TRAFFIC IN THIRD WORLD WOMEN

The trade in Asian and Latin American women
to stock the brothels and bars of Western
Europe has become a big international business,
largely because of the decline of the world
economy and the increasing desperation of the
Third World poor. Despite attempts by some
European governments to put a stop to this
traffic, many Third World women continue to
be lured to Europe, where they are forced
into prostitution and held in bondage.

By Halinah Todd

Malaysia: Gloria was earning just enough in Columbia to scratch
along from one day to the next when a Columbian man asked if
she would like to earn big money working in a factory in the
Netherlands.

Although the deal included a 'dummy' marriage to a Dutch man
to qualify for a work permit, she agreed and with her sister
and two friends flew to Brussels.

Gloria and her sister were met at the airport by two Dutch
men who took them to Denmark and married them. They were then
brought back to Den Haag and delivered to a 'boss' to work
as prostitutes. The boss was armed. Both sisters were forbidden
to talk to Spanish-speaking people, and threatened with
violence if they did not work or did not earn enough.

The boss told Gloria that after she had earned US $25,000
she could work for herself. But she paid US $200 a week for
the two rooms in which she worked and lived and every three
days paid half her earnings to the 'boss'. If he had not
been arrested on a drug charge, which gave her a chance to
escape, Gloria would still be sitting in her window, a Third
World slave in a system of exploitation which stretches
across the globe.

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The trade in Asian and Latin American women to stock the brothels and bars of Western Europe has become a big international business since 1980, according to a report on its 28th Congress published last year by the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF), entitled Prostitution: Survival of Slavery. The IAF is a non-governmental body in consultative status with the United Nations, which fights the exploitation of prostitutes and the traffic in women and children.

The decline in the world economy and the increasing desperation of the Third World poor lie behind this growing human traffic between the industrial 'north' and the developing 'south', a United Nations official quoted in the Report pointed out.

Many of the Third World prostitutes in Europe have been lured there by promises of legitimate work, forced into prostitution and held in bondage by fear of physical violence, by debt to their producer, pimps and bar owners, by lack of travel documents and ignorance of the language, the Report reveals.

Take Christina, from northern Thailand. She was approached by a nicely-behaved Swiss gentleman and offered a job as a hotel receptionist in Zurich. (The Swiss are amongst the world's most active sex tourists. In 1982 more Swiss men per head of population bought tickets to Bangkok, a major centre for 'sex tourism', than any other Europeans.)

Together with two other girls - one only 15 - and the nice gentleman, she flew to Europe. From the airport they were driven directly to a private house, locked into separate rooms, given catfood to eat and 'broken-in' by their first clients. They all signed papers written in German.

Although Christina escaped, got herself a respectable job and married a Swiss, she is still being pursued through the courts by her procurer, who has suffered no legal penalty himself but is claiming a large sum as debt on the basis of those papers. The Berne Declaration group, a non-governmental . Swiss organisation of solidarity with the Third World, is helping fight her case.

In 1982 German police uncovered an operation trafficking in
Thai women through marriages of convenience with German
nationals organised in Denmark. Frankfurt police broke a
ring of procurers which had brought several dozen South
American women to Italy, where they married Italian men in
order to get Italian citizenship. They were then brought
to Frankfurt and forced into prostitution.

These cases illustrate the slick international organisations
which profit from this trade in Third World women. In the
Third World, poor rural women migrants with little education
and few skills form an easily exploited supply. In wealthy
industrialised Europe there is a high demand for prostitutes.
It is no wonder that procurers in Europe, who are often
wealthy businessmen with international criminal connections,
have used fraud and violence to recruit Asian women to
satisfy this demand.

Not all Third World prostitutes in Europe, of course, are
enslaved. Many are technically in prostitution from free
choice. But as the Report points out, the social and economic
conditions which surround their recruitment and the agencies
turning such women into mass market commodities, challenge
the very meaning of 'free choice' for such women.
- Third World Network Features

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About the writer: Ms Halinah Todd is a freelance journalist,
formerly Features Editor of the New Straits
Times (Malaysia) and voted Malaysia's
Journalist of the Year in 1982.

THIRD WORLD SCHOOL MASTER CONQUERS DANGEROUS WEED THE NATURAL WAY

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> Single-handedly and in the face of great
> odds, a barefoot scientist set out to seek
> a biological solution to a pest problem.
> He found an insect to control the weed
> 'lantana camara'. Not only that, by means
> of painstaking experimentation, he was
> able to prove that this insect destroyed
> only lantana and did not harm other forms
> of vegetation.

By Bharat Dogra and Vir Singh

India: School master, social worker, entomologist and above all
a man of incredible dedication to the work he knew would benefit
his fellow villagers. This, briefly, was Chandrasekhar Lohumi,
who became a legend for his discovery of a biological control
of a dangerous weed.

Born in the Panthgram Satrali village of Almora district in the
Western Himalayas, Chandrasekhar Lohumi could study only up to
the eighth standard because of poverty at home.

He became a primary school teacher in 1923, a profession which
he served with distinction for 47 years. During the sixties he
became involved in fighting a weed called 'lantana camara',
whose rapid spread was posing a serious threat to the agriculture
and animal husbandry of the Himalayan villages.

Axing the weed only led to its spreading even more rapidly, and
chemical weedicides, though recommended by some 'experts', would
have been not only too expensive but also ecologically disastrous.

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Searching for an alternative strategy to curb the spread of
this weed, Lohumi remembered an article he had read some-
where regarding the use of an insect, which preys on a
particular form of weed, to control the spread of this weed
in Australia. He decided to devote his time and energy to
finding a similar biological way to control lantana.

Armed with a stick, torch and a cloth bag, Lohumi started
collecting different insects and examining them under an
old microscope that he had managed to obtain from a well-
wisher.

After years of tireless work, he managed to find an insect
which proved, on the basis of extensive trials, to be a
powerful destroyer of lantana.

The next step was to examine whether this insect also proved
harmful for other forms of vegetation. If this were so, then
large-scale release of this insect in fields and forests
could not be permitted for fear of damaging various crops,
trees, grasses and other vegetation.

By means of painstaking experimentation conducted on 276
different forms of vegetation, Lohumi was able to prove that
this insect destroyed only lantana and did not harm other
forms of vegetation.

As the news of his success spread, the government appointed
a committee of experts to examine his work. The committee
praised his hard work, the scientific compilation of his
notes and field observations.

He was honoured with the prestigious Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Award, given to distinguished agricultural scientists.
Some other awards followed and he was invited to participate
in the gatherings of prominent scientists.

Lohumi, however, was more interested in seeing that the
villagers actually benefited from his work. Unfortunately,
large-scale biological control of lantana could not become
a reality in his lifetime. At least one of the reasons which
retarded this work was the pressure put up by the resourceful
manufacturers of weedicides, and the scientists in collusion
with them, to give a bad name to this research and its
practical applicability.

Undeterred, however, Lohumi continued his work on other forms
of cheap and ecologically safe control of pests. He found the
cob of the maize plant particularly useful in this.

One kilogram of cob (which is generally wasted after the
grain has been separated) yields 15 grams of pure ash which
is very useful in destroying several harmful pests while not
harming human beings and other animals. This ash becomes more
useful if it is mixed with water, boiled and then sprayed.

Lohumi's research revealed that this home-made pesticide was
especially useful in killing pests which harmed several
vegetable plants and fruit trees. This mixture also had some
curative properties for cattle, and the ash was very effective
in washing clothes and cleaning utensils, thereby displacing
detergents.

Before his death in 1983, Lohumi also did some work in
identifying and destroying bacteria which damage old
buildings. This research opened up fresh possibilities of
cheap means of protecting India's crumbling historical
monuments.

Lohumi continued to work till the very end amidst highly
adverse circumstances. While some technocrats tried to under-
mine his work, the students at the Pant Agriculture University
where he spent his last days loved him from their heart.
- Third World Network Features·

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About the writers: Mr Bharat Dogra is a free-lance journalist
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                      magazines in India. He has received the
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                      Sachin Chaudhari Award for Financial
                      Reporting. He has also twice received
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                      for newspapers and magazines, mostly on
                      agricultural sciences, rural development
                      and human rights, and has had 14 research
                      papers published in scientific journals.

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The Stanley Adams Case:

SHOWS NEED FOR MORE CONTROL OVER MULTINATIONALS

In 1973, a top executive of Hoffman-La Roche,
the giant Swiss drugs company, revealed the
company's illicit trade practices to the
European Commission. The executive's act of
conscience and the Commission's failure to
protect his anonymity turned his life into a
waking nightmare which lasted 12 years.

On 7 November 1985, the European Court ordered
the Commission to pay him £500,000 for their
breach of confidentiality.

This is the story of Stanley Adams, the man who
dared to fight multinationals and governments,
a story which deserves to be told again and
again so that more will follow his example to
ensure that big business does not prosper at
the expense of ordinary people around the world.

By Teh Poh Ai

Penang, Malaysia: Stanley Adams, the world's most famous
'whistleblower' finally won a victory for the small man when
the European Court of Justice granted his claims for compensa-
tion against the European Commission.

On 7 November 1985, the European Court in Luxembourg ordered
the Commission to pay Adams £500,000 for failing to protect his
identity as the man who had revealed the illicit trade practices
of Hoffman-La Roche, the giant Swiss pharmaceutical company.

In 1973, Adams had written to the Commission with documents
detailing the price-fixing breaches of EEC fair trading laws by
Roche, for which he was then working as a top executive.

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He later learnt that the Commission during their investigations had shown the documents to Roche personnel thus revealing his identity as their informant.

Adams was subsequently arrested by the Swiss Government and suffered repercussions that almost destroyed his life: his wife committed suicide, banks refused him loans and his business collapsed, leaving him penniless.

In 1981 he fled to Britain where he started proceedings against the European Commission for breach of confidentiality leading to his 10-year ordeal.

In September 1985 the Court ruled that the Commission had indeed committed a breach of duty of care, for which Adams was entitled to damages and costs. Adams claimed damages of £1 million from the Commission to compensate for the mental anguish and loss of earnings he suffered.

However in the 7 November hearing, the European Court halved the Commission's liability on the grounds that Adams did not warn the Commission that he could be identified from the photocopy documents he gave them.

But as Adams told Third World Network in an interview following his court victory, 'The money is really secondary. My fight was carried through so that little men and women will not be afraid of money, power and governments. The mouse has finally triumphed over the elephant.

'I hope I have cleared the road so that everybody should feel that he can do what I did and that no one can touch him, because I have been vindicated by the highest court in Europe.'

Adams' triumph is also a significant one for Third World countries. Roche's price fixing practices very much affected the vitamin market in these countries. 'One doesn't need to spell out that excessive prices hit the poor more than the rich,' said Adams.

'If these giant companies can beat us - advanced, rich people - how much more can they play with and kick, not on their backs but on their heads, Third World people?'

During his business career Adams had travelled extensively, particularly to poor countries - Africa, South America and the Philippines. 'I had seen the effects of the drug companies' policies. I had seen so much poverty in the world and seen people unable to buy medicines and vitamins because of the price,' he said.

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'I had also seen that within Roche, when news came of an influenza epidemic in for instance, India, instead of putting vitamin C out in greater quantities and reducing the prices, we would control the quantities going out to the market and usually increase the price.'

After a long tussle with his conscience, in February 1973, Adams who was then a £32,000 a year World Product Manager of Roche bulk vitamins division in Basle, wrote to the European Commission with details of Roche's involvement in price fixing and market sharing arrangements with its competitors : that enabled them to control the international vitamin market.

At the end of October 1973, Adams left Roche and moved to Latina, Italy, with his family to start a farm and meat business.

On New Year's Eve 1974 he was arrested when he crossed the Swiss - Italian border with his family to visit a relative. The next day, he was charged under Swiss law for industrial espionage and treason.

While in detention, Adams was not allowed to see his family and friends. No one knew why he had been arrested. His wife, Marilene, was subjected to interrogation by the police several times and was even told that Adams would be jailed for 20 years.

Unable to take the strain, Marilene hanged herself 10 days after Adams' arrest. Nathalie, their eldest daughter, was nearly seven then, Alexandra was under five and Stephanie was not yet three years old.

Three months later Adams was released on bail. But his business troubles had just started. Banks refused him loans and he had difficulty starting his farm.

In the meantime, in June 1976, the European Commission found Roche guilty of infringing on the trade agreement between Switzerland and the Commission. Roche was fined £150,000, described by Adams as 'a tiny drop in its ocean of profits'.

Less than a month later Adams was found guilty by the Swiss court of economic espionage and sentenced to one year imprisonment, suspended for three years. He was also banished from Switzerland for five years and ordered to pay costs.

Says Adams, 'We were both guilty in the eyes of the law, Roche of breaking competition law, I of reporting that Roche had broken competition law. The logic seemed a little faulty, but logic apparently didn't enter into it'.

goes unchecked.'

WHAT FUTURE FOR THIRD WORLD RURAL MASSES?

by

M Iqbal Asaria

"To burden the people with big loans, the
repayment of which will be beyond their means,
is not to help them but to make them suffer.
It is even worse when the loans they are asked to
repay have not benefited the majority of the
people but have only benefited a small minority."

Arusha Declaration - 1967

Given the state of local, regional and international
dependencies built into the present global economic order,
the fate of the rural masses of the world is predictable
with precision. The economic dimensions of this destiny
have already been outlined by various speakers, both in the
local Malaysian context and on the broader economic scene
as well.

Short of autarchy, any level of participation in the
international system leads to a build up of an increasing
level of dependence and ultimately threatens any form of
"survival with dignity". The fall-out is all the more
damaging to the rural populations (who still constitute

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a majority of the globe's populations who not only subsidise
the urban population but also provide the bulk of the
foreign exchange needed to pay the high servicing costs of
spiralling debt. Thus a spiral of povertification is set
into motion, the end result of which is the emergence of
a greatly reduced and vastly impoverished rural population.
The other side of this coin is a large army of urban poor
living in conditions of abject poverty and degradation.

Indeed, so daunting is the scenario, that most
analysts shudder to take their studies to their logical
conclusions, lest they reach a point where solutions have
to be proffered. A sense of fatalistic resignation has
emerged about the inevitability and finality of the fate
of the rural masses of the Third World. Coming from
development economists of every hue and cry this is an
ironic verdict - the very people who were advancing the
alleged sense of fatalism in tribal/traditional/religious
societies as a primary cause of underdevelopment, accept
with fatalistic disdain the fate of rural masses of the
globe! It is clear then that this fatalistic impasse and
its advocates have to be jetissoned in _toto_, if any fresh
insights into devising a meaningful destiny for the rural
masses are to be gained.

Before we move to the arena of 'solutions', however,
there is a great need for the cultural patterns accompanying
this dismal scenario to be studied in depth. For we believe
that "survival with dignity" will only be realised when
that dignity is firmly rooted in the culture and history
of people concerned. The continued onward march of western
cultural patterns seeking to homogenise human behaviour
for effortless milking by the Trans-National Corporations
(TNCs) and the resultant inferiority complexes generated
in the people of the Third World are now becoming legion.

Indeed, the sixties and seventies saw the generation of a developmental mania in which everything was considered worth sacrificing to reach - to use that banal designation "take off". Today we are wiser. Take off there has been but into the unfathomable depths of spiralling debt and frightening povertification. The cultural and social patterns which had to be force-moulded to accommodate the requirements of Rostowian "take-off" have yet to recover from the disaster and take cognizance of the more menacing take-off into the never threatening the global rural population.

Any solution will require the regeneration of this cultural/moral dignity. Only this will enable man to rise above the fearsome dimensions of the imminent impasse threatening his survival, and contemplate solutions freed from the fetters of thought patterns which are the direct result of his present predicament.

The spirit was expressed in the Marrakesh Declaration (1977) thus: "The concept of self-reliance covers a very vast field, which is very difficult to delimit. But, it is vague only to those who have never had to tackle the problems of survival with dignity or to undergo the effect of political, economic and cultural blackmail."

Nearly ten years on, and with clearer vision of the kind of fate awaiting if no fundamental response to avert it materialises, it is amazing to find economists - who pride themselves on having mastered the art of the rational allocation of scarce resources - advancing the view that if only we could share the growth in the world economy more equitably, the explosive tensions now building up with unnerving rapidity, can be diffused. These strategies - epitomised in the North-South Dialogue and its concomittant paraphernelia, - are no solutions; they are stratagems for

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buying time in the hope that somehow the problems will fade away. It should be categorically stated that allocative limitations of scarcity have reached such a point that choices we have to make are not between having a full loaf or only half a loaf - nay the choices are stark ones between life and death and in some cases between "survival with dignity" and "existence as zombified slaves". To get out of the rut of the present impasse needs the mounting of a comprehensive challenge to the moral/political/economic order. This cannot be a bloodless feud for it is no zero sum game, rather it is "a winner take all" situation with extinction threatening the loser.

How then are we to regenerate this cultural/moral heritage and let it in turn throw up political/economic solutions which can overcome the crippling pace of our present race against time to avert the doom that has been so precisely quantified? We   believe that a starting point has to be by asking what we want to be. The present "ideology" of the Third World, in our view is a major contributor to the situation. If, as far as it can be discerned, the Third World is geared to an incessant struggle to attain First or Second World status, than we can rest assured that we will at best end up as very poor and in all likelihood very impoverished copies of the original. If, indeed this is the desire, then conventional economic analysis so far applied to the problem, is adequate to give us a fair idea of our fate. But it will not be survival with dignity, rather it will be survival under TNC controlled oligarchies, perpetuating a world order in which a small proportion of the world's population continues to consume the bulk of its resources, to exhaustion.

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It becomes clear that a new vision of the future is needed which steers us clear of the present patterns of existence in the First and Second worlds. In effect we need an extrapolation of the life patterns as they would have evolved, had the colonial menace not been visited upon us. This in turn leads to an examination of technology and values; health care patterns; educational imperatives; and patterns of political economic and social organisation. The fundamental re-evaluation of these factors - and the very task of questioning of everything held sacred by even the most ardent critics of the present impasse - often leads to charges and taunts of idealism. But is idealism not an advance on fatalistic resignation? The key is not to shun idealism but device strategies for transforming the ideals into realities. The major effort, once having delineated the kind of life we want, needs thus to be devoted to the "transition phase."

The "transition phase" to our minds is the prime area where work needs to be done. The process we are dealing with is a dynamic one - to take us from our present state to our desired state. The very actions of the participants will generate reactions and these need to be anticipated and responded to. Again starting points and priorities need to be studied and strategies adopted should always be evaluated on the basis of their contribution to the achievement of the final goal.

The "failure" of the Tanzanian experiment, or the
Mozambican experience, or the Algerian model, and the
U-Turn of the Indian and Chinese leaderships is cited
with satisfaction in western establishment parlours.
Any new adventurers are cautioned with these tales of
catastropee, and the inevitability of the present
prescription dispensation brought home   , to them.
In reality these are no failures, but bold and imaginative
leaps, which through failure of adaptive capacities built
into them, have run out of steam. They do, however,
start us off on a vital learning curve upon which
the experiences of more and more countries can be built
and modelled.

Finally, the basic premise for any solution must be
conception of man as primodially a co-operative creature
and not one of a glorified animal given to selfishness and
unrestrained greed. This   would be the primary starting
point on a path that will increasingly diverge from the
presently unviable pattern of existence, based on a
deviated concept of man's very nature.

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Third World Network

SPEECH BY

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SPEECH BY ENCIK S.M. MOHAMED IDRIS, J.P., COORDINATOR, THIRD
WORLD NETWORK, PENANG (MALAYSIA) AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE
INTERNATIONAL THIRD WORLD PRESS MEETING, INDIA, APRIL 3-18, 1986.
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I am very happy to welcome all of you here at the Opening of our
International Third World Press Meeting, and most of all I am
very happy to be back in India after a long absence. I would
like to bid a very hearty welcome to all our participants
and friends present here. Now that we are all here, I hope that
we will all have stimulating sessions of discussions and that we
will leave this meeting with pleasant memories of a fruitful experience.

This meeting of the Press organised by Third World Network India,
in collaboration with Third World Network, Malaysia, here in India
is our biggest undertaking todate. Indeed it is most timely that
India has been chosen. Why is this so ?

Apart from being the largest democracy in the Third World, it is
also the centre for the Non Aligned Movement. More important, I
believe that Indian journalism is also undergoing an exciting
period in its history. Indeed it has taken the lead in many
aspects to give a new direction, to inform and educate the public
on the existing realities of Indian society today. However, more
needs to be done especially at the level of the Third World.

This is important because all of us who come from the Third World
share similar realities. We cannot forget our colonial past, and
we still have not escaped neocolonial domination.

Today, after many years of political independence; after so-called
"Development Decades"; after all the efforts of United Nations
agencies; after the hundreds of pious declarations on aid, trade
and development; and after the millions and millions of pages
printed and published on development; after all these phenomena,
most of the people in the Third World continue to be poor, unemployed,
homeless; and at this very moment, millions of children are starving
to death.

Given this situation, it is not possible for an organization of the
Third World, such as the Third World Network to avoid thinking or
acting on the problems affecting the majority of people. As a
Third World organization, the Third World Network is concerned
about the need and welfare of the majority of people. Are their
basic and human needs satisfied ? Is the working and home environment
safe and clean ? Are people able to have a secure source of livelihood?

In our years of experience and activities, we have come to realise
that the individual consumer's problems and welfare are linked to
the conditions of his or her community. For instance, a housewife
finds that fish prices have shot up and there is a shortage of
fish in the market. This is linked to the plight of the poor
fishing community whose fish stocks are being depleted by trawler
boats.

We have also come to the conclusion that the problems of local communities are related to problems and policies at national level. For instance, problems of shortage of housing, shortage of land, the rising cost of living, the lack of proper sanitation, are all experienced and suffered at the local community level. But their roots lie in the absence of proper national planning, or worse, the presence of wrong national planning, leading to top-heavy elite-oriented development of the nation.

