and the Regional Inter-Agency Committee on Rural Development.
- 1970 - Conference on the Information Policies and Techniques of the Nordic International Development Authorities, Uppsala, April 8–11.
- Seminar on the Legal Aspects of Regional Economic Integration, Uppsala and Brussels, June 7–July 1.
- Seminar on the Development of Tourism in Africa, Uppsala and Spain, August 2–25.
- 1971 - Seminar on Aims and Priorities in the Nordic Programmes for Development Cooperation, Uppsala, May 7–8.
- Seminar on Nutrition as a Priority in African Development, Uppsala and Addis Ababa, July 18–27.
- Seminar on A Strategy of Development for Africa, Uppsala, August 29–September 4.
- Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa, Arusha, September 25–28. Co-sponsor: The Working Party on Comparative Administration of the Provisional Social Science Council for Eastern Africa.
- 1972 - Seminar on Planning for Development—A Problem of Policies, Priorities and Techniques, Uppsala, May 24–26.
- East Africa Study Seminar on Integration and Regional Plan Co-ordination, Kampala, June 4–16, in cooperation with the East African Community.
- Seminar on Communication—An Essential Component in Development Work, Uppsala, August 27–September 9.
- 1973 - Seminar on The Dilemma of Quality, Quantity and Cost in African Child Care, Addis Ababa, May 14–19, in cooperation with Ethio-Swedish Pediatric Clinic and the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

- Seminar on The Basic Principles of International Development Cooperation, Uppsala, November 12-15.
- 1974 - Seminar on Strategies for Improving Performance in Public Management in Third World Countries with Particular Reference to Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, February 18-22.
- Seminar on Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African Countries, Dares Salaam, May 19—31, organized in cooperation with the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam.
- High Level Seminar on World Development and International Economic Cooperation, Täljöviken, Sweden, June 28-30.
- Seminar on The Third World and International Economic Change, Uppsala, August 28—31.
- Seminar on The Function of Film as an Educational Medium in Development Work, Uppsala, October 7-18.
- 1975 - The Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Cooperation. The work on the Project was administered from Uppsala (Dag Hammarskjöld Centre), Bursins (office of the Project Director) and Paris (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme). The following major meetings were held:
 - Advisory group, Uppsala, January 16-18 and May 26-28;
 - Expert panel on education, Uppsala, April 23-25;
 - Expert panel on health, Uppsala, April 26-28;
 - Political consultations, The Hague, May 24-25;
 - Political consultations, Algiers, June 24—27;
 - Third World Journalists' Seminar, New York, August 29-September 12.

A small ad hoc research cell was assembled for the Project at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris) in cooperation with the Centre for International Research on Environment and Development (C1RED).
- 1976 - Seminar on the Role of Information in the New International Order, organized by the Latin American Institute for Transnational studies in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation under the auspices of the Third World Forum, Mexico City, May 24-28.
- Workshop on Law and Self-reliance, Goroka, Papua New Guinea, July 29-August 1.
- Workshop on Appropriate Technology in Village Development, Vudal, Papua New Guinea, September 20-October 10.
- High Level Seminar on Development and Self-reliance, Rabaul, Papua New Guinea, October 10—12.
- 1977 - Seminar on Underlying Law and Customary Law, Goroka, Papua New Guinea, March 31-April 3. A follow-up to the 1976 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Law and Self-reliance.

- From the Village to the Global Order. Two meetings to concretize the conceptual framework for Another Development. The first was held at Arc et Senans, France, May 1-8, and the second at the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre, Uppsala, October 6-12.
- 1978 - Seminar on Another Development in Health, Uppsala, June 12—16.
- Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa, organized in cooperation with the Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, Mocambique, Maputo, April 17-29.
- Nordic seminar on The Basic Principles of United Nations Public Information Policy: Proposals for Reform and the Problems of their Implementation, Uppsala, July 4-6.
- Project Bhoomi Sena: A contribution to the phased seminar From the Village to the Global Order, Junglepatti, India, August.
- Seminar on The Development of Third World Autonomous Capacity in Science and Technology, Uppsala, December 14-18.
- 1979 - Seminar on Alternatives and Innovations in Education, Uppsala, June 18-22.
- Working Group Meeting on The International Monetary System and the Third World, Kingston, October 5-7.
- 1980 - The South-North Conference on The International Monetary System and the New International Order, Arusha, Tanzania, June 30-July 3. The institutions sponsoring the South-North Conference were: the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden; the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA), Nyon, Switzerland; the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington D.C., U.S.A.; the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET), Mexico City; and the Third World Forum (TWF), Cairo, Egypt. Collaborating institutions were the Jamaican National Planning Agency, Kingston, Jamaica, and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Seminar on Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa, Lusaka, October 6—13, organized in cooperation with ANC (SA), PF of Zimbabwe (ZANU and ZAPU), SWAPO and the Government of Zambia.
- 1981 - People's Evaluation Seminar on the Tiradentes Project (Revitalization of small cities for self-reliance); A contribution to the phased seminar From the Village to the Global Order, Tiradentes, Minas Gerais, Brazil, February 21-22.
- The Lysebu Symposium on Massive Transfers of Resources—Concepts and Realities, Oslo, March 1-4. Organized under the auspices of EADI by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and co-sponsored by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation *et al.*

- Seminars on The Automatic Mobilization of Resources for Development, Voksenåsen, Oslo, March 5-6, Nyon, April 13-14 and Uppsala, June 11—12. Co-sponsored by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA).
- Seminar on Education in Zimbabwe—Past, Present and Future, Salisbury, Zimbabwe, August 27-September 7. The seminar was organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Zimbabwe, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Seminar on Third World Borrowing in International Capital Markets: Constitutional and Legal Issues, Uppsala, November 2-6. The seminar was organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- 1982 - The African National Congress Workshop on Curriculum Development, Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), Morogoro, Tanzania, January 3-11. The workshop was organized under the auspices of the Education Council of ANC (SA) in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Seminar on Another Development with Women, Dakar, Senegal, June 21—26. The seminar was organized by the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Workshop on The Constitutions of the South Pacific, Tonga, July 3—12. The workshop was organized by the University of the South Pacific in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Seminar on Education and Culture for Liberation in Namibia, Lusaka, Zambia, September 20—25. The seminar was organized jointly by SWAPO and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Methods and Media in Community Participation, Advisory Group Meeting, Uppsala, October 1-3.
- 1983 - Methods and Media in Community Participation, Advisory Group Meeting, Uppsala, May 9—11.
- Seminar on Communications for Another Development, Uppsala, November 11—13. The seminar was organized in cooperation with the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA).
- 1984 - Methods and Media in Community Participation, Advisory Group Meeting, Uppsala, February 13-16.
- Workshop on Alternative Development in Marginal Areas, Santiago, Chile, April 16-18. The workshop was organized jointly with the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR). A second encounter was held in Santiago August 12-14.
- Seminar on The Development of Autonomous Capacity in Publishing in Africa, Arusha, Tanzania, April 24-28.