And finally, we have to come to realise that problems at national level cannot be discussed separately from the conditions at the international level. For instance, in the past 3 years, a large segment of our society has been adversely affected by world recession and falling commodity prices. More than a quarter of the workforce in Malaysian tin industry has been retrenched due to the collapse of the tin price, and three million people depending on rubber for a source of income have suffered a drop in real income due to the declining price of rubber. The needs and welfare of the individual consumer, the economic and social situation of his and her community, and of the nation as a whole, are all tied up with and influenced by events and development at the world level.

And this is true, whether we are talking of economics, or social issues, or cultural ways of life.

Although most of the Third World countries have attained political Independence, yet in many ways we are being subjected to more control by our former colonial masters and the industrialised countries.

In the economic sphere, Third World countries have become even more dependent on the rich countries in the post-World War Two period. Our Third World countries have been sucked even more into the world market, with more of our resources and labour force being used for the purposes of export to the rich countries. Yet the terms of trade of Third World countries have by and large deteriorated vis-a-vis the industrial countries, thus causing hundreds of billions of dollars of real resources to be transferred from the poor to the rich countries.

In the Third World, the best quality lands are planted with crops exported to the rich countries. The richest of our forest, mineral and metal resources are exported to the rich countries. Our best brains and a very substantial part of our labour force are used in the service of transnational corporations owned by the rich countries. Almost all our traded goods are carried on ships owned by rich countries. The international chain of commodity traders, wholesalers and retailers are controlled by these rich countries. And finally, our top researchers spend their long hours conducting research for institutions ultimately controlled by the administration of the rich countries, and large numbers of our academics, doctors and scientists migrate in search of greener pastures to the shores of the rich countries.

All these indisputable facts have led to the continuing and continuous drain of money and resources from the Third World. During the colonial era, the wealth taken out of the colonial territories helped to develop the colonial master countries. Today, this is even more true. The belief that rich countries are giving "development aid" to poor countries is only a myth propagated by these rich countries. In reality, the Third World is channelling resources and funds to the industrial countries, in the form of profits on investment, interest on loans, royalties paid for technology, management and consultancy fees, losses due to terms-of-trade decline, and taxes lost on account of transfer pricing by transnational corporations.

In the social and cultural spheres, the industrial world's control over the Third World can be said to be even greater. The Third World countries have consciously or unconsciously imported models of education, communications, health care system, housing and transportation from the industrial countries. Most of these models are profoundly unsuitable and inappropriate for solving the basic and human needs problems of the majority of people in the Third World. Instead, these models have mainly benefitted a small elite. For instance, billions of dollars are spent on imported motor cars and billions of dollars more on building the roads and bridges to carry and park the cars, but public transport system remains inadequate in most Third World countries.

The minds and motivations of Third World people are also increasingly being taken over by the mass communications and fashion industries of the industrial countries. As television programmes, films, videos, records, books and magazine produced in the industrial countries invade every nook and corner of the Third World, the culture and ways of life of the people and the community are disrupted. Traditional community dances give way to the disco and to breakdance and traditional musical forms surrender to the beat of Madonna or local imitations of Madonna. A large section of Third world society from business and middle class right down to worker and farmer, excitedly watch the latest antics in Dallas and Dynasty, or the dozens of Hong Kong versions of these American programmes. Coffee-shop conversation in many Third World countries is now often dominated by latest developments in the Hollywood film-star circuit or the newest contest between sportsmen and sportswomen in Wimbledon or Wembly.

And when Third World governments try to break away from the economic or social chains that bind them to the industrial nations, they are often blocked. For instance, when Bangladesh recently decided to ban thousands of dangerous or worthless pharmaceutical drugs, the US government intervened on behalf of the drugs industry. And when Third World countries do not follow policies that please the major powers, they can be threatened with invasion, as happened when the US invaded Grenada and the USSR invaded Afghanistan. Or when international agencies like the UNESCO or the ILO or UNCTAD endeavour to take up issues on behalf of the Third World, they can be threatened with a pullout of funds, as the United States has done.

These three areas - economics, culture and international relations - are closely inter-related. We hope that this Seminar will be able to cover some of the more critical issues under these areas.

We believe that change in the Third World can only come about if those of us who are conscious of the problems of development are ready to go forward in serious hard work. In this spirit, and working together, we believe that a lasting solidarity can be built up.

Given the enormous control which the major powers exert on the Third World, it is important for concerned individuals and groups in the Third World to get together to discuss the problems and try to work out some common conclusions.

On behalf of the Third World Network, I must say how pleased we are that the participants gathered here represent some of the leading editors, journalists, and writers in India. I am personally subscribing to a number of Indian journals and magazines, and I must say that Indian journalism is far ahead than journalism in many Third World countries, in terms of its investigative reporting and its exposure of development issues.

Nonetheless, I feel that more can be done and needs to be done, especially in the way the Indian media covers events and developments in the outside world, both in the developed countries and the Third World.

There is an urgent need for a strong Third World perspective. As we all know, the international media and its channels are mainly controlled by persons and companies in the industrialized countries. Knowing or unknowingly, our views of the world and world events are invariably shaped by these multinational agencies. There is much evidence that very often the interpretation of events that these agencies present to us are ethnocentric and geared towards their own interests. For example the Western media portrays Palestinian freedom fighters as terrorists, where as the Contras armed, and supported by American aid and CIA funds, to terrorize the legitimately elected government of Nicaragua and its people are seen and termed as freedom fighters, although they are the real terrorists.

It is a shame that many of us in the Third World have swallowed this interpretation of world events due to the sheer overwhelming force of the international news agencies. Many Third World writers and intellectuals run the danger of imbibing and believing the outlook of these agencies so that our own minds are shaped to project the line of thinking of Western interests in the industrial countries against the interests of the people in the Third World themselves.

It is time for us to change this tragic situation. Intellectuals, writers and journalists in the Third World have much more hard work to do in rediscovering the realities and truth of their own societies; of how our societies are still subjugated by the superpowers, and of how our people are increasingly struggling to get out of this control. And in so doing, to forge their own identities.

In this regard, journalists like you have a most important role to play, because you have the power to shape the minds and thinking of millions of people. It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword. This is very true because it is the pen that has the power to shape minds and ideologies. Whereas people who wield the sword are very often nearly under the influence of people who wield the pen.

Therefore, I feel it is the responsibility of Third World journalists to take up the challenge of projecting the realities in the world particularly of our own society; so that we can fulfill the task of spreading the truth to our people and thereby help them to achieve genuine freedom and liberation. It is my earnest hope that this seminar would contribute to this nobel objective.

More important still, we hope that the dialogue at this seminar, will lead to some concrete follow-up action, so that the relationships built up here among the participants can be strengthened in the future, for the benefit of the majority of people in the Third World and the world as a whole.

I look forward very much to the seminar proceedings and I hope all of you will also participate fully and benefit from the sharing of experience.

Thank you.

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Third World Network

THE THIRD WORLD AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

by

CHEE YOKE LING

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THIRD WORLD DOMINATION

By

- CHEE YOKE LING

Introduction

The concept of the world as a cake to be divided among strong, established Western powers can be traced back for centuries. Thus in 1493 a remarkably generous Pope gave to Spain all land discovered or to be discovered west of a line 100 miles west of the Azores and Cape Verde not in the possession of any Christian King. This was the period when Spain and Portugal were the two major contenders for territorial superiority. The subsequent expansion of England, France and Holland in the 18th century saw an unprecedented carving up of Latin America, Africa, the middle East and Asia. Since the post-World War II ascendency of the United States of America, Western involvement in the Third World has taken a more igorous and insidious form.

Colonialism and Orientalism:

"The East is a career, wrote Benjamin Disraeli. Indeed it was, for from the late 18th century Orientalism has been identifiable as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it. Orientalism was a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.[3]

Being a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on European Western experience, Orientalism identifies "us" Europeans against all "those" non-Europeans. The major component in European culture is thus arguably the idea of European superiority over Oriental backwardness.[4]

Consequently, it is not surprising that in 1758, Vattel, the Swiss-Prussian authority on international law, invited European states to take possession of territory inhabited only by mere wandering tribes. Conquest was dignified as a process of civilising the "primitive". Colonisation was almost equated with "enlightening" the obscure Orient. Britain, for instance, asserted more than a century of utilitarian administration on the Eastern colonies. The influence of philosophers such as Bentham and Mills on British

rule was considerable: utilitarianism stressed the rational importance of a strong executive armed with v arious legal and penal codes, a system of doctrines on such matters as frontiers and land rents, and everywhere an irreducible supervisory imperial authority.5 Theories unacceptable in British society were tested and applied in the colonies, especially in India. Malaya, when colonised later, provided further ground for such practices. As a result, now in 1984 we are bound by many laws which embody 19th century English precepts and values. The colonisers believed their presence was required in the East more or less forever. That presence is indeed still very much alive.

While British imperialism flourished, the French were also caught in its own expansionist fervour. As the French thinker, Leroy-Beulieu, put it:

"A society colonises, when itself having reached a high degree of maturity and of s trength, it procreates, it protects, it places in good conditions of development, and it brings to virility a new society to which it has given birth...colonisation is the expansive force of a people; it is its power of reproduction; it is its enlargement and its multiplication through space; it is the subjection of the universe or a vast part of it to that people's language, customs, ideas, and laws."6

Such national perceptions were naturally argued at the international level. Thus in the Nationality Decrees in Tunis and Morocco Case. M.A. de La Pradelle, arguing for France before the Permanent Court of International Justices, stated:

"...territory is neither an object nor a substance; it is a framework. What sort of framework? The framework within which the public power is exercised ... territory as such must not be considered, it must be regarded as the external, ostensible sign of the sphere within which the public power of the state is exercised". - P.C.I.J. Rep., Series B, No.4 (1923).

In his book "Chapters on the Principles of International Law" (1894), John Westlake argued that regions of the earth which were "uncivilised" ought to be annexed or occupied by advanced powers.

In their quest for territorial acquisition, in the fulfilment of their "imperial obligations", the European powers swept through (and often away) the peoples, culture and civilization of the violated territories. By the end of World War I Europe had colonised 85% of the earth.

Empire-building was also given a pedagogical dimension. England's Lord Curzon regarded the Empire not as an "object

of ambition" but "first and foremost, a great historical and
and political and sociological fact". In 1909 he remarked that
"We train here and we send out to you your governors and administ-
rators and judges, your teachers and preachers and lawyers".
He was member of a committee formed in that year to press for
the creation of a School of Oriental Studies. Such studies were
no intellectual luxury, but rather "a great Imperial obligation.
...the creation of a school (of Oriental Studies) like this in
London is part of the necessary furniture of Empire. Those of
us, who, in one way or another, have spent a number of years in
the East, who regard that as the happiest portion of our lives,
and who think that the work we did there, be it great or small,
was the highest responsibility that can be placed upon the
shoulders of Englishmen, feel that there is a gap in our
national equipment which ought emphatically to be filled, and
that those in the City of London who, by financial support or
by any other form of active and practical assistance, take their
part in filling that gap, will be rendering a patriotic duty
to the Empire and promoting the cause and goodwill among man-
kind".7.

The present London University School of Oriental and Africa
Studies is a legacy of the British Empire. It is therefore
clear that Orientalism has a strong academic tradition; its
doctrines and thesis live on even though it may not take its
original form as the rationale, justification and philosophy
of empire-building.

The Development of International Law: General

As a result of the power structure up until the early 20th
Century, international relations were a question of Western
superpower relationships. This was reflected in the develop-
ment of international law. Brierly wrote:

"The law of nations had its origin among a few kindred
nations of Western Europe which, despite their frequent quar-
rels and even despite their religious schism of the 16th century,
all had and were all conscious of having a commong background
in the Christian religion and the civilization of Greece and
Rome. They were in a real sense a society of nations".

It is the law created to govern the diplomatic, commercial
military and other relations of the European Christian States
of the 16th and 17th Centuries that provides the basis for the
present international law. It was first extended beyond Europe
at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th cen-
turies to the ex-European colonies of North and South America.
By the mid-19th century Turkey had been accepted as the first
non-Christian subject of international law. By 1914, increas-
ing European penetration into Asia had led to the "admission",
though on grossly unequal terms, of Persia, China and Japan.
A system of capitulations was commonly applied whereby European

nationals present in the territory of the capitulating state (a telling term) were subject not to its local law or courts, but were subject instead to their national law administered in the territory of the capitulating state by their national consular courts.8

With the formation of the League of Nations in 1920, membership of this international body was open to any state. However, colonised territories, being mere appendages to western powers, were not regarded as "states" in that international community.

The League was replaced by the United Nations in 1945 with an original membership of 51. With the independence since then of colonies and similar territories, the number of states in the U.N. was 158 as of 31 September 1982.

The new states had joined with other developing nations to emerge as the Third World. The discussion in this paper will now proceed to examine the following:-

I.   From conquest to the use of armed force under the present U.N. Charter.
II. State sovereignty over Natural Resources.
III. A Note on the Law of the Sea: The Deep Sea-Bed.
IV. Sources of International law
V.   Education of Third World Elites
VI. Conclusion and some Recommendations.

I.   From Conquest to the Use of Armed Forces under the Charter of the United Nations.

Conquest was a recognised and commonly-used basis for acquiring legal title over territory until the early years of this century. The concept of "just" wars reared its head from the times of Grotius and Vattel. When the subjectivity of what is "just" defeated any attempt at identifying legality, emphasis drifted to laws regulating the actual conduct of war: War was condoned. W.E. Hall, in his treatise, stated :

"International law has no alternative but to accept war, independently of the justice of its origin, as a relation which the parties to it may set up if they choose, and to busy itself only in regulating the effects of the relation".

Warfare had been a feature of inter-European state rivalry for generations. Armed might was also a dominant instrument in empire-building. The two were related, too. For instance, the Anglo-French rivalry in Europe extended to their race for colonial expansion. War being an instrument of national policy, superpowers carried their conflict to foreign lands.

With regard to the process of colonization, if a particular territory refused to cooperate or accept advisors or assistance from Western powers, if a territory showed dissent or if there were any internal conflicts, the colonising states would move, in using gunboats (actual or threatened). Since the use of armed force served the colonial purpose, its legality was defended.

However, as the means and methods of warfare became more sophisticated and destructive, war soon became a questionable state of affairs. The devastation of World War I evoked an urgent desire to abolish war as an instrument of national policy. The league of Nations Covenant imposed some limitations upon "resort to war" but these were inadequate and unenforceable. Moreover, the USA were not a member of the League. It was only in 1928 that war was abolished as an instrument of national policy under the General Treaty for the Renunciation of War, sometimes known as the Briand-Kellogg Pact (unsurprisingly after the French Foreign Minister and U.S.A. Secretary of State respectively). However, the fact that nearly the whole of the international community at that time were parties to the Treaty did not prevent the starting of World War II in 1939. Powerful states were evidently unwilling to give up an instrument which enabled them to deploy their armed forces in dominating territories spread across the world.

In the aftermath of the defeat of Germany and Japan, the victorious Allied Powers were drawn together in the face of a common enemy: fascism. Thus in San Francisco in 1945, the international community drafted and accepted the Charter of the United Nations.

(i) The Use of Force in International Relations since 1945

The U.N. Charter prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state. In order to give more precise meaning to the extent of this prohibition as well as other provisions of the Charter, the General Assembly by resolution made a Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter in 1970 (to be referred to as the 1970 Declaration).

One vital question was the meaning of "force". Does it include political pressure (eg. the refusal to ratify a treaty or the severance of diplomatic relations)? Is economic pressure prohibited, too, as in a trade boycott or the blocking of a bank account? During the drafting of the prohibition, Brazil proposed that states should be required to refrain from "economic measures". In the context of Third World welfare, any potential threat to their economy would leave them in an extremely vulnerable position. This proposal was rejected.9 Western jurists continue to support the view that only armed force is

prohibited.

This matter was purposely not clarified in the 1970 Declaration. The section on the Principle on the Use of Force just refers to 'force' because of disagreement from mainly Western States, who once again argued that only armed force was prohibited. The East European States and most of the Third World Claimed that " all forms of pressure, including those of a political and economic character, which have the effect of threatening the territorial integrity or political independence of any State" were prohibited.10

However, subsequent to the Arab oil boycot of 1973/4, the Western States were prepared to admit "that this was not to say that all forms of economic and political pressure which threatened the territorial integrity or political independence of another state was permissible; they might well constitute illegal intervention". The concerted effort of the Arab oil-producing states aimed at causing the U.S. and all the E.E.C. Countries to change their Middle East policies shook the hither-to complacency of the First World.11.

Although there is a general prohibition on the use of armed force, states may still do so in self-defence or when they participate in United Nations enforcement action. The Charter provides that only the Security Council may order enforcement action involving the use of armed force. Even in the event of self-defence, a state may only take such action as is proportionate to the armed attack launched upon it. All measures taken have to be reported to the Security Council. The right of self-defence is thus a temporary, one, existing only until the Security Council acts. The exercise of this right may be individual on collective.

Although the Charter is an attempt to ensure international peace and security, it clearly reflects the force of superpower interests and compromise. Certain concessions were given to smaller states. For instance, regional organisations are safeguarded, largely due to the pressure of the Organisation of American States which wanted to retain a right of action for fear the U.S.A. Would otherwise dominate the affairs of that region. They are also subject to Security Council control. However, they very set-up of the Security Council and its membership ensure that maintenance of international peace and security with the far-reaching power to order the use of armed force remains with the superpowers.

(ii) The Security Council - Crippled by the Veto?

When the Charter was drafted and adopted, the then international community was dominated by the victorious Allied Powers of World War II. Predictably, when it was agreed that in future only the Security Council may take enforcement ac-

tion to maintain international peace and security, the five Permanent Members were the Republic of China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. The other six members (increased to ten in 1965) serve a term of two years. Non-permanent membership is by election at the General Assembly whereby due regard is to be specially paid "to the contribution of Members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organisation, and also to equitable geographical distribution". A retiring member is not eligible for re-election.

On the other hand, the Permanent Members also have the power of Veto. While these States recognised the need for collective measures under an international organisation, they were at the same time determined to have an ultimate power in safeguarding their individual interests. However, this legal regime was built upon the assumption of a consensus among the states.

The subsequent Cold war between the West and the U.S.S.R. split the international community into different ideological components. The immediate post-war consensus disintegrated, and hegemony of states became prevalent. The U.S.S.R. surrounded itself with satellite states while the U.S.A. and Western E Europe co nsolidated their fronts in the Pacific, the Middle East and Asia.

It was originally intended that Security Council action involving the use of armed force would be effected by armed forces provided by member states in accordance with bilateral agreements between each of them and the Security Council. The Permanent Members could not reach an agreement: the U.S.S.R. was inevitably on one side while the remaining four states were on the other. After that initial failure to reach an agreement, no further attempt at implementing these provisions has occurred.

As a result, the Security Council is left with the power to make recommendations, either involving the use of armed force or otherwise (eg. complete or partial interruption of economic relations and the severance of diplomatic relations). These recommendations may be made only after the Security Council has decided that there is a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. As an immediate measure before making any recommendations, they may call upon the parties in conflict to comply with "provisional measures" (eg a cease fire).

Two points may be noted. Measures not involving the use of armed force may be required of members by a binding decision as when economic sanctions were imposed on Southern Rhodesia (1965) and South Africa (1977). However, the failure to reach an agreement regarding United Nations armed forces means that only non-binding recommendations may be made involving the

use of armed force.

Secondly, the Veto, frustrates any power left to the Security Council. Before any recoomendations may be made, there must be a determination of the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. There have been only two occasions when a "breach of the peace" has, despite the evidence of much world conflict since 1945, been found to have occured. These are the Korean Case and the Falkland Islands Case.

The Korean Case (1950). When World War II ended, the Allied Powers agreed that Korea (which had been part of Japan since 1910) would become independent. In 1945, Japanese troops in Korea surrendered to the U.S.S.R. North of the 38th Parallel and to the U.S.A. south of it. A Joint Commission of U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. representatives was established to form a provisional Korean Government and a Korean State. The Joint Commission soon found itself at loggerheads. The question of Korea was submitted to the General Assembly of the U.N. in 1947. Despite protests from the U.S.S.R., the General Assembly resolved that elections be held under U.N. supervision. The U.N. Commission was not allowed to enter North Korean but it supervised and approved elections held in the South. A South Korean Government was established and approved by the General Assembly.

In 1950 North Korean armed forces crossed the 38th Parallel into South Korea and fighting broke out. The Security Council decided that this action constituted a breach of the peace.12 When calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities were ignored, the Security Council recommended that members militarily assist in repelling the attack. Sixteen member states finally sent armed forces to Korea.

All this while, the U.S.S.R. representative had been absent from the Security Council. When he resumed his seat on 1 August 1950, the Security Council ceased to play an active part in the conduct of the conflict. By late October, troops from mainland China had entered the war. The U.S.S.R. vetoed a draft resolution condemning the Chinese action, following which the General Assembly was forced to take over the problem.13

It is clear that the initial steps taken to deal with the Korean case were possible because the U.S.S.R. was not present to Veto the Anglo-American bloc which monopolised the Security Council. It is unlikely that any of the Permanent Members will risk being absent when highly political resolutions affecting their particular interests are submitted - the Korean case was a lesson well-learnt.

The Falkland Islands case: These islands are a British Crown Colony. Argentina also claims sovereignty over them. The islands exclusive economic zone is important for fishing purposes and could contain commercially viable deposits of oil and gas. The British had taken over the islands by force

in 1833. Argentina has always protested against that conquest,
though the dispute has never been submitted to any international
tribune by either state. Argentina claims the islands through
Spain.