- Seminar on Botswana's Relations with South Africa in the Regional Context, Uppsala, May 4. The seminar was addressed by the President of Botswana, Dr Q K J Masire.
- Seminar on Methods in Community Participation, Uppsala, May 19–27. The seminar was part of the project on Methods and Media in Community Participation.
- Seminar on Media in Community Participation, North West River/Goose Bay, Labrador, Canada, September 29–October 7. The seminar was part of the project on Methods and Media in Community Participation and organized in cooperation with the Labrador Institute of Northern Studies which forms part of Memorial University, Newfoundland.
- 1985
 - Workshop on The Development of Autonomous Capacity in Publishing in Kenya and Tanzania, Nairobi, Kenya, April 1–2.
 - Workshop on Work, Unemployment and the Invisible Sectors, Vicuña, Chile, April 22–May 1. The workshop was part of the project on Economics for Human Scale Development and was organized jointly with the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile, and with the cooperation of the University of La Serena.
 - Seminar on Another Development in Pharmaceuticals, Uppsala, June 3–6.
 - Workshop on Alternative Generation of Resources for Local Development, Garanhuns, Pernambuco, Brazil, July 30–August 5. The workshop was part of the project on Economics for Human Scale Development and was organized jointly with the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile, and with the cooperation of the Federal University of Pernambuco.
 - Workshop on Human Needs, Scale and Efficiency, Punta Arenas, Chile, October 29–November 5. The workshop was part of the project on Economics for Human Scale Development and was organized jointly with the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile, and with the cooperation of the Foundation for the Development of the XII Region (FIDE XII).
 - Seminar on Another Development for SADCC, Maseru, Lesotho, November 18–22. The seminar was organized jointly with the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP), Gaborone, Botswana, and the Institute of Southern African Studies (ISAS), Roma, Lesotho.
- 1986
 - Seminar for Third World Journalists on Another Development in Pharmaceuticals, Geneva, May 8–16. The seminar was organized in the context of the World Health Assembly.

- Seminar on Human Scale Development, Uppsala, Sweden, June 26–28. This was the final seminar of the project on Economics for Human Scale Development and was organized jointly with the Development Alternatives Centre (CEPAUR), Santiago, Chile.
 - Seminar on The State and the Crisis in Africa: In Search of a Second Liberation, Uppsala, September 15–19.
 - Executive Committee Meeting, the South American Commission for Peace, Regional Security and Democracy, Montevideo, Uruguay, November 28–30. The meeting was organized by the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET) in cooperation with the Foundation.
- 1987
- Seminar on The Socioeconomic Impact of New Biotechnologies on Basic Health and Agriculture in the Third World, Bogève and Geneva, March 7–14. The seminar was organized jointly with the Rural Advancement Fund International (RAFI), Pittsboro, USA, and Brandon, Canada, and in cooperation with the International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU), Penang, Malaysia, the International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA), Brussels, Belgium, and the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS) in Geneva.
 - Inaugural Meeting, the South American Commission for Peace, Regional Security and Democracy, Buenos Aires, April 22–24. The meeting was organized by ILET and the Government of Argentina in cooperation with the Foundation.

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Publications

1962–1987

The following is a list of the publications which have been issued under the imprint of the Foundation or on the basis of seminars and conferences sponsored or co-sponsored by the Foundation.

International Finance and Development Planning in West Africa, by Sune Carlson and O Olakanpo. An Essay Based on the Discussions at the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar in Lagos, June 1964. Uppsala, 1964, 125 pp. (Out of stock)

Correspondence Instruction in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda, by Lars-Olof Edström. A Report to the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. Uppsala, 1966, 139 pp., (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Lectures in Export Promotion. Presented at the St. Gall Graduate School of Economics and Business Administration at the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation—International Trade Centre UNCTAD/GATT Training Course, August—November 1967. Published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the International Trade Centre UNCTAD/GATT, Geneva, 1968, 247 pp. (French and Spanish editions published in 1969)

Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, Addis Ababa, October 9–18, 1967. Uppsala, 1968, 224 pp., (mimeographed). Also available in French translation. The recommendations of this conference have been published in their English and French versions in *International Legal Instruments on Refugees in Africa*, edited by Göran Melander and Peter Nobel, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1979, pp. 346–373.

Studies in Adult Education in Africa. A Selection of Papers Presented to the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminars in 1967 and 1968 on The Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education: Means, Methods, and Possibilities. Uppsala, 1969, 186 pp., (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

The Structure, Role and Functions of the UN System. Lectures by Georges Abi-Saab, Hans Blix, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Asbjörn Eide, Iain MacGibbon, George Oforu-Amaah, and Torkel Opsahl. This publication contains the lectures delivered at the 1968 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on the UN System. Uppsala, 1969, two volumes, 224 pp. and 228 pp., (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

The Legal Aspects of Regional Economic Integration. Lectures by Yash P Ghai, Arthur Hazlewood, Hans Blix, Sven Bläckberg, Dharam P Ghai, Bo Kjellén, Karol D Lapter, Kjeld Philip and Robert B Stevens. This publication contains the lectures delivered at the 1969 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on The Legal Aspects of Regional Economic Integration. Uppsala, 1970, two volumes, (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

The Development and Promotion of Tourism in Africa. Lectures by Franjo Gasparovic, Knut Hammarskjöld, C H Kreuger, N F Leufstadius, Abdalziz Mathari, Y M Meystre, Frank Mitchell, Christer Montén, Vojislav Popovic, Torsten Press and J S Skinner. The publication contains the lectures delivered at the 1969 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in Africa. Uppsala, 1970, two volumes, (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries, edited by Lars-Olof Edström, Renée Erdos and Roy Prosser. This book is based on lectures delivered to the 1967 and 1968 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminars on The Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education: Means, Methods, and Possibilities. It also contains some of the papers presented to the seminars by the participants. Uppsala, 1970, 380 pp. (Out of stock)

Integrated Approach to Rural Development in Africa. This booklet contains the Final Report on the Africa Regional Conference on the Integrated Approach to Rural Development, held in Moshi, Tanzania, October 13-24, 1969 and organized by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the Organization of African Unity, the Regional Inter-Agency Committee on Rural Development and the Foundation. It has been issued by the Social Development Section of the UNECA as No. 8 in the series 'Social Welfare Services in Africa', as a United Nations publication. It may be ordered from the UN Economic Commission for Africa, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Sales No. E 71.11.K2).

Sovereignty, Aggression and Neutrality. Three lectures by Hans Blix. These lectures were delivered to the 1967 and 1968 seminars on the UN System and the 1969 seminar on economic integration. Uppsala, 1970, 64 pp.

The World Development Plan: A Swedish Perspective, by Ernst Michanek. This booklet was printed, *inter alia*, to serve as an introduction to the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on A Strategy of Development for Africa. It was originally published in Swedish as a summary of the author's conclusions from the experience of the First Development Decade and designed as an introduction for Swedish readers to the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. Uppsala, 1971, 72 pp. (Out of stock)

The Image of the Developing Countries: An Inquiry into Swedish Public Opinion, by Stig Lindholm. This booklet consists of an abbreviated version of Dr Lindholm's doctoral dissertation *U-landsbilden: En undersökning av allmänna opinionen*. Uppsala, 1971, 100 pp. (Out of stock)

Castle Hill, by Dag Hammarskjöld. This booklet was published in commemoration of the death of Dag Hammarskjöld at Ndola. It contains his reminiscences of his boyhood in Uppsala Castle, where his father lived during his years as Governor of Uppsala County. It is the last essay Dag Hammarskjöld wrote, and was completed only a few weeks before his death. Uppsala, 1971, 23 pp. Reprinted in 1977 and 1982.

The Development of Tourism in Africa. Essays. This publication contains the papers contributed by the participants in the 1970 Dag Hammarskjöld/UNECA Seminar on The Development of Tourism in Africa. They deal with tourism developments in Burundi, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zanzibar. Uppsala, 1971, two volumes (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Nutrition as a Priority in African Development: Country Reports. This publication contains the reports submitted by the participants in the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Nutrition as a Priority in African Development. Uppsala, 1971, (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

The Development of Tourism in Africa. Lectures by Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, John Dean, Yash P Ghai, Frank Mitchell, Christer Montén, Hans Munk Hansen, Clas Nordström, Vojislav Popovic, Torsten Press and Kurt M Savosnick. Uppsala, 1972, two volumes, (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Nutrition: A Priority in African Development, edited by Bo Vahlquist. This book contains the lectures delivered to the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Nutrition as a Priority in African Development. Uppsala, 1972, 230 pp.