On 2 April 1982 Argentina forces landed on the Falkland
Islands, taking possession by force of South Georgia, 800 miles
east of the Falklands, on 3 April. On the following day, the
Security Council by resolution determined that there existed
a breach of the peace and called for an immediate cessation
of hostilities as well as withdrawal of all Argentina forces.
The resolution was adopted by 10 votes (France, Guyana, Ireland,
Japan, Jordan, Togo, Uganda, U.K., U.S.A., Zaire) to 1 (Panama)
with 4 abstentions (China, Poland, Spain, U.S.S.R.) There is a
well-established practice accepted by all the permanent members
by which abstention by a permanent member does not Veto a
resolution. The resolution was drafted by the U.K.

On 5 April, the British Task Force sailed for the South
Atlantic. Economic sanctions were imposed against Argentina
by the U.K. and the European Communities. The U.S. gave the
U.K. logistical assistance. The Organisation of American States
resolved that its members should support Argentina. The British
recovered South Georgia by force and after diplomatic efforts
to achieve a peaceful solution had failed, the Task Force land-
ed on the Falklands on 21 May. The Argentina surrendered on
14 June 1982.

Argentina, which happened not to be a member of the Secu-
rity Council at the time, was allowed, in accordance with
normal practice, to participate in the debates concerning the
legality of the Argentinian action and the British response, but
it did not have a vote. As a permanent member, the U.K. had
not only the right to vote, but also had the advantage of the
power of veto. This power was exercised on 4 June 1982 to veto
a draft resolution calling for a cease-fire in the fighting
then occuring in the Falklands. The vote was 9 to 2 (U.K. and
U.S.A.), with 4 abstentions (France, Guyana, Jordan, Togo).

In this case, the resolution of 4 April 1982 was passed
because this was not a conflict directly involving the Anglo-
American bloc and the "U.S.S.R." China and the U.S.S.R. chose
to abstain so as not to positively affirm that the Argentina
attack was a breach of the peace. This may perhaps be seen
by the cynic as a non-committal response necessitated by these
same states' own past record.

The Veto was however effectively used by the U.K. in the
"ceasefire" resolution of 4 June 1982. Self-defence was the
justification argued by the U.K., but the Charter of the U.N.
provides that this is temporary; the Security Council takes
over once measures are implemented. Yet, with the U.K. deter-
mined to handle the matter in its own way, the Security Council
machinery was crippled. U.S. support by voting against that

resolution consolidated this stand. Whereas Argentina was the "culprit" on 4 April, by 4 June the U.K. was using its permanent membership at the Security Council to serve its own military ends. The "Empire" was out to vindicate itself, and the international peacekeeping machinery was subverted for their purpose.

The same tactic has been used over and again over the past few decades by the permanent members. In 1956 demonstrations took place in Budapest against the Hungarian Government calling for Mr. Nagy to be brought into the Government. Fighting broke out. At 2 a.m. on the following morning, Russian tanks appeared in Budapest. At 8.13 a.m. it was announced that a new Government was to be formed under Mr. Nagy. At 9 a.m. it was announced that "the Government had applied for help to the Soviet formations stationed in Hungary (under the Warsaw Pact)". To this day it is not clear when and by whom the application was made. It is not known when Mr. Nagy's Government actually took office. A week later, Hungary denounced the Warsaw Pact after an unsuccessful demand for withdrawal of new Soviet troops. Mr. Nagy called for assistance from other states. Three days later, new Soviet troops again entered Budapest, overcoming resistance. On that same day, Mr. Kadar announced that he had formed a new Government, and that he had requested the second intervention of Soviet troops. The U.N. Special Committee on the problem of Hungary, which was not allowed into Hungary to investigate, found it impossible to reach any firm conclusion. The Soviet Veto also defeated any Security Council action.

In July of that same year, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company (which had considerable British and French interests). This was followed by an Israeli invasion in October. A U.S. draft resolution calling for a cease-fire and calling upon member states not to assist Israel was vetoed by France and the U.K. During the debate, these 2 states issued a 12-hour ultimatum to Egypt & Israel demanding that they call a cease-fire, withdraw their forces from the Suez Canal area and allow British and French troops to be stationed along the Canal. This ultimatum was clearly a "threat of force" prohibited by the U.N. Charter. It reflected the 2 states' intention to keep the matter within their own control. When the ultimatum was not complied with, British and French troops invaded the Suez Canal area. On the following day, the British action was justified in Parliament as an act in self-defence. This was argued to include intervention in another State's territory to save the lives of British nationals and property in that territory. Even the British jurists have to admit that the Anglo-French action was indefensible in law.

In January 1975, following the independence agreement between Portugal and Angola's three independence parties - MPLA, FNLA and UNITA - disagreement between these parties led to the establishment of rival governments. The MPLA was on one side while the FNLA and UNITA were on the other. Civil

war broke out with the MPLA being supported by Cuban troops and U.S.S.R. military advisers and equipment, and the other 2 parties having the assistance of South African troops and other forms of aid from the U.S. The latter was stopped when the U.S. Senate forbade further aid. China and Zaire also aided the FNLA and UNITA. By 197 , the MPLA was in strategic control while the other side retreated into fighting a guerilla war. At that point, the Security Council condemned "South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola." The vote was 9 to 0. France, Italy, Japan and the U.K. and the U.S. abstained. China did not participate in the vote. Observers suggest that the Western powers and China found unacceptable a resolution that did not also condemn the U.S.S.R. and Cuba for their aid to the other side. Such a resolution would almost certainly have been vetoed by the U.S.S.R. One may go further to suggest that had the U.S. Senate approved continued aid, any attempt to condemn the U.S. would have been vetoed, too.

When 4,000 Soviet troops were airlifted into Afganistan in 1979 following a Soviet-backed overthrow of the Amin Government, a Security Council draft resolution which deplored the U.S.S.R. intervention and called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. The vote was 13 to 2 (the German Democratic Republic and the U.S.S.R.).

During the U.S. invasion of Grerada in 1983, once again the veto was exercised, this time by the U.S., to defeat a Security Council draft resolution condemning the military action.

The above incidents are just a few among many whereby powerful states have used force directly themselves or indirectly, by giving military aid or advice to one faction in an internal conflict or revolution. It is obvious that since 1945 world events have shown a defiance by superpowers of any nation of collective measures to secure international peace. Instead, there is increasing resort to unilateral use of force. While politicians and military personnel manouver the rules of the power game, their respective national lawyers and jurists strive to justify overtly political acts with legal arguments. Two areas will now be discussed to illustrate this point: self-defence and the concept of intervention.

(iii)   Unilateral use of force in self-defence

The right of self-defence had always been recognised as a customary international law right. The U.N. Charter preserves this right. As mentioned earlier, there is a right of individual and collective self-defence. This arises only if an armed attack occurs against the self-defending state. Measures taken must be immeidately reported to the Security Council. Once the Security Council has taken steps necessary to maintain international peace and security, the individual state or states concerned must cease their use of force.

States desiring to maintain a wide definition of "self-defence" argue that the U.N. Charter provision does not restrict the customary right. For instance, customary international law recognised anticipatory self-defence[14] while the Charter refers to self-defence "if an armed attack occurs". Louis Henkin argues against a right of anticipatory self-defence as follows:

"Nothing in...its drafting...suggests that the farmes of the Charter intended something broader than the language implied...They recognised the exception of self-defence in emergency, but limited to actual armed attack, which is clear, unambiguous, subject to proof, and not easily open to misinterpretation or fabrication...It is precisely in the age of the major deterent that nations should not be encouraged to strike first under pretext of prevention or pre-emption.

The argument that anticipatory self-defence' is essential to the U.S. defence is fallacious. The U.S. relies for its security on its retaliatory power, and primarily on its second strike capability. It does not expect that it would be able to anticipate an attack and it could not afford to be mistaken, to bring about total war by a pre-emptive strike, if the Soviet Union were not in fact striking or preparing to strike.[15]

Meanwhile, the right of collective self-defence has been used as the basis for the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Pact. The ideological differences between the superpower blocs are thus manifested in law-based alliances.

Some writers take the view that collective self-defence "requires each participating state to be exercising an individual right of self-defence, based upon a violation of its own substantive rights."[16] The opposing view is that the right allows "one state to come to the assistance of another state that is exercising the right of self-defence, not on the basis of a substantive interest, but rather on the basis of a general interest in peace and security"[17] The U.S. takes the second view, and relied upon the right of collective self-defence when they intervened in Vietnam. The North Atlantic Treaty incorporates this stand: an armed attack against one or more NATO states in Europe or North America shall be considered as an attack against them. all. So, if an attack takes place against Turkey, a member of NATO, the U.S. may send in troops even though there is no substantive U.S. interest being violated. The Warsaw Pact has a similar provision. With the U.S. dominating NATO and the U.S.S.R. controlling the Warsaw Pact membership, a large number of states in the world is consequently in direct military alliance with the superpowers.

There are occasions when there is even no attempt to adopt a legal Veneer. Thus, following the "Cuban Quarantine"

proclaimed by President Kennedy in 1962 when it was discovered that the U.S.S.R. was sending missiles to Cuba, Dean Acheson (a former U.S. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) commented:

"I must conclude that the propriety of the Cuban quarantine is not legal issue. The power, position and prestige of the U.S. has been challenged by another state; and law simply does not deal with such questions of ultimate power - power that comes close to the source of sovereignty. I cannot believe that there are principles of law that say we must accept destruction of our way of life... The survival of states is not a matter of law".18.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the superpowers have rejected any attempt to debate on the legality of nuclear weapons in international law. Their argument is that the issue is one at a "superpower level" and therefore above the law. Such is the blatant assumption that the rest of humanity has no part to play in the survival of mankind. The Third World, especially is presented with a fait accompli.

(iv) The Concept of Intervention

The intervention of states at the request of other states to help suppress internal uprisings has been a common feature of international relations since World War II. The legality of such intervention is debatable. There was no rule of international law forbidding one state from assisting the established legitimate government of another state to suppress an insurrection. However, there have been changes in attitude, especially with the increase of new states in the post-World War II period. The General Assembly has passed resolution in 1965 and 1970 to affirm the principle that states have a duty not to intervene in internal matters of any other state:

"No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason wheatsoever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic or cultural elements, are in violation of international law.

"No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another state in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind...

"Every state has an inalienable right to choose its own political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another state".

The shift in legality is the result of Third world agitation within the General Assembly of the U.N. However, the Western view which is accepted as international law regards such resolutions as mere evidence of state opinion. These resolutions do not have any force of law.

So, "requested intervention" has been used often as a justification for sending in troops. In the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, the U.S.S.R. claimed that Mr. Nagy's Government had applied for help. In the 1965 revolution against the Cabral Government in the Dominican Republic, it was unable to guarantee the safety of U.S. nationals who were in the Republic. According to one U.S. source, the request was solicited by the U.S. Government.19 In 1978 the U.S.S.R. justified its entry into Afghanistan on the ground of a request from the Karmal Government under a 1978 bilateral treaty of friendship to pretect Afghanistan from "armed incursions and provocations from outside". Karmal was brought back by the Soviets from virtual exile in Eastern Europe.

"Request for intervention" is insupportable because of the difficulty in determining which is the constitutional government (if any can be found in the middle of a revolution) and whether it in fact made a request.

In the U.S. intervention during the Dominican Republic revolution, the justification on 28 April 1965 was a request from the junta. On 2 May, President Johnson gave a different reason for the U.S. involvement.

"...what began as a popular democratic revolution...very shortly was taken over...by a band of communist conspirators... The American nation cannot...permit the establishment of another Communist Government in the Western Hemisphere...This was the unanimous view of all the American nations when in January 1962, they declared...The principles of communion are incompactable with the principles of the inter-American system"...This is and this will be the common action and common purpose of the democratic forces of the hemisphere".

In the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada, the initial ground was intervention to save the lives of U.S. nationals. However the actual number of Americans on the island did not justify the massive scale of the attack. The rule of proportionality was clearly violated. A subsequent reason was the Cuban presence amounting to a security threat - a military airport was alleged to be under construction. Finally, it was announced that the Governor General of Grenada had appealed for help.

The U.S.S.R. also has a corresponding doctrine. In 1968 the Communist Government of Czechoslovakia had new leaders who introduced reforms resulting in increased freedom of speech. This was a significant contrast to previous policies. In alleged that the military junta had requested U.S. intervention because it was

August 1968 troops from the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European Communist States entered Czechoslovakia. Soviet advisers were brought into change the policies and composition of the Czech Government. The movement towards liberalisation was reversed. The U.S.S.R. first claimed that the Czech Government had requested the intervention, but this was strenuously denied by that Government. Later the intervention was explained by Mr. Brezhnev, in a speech in Poland, as follows :-

"Socialist states stand for strict respect for the sovereignty of all countries. We resolutely oppose interference in the affairs of any states and the violation of their sovereignty.

"...the U.S.S.R. has always advocated that each socialist country determine the concrete forms of its development along the path of socialism by taking into account the specific nature of its national conditions. But it is well known, comrades, that there are common natural laws of socialist construction, deviation from which could lead to deviation from socialism as such. And when external and internal forces hostile to socialism try to turn the development of a given Socialist country in the direction of restoration of the capitalistic system, when a threat arises to the cause of socialism in that country - a threat to the security of the Socialist Commonwealth as a whole - this is no longer merely a problem for the country's people, but a common problem, the concern of all socialist countries.

"It is quite clear that an action such as military assistance to a fraternal country to end a threat to the socialist system is an extraordinary measure, dictated by necessity; it can be called forth only by the overt actions of enemies of socialism within the country and beyond its boundaries, actions that create a threat to the common interests of the Socialist Camp."21.

In view of the declared determination accompanied by forcible action of the superpowers to perpetuate their spheres of influence, the Third World will find that their territory and political independence are extremely vulnerable.

International law thus operates within a highly-charged political arena. As we have seen, certain issues are even declared as beyond the scope of international law. An argument in response commonly takes the form: "But surely international law is wider than the regulation of the use of armed force. The law works efficiently in so many areas - communication, health, economics and trade". Does it, really?

Law seeks to govern and regulate relationships. At the national level, it regulates relationships between individuals (human and corporate), and also between the individual and

his state. International law governs inter-state relations. Ideally, the basis is consensus. Unfortunately, just as the equitable "meeting of minds" is a legal fiction in contracts between individuals, Consensus is also a myth in the foundation of international law. States in the present system are not equal and sovereign. Power has determined the law in various forms for a long time. Yet it does not mean that small states which are newly independent or developing cannot be effective. It is not within the scope of this paper to analyse every area of international relations. The question of state sovereignty over natural resources will thus be highlighted to illustrate the present point.

II. State Sovereignty over Natural Resources

The era of colonisation was a wealthy period for the colonising states. Vast natural resources of the colonies were exploited and utilised to serve the industrialisation process of Europe. Commercial agriculture was extensively introduced and these were owned by European interests. Agreements, if any, which were made with rulers of small, undeveloped states or newly independent states would include a contractual period spanning decades, while the foreign investors would also receive the greater share of the profits.

With the spread of socialism and the emergence of the post-colonial state, sovereignty and control over natural resources became vitally essential. A move began whereby states would nationalise property owned by foreigners in a concerted plan to develop their own economies. The initial reaction of developed states was that nationalisation or expropriation (the compulsory taking of private property by a state) was illegal in international law unless certain requirements were satisfied. The political differences between capitalist and communist or socialist or socialist states coupled with the economic differences between developed and developing states have led to a situation in which there is little agreement on the rules on expropriation. Whereas it is now generally agreed that expropriation may occur, developed states insist that must occur in accordance with an "international minimum standard" set by international law while developing states deny that this is so. The Third World view is that the circumstances and conditions of expropriation are matters to be left largely to the expropriating states to regulate in its discretion under its own land.

So, while overwhelming state practice makes it impossible for developed states to deny the rights of the Third World over their natural resources, they still seek to maintain control so as to serve their own best interests. Hence the insistance that international rules and standards be applied because these are within their power to determine, to a large extent.

In 1962 the U.N. General Assembly passed a Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. It was adopted by 87 votes to 2, with 12 abstentions. France and South Africa voted against it; the Soviet bloc and some other States obtained. The Resolution declared that:

"The right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the state concerned.

"Nationalization, expropriation or requisitioning shall be based on grounds or reasons of public utility, security or the national interest which are recognised as overriding purely individual or private interests, both domestic and foreign".

The law was tested in the seventies when Libya nationalised its oil assets which had been given away in concession contracts. Britain Petroleum, in which the British Government then held 49% of the shares, challenged a 1971 decree of nationalisation. The British argument was that an act of nationalisation is lawful in international law only if it is for a public purpose related to the internal needs of the taking state, and it must be followed by the payment of prompt, adequate and effective compensation. They protested that the Libyan nationalisation of BP was arbitrary and discriminatory. It was therefore illegal and invalid. The oil concession contract provided for arbitration Libya refused to participate. The sole arbitrator on hearing the British argument decided that the nationalisation was a breach of the contract. Since Libya had made no move to offer compensation even after two years had passed since the nationalisation, the taking was also regarded as confiscatory.

In a later arbitration, once again involving Libya but this time the complainant was a U.S. Oil Company (LIAMCO), the arbitrator held that there was no separate public purpose requirement in international law. However, a purely discriminatory nationalisation would be illegal and wrongful. This may be argued as a way to prevent an abusive exercise of the power of nationalisation. LIAMCO complained that Libya's act was one of political retaliation and discriminatory. Libya did not participate in the proceedings, but after examining Libyan policy and practice, the sole arbitrator, a Lebanese lawyer, concluded that the nationalization was not discriminatory because "Libya's motive... was its desire to preserve the ownership of its oil".

In another arbitration involving TEXACO, another U.S. oil company, allegations of political motivation for the nationalisations were not examined. The arbitrator thought it was not necessary and in Libya's absence, it was inappropriate to do so.

The 1962 Resolution does not list non-discrimination as a legal requirement of a valid expropriation. As seen above, developed States insist that discrimination against foreigners makes expropriation illegal.

In 1974, another development took place at the General Assembly. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States prepared by UNCTAD was adopted 120 votes to 6, with 10 abstentions. The states voting against were Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, the U.K. and the U.S. The abstaining states were Austria, Canada, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway and Spain. It is clear that the Third World is in favour of this Charter which seeks to expand participation in decision making processes in the world economy. The same cannot be said of the developed states.

On the question of expropriation, the Charter does not specify a public purpose requirement. Developed states continue to insist upon it. The Charter also does not mention any requirement of non-discrimination, Baade argues against such a requirement:

"Since states are free to decide with whom to trade, they must also be free to decide with whom to stop dealing - subject, of course, to as yet unexpired treaty obligations... Discrimination can be dictated by a number of reasons: preferences based on consideration of foreign policy, military alliances, and the like; ethnic or cultural preferences or aversions; retaliation; or, more importantly for present purposes, decolonization in fact as well as in law. Independence would seem an empty gesture or even a cruel hoax to many a new country if it were prevented from singling out the key investments of the former colonial power for nationalization. There is no support in law or reason for the proposition that a taking that meets other relevant tests of legality is illegal under international law merely because it is discriminatory"22 (own emphasis)

The major area of disagreement between the First World and the Third World; Back in 1940 when the Mexican Government expropriated U.S. oil interests in Mexico, the U.S. Secretary of State Hull stated that "the right to expropriate property is coupled with an conditional on the obligation to make adequate, effective and prompt compensation. The legality of an expropriation is in fact dependent upon the observance of this requirement".23 The First World still keep to the Hull compensation according to that formula. They favour this view because an illegal expropriation gives them the right to obtain restitution of the property. Thus they can obtain recovery of the assets including all unexploited resources covered by the contract. However, if compensation is separate from the question of legality, oil companies will have to

be satisfied with compensation. Failure to pay compensation will not affect the legality of the expropriation.

The question then become: "How much compensation" When the 1962 Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources was being debated, the U.S. repeatedly said that the term "appropriate compensation" (paragraph 4) incorporates the "international minimum standard" of the Hull formula. That amounts to claiming that the U.S. standard is an international minimum standard. Critics take the view that the use of such a general and undefined phrase probably was an exercise in evasion.24 The U.S.S.R. proposed an amendment in the following terms:

The question of compensation to the owners shall in such cases be decided in accordance with the national law of the country taking these measures in the exercise of its sovereignty." 25 The proposal was defeated; the vote was 28 to 39, with 21 abstentions. The final Resolution stated that "appropriate compensation" would be in accordance with the law of the expropriating state and international law. The arbitrator in the LIAMCO case, applying the general principles of law, and relying on the principle of equity, concluded that the appropriate compensation would be "equitable compensation" with the classical Hull formula remaining as a maximum and practical guide for assessment. What, then, is "equitable?" The generality of the term still leaves a great deal to be decided as a matter of discretion. The amount would ultimately depend, to a large extent, upon the arbitrators. Since contractual parties select their own arbitrators, they would naturally enlist persons sympathetic to their cause. Once again we are back to the confrontation of the First and Third World. In the Libyan cases, only the Western view was presented because Libya declined to participate in the proceedings. Extensive literature on these cases exist, yet there is a significant absence of the Third World's position in a matter of such importance.

In 1973 the General Assembly passed a resolution affirming that each nationalising state is "entitled to determine the amount of possible compensation and the mode of payment, and any disputes which might arise should be settled in accordance with the national legislation of (that) State." The vote on this paragraph relating to expropriation was 86 to 11, with 28 abstentions. The states voting against were, predictably 11 of the developed states that later voted against or abstained in respect of Article 2(2)(c) of the 1974 Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, including the U.K. and the U.S.

Article 2(2)(c) referred to the payment of "appropriate compensation... adopting such measures, taking into account its relevant laws and regulations and all circumstances that the (expropriating) state considers pertinent". Subject to other agreed arrangements, any dispute on compensation should

be settled under the domestic law of the nationalising state and its tribunals. The reference to "international law" in the 1962 Resolution has thus been deleted. A group of Western States proposed an amendment to include the requirement of public purpose for expropriation, "provided that just compensation in the light of all the relevant circumstances shall be paid". They obviously wanted to maintain the old formula, unwilling as they are to leave the question entirely with the expropriating state. This proposal was defeated by 87 votes to 19, with 11 abstentions. The Third World majority in the General Assembly won the day.