Communication—An Essential Component in Development Work. Programme reports. This publication contains the programme reports submitted by the participants in the 1972 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Communication—An Essential Component in Development Work. The reports deal with the communication programmes in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia and with the programmes of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, FAO and UNESCO. Uppsala, 1972, two volumes (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs, Volume 1, No. 3. This issue of the journal is a special issue carrying a selection of the papers presented at the Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa, jointly organized by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the Working Party on Comparative Administration at Arusha, Tanzania, September 25–28, 1971. Dar es Salaam, 1972, 164 pp.

Politique harmonisée de développement rural en Afrique. This publication is the approved French version of the Final Report of the Africa Regional Conference on the Integrated Approach to Rural Development, which was held in Moshi, Tanzania, from October 13 to October 24, 1969. It is published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa in cooperation with the Foundation and carries the UN sales number F.71.II.K.2., 112 pp.

Technical Assistance Administration in East Africa, edited by Yashpal Tandon. This book contains a selection of the papers on this subject contributed to the 1971 Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa. Uppsala, 1973, 209 pp.

The Treaty Maker's Handbook, edited by Hans Blix and Jirina H Emerson. This volume contains a much-enlarged and systematized compilation of the illustrative treaty materials prepared for the 1966 and 1967 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminars on The Law of Treaties, Uppsala, 1973, 355 pp.

The Story of a Seminar in Applied Communication, edited by Andreas Fuglesang. This report is based on the materials arising out of the 1972 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Communication—An Essential Component in Development Work. Uppsala, 1973, 142 pp. (Out of stock)

Applied Communication in Developing Countries: Ideas and Observations, by Andreas Fuglesang. This book is an expanded version of the lectures delivered by Andreas Fuglesang to the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Nutrition as a Priority in African Development and to the 1972 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Communication—An Essential Component in Development Work. Uppsala, 1973, 124 pp. (Out of stock)

Child Care in Africa. This publication contains the Country reports submitted by the participants in the 1973 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on The Dilemma of Quality, Quantity and Cost in African Child Care. Uppsala, 1973, 121 pp., (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Child Health in Ethiopia. This is a special issue of the *Ethiopian Medical Journal* published in connection with the 15th anniversary of the Ethio-Swedish Pediatric Clinic and intended as a background document for the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on The Dilemma of Quality, Quantity and Cost in African Child Care, Addis Ababa, 1973, 134 pp.

Rural Administration in Kenya, edited by David K. Leonard. This book contains a selection of the papers on the above subject submitted to the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld/WPCA Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa. The book has been published by the East African Literature Bureau in cooperation with the Foundation. Nairobi, 1973, 165 pp.

Report from Swaneng Hill: Education and Employment in an African Country, by Patrick van Rensburg. This book gives an account of Patrick van Rensburg's attempts to pioneer in Botswana a programme of education and training, which should be generally applicable to the rural areas in the least developed countries of the world. Uppsala, 1974, 235 pp.

Appointment with the Third World. Experts and Volunteers in the Field: Their Work, Life and Thoughts, by Stig Lindholm. This study is based on interviews with about seventy technical assistants of Swedish nationality in four African countries. Taking actual cases as his starting point, the author discusses the general problems encountered in the provision of personnel. Uppsala, 1974, 144 pp.

Planning in Tanzania: Background to Decentralization, edited by A.H. Rweyemamu and B.U. Mwansasu. This book contains a selection of papers on the subject of planning and decentralization in Tanzania, originally presented to the 1971 Dag Hammarskjöld/WPCA Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa. The book has been published by the East African Literature Bureau in cooperation with the Foundation. Dar es Salaam, 1974, 131 pp.

The 1972 E.A.C. Study Seminar on Integration and Regional Plan Co-ordination held in the Kampala International Conference Centre from 6th to 16 June, 1972. This is the final report on the Seminar on Integration and Regional Plan Coordination, which was organized jointly by the Common Market and Economic Affairs Secretariat of the East African Community and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. Arusha, 1974, 86 pp., (mimeographed). (Out of stock)

Film-making in Developing Countries I: The Uppsala Workshop, edited by Andreas Fuglesang. This report is based on the materials arising out of the 1974 Dag Hammarskjöld Workshop on The Function of Film as an Educational Medium in Development Work. Uppsala, 1975, 123 pp.

Film-making in Developing Countries 2: Highlights from a Film Workshop. Executive Producer: Bo-Erik Gyberg. This is a 16 mm b/w documentary film with optical sound track from the Uppsala workshop on The Function of Film as an Educational Medium in Development Work. Uppsala, 1975, (Out of stock)

Action for Children: Towards an Optimum Child Care Package in Africa, edited by Olle Nordberg, Peter Phillips and Göran Sterky. This book is based on the proceedings of the 1973 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on The Dilemma of Quality, Quantity and Cost in African Child Care, held in Addis Ababa in May 1973. Uppsala, 1975, 220 pp. (Out of stock)

The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report on Development and International Co-operation 'What Now'. This report, arising out of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project, was published as a special issue (1/2, 1975) of the Foundation's journal *Development Dialogue*. It is also available in French (*Que faire*) and Spanish (*Que hacer*). Uppsala, 1975, 130 pp. A German edition, *Was tun*, was published in *Neue Entwicklungspolitik* (Nummer 2/3 1975) by the Wiener Institut für Entwicklungsfragen, 123 pp. In 1979, a Polish translation of the entire report was published in a book entitled *Nowy Międzynarodowy Ład Economiczny*. An Arabic translation of the full report was published in 1981 by the Algerian State Publishing House.

A World Divided: The Less Developed Countries in the International Economy, edited by G.K. Helleiner. This book contains the papers discussed at the 1974 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on International Economic Change and the Third World. Contributors: Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro, Reginald H. Green, Nurul Islam, Alfred Mainzels, Göran Ohlin, Edith F. Penrose, Marian Radetzki, Frances Stewart, Paul Streeten, Constantine V. Vaitsos and John White. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976, 299 pp.

The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs, Volume 5, No. 2. This special issue of the journal carries a selection of the papers presented at the seminar on Measures for Improving Performance in the Management of Public Enterprises in Tanzania organized by the Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam, in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, February 18–22, 1974. Dar es Salaam, 1975, 119 pp.

Outer Limits and Human Needs: Resource and Environmental Issues of Development Strategies, edited by William H Matthews. The papers in this volume were contributed to the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Cooperation. It contains papers by William H Matthews, Ignacy Sachs, M Taghi Farvar and Joseph C Perkowski. Uppsala, 1976, 102 pp.

Another Development: Approaches and Strategies, edited by Marc Nerfin. This book consists of a selection of papers prepared in the context of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project. It is divided into two parts, one elaborating the elements of the conceptual approach to Another Development (with contributions by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Krishna Ahooja-Patel, Jacques Berthelot and Johan Galtung) and one dealing with national experiences and strategies (with contributions by Paul Singer and Bolivar Lamounier, Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara, Rajni Kothari, Sergio Bitar and Ahmed Ben Salah). Uppsala, 1977, 265 pp.

Doing Things Together: Report on an Experience in Communicating Appropriate Technology, by Andreas Fuglesang. This report in the Foundation's Applied Communication Series is based on Andreas Fuglesang's observations of the 1976 Dag Hammarskjöld Workshop on Appropriate Technology in Village Document, held at Vudal Agricultural College, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea. Uppsala, 1977, 108 pp.

La información en el nuevo orden internacional. Edited by Fernando Reyes Matta. This publication, issued by the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET) in Mexico City, contains a selection of the papers presented to the 1976 ILET/DHF seminar on the Role of Information in the New International Order. The publication contains contributions by Juan Somavía, Fernando Reyes Matta, Al Hester, Herbert Schiller, Armand Mattelard, Reginald Herbold Green, Mamadou Moctar Thiam, Manuel Vazques Montalbán and Chakravarti Raghavan. Mexico, 1977, 265 pp.