Industrialised countries of course criticise the absence of any references to the applicability of international law, arguing that the subjectivity of the Charter could lead to abuse. They want the security of "international law", the rules of which are within their control. Arechaga, a former President of the International Court of Justice and distinguished Uruguayan international lawyer, argues that the Third world is not denying the existence of any obligation to pay compensation. Factors which would be taken into account include: Whether the profits obtained have been excessive, the contribution of the enterprise to the economic and social development of the country its respect for labour laws and its reinvestment policies. Equitable considerations would operate when each nationalising State determines the "appropriate compensation". Thus, although the obligation to pay compensation arises from the termination of an agreement before the agreed date, a foreign investor who, for instance, obtained excessive profits at the expense of the state and who disregarded labour welfare, would get less compensation.

Moreover, it is still open to the First World to challenge the decision of the expropriating state. The state of nationality of the dissatisfied expropriated party would become authorized under existing rules of international law to take up the case of its national, on the ground that the expropriating state had not complied with the international duty to pay "appropriate compensation".26

Although the 1962 Resolution and 1974 Charter were said to be "evidence of the recent dominant trend of international opinion" in the LIAMCO case, the arbitrator in the TEXACO case said that the 1962 Resolution reflects the state of customary international law but not so with the 1974 Charter. He considered that the opposition to it was of a sufficient size and significance to deny it the status of custom. The majority in favour of the expropriation paragraph was 104 to 16, with 6 abstentions. With such an overwhelming majority, the arbitrator still regarded the opposition as of sufficient size. Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the U.K. and the U.S. voted against it.

Brownlie, whose book on the Principles of International Law is the text on international law in British and Commonwealth law schools, states:

"It is fairly clear that the Charter does not purport to be a declaration of pre-existing principles and overall it has a strong programmatic, political and didactic flavour." [27] However, he has to admit that there is "little doubt that Article 2(2)(c) is regarded by many states as an emergent principle, a statement of presently applicable rules"

The World Court has yet to decide on the merits of a case of expropriation at customary international law. All concession agrements contain an arbitration clause for settling disputes. When such disputes are settled by negotiations, states on both sides agree to compensation of a compromise kind.

Various tactics have been attempted by the First World in the face of growing assertion of Third World sovereignty over natural resources. A common practice is the inclusion of a "stabilisation clause", i.e. the host state agrees not to terminate or change any contractual term in a unilateral manner, whether by legislation or executive order. A period of a few decades would be laid down. Many such contracts date back to the early days of a host state's independence when the pressures of "development" placed such a state in a weak bargaining position as compared to transnational conglomerates. When nationalization occurred subsequently, the foreign investor would invoke the stabilisation clause to establish the illegality of the nationalization.

This issue was dealt with in the arbitration between AMINCIL, a U.S. oil company, and Kuwait in 1982. Unlike the Libyan cases, the host state was present this time to argue its case. There were three arbitrators. They stated categorically that each state has a right to nationalise its assets. Since the sovereignty over a state's natural resources is inherent and permanent, a mere contract could not take away such right. A state may, however, agree to suspend or limit that for a temporary period, but this must be stated in clear and unambiguous terms. The state's sovereignty over its natural resources is too fundamental and important to be impliedly curtailed. Stabilisation clauses were consequently of no effect. The only question in an expropriation or nationalisation case would be that of compensation. It would be a separate question which had nothing to do with the legality of the nationalization.

For a while western put forward the theory of international contracts, i.e. the agreement between the investor and host state would provide that the agreement be taken out of the domain of municipal law to be governed instead by international

law. "Internationalisation" of a contract would thus defeat the power of expropriation and the foreign investor could enforce his contractual rights through international arbitration under the contract. This was accepted by the arbitrator in the TEXACO case, a Frenchman called Du Puy.

The Third World rejects this view. As Arechaga puts it:

"...the countries of the Group of 77 (now more than 100) would not classify investment agreements between states and private foreign companies as international agreements...

"The rights represented by a concession or a contract are no more exempt from expropriation than are mines or factories..."[28]

Since the increasing power of oil producing states, the majority of oil contracts since 1970 are governed by the law of the host state and subject to the local courts. This has lessened the importance of the theory of international contracts espoused by western international lawyers.

Yet another strategy which is currently adopted by the U.K. and other First World States is the making of bilateral treaties incorporating the "international minimum standard" approach. One example is the U.K. - Sri Lanka 1980 Agreement for the Promotion and Protection of Investments (Article 5). So when things get difficult for corporate investors, their states step in to make treaties of investment. The final form the "law" takes will again depend upon the general nature of inter-state relations. The Third World may agree upon the principles they want to set as practice, but pressures on individual states may well maintained First World domination over the Third World.

It has been 10 years since the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of states was accepted. The wave of optimism for the Third World seems to have waned without any significant shift in the relations between the First and Third Worlds. All the non-legal aspects of international relations have reinforced Third World subjugation. Even where slight inroads are made in the re-formulation of international law, these will come to naught if the power imbalance remains basically unchanged.

III.   A Note on The Law of the Sea: The Deep Sea-Bed[29]

The law of the sea was one of the first large segments of international law to be placed on a multilater treaty basis. The Geneva Conferences on the Law of the Sea of 1958 and 1960 produced four Conventions: on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone; on the High Seas; on the Continental Shelf; and on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas. However, these Conventions left certain matters undecided, eg. the basic question of territorial sea width or the question

of fishing rights beyond a coastal state's territorial sea. Scientific and political events since 1960 also required a re-appraisal of the law. New techniques for underwater exploitation of oil and other mineral resources, concerned for the conservation of fishing resources and the prevention of pollution, pressure from landlocked states for better treatment and the fact that most post-colonial states had no say in the drafting of the Geneva Conventions (only 86 states participated) led to the calling of a Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III). This time over 150 states participated in the proceedings.

After nine years of negotiation, the Conference adopted the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea. Many of the provisions are a repetition of the 1958 Conventions. This paper will just be concerned with the new deep sea-bed rigime.

With scientific and technological development, the exploitation of the mineral resources of the deep sea-bed is now practicable, though expensive. Manganese modules scattered over thousands of square-miles of the sea-bed, under 12,000 to 20,000 feet of water, are the contention. These modules contain rich minerals including manganese, copper, nickel and cobalt. They are found in the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans and elsewhere in the seas of the world. Presently, most attention is focussed on an area between the U.S. mainland and Hawaii. A number of international consortia comprising companies from the First World (U.S.A., Canada, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and the U.K.) have made substantial investments in research and development. They will be ready to begin production when this proves economically worthwhile, probably in the 1990s.

The U.N. had discussed the question of the legal regime of the deep sea-bed since 1967, advocating the principle of the resources of the deep sea-bed as "the common heritage of mankind". The rationale would be progress towards a more equitable international economic order rather than domination by states with technology and capital. The 1982 Convention establishes such an international regime. While there was agreement to the principle, controversy arose regarding the system for the exploitation of resources. The Third World wanted an international body to conduct exploitation, as reflected in the 1982 Convention provisio for an International Sea-Bed Authority. The First World wanted exploitation by states or national undertakings subject to a system of registration or, at most, licensing. A compromise situation leaning towards the Third World approach was reached.

Unlike previous Conventions in which each provision is voted upon, the hope in UNCLOS III was an acceptance by consensus. The Convention was prepared as a package deal reflecting an intricate and delicately balanced bargain between the different interests of the participating states. At the eleventh hour, the newly elected U.S. Government under President Reagan asked for time to

review the draft text. When it was unable to obtain all of the changes (almost entirely in respect of the deep sea-bed) that it wanted, a vote was requested. The Convention was then adopted, in accordance with traditional Conference practice, by a majority vote of 130 to 4, with 17 abstentions. Israel, Turkey, the U.S. and Venezuela voted against. Seven West European states including the U.K., eight East European States including the U.S.S.R. abstained. The other abstentions were from Mongolia and Thailand. Since the vote the U.S. has confirmed that it will not sign the Convention and the U.S.S.R. has indicated that it will. Even though 130 states have accepted the Convention, the fact that the U.S. and certain other maritime states abstained "is not a good omen for its future, particularly the deep sea-bed regime".[30] This is a testimony that all states are not equal in the international community. If the U.S. had voted for the Convention, it is unlikely that the other states' abstentions would be a bad omen. As the situation stands, the list of U.S. objections makes a mockery of its claim to uphold the principle of the deep sea-bed as "the common heritage of mankind".

Already, the U.K., the U.S., Federal Republic of Germany, France, the U.S.S.R. and Japan have passed temporary national legislation pending the establishment of an international regime for deep sea mining. If these states do not become parties to the 1982 Convention and instead pass permanent unilateral national legislation on the matter, will these be lawful? Accepting national regimes together with an international regime would defeat the principle of "the common heritage of mankind". Declaring the national regimes to be against international law raises the question of enforcement. The international legal system has a weak enforcement machinery, if any at all. Powerful states are likely to violate international law with impugnity. The likelihood would seem to be an acceptance of national regimes. Since this would result in capital and technology being concentrated in national undertakings, the International Sea-Bed Authority, if and when it comes into operation, will not be effective. The Third World will not be likely to have a share in that common heritage.

IV.   The Sources of International Law[31]

The traditional approach in identifying the sources of international law is to refer to Article 38(1) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. It states that the Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply

    (a) international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognised by the contesting states;

    (b) international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

(c) the general principles of law recognised by civilized nations;

(d) judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

The international legal system, when compared to a municipal legal system, is uncertain as regards its sources of law. There are no developed international legislative organs and the international court has restricted jurisdiction. This is largely due to the nature of the international community. It is essentially a society of "States". and the whole theory of international law is that states are the normal members of that community. Nationalism is thus a strong operating force. State sovereignty underlines all international relationships because each state jealously guards its identity, territory and power. So a more realistic approach may be to study what are the sources of international law for the state, and what the state considers them to be instead of the traditional approach of looking at what the international Court considers to be international law sources. State Practice then becomes the centre of interest. But what is state practice?

(i) Treaties

Treaties which are essentially transactions between states exclusively in the context of international law are a voluntary undertaking of obligations by states. Consensus forms the basis, and states may agree or disagree on the subject matter of the treaty. Once a treaty is signed and ratified, it becomes binding on the party states. This binding force is, however, based on a rule of customary international law to that effect. Treaties are not necessarily therefore a source of law but often a source of obligation. They do not bind a state which rejects them because such a state has not accepted the obligations under these treaties. However, treaties may sometimes reflect a customary international legal rule, in which case states are bound not by the treaties but by custom. If the majority of states adopt what was initially a treaty rule, acceptance would make it a custom.

Thus treaties are but bargains of greater or lesser legal content punctuating the continuous course of international relations. They are transactions which are the result of a common expression of view, contributing to the development of international law as one of the means of expression of the view of states.

Thus, although there was an agreement between the U.K. and the Federation of Malaya when independence was effected whereby the Federation took over all international agreements entered into by the U.K. on behalf of the Federation before independence, Malaysian state practice has yet to implement some of these trea-

ties. This is common among many new states. The First World has hardly challenged the non-implementation of such treaties because to do so may raise evidence that state practice does not recognise succession to treaties signed on behalf of such states while they were still colonies.

(ii) Customary international law

Since the proportional contribution of treaties to the whole content of the international legal system is relatively small, the practice of states assumes major importance because this forms the basis of the bulk of international law, i.e. customary international law.

Generally, a principle of international law can be said to be established if the following elements are present:

- concordant practice by a number of states with reference to a type of situation falling within the domain of international relations;

- continuation or repetition of the practice over a period of time;

- conception that the practice is required by, or consistent with, prevailing international law; and

- general acquiescence in the practice by other states.

In order to identify the practice of states, we will need to look at treaties, decisions of international and national courts, parliamentary reports, national legislation, diplomatic correspondence, opinions of national legal advisors, the practice of international organisations (especially the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly), policy statements, press releases, official manuals on legal questions, executive decisions and practices.

The questions which follow are: what is the relation of the practice of a single state to that of states generally? Is the practice of one state given equal weight as against another? Have the U.S. and Malaysia equal rights in this regard?

The predominant Western view is that "many if not most of the new-comers upon the scene are not only new-comers but have little in the way of inherited international legal tradition. They are inevitably inexperienced... For a long-established system in which the customary element plays a great part is not easy to grasp. Its frontiers cannot well be learned from books. It is not to be learned in a day. It has in fact to be extracted still to a large extent from principle, tradition and history and practice. For the long-established states this has become a matter of instinct. Such for a very long time to come it cannot be for new states....".32

The attitude is predictably patronising. The rules have been laid down, and new states must learn to play by them. The westerners admit that the system of international law grew up in Europe and was developed within the sphere of Europe and European colonization proper, whereas almost all the new states have arisen outside that region and are founded upon distinct ethnic and cultural societies. However, they regard the Third World's dissatisfaction as something on an "emotional plane". There is admission, too, that the Third World is often oppressed by the exclusively European tradition of international law, and that a wider basis is now needed. Yet the Third World cannot rely upon sympathetic First World individuals. The fact remains that they are convinced of the logic of the present system which has evolved through centuries. Modifications may be tolerated, but the Third World must learn through experience that basically the present international legal system is a viable one.

In the light of this attitude, how will Third World state practice stand as evidence of state practice in the determination of a customary international legal rule? Where do we look for such evidence? At present only the practice of the U.S. is available in a comprehensive and up-to-date form (Digests of International Law since 1887, and the annual volumes of Digest of U.S. Practice in International Law from 1973, as well as the U.S. Foreign Relations and official opinions of the Attorneys-General of the U.S. series of documents).

There also digests, though as extensive, of French, Italian and Swiss practice. A British Digest is being prepared which, when complete, will provide a full record of British practice from 1860-1960. A large number of other European states have plans for national digests. By contrast, the foreign office in Malaysia has little idea of what goes on in the International Law Division of the Attorney-General's Chambers, and vice-versa. There is not even a list of treaties to which Malaysian is a party. Evidence of state practice is therefore still dominated by western state practice.

The Third World majority in the U.N. General Assembly has significantly increased the articulation of Third World views. Resolutions passed by the General Assembly are evidence of state practice, but as seen in the issue of expropriation, the 1974 Charter which is opposed by a small number of states is not regarded as current state practice. The number of states opposing was six but they included the U.K. and the U.S. Contrary to denials that the power of a state gives its practice more weight, the reality shows otherwise. So long as this continues, the role of the Third World in evolving new customary international law will be minimal.

(iii) The remaining sources

"General principles of law recognised by civilized nations"

are again principles which are Euro-centred. Arbitrators and
international judges who seek these principles look to the com-
mon law system which is of English origin and to continental ci-
vil legal systems. The presupposition seems to be that "civili-
zed nations" would be European in nature.

Judicial decisions again reflect an aspect of state practice,
and available reports are American and European series.

Finally there are "the teachings of the most highly qualified
publicists" which comprise a subsidiary source of international
law, as do judicial decisions. "To deny to the literature the
title of a source of international law is simply not possible",
according to an English international lawyer. Almost all the
available literature on international law comes from North America
and Europe, reinforcing and perpetuating the existing system.

V.   Education of Third World Elites

The "old boys' network" survives, and is doing well. We
glibly declare that the era of colonization is over and that the
Third World is a force to be reckoned with since the 1960s. In-
deed, to a certain degree, the increased membership of the Third
World in the U.N. has led to some articulation of Third World
needs. Yet, how truly do we reflect the values and ideals of our
traditional cultures?

The post-independence leaders, judges, lawyers, and other
professionals were trained in the lands of the colonisers. Deca-
des later, young people are still sent to First World universi-
ties while those of the older generations frequently 'return' to
Europe or North America.

Take any British university, and we will find a gathering of
students from the Commonwealth (the very concept of "the Common-
wealth" retains and perpetuates the link with the past colonial
power) and other parts of the World. The diversity of their cul-
ture and background cover a wide spectrum. However, by the end
of their stay which may be from one year to 7 years, or even more
a process has taken place.

First, the personal aspect. In Europe, especially the U.K.,
the foreign student is deposited in the centre of orientalism. He
encounters the full force and strength of Western cultural dis-
course which has had a long established tradition. He is confron
ted with a society which regards itself superior to "foreigners",
especially those from "under developed" states: While the colo-
nizers had a duty to bring civilization to the primitive Orient,
the 1980s westerners have a duty to assist new states which are
pursuing development. This is not a denial that there are in-
dividuals in that society who are in complete empathy with the
Third World. Rather, this is viewing the issue from the impact

of an entire society with a long history of intellectual and cultural domination.

However, the young student is quickly assured that <u>he</u> is different. He is one of the new from the Third World who is above his own people. That is why he is now in a British university, developing himself to be a leader among his people on his return. If he is really exceptional, he is "almost one of us".

He lives in that Western society for a while, he makes friends and gradually he feels more "at home". He has adapted.

While this is going on, the second aspect takes its place - the reason he went was to learn. In centres which are the bastion of Orientalism, such as Oxford, Cambridge and the London University School of Oriental and Africa Studies, our Third World student steps into the world of international law, politics, economics, history... Concessions are made to the acknowledgement of a Third World view, but this is often brushed aside as didactic and political. The tested principles of law are valid but the strident demands of the Third World (who are understandably "inexperienced") are too biased to be objective rules of law. Yet what are those "tested principles" but rules which have been around longer and which are Euro-centred. The American student vehemently defends his country's actions, drawing upon the vast literature built up by his countrymen. The English student cooly supports his country's positions by citing even more jurists of higher and longer standing repute. The Continental student quotes international civil lawyers.

The Third World student, if he is fortunate may find an article written by a Third World lawyer. There are some books available, but these are few and far between. A search for the Third World perspective does not result in much. Western writers may make brief references but they are just that. Besides, the teacher who is often a distinguished international lawyer (the top 10 international lawyers are British, American and Western European) does not really want discourses on Third World international law. So for a year or two, or more, the student listens to international law from the First World, perspective, he spends hours each day reading books written by western writers, he participates in stimulating discussions with his friends. The fascination of the subject on a purely intellectual level begins to grab him, the apparent logic of argument is soom accepted by him, and even though he may still ultimately reject certain values, he cannot deny that he now has a "better understanding" of his western counterparts.

When the time comes for him to go home, he feels prepared to meet the challenges awaiting him, to lead his country forward in development. He has learnt the rules of the system, and he is determined in good faith to serve the best interests of his country.

He thinks about the friends he made, how <u>they</u>, too, are fulfilling their duties.

That same group of students will some day be representing their state or private corporations with international interests. In the U.N., in negotiations, in arbitration, in the Foreign Office, in the Attorney-General's advisory division, in the University... The old boys' network is indeed doing well.

VI. Conclusion and some Recommendations

It is not denied that disagreement exists even among the Western jurists themselves. However, most of this disagreement is based on a legalistic approach. The fact remains that a survey of international law literature would instantly reveal an overwhelming imbalance in favour of Western views reflecting First World ideology and values. The Third World's needs and values are insufficiently articulated. Fundamental, almost revolutionary, changes are needed but a system which is born of Western values often cannot accomodate opposing demands. Couple that with an unwillingness on the part of superpowers to stay out of the Third World, and we find a continuing domination of the Third World. It is not argued that the Third World should be isolationist. What is demanded is an end to domination in the guise of "interdependence' and "international cooperation".

An initial start could be made in understanding the formidable structure of western cultural domination and, specifically for formerly colonized peoples, the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others. Closely related to this is the need to undertake studies in contemporary alternatives to Orientalism, to ask how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian, or a non-repressive and non-manipulation perspective.[33]

Knowledge and understanding of the values of the Third World have to be followed by an identification of the basic needs issues and priorities in resources conservation/exploitation. It is only upon searching inward that we are then able to state our terms in our relationships with other states.

The hitherto monopoly by the superpowers has to be challenged and reduced. The present situation shows that mere majority by number is insufficient if the Third World wants to assert itself. However, the need for concerted cooperation is undeniable. The U.N. General Assembly stands witness to political solidarity on certain issued. For instance, the ASEAN-led resolution on the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea affirms that the Third World can initiate and agitate. However, economic and cultural domination by the First World has not changed fundamentally. At the moment, the individual race to industrialise has made each Third World state vulnerable and subject to First World manipulation. Thus, for example, concerted Third World efforts to prevent a theory

of internationalization of contracts will be defeated if an individual state, desirous of attracting investments, enters into a bilateral agreement, accepting the exclusion of the application of its own national laws.

Any change in the international legal system is thus dependent on all the non-legal elements. International law throughout its history has been employed much more as an instrument of diplomacy than of formal confrontation in a court of law. It is more of a law which provides the frameworks, procedures and standards for international political decision. The primary target is therefore the existing power structure which manifests itself in the unequal relationship between the First and Third World.

While it is hoped that Governments of the Third World will utilise their access to the international plane for the above purposes, non-governmental groups also have an essential role to play. These groups and individuals who have experience in research and activities in their respective countries are a wealthy source of feedback. They can articulate the needs of their people; they can move their people to articulate their own needs. Herein lie the yet unwritten literature of the Third World. International law cannot be left to a handful of "representatives" unless they truly represent the needs of their people. If the Third World can get together to confront its common opposition, it will then be a worthy force. A Third World Network would certainly be a start on this journey.

The goal is that the Third World will no longer be regarded as a career for the First World to pursue and attain. Instead we would be in control of our own future.

Footnotes

1. The Papal Bull Inter Cactera of 1493, during the reign of Alexander VII.

2. The discussion on Orientalism is based on Edward Said's excellent book, "Orientalism".

3. Said; p.3.

4. Ibid, p.7

5. Eric Stokes, "The English Utilitarians and India", cited in Said, pp. 214 - 215.

6. Agnes Murphy, The Ideology of French Imperialism", quoted in Said, p. 219.

7. George Nathaniel Curzon, "Subjects of the Day: Being a Selection of Speeches and Writings", quoted in said, p. 214.

8. D. J. Harris, "Cases and Materials on International Law",p.11.

9. 6 U.N.C.I.O., Documents 335.

10. U.N. Doc. A/AC. 125/SR. 114 (1970).

11. Further discussion may be obtained from Lillich, ed., "Economic Coercion and the New International Economic Order"(1976); Paust and Blaustein, eds., "The Arab Oil Weapon" (1977).

12. S.C.O.R., 5th Year, "Resolutions and Decisions", pp. 4-5.

13. The constitutionality or legality of the various resolutions will not be considered here.

14. The Caroline Case 29 B.F.S.P. 1137-1138
              30 B.F.S.P. 195-196

15. Louis Henkin, "How Nations Behave", 2nd ed. pp. 141-142.

16. D. Bowett, "Self-Defence in International Law", p. 245.

17. Goodrich, Hambro and Simons, "Charter of the United Nations", 3rd ed., p. 348.

18. 57 Proceedings of the A.S.I.L. 14.

19. Thomas and Thomas, "The Dominican Republic Crisis 1965" (1967), p. 75.

20. 52 U.S. Department of State Bulletin, pp. 745-746.

21. 20 Current Digest of the Soviet Press, No. 46 pp. 3-4 (4 December, 1968) quoted in Harris, p. 652.

22. Miller and Stanger, eds. "Essays on Expropriation", p. 24.

23. 3 Hackworth 662, quoted in Harris, p. 428.

24. Harris, p. 429.

25. U.N. Doc. A/c 2/L670.

26. Jimerey de Arechaga, 11 N.Y.U.J.I.L.P., pp. 183-187

27. Brownlie, 162 Hague Recueil 255

28. Arechaga, pp. 189-192.

29. Harris, pp. 284-286, 363-369

30. Ibid., p. 286

31. Clive Parry, "The Sources and Evidences of International Law" (2965).

32. Ibid., p. 15

33. Said, p. 25.

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Third World Network

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WESTERN INTERVENTION IN THIRD WORLD TRADE UNIONS

by

R. FLETCHER

THE ORIGINS OF WESTERN INTERVENTION IN THIRD WORLD TRADE UNIONS.

by
R. J. Fletcher

This paper attempts to show that behind the cloak and dagger antics of the intelligence services of the Western powers lies a less spectacular but probably more successful campaign to influence and subvert democratic organisations, particularly trade unions, in the countries of the Third World.

The origins of this campaign in the highest levels of British and American governments are discussed, and some examples are given of its implementation in the field.

Secret Intervention :

More than 20 years ago the first reports appeared in the world press that the United States Government was secretly intervening in the internal politics of other countries. But despite the flood of press revelations from February 1967, - when CIA control of the U.S. National Students Association was first reported by Ramparts magazine, followed by exposure of CIA intervention in Greece, Cyprus, Chile, Angola, Portugal and a score of other countries - the exact mechanism of this intervention became clear only with publication of the evidence and Reports of the Pike and Church Committees [1] of the United States Congress in 1975 and early 1976.

The world-wide 'covert action' of the CIA has been authoritatively summarised in a recent paper by Philip Agee [2] whose details will not be repeated here, except in so far as they relate to our present study.

Covert action has been described by the Central Intelligence Agency as "any clandestine operation or activity designed to influence foreign governments, organisations, persons

or events in support of U.S. foreign policy objectives"[3].
Broadly it comprises propaganda, political action and paramilitary activities - only the first two, so far, being employed in 'friendly' countries such as Britain.

'Financial support to individual candidates, subsidies to publications including newspapers and magazines, involvement in local and national labour unions - all of these interlocking elements constituted the fundamentals of a typical political action program. Elections, of course, were key operations, and the Agency involved itself in electoral politics on a continuing basis. Likewise, case officers groomed and cultivated individuals who could provide strong pro-Western Leadership.

Beyond the varying forms of political actions and liaison the Agency's programm of clandestine activities aimed at developing an international anti-Communist ideology. Within the Agency the International Organizations Division co-ordinated this extensive organisational propaganda effort. The Division's activities included operations to assist or to create international organizations for youth, students, teachers, workers, veterans, journalists, and jurists. This kind of activity was an attempt to lay an intellectual foundation for anti-communism around the world. Ultimately, the organizational under-pinnings could serve as a political force in assuring the establishment or maintenance of democratic governments.'[4]

We now know in some detail how 'case officers' (that is, full-time paid agents of the CIA) 'groomed and cultivated

individuals who could provide strong pro-Western leadership'.

Covert Operations:

In his evidence to the Church Committee, David A Phillips, a former CIA Officer, described what he called.

'two dimensions to covert operations, The first is the major political or paramilitary endeavor, such as an attempt to change a government - Guatemala for instance - ... There is a second level ... I call this 'covert activity' Little money, sometimes none, is spent on covert activity, where co-operative friends are persuaded to influence a foreign government or some element of it. When the friend is met clandestinely by CIA, he is called an 'agent of influence'. He might be a radio commentator or a local Bernard Baruch whose park bench opinions carry political weight ... Most covert activities utilising the agent of influence are useful to American ambassadors in achieving low-key but important objectives of U.S. foreign policy. These activities are known in intelligence jargon as "motherhood" ...

The most successful operations have been those in which we were requested to intervene - the percentage of such operations, when a foreign leader has asked for secret assistance, has been quite high. [5]

(Mr Phillips is referring to Willy Brant amongst others.)

At a secret meeting of the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations in 1968, Richard M Bissell, former CIA head of covert operations and responsible, amongst other things, for the CIA assassination plots against foreign leaders and the Bay of

Pigs invasion of Cuba - explained how the Agency worked with trade union and political leaders abroad. (Bissell was Special Assistant to Allen Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, 1954; Deputy Director Plans (covert operations) 1960-62; Economic Director of Marshall Plan, 1948-50, responsible for directing the Economic policies of recipient countries - e.g. of the 1945-50 Labour Government in Britain. (He set up the International Department of the Ford Foundation in 1950, with ex-O.S.S. Officer Sheperd Stone as Director).

> "Changes in the balance of power are extremely difficult to discern except through frequent contact with power element. ...
>
> The same problem applies to labour leaders, and others.. ... Only by knowing the principal players well do you have a chance of careful prediction. There is real scope for action in this area; the technique is essentially that of 'penetration', including 'penetrations' of the sort that horrify classicists of covert operations, with a disregard for the 'standards' and 'agent recruitment' rules. Many 'penetrations' don't take the form of 'hiring' but of establishing a close or friendly relationship (which may or may not be furthered by the provision of momeny from time to time).,
>
> In some countries the CIA representative has served as a close counsellor (and in at least one case a drinking companion) of the chief of state. These are situations, of course, in which the tasks of intelligence collection and political action overlap to the point of being almost indistinguishable.
>
> The question was raised as to why ordinary diplomats could't maintain these relationships.
>
> Mr. Bissell observed that often they could."

Bissell listed some of the advantages of covert, as opposed to covert diplomatic relationships with politicians overseas.

" ... the CIA representative can maintain a more intimate and informal relationship the privacy of which can be better preserved both within the government of the country in question and within the United States Government.

The 'cover' may be to shield visibility from some junior officials or in the case of a private adviser to a chief of state, to shield this fact from politicians of the local government.

Covert intervention is usually designed to operate on the internal power balance, often with fairly short-term objectives in view ... an effort to weaken the local Communist party or to win an election, and to achieve results within at most two or three years, must obviously be covert, it must pragmatically use the people and the instrumentalities that are available and the methods that seem likely to work ... The essence of such intervention in the internal power balance is the identification of allies who can be rendered more effective, more powerful, and perhaps wiser through covert assistance ... On the whole the Agency has been remarkably successful in finding individuals and instrumentalities with which and through which it could work in this fashion."[6]

Diplomacy and Intelligence Liaison

For its first 15 years the Agency acquired most of its

clandestine information about friendly countries through liaison arrangements with foreign governments.

"Dulles cultivated relations with foreign intelli-
gence officials and because of the United States'
predominant postwar position, governments in
Western Europe, in particular, were very willing
to co-operate in information sharing. Liaison
provided the gagency with sources and contacts
that otherwise would have been denied them. In-
formation on individuals, on political parties,
on labour movements, all derived in part from
liaison. [7]

With Britain this liaison has always been extremely close. During the War, "The British provided invaluable assistance to OSS. British experts served as instructors to their American counterparts in communications, counterespionage subversive propaganda, and special operations. In real terms the British provided American intelligence with the essence of its 'trade-craft' - the techniques required to carry out intelligence objectives." [8]

But whereas the British carried out paramilitary activities through a separate organisation, the Special Operations Executive, the Americans combined Special Operations, intelligence collection and analysis, and psychological warfare - media, propaganda and political action etc - in a single organisation, the OSS. This principle of organisational unity was carried over into the CIA, established in 1947 under the National Security Act. [9] The British covert action 'Department of Plans' became 'Directorate of Plans' in U.S. terminology.

British-American liaison was particularly close during World War II when nationals from both countries worked in a single Psychological Warfare organisation. Many of the contacts and friendships made then have persisted to the present day in intelligence diplomatic and political circles, greatly blurring the boundaries between these areas.

From 'Sykewar' to Cold War

U.S. Intervention in the World Labour Movement can be traced back to D-Day in the Second World War when Allied 'trade-union commandos' moved into Europe in the rear of the advancing armies attempting to install anti-communist trade union leaders acceptable to the West in the liberated territories. [10]

British and American trade unionists were picked for this work from intelligence and propaganda agencies - the American OSS and Office of War Information (OWI), later merged into the CIA & The British Political Warfare Executive (PWE) whose Political Intelligence Department (PID) was the wartime embodiment of British Intelligence.

These and other bodies were also represented in the Psychological Warfare Department (PWD) - known as 'Sykewar' - of the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff, under Eisenhower and his Chief of Staff, Walter Bedell Smith, which engaged in political and trade union activities. [11]

Experienced trade unionists were also seconded through the British TUC and the American Federation of Labour (AFL) and its associated Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC).

In the liberated territories there was little that the Allies could do - at least initially - to prevent a major share of the leadership in local government and the unions

going to the Communists who had formed the backbone of the resistance. On ex-enemy territory, however, the Allies had complete control which they used to create a new trade union structure - modelled on American industrial unionism - and to install as leaders right-wing social democrats who had spent the war in Britain or the U.S. Prominent in rebuilding the German unions were Allan Flanders of the British TUC and Irving Brown, AFL representative in Europe. Brown was deputy to Jay Lovestone who, early in the war, had helped set up the labour league, from Human Rights with AFL backing to raise funds in the States and to organise the rescue from the Nazis of European Labour leaders. Many of these leaders were put back into Europe on liberation by the Allies, aided by the FTUC, set up in 1944 with Lovestone as Executive Secretary to "help unions in Europe and Japan resist the new drives of totalitarian forces" - that is, the Communists.

In Japan, where there had been no resistance movement, the Americans were able to create a pattern of trade union organisations and political parties conforming to their concept of democracy.

Politican Background

Lovestone - at one time a friend of Stalin - had been a founder of the American Communist Party and was its General Secretary until deposed by Stalin in 1929 for backing Bukharin. For over a decade he ran his own party in opposition to the Communists, but until 1937 he still hoped for a rapproachment with Mascow. Lovestone had an encyclopaedic knowledge of world communism and socialism which he later put at the disposal of the U.S. Government, becoming one of its principal advisers on overseas labour. He worked closely with Cord Mayer [12] - who headed the CIA' trade union operations in the

1950s and 60s and later became Station Chief, London, until 1975 - and it was said that no U.S. Labour Attache was appointed without Lovestone's approval.

Lovestone's patron was New York clothing workers' leader, David Dubinsky, who had been a lifelong socialist and enemy of the Communists. In 1935 he led a split from the American Socialist Party (ASP) in support of Roosevelt's New Deal which ASP leader Norman Thomas opposed. He and his right-wing followers launched the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) taking with them the ASP's journal, the 'New Leader', and its research organisation, the Tamiment Institute. [13] In 1941 he joined with Liberals in forming the Union for Democratic Action (UDA). He helped found the American Labour Party which he left as Communist-dominated in 1944, then founding the Liberal Party and finally Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), [14] in 1946, with Eleaner Roosevelt, J.K. Galbraith and Arthur Schlesinger.

Through this path Dubinsky was largely instrumental in delivering what was left of American socialism into the Democratic Party, forestalling any move towards socialism by the unions.

This digression on the background of its principal labour advisers is necessary to an understanding of the ideological position of the CIA.

British Covert Action

As early as 1946 the British Cabinet had receiving alarmist intelligence reports on the dangers of Soviet military intervention in Europe. Western public opinion began to be alerted to the Soviet 'threat' by leading politicians. On 5 March 1946, Winston Churchill made the famous speech at Fulton

Missouri, in which he spoke of an Iron Curtain across Europe.

A year later, the President of the U.S. announced the Truman Doctrine: the U.S. would assist any nation to deal with internal or external communist aggression, and would begin by giving aid to Greece and Turkey.

Following this, Christopher Mayhew, Parliamentary Secretary in the Labour Government, in the course of discussions within the Foreign Office during the remainder of the year, drafted a paper which, in its final form, was accepted by the Cabinet in January 1948. [15] Cabinet agreed that the ad hoc activities of the previous two years would be combined within a secret Communist Information Department [16], shortly to be given the cover title of Information Research Department (IRD) funded from the Secret Vote, the money voted by Parliament to the Secret Service. [17]

IRD's approach was summed up by a note to the Secretary of State (Ernest Bevin) marked Secret, from Christopher Mayhew as follows.

> 'One of the problems which constantly faces us in anti-Communist publicity work is to discover publicity media which are definitely non-official (so as to avoid undesirable diplomatic and political repercussions when certain issues are handled).'

'Mutual assistance between the Foreign Office and the TUC' was discussed, and secret arrangements were made for 'dissemination inside the Labour movement at home of anti-Communist propaganda', through Herbert Tracey, publicity officer of the TUC.

Thus it can be seen that right from the start the Foreign Office though IRD was engaged in covert intervention in British internal politics.

By the last 1940s it was clear that Western influence could not be reestablished in Eastern Europe without military intervention and while the propaganda battle was maintained in Europe, IRD turned its attention increasingly to the Third World.

The Foreign Office had kept the U.S. Department of State informed of IRD's early development and suggested that the two services should co-operate in the field. In November 1948 the State Department circulated its missions abroad empowering them to cooperate with the British Information Services provided this was kept secret. It also asked missions to report on British information activities locally, and to state what steps they had taken towards joint liaison.

Loy Henderson, US Ambassador in New Delhi, [19] reported that the British High Commission was 'about to launch (a) highly confidential anti-Communist propaganda program in India and has been instructed by London to work closely with us ...'

'In the second place and much more importantly - the UK office felt that a very carefully selected group of completely reliable and trustworthy contacts could be built up over a period of time. These could be drawn from various groups, reliable correspondents and editors, British and Indian merchants, missionaries and others. Information given to them could then be used at their discretion and of course with full protection to the Government.'

The report continues that considerable time and effort
had gone into planning the programme and that in addition
to New Delhi, personnel had been selected in U.K. branch
offices in 'Madras, Calcutta and Bombay who will work with the
initial group of 24 contacts.'

It was also suggested that contacts in All India Radio
were being developed. The Americans conceded that the British
programme went much further than anything they had started, and
rather naively they asked the British if they intended to tell
the Government of India what they were doing; to this they
received an ambiguous reply.[20]

On receiving a copy of this report in London, U.S. Ambas-
sador Lewis Douglas asked the Foreign Office for more informa-
tion on IRD. Under Secretary Dening, responsible for S.E. Asia,
told Douglas that IRD.

'originated last December when Bevin submitted British
Cabinet memo re effect on SEA of Communist successes
China ... recommended SEA countries should get toge-
ther to combat Soviet menace ... View was expressed
that with due caution UK might usefully attempt be
co-ordinating factor in stimulating in each country
creation adequate police forces, intelligence agencies,
and legal powers to deal with Communists ...'

Dening said that there was nothing sinister about IRD
material which was purely factual but that it had

'proved surprisingly popular among western union govern-
ments as anti-communist source material ... Idea using local
contacts is based on theory that only easterner can convince
easterner. Contacts selected are men of standing and influence

known to be already well-disposed towards west and anti-
Communist. IRD material designed to give them more talk-
ing points. Contact system also contemplated for Siam.[21]

On 9 May 1948 U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson in New Delhi
received the following personal cable from Geroge Kennan, the
State Department's Chief Cold War strategist and head of its
Policy Planning Staff (PPS):

> 'Top Secret. No Stencil - No Distribution. UR 469,
> Apr 27, of deep interest. You will recall dis-
> cussion possible special projects you had shortly
> before your departure with two AMER officials one
> of whom saw you off Union Station. Most helpful
> if you would pursue this matter with appropriate
> BRIT REPS New Delhi with view obtaining complete
> info and submit ... report addressed me indicat-
> ing how best US GOVT might tie in with BRIT plans
> or arrange parallel program. [22]

About a year earlier the U.S. National Security Council
had accepted a proposal from the Policy Planning Staff that un-
vouchered funds from the Defence Department should be used by
the State Department to support 'covert utilization of native-
anti-communist elements in Eurasia, in countries still out-
side the 'Iron Curtain'.[23]   This was an early step towards
the massive 'covert action' which was soon to be taken over,
expanded and funded by the CIA.

In May 1949 Ralph Murray, head of IRD, gave the U.S.
London Embassy a more frank account of IRD than had Dening,
his superior, a month earlier. He explained that two catego-
ries of material were produced:

'Category **A** is secret and confidential objective
studies re Soviet policies and machinations
which are designed for high-level consumption
by heads of states, Cabinet members, et cetera
... none of this material publishable or quo-
table for obvious reasons. [24]

Category **B** is less highly-classified informa-
tion suitable for careful dissemination by staff
of British missions to suitable contacts (e.g.
editors, professors, scientists, labour leaders
et cetera) who can use it as factual background
material in their general work without attribu-
tion. Success category B operations depends
upon activity British representatives in
various countries.

Category B campaigns were being started

'henceforth in India, Pakistan and Ceylon
on exactly same lines as used in non-Common-
wealth countries without embarrassing GOI and
GOP by asking their permission. IRD has had
no 'kickback' from other countries where Cate-
gory B programm working and is prepared assert
if question raised that dissemination factual

Category B material is normal function British
missions present world situation. [25]

State Department records show that the British were
engaged in similar activities throughout Asia, the Middle
East and Latin America as illustrated by the following
example from Singapore.

'As you know we are proposing to set up a Regional Infc

mation office there, covering all South East Asia,
which will take care of our material re-writing it
for local consumption and putting it through the
various media such as the press broadcasting, etc.
The Commissioner General attaches considerable
importance to the project, which has become even
more necessary now that the Communists look like
becoming the masters of at least most of China.
Could you perhaps find out informally what sort of
Information Research Department work the United
States authorities propose to do in Singapore?
We shall keep them in the picture locally about
our own activities and we shall hope to be able
to arrange that our respective operations comple-
ment one another.'

The report to Washington then adds a further
NOTE by the British Embassy
The Information Research Department work done
in Singapore is very largely the collecting of
anti-communist material and such propaganda and
psychological warfare items as have bearing on
the communist effort. [26]

(6 Jan 49)

The above letter also makes it clear that IRD was working
through Donn-Byrne, the British Information Officer in Singapore.

IRD became an important part of the organisation built up
by the British at Phoenix Park in Singapore to counter commu-
nist insurgency in the area. [27] J.B. Smith, a CIA liaison
officer at Phoenix Park in the early 1950s, reports that
IRD was running a joint operation with MI6, represented at

that time by Maurice Oldfield, later to become Director of the Secret Service (Smith, 1976). Another CIA officer confirms that IRD was represented at liaison meetings between CIA and M16 in London for the greater part of its existence.[28] Oldfield's predecessor as Director of M16 was John Ogilvie Rennie who was whead of IRD 1953-58; this further confirms that close links existed between the two organizations.

Similar liaison was maintained throughout the developing world.

Media Operations

In 1939 a British Daily Mirror journalist, Leslie Sheridan, was recruited to a newly formed section of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) to organize its press operations against the Nazis. Later he was transferred to the organization set up by Churchill to create havoc behind enemy lines - according to the former top SOE officials - Sheridan had by 1941 built up a network of agents in the principal neutral capitals, including Stockholm, Lisbon, New York and Istanbul. He used old Fleet Street contacts either given cover by British newspapers or accredited to a bogus news agency, Britanova Ltd.

To cover the Middle East and Central Europe Britanova established the Arab News Agency (ANA) as a branch office in Cairo which was later to grow into one of the largest and most effective news organizations in the Middle East.[30]

An Indian connection, Globe News Agency, was started - according to a UNESCO survey - in 1943 by Tom Clarke, a former news Chronicle Editor who was then Deputy Director of News in the wartime Ministry of Information. This network was not dismantled at the end of World War II.

Between 1948 and 1953 the news companies were reconstructed and some news ones formed under the umbrella of Near and Far East News Ltd,[31] which had Tom Clarke as Chairman. Globe in India and Britanova in Istanbul were taken into the NAFEN group which set up the Star News Agency in Pakistan after the partition of India in 1948.

Unlike Reuters, which was struggling to establish itself in the Middle East, ANA expanded rapidly and by 1953 the NAFEN group had some 250 employees, the vast majority of them local nationals with a handful of Britons in controlling positions.