Hacia Otro Desarrollo: Enfoques y Estrategias. Edited by Marc Nerfin. This book is the Spanish translation of *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies* listed above. Mexico, 1978, 334 pp. It is published by Siglo Veintiuno Editores, SA, Mexico D.F.

Tiers Monde et monde industrialisé. Documents élaborés pour le Projet Dag Hammarskjöld sur le développement et la coopération internationale, by Michel Schiray. This publication, which was prepared as part of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project, contains documents and statistical material on three main areas, namely (1) international trade, (2) transfer of resources, and (3) transnational corporations. It was published in 1978 as a double issue in the series *Notes et études documentaires* by La Documentation Française. Paris, 1978, 174 pp.

Initiation à l'écodéveloppement, by Ignacy Sachs, Anne Bergeret, Michel Schiray, Silvia Sigal, Daniel Théry and Krystyna Vinaver. Published in 1981 in Collection Regard by Privat Editeur, Toulouse, 368 pp. Price 72 F. This publication presents the results of the research carried out by a special research unit at the International Research Centre on Environment and Development (CIRED) in Paris in the context of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Cooperation.

Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa. Proceedings of the 1980 Lusaka Seminar on Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa. Published by the Foundation for Education with Production, Gaborone, 1981, 126 pp. It may be ordered from the Foundation for Education with Production, P.O. Box 20906, Gaborone, Botswana.

About Understanding—Ideas and Observations on Cross-Cultural Communication, by Andreas Fuglesang. Uppsala, 1982, 219 pp. This book

expands the ideas advanced in earlier publications by the author and supersedes his book *Applied communication in Developing Countries: Ideas and Observations*.

From the Outside Looking in: Experiences in 'Barefoot Economies', by Manfred A. Max-Neef. Uppsala, 1982, 208 pp. This book contains two Latin American case studies, 'Horizontal Communication for Peasants' Participation and Self-reliance' and 'Revitalization of Small Cities for Self-reliance'.

Sovereign Borrowers: Guidelines on Legal Negotiations with Commercial Lenders, edited by Lars Kalderén and Qamar S. Siddiqi in cooperation with Francis Chronnell and Patricia Watson. Uppsala, 1984, 264 pp. This book is based on the seminar on Third World Borrowing in International Capital Markets: Constitutional and Legal Issues, jointly organized with the Commonwealth Secretariat in November 1981. The book is jointly published by Butterworths and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and should be ordered from Butterworth & Co Ltd, Borough Green, Sevenoaks, Kent TN15 8PH, England.

Development Dialogue. A Journal of International Development Cooperation. The Foundation publishes this journal since 1972. It is issued biannually since 1974. Copies can be obtained from the Foundation's office in Uppsala. The main contents of *Development Dialogue* have been grouped under the following headings:

1972:1 Nordic development cooperation. (Out of stock)

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1974:1 Confrontation or Cooperation? A Dialogue on Development and Independence. (Out of stock)

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1975 1/2 The Dag Hammarskjöld Report on Development and International Cooperation 'What Now'. Also published in French and Spanish.

1976:1 Another Development and the New International Order: The Process of Change. (Out of stock)

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- 1981:1 The Automatic Mobilization of Resources for Development; Another Development and the Local Space.
- 1981:2 Towards a New World Information and Communication Order.
- 1982:1-2 Another Development with Women (French edition published in 1985).
- 1983:1—2 The Law of the Seed: Another Development and Plant Genetic Resources.
- 1984:1-2 Another Development and the World Crisis; Developing Autonomous Publishing Capacity in Africa.
- 1985: Numéro special. Un autre développement avec les femmes (Translation into French of the section on 'Another Development with Women' in *Development Dialogue* 1982:1-2).
- 1985:1 Another Development and the Third System.
- 1985:2 Another Development in Pharmaceuticals.
- 1986: Número especial. Desarrollo a Escala Humana: una opción para el futuro.

A bibliographical index to *Development Dialogue* 1972–84 by subject and author was published in *Development Dialogue* 1985:2, pages 150–179.

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