ANA operated the most comprehensive service in England and Arabic available in the Middle East with branch offices in Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad, Jerusalem and Amman, and representatives in some 15 other cities, including Paris and New York. It was taken by nearly every Arabic Newspaper, as well as Sharq al Adna, All-India Radio and the BBC. NAFEN (Asia) had about 100 employees, with central news office in Bombay, sub-office in Delhi, Calcutta and Madras and correspondents through the Far East, while Star had similar coverage in Pakistan.

From 1954 IRD paid a substantial subsidy to Reuters in return for their co-operation with this network.

Sponsored Publishing

One of IRD's activities was the secret sponsoring of anti-communist books by supposedly reputable publishers - as the CIA had done with the American firm of Frederick A. Praeger[32] They were published through a small firm, Ampersand Ltd, started by Leslie Sheridan, then Deputy Head of IRD. Over a dozen concise handbooks, each on a different anti-communist

theme appeared between 1955 and 1955 as Bellman Books. One by Denis Healey, entitled 'Neutralism' implied that neutralism was akin to Communism.

These were followed by nearly 100 titles in the Background books series published finally by Bodley Head (1960-71).[33]

The publishers claimed 'These little books are designed to ... fill(ing) in the background without which world affairs today cannot be properly seen or judged. 34.

Authors were well known as writers or public figures in trade unions, politics or universities. The books were widely distributed by IRD through Foreign Office Information Officers in the Third World and also sold through the publishers' normal channels at home. British Information Officers would encourage publishers in Third World countries to produce local editions 'by buying up obscure language rights on the cheap and passing them on for free in the country concerned' to the local publishers. The U.S. Information Service also 'picked up' language rights for Ampersand books - in one case for 45 countries. Arrangements were also made with Frederick Praeger for publication of certain Bodley Head titles, some of them written by Robert Conquest, a former IRD employee.

Ampersand was still operating in this way in 1978 when its function as a government propaganda agency was revealed in the press. Using Secret Service funds it seems to have been remarkably successful in providing the 'cheap, short publications of a popular nature ... free from government lebels' called for Humphrey Trevelyan of the British Foreign Office in Baghdad 30 years earlier.

It is clear that, for over 30 years, through IRD and the
Secret Service, the British Government employed massive resour-
ces and sophisticated propaganda techniques developed from its
covert operations of World War II in an attempt to influence
public opinion in its favour both at home and overseas.

IRD's ideological roots lay in social democracy. Mayhew's
early papers talked of creating a socialist 'third force' in
Europe half way between Washinton and Moscow, but as the Cold
War intensified this quickly succumbed to an extreme Atlanti-
cist view. As Healey argued in his Ampersand pamphlet,
'Neutralism' the issues were clear cut - those who did not ac-
tively support the American alliance, whether they intended it
or not were actually aiding its enemies.

'Communist themes' came to include also anti-colonialism
and any movement for national independence. Thus, IRD's work
in the Third World entailed making contact with and supporting
those hostile to such movements and prepared to work for the
continuation of Western influence.

Trade Union Internationals:

In the 1890s mining and printing unions in Europe formed
'internationals' to exchange information and co-ordinate action
against black-legging. By 1914 twenty-seven of these 'inter-
national trade secretariats' (ITS) existed, to which British
and other trade unions affiliated directly. After the First
World War the British TUC and other Western national centres
set up the International Federation of Trade Unions; soon the
Communist trade unions set up their own organisation. After
the Second World War the two were united in the World Federa-
tion of Trade Unions, but the Cold War reopened the split which

though probably inevitable, was assisted by Irving Brown, Lovestone and their associates. The Western unions formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to which national union confederations affiliated, and which worked closely with the ITSs for different trades to which individual unions affiliated directly.

In the late nineteen sixties it was revealed in American newspapers, and subsequently confirmed in the U.S. Congress. hearing following the Watergate affair, that the Central Intelligence Agency had for nearly 20 years been using many of the ITSs and the ICFTU as cover for its operations.

In most cases the Agency's control was achieved by separating off part of the organisation it wished to exploit and then placing its own nominees in leading positions in the offshoot. In other situations it was able to place its man at the top of the organisation, as a senior official in head office, sometimes even as general secretary. Thus the ICFTU head office in Brussels entirely lost control of its Inter-American Regional Organisation (ORIT) which covered North and South America. The CIA, through leaders of the North America unions and representatives of dummy unions which it had financed in Latin America, was able to ensure that its own nominees were returned to the ORIT executive at the supposedly representative congressess held periodically. The executive in turn would then condone the appointment of CIA men or their contacts as officials working in the field. The Asian Regional Organisation of the ICFTU was used in a similar way.

The same pattern developed in a number of trade secretariat. in the 1960s for example the General Secretary of the Food and

Drink Workers International, whose head office is in Geneva discovered that the CIA had set up an office in the name of his organisation in Panama which it was using as a base for its activities in that country.

Elsewhere special programmes were set up - for trade union education and training, exchange visits abroad, co-operative development, 'international solidarity', and so on - funded by seemingly innocent charitable foundations.

In all cases subversion of union organisations required two ingredients. Firstly, provision of external funds. Secondly, taking away control from any genuine membership that existed.

While the Americans took the lead in subverting Trade Union organisations, they maintained close liaison with the British, who played an important role in former British territories such as Singapore and Guyana where they helped bring about the Fall of Cheddi Jagan's government.

But there was a limit to what could be achieved through official union channels. In 1961 the U.S. unions set up the American Institute for Free Labour Development to operate in South America and the Caribbean, funded by the CIA and other U.S. government agencies. By 1978 over 300,000 workers from the region had passed through its training programmes. Its 'graduates' were active in the agitation against Jagan in British Guiana (now Guyana), the coups d'etat in Brazil and Bolivia and events leading up to U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Subsequently an Afro-American Labour Center was set up by Irving Brown, followed by the America-Asia Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) in 1968. Its executive director, Morris Paladino, formerly worked for ORIT and the ICFTU. AAFLI opened its first regional office in Saigon; others followed in Manila, Indonesia, Bangkok, Jakarta and Seoul. Its first job was to build support for the Vietnamese Confederation of Labour, and its leader Tran Quoc Buu, in South Vietman. According to two Japanese researchers 'Buu and the CTV were the labour functionaries of the Theiu regime and the U.S. government and the CTV purpose was effectively to break worker strikes and resistance.'

The methods of the supposedly independent U.S. funding bodies have been described by Jean Bruck, former General Secretary of the World Council of Labour, a federation of christian unions which refused to be dragged into the Cold War. 'They tried to buy trade union leaders who were generally poor and had no financial resources. They tried to discover the most influential leaders of the national organisations. They tried to attract them by huge amounts of money ... They offered aid with the objective to orientate the trade unions along the political line of the foundations ...

They did not take so much care for really developing the organisation themselves and for educating the people in the work of real independence and strong trade unionism.

They have helped to destroy in some countries, in many countries, the real chance of trade unionism created by the workers. led by the workers for the interests of the workers.[35]

One such funding body was the Asia Foundation, later revealed as a CIA conduit, headed by American publisher Barry Bingham, former Marshall Plan director in France after the War - which throughout the 1960s organised training programmes for working journalists in many Asian capitals with members of the American Newspaper Guild (ANG). The ANG was the U.S. journalists' union; it was one of the most active supporters of AIFLD in Latin America and played a leading part in the fall of Jagan's government in British Guiana.

Conclusion

It is not possible in the space available here to give more than a few examples of U.S. intervention in Third World Unions. The subject is covered more comprehensively by Philip Agee, Don Thomson and others cited below. It is hoped that the cases given illustrate how the strategic thinking of the immediate post-war period was turned into political action over the following decades.

In the current state of the world it is inevitable that great powers will seek to expand their influence and control in what they perceive to be their national interests, using whatever methods are available to them, both open and covert. The immense economic strength of the United States enabled it to overshadow completely the efforts of its rivals, with total disregard for those on whose territory the contest was fought out.

Such power is not easily resisted, but a start can be made if those most directly affected begin to seek out for themselves the facts behind the situation in their own countries.

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Third World Network

NEW APPROACHES TOWARDS A NEW INTERNATIONAL
INFORMATION ORDER

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by

ROBERTO REMO BISSIO
(Editor of the Third World Guide, director of the
South American edition of Third World magazine)

NGOs and the Communication Gap

New approaches towards a

.NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER

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Roberto Remo Bissio

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(Editor of the Third World Guide, director of the

South American edition of Third World magazine)

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In the 1960's, the International Center for Graduate Studies in Communications for Latin America (CIES—sponsored by UNESCO and the Central University of Ecuador in that country's Capital— carried out an in-depth study of Latin America's press. Their findings showed that 80 percent of international news is supplied by the same two US agencies, AP and UPI. In 1975 Chilean communications expert Fernando Reyes Matta repeated the study at the Latin American Institute for the Study of Transnationals (ILET) in Mexico. Although his research did not cover the same newspapers, the results differed little: 79 percent of all international news is drawn from just four agencies, the two North American plus AFP of France and Reuters of England. While AP's and UPI's share fell to 60 percent, that did not imply openings for any real alternatives. It simply reflected the growth of other European agencies such as the Italian ANSA (7%) and the Spanish EFE (8%) which follow the same criteria as other transnational news brokers.

As one analyst who could never be suspected of radicalism, West German Secretary of State for Parliamentary Affairs Alwin Bruck, put it in 1978, "90 percent of the news articles, radio broadcasts, films and television programs which circulate in the world come from the United States, Japan or a handful of European countries".

The two-thirds of the world population who live in the Third World are hardly considered by these producers and distributors of news. According to UNESCO, as of March 1977, the largest four news agencies had 34% of their correspondents in North America, 28% in Europe and 17% in Asia and the Pacific (including Japan and Australia), leaving only 21% to cover all of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East.

Tendentious Objectivity

Not only is little reported about poor countries; what is reported is done badly. The following cable, dispatched February 27, 1974 in the midst of the "oil crisis", is typical:

NEW YORK, 27 (UPI) -- THERE IS UNDERSTANDABLE CONCERN IN WASHINGTON REGARDING AN UPCOMING MEETING OF BAUXITE-PRODUCING COUNTRIES, TO BE HELD ON MARCH 5 IN CANAKRY, GUINEA. SEVERAL EXPERTS CONSIDER THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD MARK THE BIRTH OF A SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL CARTELS WHICH WOULD CONTROL THE RAW MATERIALS ESSENTIAL TO INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, A STEP WHICH COULD SET THE US ECONOMY BACK MORE THAN FORTY YEARS...

News like this is published daily in the Third World press. An issue of certain interest to raw materials producing countries is reported not from Conakry, where the meeting is to be held, but from New York. In fact, nothing at all is said about the meeting, only about the "concern in Washington" it caused. Abandoning all

objectivity, the despatch editorializes on the information with the old journalist trick of introducing the author's opinions as if they were from "generally well-informed sources", "experts on the subject" or other anonymous observers. As Juan Somavia, director of ILET and member of UNESCO's MacBride Commission, commented, the cable "carries the implicit message that it is legitimate for developed countries to defend themselves in this situation, and to try to impede the Third World's organizing capacity. Meanwhile, the wire warns that Washington's worry is understandable, and thus it is logical that reprisals should be carried out".

Such examples could fill a book. In fact several have been written demonstrating the bias hidden in transnational agencies' cables which have accustomed us to reading "the leftist government of Nicaragua" or "Marxist President Samora Machel", but to consider that writing "the rightist administration of Ronald Reagan" or "capitalist prime minister Margaret Thatcher", shows lack of objectivity.

The Customer is Always Right

This anti-Third World slant is not due to any conspiracy or particular perverse attitude held by journalists who work at these agencies. It is true that the CIA often uses US media in disinformation and destabilization campaigns, "planting" stories written by the Agency as if they were the newspapers' own articles or editorials, so that they later "rebound" when picked up in wires and are republished throughout the world. But the issue is much more complex. News agencies are commercial business enterprises that sell news. And 90 percent of what AP sells, for example, is sold in the United States. As any businessman will tell you, the customer is always right. Not surprisingly therefore, the political orientation of what they write corresponds to the international viewpoint of that country's mass media. AP, or any other large news agency, is a major information source for the Third World, but for AP's sales, poor countries are just a residual market, which, economically speaking, does not justify preparation of material suitable to their interests.

"We sell news", says Gerald Long, executive director of Reuters. "The kind of reporting the Third World would like to have would be extremely costly, and probably no one would be willing to pay the price". Long recognizes that "we do have a moral responsibility to fulfill", and, therefore, "the agency could provide certain clients with news which was not requested nor would be used. But that would be unacceptable should it go too far".

Given such a confession, more evidence would be superfluous. Perhaps some of the abuses could be corrected, but the normal uses of transnational news agencies, with all their inherent

biases, will remain the same as long as information is consider-
ed to be merchandise. This is what led the Third World in the
1970s to demand a New International Information Order, parallel
to the struggle for a New International Economic Order.

The chickens and the fox

No one would entrust chickens to a fox's care. Yet, public
debate on the New International Information Order (NIIO) is in
the hands of media that have about as much interest in opening up
that important issue as a carnivore has in the welfare of a flock
of hens.

This, at least, was the conclusion reached by the US Natio-
nal News Council, an impartial agency made up of ten government
officials and eight press delegates, which looks into accusations
regarding the dissemination of inaccurate, erroneous or unfair
news stories. In October 1980, the Council analyzed the coverage
given in the US press to the United Nations Education, Science and
Culture Organization's (UNESCO) Belgrade meeting where the Mac-
Bride Report on international communications was approved.

Of the 448 newspaper articles all over the country, 80 per-
cent came from one of two sources: Associated Press (AP) or Uni-
ted Press International (UPI). Not one of them had anything to
say about UNESCO's primary activities--such as fighting illite-
racy, developing alternative energy sources and promoting resear-
ch on basic food production although these topics took up much of
the six-week conference's time. On the contrary, the big scoop
for 57 of the articles was the speech made by one Afghan delegate
who took advantage of his country-men's absence to criticize his
government's policies and request asylum in the United States.

173 articles did report on the central issue--communications
policy--but, as the Council pointed out, "the presentation of al-
ternative opinions on communications issues was poor, and the
media were extremely critical of UNESCO's activity in that area.
"Indeed, the International Program for Communications Development
(IPCD, see below) was "barely mentioned".

The Council also analyzed over 200 newspaper editorials, of
which it found 158 openly hostile. Without having adequately in-
formed readers on the subject, some even suggested that the US
pull out of UNESCO should it persist in supporting the NIIO. This,
in fact, happened shortly afterwards.

Upon reading the Council's report, William Harley, who headed
the Carter administration's mission to UNESCO, described the atti-
tude of his country's press toward the international communica-
tions issue as "near-sighted". If AP's and UPI's myopia is a
problem for the United States, for the Third World it's a disaster.
The same sources which supply the bulk of international news in the
US press, practically monopolize it in poor countries.

Free Flow

In reality, "the concept of a new order is still in the process of being defined", according to Bolivian researcher Mario Arrieta. "We know about what should not be, much more than we know how it should be".

The legal basis for the present information order was established by UNESCO at the Freedom of Information Conference held in Geneva in 1948. There, the principle of "free flow of information" gained international acceptance.

Held in the midst of the pre-Cold War euphoria, while the world celebrated the defeat of Nazi-fascism, the Conference determined that "free flow of information" was simply an extension of the right to free speech, one of the Basic Human Rights established by the then recently created United Nations. As such, it was a concept destined to aid the worldwide expansion of US private corporations, which ever since the end of World War II had sought to convert the planet's economy into a "global village".

"Any obstacles to the free flow of capital, commodities or information", writes North American communications expert Herbert Schiller, "were denounced by the leaders of the United States as reactionary and harmful to the international community".

Today the right of every Third World country to nationalize foreign companies or to exert control over their activities by regulating investments or repatriation of profits, is recognized by international law. Yet the very same news agencies that admit news is a commodity, scream holy hell whenever any government criticizes their business practices, questions their statements or imposes any regulation whatsoever on the process by which their correspondents transform the raw material of local news into a product for export.

In 1972, the foreign ministers of the Andean Pact expressed their concern that "the majority of international information which circulates in our countries is processed outside the region".

The following year at the historic Algiers Summit Conference, the Nonaligned Countries declared that "developing countries must undertake concerted action in the communications field" in order to "reorganize current information channels", considered to be a "legacy of the colonial past".

Soon after, the term New International Information Order was coined, and the struggle for its realization was carried to UNESCO, just as UNCTAD (United Nations Conference for Trade and Development) became the principal forum of the fight for the New International Economic Order.

Commodity or Social Good?

According to Somavia, one of the authors of the MacBride Report, three basic concepts will shape the information models of the future sought by the Third World:

a) Information is not merely a commodity, but a right and a public good; the task of providing information is not just a business, but a social duty.

b) Education is carried on through the communications media-- in a way which is more effective than formal schooling. The current gap between social concern for schooling and lack of concern for the way the media educate, free from any framework of social responsibility, is enormous.

c) Just as the participation of the majority is necessary in the preparation and execution of development policies, the participation of the consumer of mass media in the communications process, beyond the theoretical right to buy or refuse to buy a newspaper, or to turn on or off a television set, must be considered.

While it is up to each country whether or not to adopt these principles, the Third World as a whole has pursued several basic demands in international forums: respect for the right to implement national communications policies; international financial and technological support for those policies, through UNESCO or other organisms; facilities for technology transfers; and support for multilateral iniciatives seeking to balance the news flow through the dissemination of information by and about the Third World.

At first the US reacted with complete and total opposition, calling the proposals threats to freedom of the press. That seemed to conjure up the ghost of John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State during the first years of the Cold War, who once said: "If I had to choose just one principle for our foreign policy, I'd stick to the free flow of information".

Clearly such a posture did not result from capricious choice or romantic attachment to liberal ideals, since in the news game, the stakes are high. Today, the concept of information encompasses much more than news flow. It includes the full gamut of data transmission, from telegraph, telephone, radio and television, to the modern computer hookups which interconnect data banks.

As is often pointed out, a handful of transnational corporations (ITT in telecommunications, IBM in computers, RCA, General Electric and several Japanese firms in radios, tape recorders and video recorders, CBS in records, etc.) control all aspects of the modern communications industry, from material infrastructure to

information through contributions of wealthier nations. By 1980 the United States was defining it as a "mechanism" instead of a fund, a hint of greater distancing yet to come.

Achieving a balance in the North/South information flow would not be easy. In one of the richest regions of the Third World, the Federation of Arab Agencies, with its 18 members, has a total of 130 foreign correspondents and transmits 200,000 words daily. Meanwhile, AP has 559 correspondents and more than 2,000 stringers in 62 international offices. With an annual budget of $ 90 million, they crank out a daily 17 million words for 5,720 subscribers. Despite the enthusiasm with which alternative sources have proliferated in recent years, it would be naive to suggest that the oligopoly of the transnational agencies is really threatened, at least in the short run.

Who Pays the Piper Calls the Tune

As suddenly as it had appeared, even this limited accommodation by the US government evaporated with the change of occupants in the White House. In the United States, extreme-right groups such as the Moral Majority censured TV programs, eliminated "indecent" books from public libraries and imposed the bible in some schools as a "scientific text". In Talloires, France, nearly 70 delegations representing the "leaders of free journalism" to borrow their own phrase, gathered in 1981 to give lessons on liberalism to the rest of the world. Among other positions, the ideologues of Talloires advocated the role of advertising as "a consumer service and in providing financial support for a strong and self-sustaining press" since "without financial independence, the press cannot be independent".

This was only a bad joke, for what justified is precisely the opposite to freedom of the press in the Third World. Despite the fact that most developing countries prohibit foreigners from being owners or directors of the means of communications, advertising in effect acts as in instrument of transnational control over the press. In Mexico, of 270 popular radio ads in 1971, 84% were for transnational products; of 647 TV ads, the figure was 77% i in Brazil, of the 10 major advertisers, only one is a natioanl company; in 22 Latin American dailies surveyed in 1980, transnational business took up 31% of all advertising space (and in some cases as much as 50%). And the situation is even more alarming if one considers that national advertisers are either small and dispersed (classified ads), lacking any means of pressure, or they channel their advertising through contracts with transnationa. ad agencies such as J. Walter Thompson, Young Rubicam, McCann Ericson and others. Regionally, close to 30 transnational corporations control two-thirds of the ad earnings of the Latin American press.

In most of the Third World the price that consumers pay for a newspaper does not even cover the cost of the paper its printed

on. As Mexican researcher Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, of the Center
of Economic and Social Studies of the Third World summarized,
"from the economic viewpoint, communication's media are business
that provide services. The service that they sell is space or
transmission time for advertising messages..."

So much for the old myth that it is the buying power of the
reader which determines the ultimate success or failure of news-
papers. Rather, the transnational ad agencies determine their
fate by the direction in which they throw their contracts. Anyone
who has tried to publish an alternative paper knows that adver-
tising is clearly conceded or denied on the basis of ideological
criteria, regardless of the public or the circulation that the
publication can offer as an advertising vehicle.

In the industrialized or semi-developed countries in which
this conception of information-merchandise reigns, economic laws
have imposed an increasing tendency toward monopolization. As
Sean MacBride noted, "In France the Hersant group owns 14 dailies,
the English-Rhodesian Lonrho group has (in 1980) many papers in
Africa, the Australian Murdoch not only monopolizes the press in
his country, but is also the owner of the New York Post and three
papers in England (and last year bought the Times of London).
This seems increasingly dangerous to me".

In Search of a Democratic Model

Freedom of the Press is thus converted into a restrictive
right for a few individuals or business concerns. Various attem-
pts have been made to confront this situation. The Swedish state
subsidizes newspapers that almost anywhere else would be doomed
to disappear; in Mexico, the "right to information" has been in-
corporated into the Constitution as a counterpart to the right of
expression, but for several years parliament has studied the ru-
les without reaching any accord on practical application.

In Zimbabwe in 1981 the foreign-owned dailies (South African
racists and businesses of the Lonrho group) were expropriated,
creating the basis for a press that gives a voice to the black
majority of the contry for the first time. Undeniably, this has
restricted "freedom of expression" for those who preferred the
hateful apartheid.

Every Constitution in the world bears some sort of restric-
tion on freedom of the press, in connection with the common in-
terests of society or in defence of the state. Why, then, was
there such a scandal when Nicaragua, a month after the revolutio-
nary triumph, passed a law expressly porhibiting "the transmission
of any advertisement, leaflet, photo, etc., which stimulates vice,
uses women as a sexual object, advertises liquor or cigarettes,
is an apology for law evasion or stimulates the tendency toward
laziness?" This same law, so attacked by the Inter-American Press

Association establishes that "freedom of information is one of the fundamental principles of authentic democracy", and provides mechanisms to assure that "there exists no objective possibility of submitting them (the media) directly or indirectly to the economic power of any social group".

One of Latin America's most ambitious efforts to democratize information (a postulate of the new information order) occurred in Peru in 1974, when the government of General Velasco Alvarado expropriated the national daily papers and put them in the hands of organized social forces. The experience began with unusual vigor, freeing enormous creative capacity among Peruvian journalists and, through, ferocious polemics between the newspapers, contradicted in practice the accusation that a monolithic and officialist press was being created. It ended the same as other Velasco reforms, with the twisting of its contents imposed by the Morales Bermudez government, and with its definitive liquidation by Belau'nde Terry's administration.

There are no perfect models to be imitated with regard to communications policy. The important thing, in the judgment of UNESCO, is that each country define its own policy, in accord with its own development programs, cultural traditions and aspirations.

In the regional meeting on communications in Costa Rica in 1976, the Latin American and Caribbean countries committed themselves to plan and implement policies on this theme, with the help of UNESCO. In 1967, however, they had also agreed to this, as well as to contemplate the development of complementary information systems through the creation of national communications councils. Unfortunately, as the Venezuela former minister of information, Guido Groscoors, recalled last year, more than a decade had passed since then, and "save Cuba, no other country has carried such accords into practice".

Press Credibility and Alternative Media

Although the debate about the communications media only recently descended from the ivory tower of the experts down to the masses, its eruption is impressive.

Political and trade union organizations all over the world comment on this subject in their programs. Mass movements analyze and criticize the hidden contents of printed press, film and television news. Women protest against their conversion into sexual objects for commercial pruposes; ethnic minorities rail against the stereotypes that reproduce prejudice against them; consumer associations denounce deceptive or false advertising; parties demand access to the electronic media.

In the United States, press credibility is in crisis. In 1981, upon retirement, Walter Cronkite, celebrated anchorman of

CBS News, said he was "perplexed" by polls showing that he was the principal source of news for the majority of North Americans, since his programs were "fundamentally entertainment".

Liberal ideology claims that full and pluralist information is what makes up the democratic foundations of society. Nevertheless, recent studies show that decision-making in the transnational system is based less and less on the press.

For example, a French industrialist can obtain economic data more easily by subscribing to privately held specialized networks in the United States (which control 60-70% of the market for exporting information by computer and have a near monopoly on scientific-technological information) than through national institutions. "I don't need to read the newspaper or watch television to know what is happening", confessed a top Citibank executive to a researcher looking for data about the decision-making process on Wall Street, "We have our own system of information, both about here and the rest of the world".

At the same time, transnational banks such as his are ever more interested in having stock control over mass communications corporations. They can calim it is a profit-making investment, given the growing weight of his sector in post-industiral economies. But one needn't be paranoid to realize that banks also acquire enormous power to mold public opinion consistent with their interests.

Growing European and US public mistrust of the major media has translated into a surprising accumulation of so-called alternative media. In general, therse are small newspapers, radio stations or sometimes short-range TV stations dedicated to community themes or those of interest to a particular social sector, or ethnic or cultural minority.

Many of these are sincere efforts in which such immediate concern are converted into permanent political interests of a broader nature. Alvin Toffler, author of The Third Wave, sees this leading toward a "demassificati^n" of information, which he greets enthusiastically. In the judgment of Fernando Reyes Matta of ILET, on the other hand, such small newspapers or weak local TV stations in the dominant countries are the result of market expansion for the new technology of large corporations. He sees them leading toward a "reduction of the horizon; relating to what is immediate and local, while the vision of large problems and processes remains in few hands", coinciding with the "transnationals' dream of a world without borders".

Pulling the Rug Out From Under

Even such alternatives as these are unthinkable in the majority of Third World countries, which have an average of one

newspaper copy for every 30 inhabitants (10 times fewer than the industrialized world) and often lack even radio stations, not to mention the sophisticated luxury of television.

Paper, ink and other equipment must be imported, at a cost that is excessive for private national publications in countries that do not have even minimal industrial development or a market that would stimulate commercial advertising. Consequently, the state has often taken responsibility for the communications system (press, radio, TV), allocating resources that are equally indispensable for health, education, housing or transportation.

This means creating national news agencies, covering the cost of technical training and paying for the services and technology dispensed by the international agencies. Summing up, it means creating from nothing and without resources, a structure of modern communications that was developed in the hegemonic countries over the course of decades or even centuries, in extremely propitious conditions. Not the least important among those conditions was the extension and exploitation of the colonized world.

It is on the basis of this handicapping legacy that non-industrialized countries legitimize their demands for help to develop their communications structures. But it is also for that reason that help was denied in a meeting of the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC) held in Acapulco, Mexico, in January 1983. In Reagan's eyes, it is as absurd for the African country of Benin to ask the western countries for $ 15 million to develop a radio and TV system as it would be for the Salvadorean revolutionaries to request arms from the Pentagon.

Third World countries came to the IPDC meeting armed with some 50 projects proposals which would required $ 90 million. When the dust settled, the IPDC had received scarcily $ 6 million. Consequently, it was able to approve only 14 of the initiatives, haldly the "Marshall Plan" that had once been hoped for. In general, the African countries requested funds to develop their communications infrastructures to incorporate the vast marginal rural population. The countries of Asia and Latin America emphasized the need to establish networks to connect the already existing national systems.

Essentially, the United States, West Germany and Japan joined efforts to push for bilateral aid to the private sector, with the aim of marginalizing both UNESCO and state efforts to develop communications. Negotiations took on a decidedly ideological character when, for example, US, Peruvian an Argentine delegates opposed a Mexican project to develop its trade union press and technical training in campesino communication. The Peruvian delegate raised the specter of "a phraseology used during the statization of the press in Peru" under Velasco.

US opposition to any democratization of the communications process was revealed by the US delegate, Elkin Taylor, who refused to approve the following proposal unless the final clause (here underlined) was eliminated: "The (IPDC) projects should increase the capacity of individuals and groups in urban and rural communities, their access to the media and the possibility of active social participation". The sentence was removed.

In the end, a third of the $ 6 million came from France, and another third from Arab countries of the Guld. The Netherlands, Canada, Austria and Italy promised contributions, as did the poverty-stricken nations of Bangladesh and Benin, each of which pledged a symbolic $ 5,000. Including bilateral contributions for specific projects, $ 50 million was collected in Acapulco, an insignificant sum compared, for example, to the more than $ 56 million allocated by the US Agency for International Development (AID) for communications, $ 30 million of which went to the Middle East alone.

Creativity and Real Alternatives

Once more this shows that to change the present communication order the Third World can hardly count on anything more than its own forces. A lot has been done, Most Third World countries have a national news agency and these are grouped in the "pool" of news agencies of Non-Aligned countries, as well as regional organizations like Africa's PANA, or Latin America's ALASEI.

But this is clearly not enough.

Governments are not very efficient when it comes to handling news, need a lot of time and difficult negotiations to reach agreements between them and very often they are tempted to practice censorship at home and use their agencies as propaganda tools abroad. The Third World Conference of NGOs (Penang, November 1984) clearly identified these problems, demanding that "representatives from the public, journalists and publishers should be allowed to participate in the management of government-owned news agencies, radio and television stations".

It is, of course, a political demand that will not be satisfied in most places without a strong mobilization of public opinion. The private sector, on the other hand, is deeply involved with the same transnational-dominated communication order and can not be considered an efficient agent of change.

The time has come to bring a new actor into scene: Non Governmental Organizations.

NGOs have a major role to play in the development of new communication alternatives, as they already have in exploring new development alternatives.

The Third World Network is a splendid example of how fast and efficiently a new idea can be put into work with a minimum of resources. The experience of the <u>Third World</u> magazine and the <u>Third World Guide</u> could also be produced as evidence of the potential of independent, non-profit oriented organizations in creating new channels of international communication.

Proponents of the NIIO view information as a social function, one of the fundamental rights, not as merchandise. A new <u>International</u> Information Order is not conceivable for many journalists without a genuinely democratic National <u>information</u> order. Thus, the social function of communication is not exercised without risks when messages do not please the established power. Evidence of this are a dozen journalists imprisoned and tortured in Uruguay during the 70's and early 80's, 89 "missing" in Argentina under military rule, 26 assassinated in Guatemala, more than 100 attacks on the communications media in El Salvador and, neither last nor least, the unforgettable example of composer and guitarist Victor Jara who, in September 1973, continued singing the hymn of Chile's Popular Unity after had been cut off his hands in the National Stadium in Santiago, and was finally quieted only with bullets.

The badly named "alternative press" in the Third World is almost always a power alternative, that is to say, part of a political project that seeks to transform society and not only complement dominant information.

At times, the debate about the relation between the press and the process of change is caught in a vicious circle. The motto of the Latin American Journalists Federation, grouping the press unions of the continent, is "For a free press in a free country". For some, that signifies that it is impossible to have a liberated press until after a revolutionary transformation has been achieved. The other extreme is the argument that such transformation itself is unthinkable while the local oligopolies and their transnational allies persit in monopolizing ideological control of the media. Which came first, the chicken or the egg?

We should rather study how to defend chickens and eggs kicking the fox out of the coop.

- Montevideo, February 1986.

Third World Network

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THE THIRD WORLD TODAY : CRISIS OR DEVELOPMENT

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THE THIRD WORLD TODAY: CRISIS OR DEVELOPMENT ?

BY

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I.   UNRESOLVED DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Many Third World countries achieved political Independence
from colonialism two or more decades ago. The hopes and aspirations that
Independence brought are largely still unfulfilled. The old theories and
prescriptions for development doled out by economists and implemented by
planners have lost credibility. Yet new and workable alternatives are
still to emerge, take root and flower. It is at this impasse, where the
old world is dying but the new is not yet born, that people talk of the
"development problematique", "development fatigue" and "development
crisis".

According to the orthodox theory of development, developing
countries are poor because they lack modern technology and their economic
growth rates were too low. If these countries invest enough money on
technological modernisation, the economy would grow fast and poverty would
be reduced and eventually eliminated.

In much of the Third World, this simplistic view of development
won wide acceptance and became the basis for development planning. But
in recent years it has also suffered from much disillusionment. The reasons
are not hard to find. Despite two Development Decades in the 1960s and
1970s, and relatively respectable rates of economic growth, the Third World
countries have been unable to solve the basic problems of poverty, unemploy-
ment and indebtedness. There are many more starving, homeless, jobless and
sick people in the developing countries today than five or ten or a
hundred years ago.

By the 1970s, discontent with the orthodox development approaches
(i.e. economic growth based on western-style modernisation) had become
widespread among development theorists, international Third World group-
ings, certain United Nations agencies and some Third World policy
makers.

The discontent with the traditional approach to development
was due to the fact that socio-economic problems did not fade away but in
many cases increased, so that instead of "development" there was a situa-
tion of crisis emerging. This crisis was manifested by :

a)   The persistence of poverty in the Third World despite economic
        growth;

b) Inequalities of income becoming more acute internationally and nationally as modernisation proceeded;

c) World trade did not benefit the Third World due to the poor and declining terms of trade of their commodities;

d) The overall and increasing dependence of developing countries on developed countries in the area of investment, trade, finance and technology;

e) The rapid depletion of the Third World's resources and raw materials which were largely exported to the rich countries;

f) A rapid deterioration of the social and physical environment;

g) A growing awareness that capital-intensive imported technology was benefitting mainly a commercial elite which could afford the facilities;

h) The current world economic crisis has adversely affected Third World experts, causing balance of payments problems, a rise in foreign debts, and forcing governments to institute austerity programmes.

i) The importation of western-type culture through the modern mass media which disrupted indigenous ways of life;

j) The lack of genuine participation of the poor in decision-making processes nor in the benefits of development;

k) The human rights situation often did not progress in line with economic growth but in many cases deteriorated.

How are these various but inter-related phenomena to be explained coherently and systematically ? What are the roots of these problems ? What alternatives are there to the crisis ?

In the following sections, we will briefly review the emerging theories of under-development; present an outline of the causes of the problems; and give suggestions for an alternative development model.

II. THEORIES OF POVERTY AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Various paradigms or schools of thought have emerged in the field of development studies to offer competing theories explaining the persistence of poverty in the Third World countries.

The first, which can be termed the "Modernisation Paradigm" focuses on variables which are internal to the poor country under study. Factors (and conditions) of production possessed by the advanced countries, such as capital, technology, natural resources, skilled manpower, appropriate psychological make-up and motivational orientations, are seen to be

missing or lacking in the developing countries. A transfer or diffusion
of these components from the developed countries to the developing coun-
tries is thus deemed to be necessary if poor countries are to 'take off'
into a period of 'self-sustained growth' (to use the phrase of W.W.Rostow,
one of the main architects of the paradigm).

This traditional approach is criticised by adherents of the
second paradigm, which we may call Dependency Paradigm, for having ex-
cluded from the analysis those crucial structural elements which(it feels)
are responsible for the lack of development in the Third World. These
structural elements arise from the relationship between the backward and
advanced countries, one that began in the colonial era but has continued
in its basic form to the present day. Due to this relationship, the
developing countries have been forced into a situation of lopsided
dependence on (not mutual inter-dependence with) the developed economies.
Such dependence has shaped the socio-economic structures of the developing
countries in such a way as to place serious constraints on their develop-
ment efforts. Thus, far from agreeing with the Modernisation Paradigm
that the developing countries should inject 'missing factors and pro-
pensities' into the developing countries, the Dependency economists would
suggest that these poor countries should free themselves from the
institutional dependency constraints, build self-reliant national
economies, and create a 'new international economic order'.

While the Modernisation Paradigm has dominated during the
fifties and much of the sixties, this domination has been challenged in
recent years by the Dependency school. Various reasons are put forward to
explain this rapid "switch in paradigms". One would be a growing sense of
disillusionment with the trend of increasing poverty in the developing
countries despite two United Nations Development Decades in the 1960s and
the 1970s. Connected to this is a swiftly increasing awareness that the
traditional development theories put forward by the economists of the
advanced countries might be unsuitable for explaining the poverty of the
advanced countries as the economic institutions of the two groups of coun-
tries differ radically. The realisation of this position and a formulation
of the proper role of the Third World economist was eloquently put forward
in the 1965 Declaration of Latin American Economists:

"It is we, the economists of the underdeveloped countries,
who have the duty to formulate a body of knowledge based on
observation and experience by arranging these facts in a logical
order which will permit us to derive conclusions of general
validity ... The constant subordination to advances in economics
in the Anglo-Saxon countries explains the apparent inability of
Latin American economists to formulate a rigorous and logical
body of knowledge applicable to the mechanics of growth, instead
of limiting themselves to the rather thankless task of pretending
that reality adapts itself to obsolete theoretical moulds ...
We must achieve a rational explanation of the fact that some
countries grow and others do not, and that development occurs
only at a particular historical juncture and not at another ...
We must determine which are the mechanisms that prevent the
international diffusion of economic development through trade
and why this latter has turned into the instrument that most

3.   The rapid depletion of natural resources, such as tropical
      forest, fisheries and minerals, which will have serious
      implications on income and balance of payments;

4.   A pattern of economic management and development planning
      based primarily on growth of output instead of emphasis on
      satisfying basic needs of the poor.

1.   EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE AND UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME
      AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

      In the post-Second World war period, the industrial countries
have tightened their grip over the world economy and increased their
economic control over developing countries. The Third World has by
and large become even more dependent, thus resulting in a massive
drain of funds and resources to the industrial countries.

      In investments, transnational corporations still own substantial
shares in mining, agricultural and manufacturing processes in the third
World. In trade, the Third continues to suffer from an unequal rela-
tionship since the industrial countries control the markets of both
raw materials and manufactured goods. The terms of trade of most
developing countries have continued to decline in the past two to three
decades. In addition, corporations of the industrial countries control
the chain of trade intermediaries, including shipping, wholesaling and
distribution. In the sphere of finance, many Third World countries have
run up large balance-of-payments current account deficits, forcing them
to accumulate massive external debts which now total over US$800 billion
for the Third World as a whole. The problem of debt servicing and
conditions imposed for debt rescheduling have forced their governments
to implement "austerity programmes". And in the area of technology,
the Third World countries have imported not only capital goods and
technical equipment but billion-dollar 'turnkey projects' such as
hydro-dams and heavy industrial plants.

      Due to these various forms of dependence, huge amounts of
funds are transferred from the Third World to the industrial countries
every year. The following are examples of this transfer of surplus
from South to North :

(a)   In 1981-84, profit remittances out of developing countries
which had external debts averaged US$14-US$15 billion annually. For
the four years, the total profit outflow was US$57.3 billion. (UNCTAD
Trade and Development Report 1983; Table 5, p.20). This figure
excludes profits flowing out of countries which are not non-debtors.

(b)   Losses to Third World countries due to terms-of-trade decline
have been massive. In 1972, the non-oil developing countries were los-
ing US$10 billion (over 20% of the value of their aggregate exports)
due to the lower level of their terms of trade compared to the mid-
1950s (Clairmonte 1975:p.1186). In the 1970s and early 1980s the non-
oil developing countries' terms of trade tell further. According to
UNCTAD estimates, Third World commodity export earnings in 1978 were
US$45 billion lower than what they would have been if prices had
remained at their 1969 levels. Since prices were expected to fall
further in the 1980s, the shortfall could reach US$186 billion by
1990 (Khor Kok Peng 1983: p.21-23).

(c)   A massive outflow of funds from the Third World also takes

place as payment for trade services. In 1979, developing countries owned only 9$ of world shipping; they had to pay freight charges for both their imports and exports. In 1978, total freight costs paid on imports of developing countries was US$27 billion, or 9% of the total value of imports. (UNCTAD, Review of Maritime Transport, 1979). Third World countries also have to pay for insurance, packing and selling arrangements. They thus receive very little in net export earnings. In the case of bananas, where three multinational companies control 70% of total exports and retailing, the gross returns to growers in developing countries constituted only 11.5% of the retail sales value in the consuming countries in 1971 (Clairmonte 1975: p.136-140).

d)   Due to their rapid accumulation of foreign debts developing countries have increased their annual interest payments tenfold from US$2.5 billion in 1970 to US25.7 billion in 1979 and it doubled again to US$51 billion in 1981. In the period 1970-1982, a total of US$239 billion was paid out by developing countries as interest for their foreign debts. (Khor Kok Peng 1983: p.26).

e)   Transnational companies extract technical payments from their subsidiaries in the Third World in the form of management or technical fees, royalties for patents, and transfer pricing. An UNCTAD report estimates that direct payments by developing countries for use of patents, licences and technical services were US$9-US$10 billion a year in the 1980s. If other "hidden" costs such as transfer pricing is included, the total cost of technological dependence could be US$30-US$50 billion a year (UNCTAD 1981: p.37).

f)   Due to the migration of professionals from the Third World to U.S., U.K., and Canada, US$51 billion worth of "human capital" was lost to the Third World in 1961-72. This was more than the US$46 billion of development aid given by these three countries in the same period (Khor Kok Peng 1983: p.29).

2.   LOPSIDED INTERNAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

        Whilst external dependence reveals the mechanisms maintaining inequalities between the rich and poor countries, there are also great inequalities within Third World countries.

TABLE 1

Income Distribution in Southeast Asian Countries
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

	Highest 10%	Highest 20%	Lowest 20%	Lowest 60%
Indonesia (1976)	34.0	49.4	6.6	27.0
Thailand (1975-76)	34.1	49.8	5.6	29.1
Philippines (1970-71)	38.5	54.0	5.2	27.0
Malaysia (1973)	39.8	56.1	3.5	23.6
Singapore (1973)	n.a.	42.4	5.0	34.7

Source: For Singapore : John Wong (1979: p.196-197).
        For the rest : World Bank, World Development Report, 1983,p.200-1.

It is now generally recognised that poverty is related to inequalities of wealth and income. Even if a country experiences high growth rates, poverty can persist or even worsen if the income or benefits derived from growth are skewed towards the upper crust of society. This phenomenon, common to most Third World countries, can be seen in the South-east Asian region. Table 1 shows the income distribution situation in the Asian countries. It can be seen that a highly unequal distribution pattern exists in each country, with the top 10% of households obtaining the lion's share (34 to 40 percent of total income) while the lowest 20% of households getting a pittance (3 to 7 percent). Indeed, in all the countries, the top 10% of households obtained a far higher share of income than the bottom 60% combined. In the worst case, Malaysia, the richest 10% of households had 40% of the total income while the bottom 60% combined managed only 24% of the total income.

The great inequalities within Third World countries are a result of structural and deep-seated factors, such as :

a)   the unequal distribution of land ownership;

b)   high rentals charged by landowners on tenant farmers;

c)   low wages paid in the market sector of the economy;

d)   high unemployment and underemployment;

e)   high profits earned by corporations which enjoy near-monopoly of the domestic market and can thus charge high prices;

f)   the modernisation process displacing traditional farmers and fishermen from their livelihood and homes.

The imbalances in the economy are also manifested in the relative neglect of agriculture vis-a-vis industry and commerce; and the rapid growth of cities which drain away resources from the rural areas. Food producing farmers have to make way for industries, roads or new houses; traditional fishermen find their catch disappearing due to trawler overfishing and pollution. At the same time, the high profits generated by industry (especially transnational companies) enable the payment of fish salaries to the professional classes. The result is wide inequalities of income.

3.   <u>DEPLETION AND IRRATIONAL USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES</u>

The growth process in many Third World economies is largely dependent on the exploitation of resources such as the tropical forest, petroleum, minerals and metals. However many of these resources are now approaching depletion point. By the year 2,000 most of the tropical forests would have been chopped. In 50 to 100 years, the world's reserves of oil, lead, zinc and tin will be used up.

Third World countries resources are near depletion would soon be facing problems of dislocation. Besides the loss of jobs and income, there would also be balance-of-payments problems. The Third World country will suffer twice: for the loss of export earnings, and for outflow of foreign exchange to import what was once exported.

The depletion of resources is being fuelled by irrational patterns of expenditure. A very large portion of these resources are used to produce luxury and wasteful products whilst in the Third World the majority of people have yet to fulfil basic needs. Another large part is used for the production of armaments.

4. <u>GROWTH-ORIENTED ECONOMIC PLANNING NEGLECTING BASIC NEEDS</u>

At the heart of the problem is the fact that our economic planning is still being carried on in the belief that growth will solve the problem of the day. This growth-oriented policy puts the stress on expanding the productive capacity of existing institutions, such as plantations, factories, small holdings, etc. through mechanisation and modernisation. Great importance is placed on maximising output and growth in the immediate year or two. The structures of external dependence and internal concentration of income are not fundamentally tackled. Within this framework, the question of resource conservation and planning is hardly raised. It is as if the problem will be looked into only when the pinch is felt, but by then it may be too late to do anything.

In planning and monitoring the economy, the categories used are aggregates such as 'consumption', 'investment', 'exports', 'balance-of-payments', etc. In production planning, the performance and plans of sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, construction, banking, commerce and trade are looked at. There is no real attempt made to first determine the basic needs and requirements of the population, to measure these against the existing natural resources, and to plan out production of various sectors to meet these needs. Thus, although we may have a rubber policy, oil policy, banking policy and so on, there are no Food Demand and Supply policy, Energy policy, Water and Sanitation policy, Housing policy and so on. First and foremost, there is no proper Land policy to control its deforestation, exploitation and mode of utilisation. There is no resources policy to regulate the production, export and use of resources or to cater these resources to meet local demands.

IV. <u>SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE CRISIS</u>

We have seen from the above analysis, the systematic creation of Third World satellites by First World nations. The wealth and power of the First World was thus achieved at the expense of Third World and its societies. Resources were exploited, economies were distorted and societies were plundered and subjugated to this end. With the cultural uprooting of Third World peoples, the dominance and control was total and complete. Cultural domination took many forms. We shall examine some of them below:

Education:

With a few exceptions, the present education model in developing countries is still a colonial legacy. As these countries became increasingly linked to the world economic system in the post colonial period and became more and more dependent on the developed countries, so did their education system. Education in the developing world was geared to meet the needs of the expanding industrialized economy which became a mere

appendage of the economic system in the developed West. Like the whole-
sale adoption of Western economic and development models, the education
models in the developing nations also followed suit relying heavily
on Western programmes and technology, and its bias towards higher
education. More important, education has led to the creation of an
elite who are bewitched with the West and its ways.

Mass Media:

Just as education was an offshoot of the Empire, so did the
communications system of the colonies follow suit. These networks namely
transport, telephone, telegraph, broadcasting and the press grew out of
the imperial routes which passed through London and Paris. Communication
linkages thus followed the economic networks. Even today the telephone
and telegraph links between India and Europe, and Europe and Africa, are
the outcome of the colonial past. It is still easier to telephone or
travel from one part of Africa to another by way of London than if one were
to do so directly (Smith 1980: p.44). This goes to show the extent of
dependence of Third World media. For example, the five agencies which
control international news namely, AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP and Tass have all
emerged from the colonial period by which the colonial powers tried to
spread their news networks throughout areas where they exercised economic
and political control. Thus western journalism 'is' according to Juan
Somaria of the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies in Mexico,
'a vehicle for transmitting values and life-styles to Third World countries
which stimulates the type of consumption and the type of society necessary
to the transnational expansion of capital'.

V.   ELEMENTS FOR AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

If our foregoing analysis is correct, then it is the very
model of development itself which needs changing in the Third World. What
is urgently called for is not merely a tinkering with parts of the old
model but a bold discovery and experiment with a new model.

The following are suggestions of some crucial components of an
alternative development strategy that can meet people's basic needs,
generate autonomous development and be in harmony with the natural envi-
ronment.

1.   REDUCTION IN EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE AND TOWARDS GREATER
        SELF-RELIANCE

Third World countries should reduce their present dependence
on external trade, foreign loans and investment, and imported technology.
These cause instability during recession, and exact a high cost in terms
of trade losses, foreign exchange outflow, investment income outflows and
high payments for capital goods and technical fees. Reducing dependence
will thus cut down the balance of payments deficit and make us less reliant
on the developed countries for providing the main impetus for our economic
growth.

To achieve greater self-reliance, Third World countries
require a comprehensive strategy of import substitution in various fields.

This implies a contraction of the external trade sector, and the development of the domestic sector, so that the economy produces more of the goods which are locally used, thus channelling resources from the export sector, while cutting down on demand for imports. Greater development of the domestic sector would reduce this extreme "openness" or trade dependence.

Among the import-substitution measures that can be taken are the following :

a) Food production should be greatly increased. Many developing countries are not food importers. There is much scope for food self-sufficiency and for agricultural food production to be a major basis for self-reliant development of the domestic sector. The demand for food can be expected to increase in line with population growth. Moreover food will also be in greater demand if redistributive measures are taken which increase the poor people's income.

If poverty is reduced, the effective demand of the poor for food will increase, thus providing an increased market for food items. With increased sales, food-producing farmers' incomes will also rise. The government should therefore give top priority to food crop development in the National Agricultural Policy.

b) In the industrial sector, more encouragement should be given to small-scale industries which are locally-owned, make use of local resources, are on average 11 times more labour-intensive per unit of capital than large foreign firms, and which largely produce basic goods needed by the poorer majority of the local population (in contrast to the higher propensity of the better-off for imported consumer products). These small-scale industries produce many items such as food, household implements and furniture, wood and charcoal, and producer goods such as fishing nets and basketwork. A comprehensive industrial policy based on developing such small industries should be formulated, with less stress on the large-scale production of luxury products.

c) The formulation of an appropriate technology policy is a vital component of the proposals to switch to a basic needs self-reliant development strategy. The present dependence on high-cost foreign technology could be replaced with the appreciation, development and upgrading of selected indigenous technologies which are small in scale, ecologically-sound, often fashioned from local resources, and accessible to the poor.

2. INCOME REDISTRIBUTION AND RATIONAL USE OF RESOURCES

The crisis of depleting resources is largely caused by the unequal distribution of resources and the use of much of these resources in producing luxurious products while basic needs of many people are not yet satisfied. In order to improve this situation, the developed countries must first cut down drastically on their consumption levels, revert to a simpler lifestyle and thus reduce their present wastage of the

world's resources. This is absolutely essential if we are to have resources left to be used for producing basic goods for the Third World. The export of precious Third World resources to be used for luxury consumption in the rich countries should be curbed.

Our developing countries, on the other hand, should not think of taking the same development path of the industrial countries. Instead, we should adopt a type of development which is ecologically sound, and stresses first on providing enough basic goods for the common man.

This implies that we should not emphasise the setting up of expensive industries which manufacture luxury products. Instead, we should encourage the production of food, cheap clothing, low-cost housing and the provision of health, sanitation and education facilities which will directly improve the living standards of the lower-income groups.

But producing goods for the people is insufficient unless the people have the means to buy the goods. Therefore, we should ensure that the people have a secure livelihood, that they have land to plant on, that development projects do not displace them from their homes or fields or that suitable alternatives are found for them. We should ensure that their jobs can earn them a sufficiently high income.

At the same time, we should discourage the consumption of luxury products or the provision of luxury entertainment services. The imports of luxury items should be heavily taxed. In our development plans, very low priority should be given to industries producing luxury products.

Given the fact that growth rates should be reduced to reduce the foreign debt problem and resource depletion, there is an urgent need to reorientate the economy towards the production and provision of basic needs (food, health services, water, sanitation, housing, transport etc.) and the preservation and expansion of sources of livelihood for the poorer majority. This is necessary not only as a desirable social goal in itself but also to prevent a substantial increase in poverty and unemployment in the context of low growth. The objective should be lower growth while still upgrading the living standards of the poorer majority of people.

This implies a redistribution of income towards the poor, aimed at achieving the following : (a) a reduction in poverty; (b) the genera- tion of greater consumer demand as the lower-income groups have a higher marginal propensity to consume; (c) a shift in market demand away from sophisticated luxury products and services towards more basic goods and services demanded by the poor; (d) providing the market basis for a shift in production towards basic needs industries and services, as the purchasing power and thus effective demand of the poorer sections of society would have increased in absolute terms as well as relative to total demand; (e) as consumer shifts towards basic products, investment should also be channelled into the simpler capital goods required to produce basic goods (this type of investment is also more labour-intensive and thus generates more jobs), while the government sector can give more emphasis on infrastructural development providing for basic needs industries and services such as water, lighting and housing. It should be noted that without a redistribution of income, there will

should be phased out, discouraged and eventually stopped. Tobacco is a very dangerous substance, yet Malaysians smoke US$600 million of cigarettes a year. Alcohol is bad for health and gives an artificial 'kick' which makes us lose our senses. Infant formula milk is a poor and inferior substitute for breastmilk, yet many mothers now use it to feed their babies because of a mistaken belief that it is good. Lipstick, perfume, trendy clothes do not make a person a better human being, they just 'package' a person to give a certain appearance. Sex and violence films and TV programmes, various forms of gambling, and prostitution are facilities and services which can hardly be said to enhance human existence. All such inappropriate products and services should be phased out and replaced with appropriate things in an alternative development strategy. Some people may argue that it's a matter of taste and values whether a product is bad. Well, the same can be said for heroin. Yet, using certain criteria, we have banned the sale and use of heroin. Using the criteria of appropriateness of products, we can also make a list of appropriate and inappropriate products, although of course this is not an automatically easy thing to do. It is easier to close an eye and let things carry on as they are, but it is also suicidal to do so.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY AND THE NATURE OF WORK

Many of us in developing countries are blinded by the glamour of modern, sophisticated technologies. Whether in the free-market or the centrally planned countries, there is a belief that "modernisation" in the western technological sense is the essence of development. This cult of modernisation and modern technology blinds us away from considering other forms of development which use less resources and which are more in harmony with good human relations, and with community development.

Many development thinkers and philosophers are now denouncing modern technology as being unsuitable for Third World conditions. They are expensive, can be bought only by a rich minority, use up a lot of energy and do not employ many people. Thus, developing countries should evolve their own "appropriate technologies" and their own techniques in various areas - agriculture, industry, health care, housing, water management, transport, energy and so on. Such technologies should as far as possible make use of local resources available to communities, they should be labour-intensive (employ many people), relatively simple to operate with skills which can be passed on, they should be based on sound ecological principles and be of a small scale suitable for family or community use.

The term "appropriate technology" may be now but the existence of such technologies is not. There is no better place to start looking for this than in our own traditional technologies which have developed through many generations and adapted to local conditions. For instance, local traditional fishing methods rely very much on the skills and labour of small-scale fishermen. They are ecologically sound, do not result in the gross overfishing of which the big trawler boats are guilty, and they involve the participation of the community. Thus, traditional fishing technology is consistent with our principles of harmony with nature, good human relations and the fulfilment of the individual through the pride in using his own skills and controlling his own trade.

In the area of housing, a study by Lim Joo Yuan has shown that the traditional Malay house is superior to the modern brick houses in the housing estate. The Malay house has been constructed through the generations in a very skilful way to provide proper ventilation and flow of air, protection from the heat of the Malaysian sun, to give proper lighting, to make maximum use of space. The Malay house is also cheap, can be constructed by family labour with the help of the community, and belnds in very harmoniously with the natural surroundings. In contrast, the much glamourised modern housing-estate units are very hot, have poor ventilation, are very expensive and do not blend with nature in any way. The brick house was built for English climatic conditions. Yet because of the invasion of western values, people think highly of the brick house and look down with contempt on the beautiful Malay house. In the architecture courses in our universities, our students are never taught about the Malay house. In our Housing Ministry, which plans the construction of all the thousands of new houses, it is doubtful whether any planner or official has ever thought of the Malay house as a worthwhile model to study.

Serious studies are also now being made into the various systems of traditional medicine and health care in Malaysia. No less an authority than the World Health Organisation has recommended that traditional health systems be integrated with modern medicine to form an appropriate health strategy in developing countries. In Malaysia, where we have traditional Malay, Chinese, Indian and Orang Asli medicines and health practices, there is an extremely rich source to tap in formulating the right mix in an appropriate health system. For instance, the pre-natal and post-natal care for mother and baby provided by the bidan or Malay traditional midwife is valuable skill not available in modern medicine. Similarly we have acupuncture, ayurvedic medicine, bone-setting and massage practices in Chinese and Indian traditional medicine. Of course, not all traditional medicine practices are necessarily good, but the valuable aspects should be identified and promoted to complement the positive aspects of modern medicine. (It should be recognised that modern medicine also has its negative aspects.)

There are many other traditional industries and practices which can be promoted, improved on and form the basis on which development is built. These technologies are also dependent on the individual skills and craftsmanship of the villager or worker, whose pride and fulfilment in work is far higher than the worker in a factory who is controlled by the machine. Modern technology and factory work often reduces man to a mere servant of the machine. The machine controls man rather than man taking charge of the production process, and this leads to the dehumanisation of the worker. On the other hand, traditional technology is smaller in scale and allows the worker to develop his craft and to take pride in his work. This creative aspect of work can be seen in the traditional fisherman, boat-builder, house carpenter and furniture-maker. To enjoy work, to develop one's creative powers in making and shaping things, to control the work process — this is another important aspect of a genuine development strategy.

APPROPRIATE HABITAT

In a world with scarce energy and other resources, the present trend of living in cities may have to be reversed as transportation becomes more and more expensive. It is also getting impossible for the city authorities to provide the housing, water, electricity and other facilities for the exploding population in towns.

The highly centralised big factories may also have to break down into smaller units, while the distance travelling between home and the work-place should be reduced. The trend may therefore revert to living and working in small communities.

This pattern of habitat and settlement fits in with the principles of harmony with nature, community involvement and resource conservation. Living and working in small communities will also reduce the sense of alienation, loneliness and individualism which are ever present in the big city which sometimes leads to mental problems and great stress. The small community and small economy way of life is more appropriate to man's harmonious relations with nature and with his fellow men.

VALUES AND APPROPRIATE LIFESTYLES

What we have suggested in terms of appropriate products, basic needs, rational use of resources and habitat cannot work unless we change our values, our motivations in life and our lifestyles. Obviously the simple type of development painted above can come about only if we give up the high-level way of life and the type of values which focus on possessing more and more things.

Instead, we have to adopt a simple way of life, in which we have the basic necessities to enable a reasonable standard of living but not the desire to chase after more and more luxury products for the sake of status. Indeed, if we do away with all the unnecessary gadgets of urban living, we will have more time and inclination to concentrate on human relationships and on meaningful leisure activities that bring us closer to human and spiritual fulfilment. Free from the pressures of competition and the dictates of fashion, people will have the freedom to develop the things which really matter in life - friendship, human relations, religion, reading books, the enjoyment of nature, music, the arts. When we decide to cut down on buying more products, we are not so tied down to taking care of our new gadgets. There will be less pressures to work more or earn more. Human values based on the simple lifestyle can take priority.

This simple way of life is by no means unrealistic or over-idealistic, but can be achieved if we change our perceptions and our values. It is also a lifestyle which we must adopt if we are to conserve resources and avoid the catastrophe of the world running out of resources. The simple lifestyle, in my opinion, will bring us more happiness and more fulfilment than the high-pressure world of the rat race. It is an essential component of an alternative development strategy.

VI.   CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have presented what I feel constitutes the development crisis of our times. Today, the countries of the Third World are still being controlled economically and culturally by institutions of the industrial countries.

In order to have genuine development, we have firstly to loosen and break that grip - by becoming less dependent and more self-reliant.

At the same time, Third World countries have to put their own house in order. Reforms have to be carried out so that productive assets and incomes are redistributed. This is the only possible approach to take in the context of slow growth and uncertain world economic conditions.

We should also dispel the myth that modern technology is the key to development in the Third World. Because resources are running out, the high style of living is no longer possible. Building skyscrappers, big buildings and modern gadgets cannot by themselves bring about development of people and fulfilment of the individual. For a genuine type of development, we need to put the stress on people, not products. We need to develop the human being and to promote good human relations, not the consumer culture based on fashion and competition.

Many people who are blinded by modern technology and the consumer culture may think that the views and suggestions presented here are unrealistic, romantic or even an advocacy to return to primitive times.

But I believe we are facing a crisis of development not only in the Third World but also in the First World. It is a crisis of under-development for the large majority of the poor, principally in the Third World, and a crisis of overdevelopment among the elite of both the First and Third Worlds.

They, the elite, have to out their consumption, so that the poorer majority will have enough resources to survive, to develop.

It is up to those who realise the crisis to make others conscious of it, so that this Crisis can be converted into Development in the genuine sense of the word Development. It is a hard struggle, sometimes even a dangerous struggle but we have to carry out this struggle. It is our responsibility, not our pleasure, to do so. And we should not give up, we cannot give up, because we have no right to give up this struggle for genuine Development.

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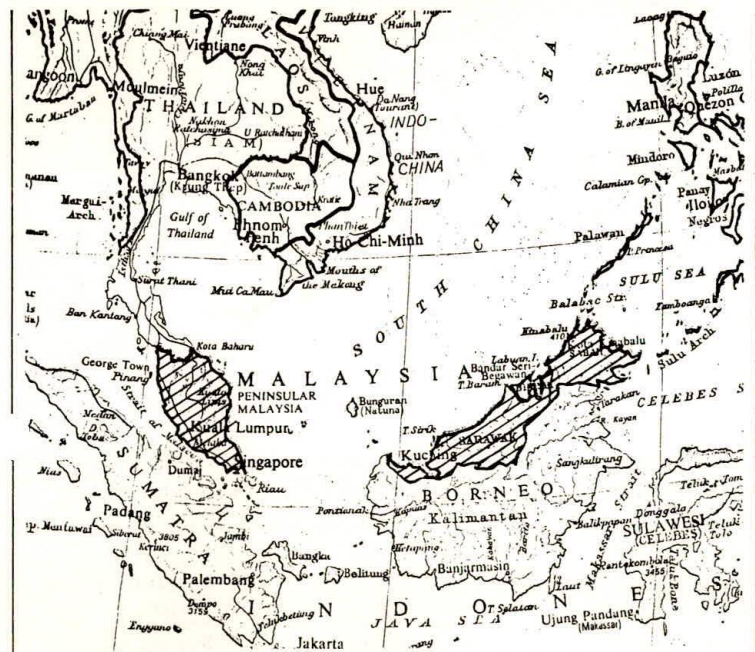
Malaysia lies between Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia and forms two distinct regions: Peninsular Malaysia, consisting of 11 states on the Asian land mass, and another two states on the island of Borneo. It comprises the former Federation of Malaya and the former British colonies of Sabah and Sarawak. Malaysia covers a land area of approximately 330 430 square kilometres and has over 13.3 million inhabitants, of whom (for Peninsular Malaysia only) roughly 53% are Malays, 35% Chinese, 11% Indians and Pakistanis. 45% of the population are under the age of fifteen. The climate is tropical, with uniformly high temperatures, copious rainfall (southwest and northeast monsoons) and high humidity. It is principally an agricultural country, rubber and palm oil being its chief export crops. Timber is the mainstay of Sabah's external income while Sarawak exports pepper and sago as well as rubber. Confusion sometimes arises in the use of the words "Malay" and "Malaysian". The Malays are one of the indigenous ethnic groups (together with Dayaks, Dusuns, etc.); Malaysians are simply citizens of the country.

educating citizens on development environment issues:

THE WORK OF SAM IN MALAYSIA

by P.C. Mohan

In 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Environment held in Stockholm focussed attention on the mistaken notion that the Earth could infinitely absorb the punishment that was being meted out to it by its most influential body of citizens, humankind. It

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will be remembered that, at the time, the representatives of the Third World countries at the Conference viewed this sudden preoccupation with the environment as something of a "rich man's disease". Their own primary concern, they said, was to feed their peoples: conservation would have to come later.

Barely a decade later, however, many of these countries had set up Ministries or Departments of the Environment to deal with problems arising from development strategies and their impact on the environment. More often than not, political considerations have been tending to override environmental ones and Governments, while acknowledging, for example, that uncontrolled deforestation could effectively destroy the environmental equilibrium of an area, were in fact allowing it to happen, as timber merchants constitute a powerful lobby.

It is for this reason that an increasing number of non-governmental organizations in the Third World have felt it important to concentrate their efforts on creating a greater public awareness of environmental issues among their fellow citizens.

Particularly in regions like South-East Asia, non-governmental organizations have had a certain success in calling attention to such issues as the pollution of soil and water, erosion and deforestation.[1] One of the most active is the Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM), which forms part of the "Friends of the Earth" network round the world, and which has been working for six years now to alert Malaysians to certain environmental hazards, many of which have been brought about by national and regional development strategies.

How was SAM born?

In Malaysia, a sense of community and harmony with the environment has always characterized the kampungs or villages that grew up either close to

1) See also IDEAS AND ACTION No. 127: "The need for an ecologically-based development in Asia: what NGOs can do".
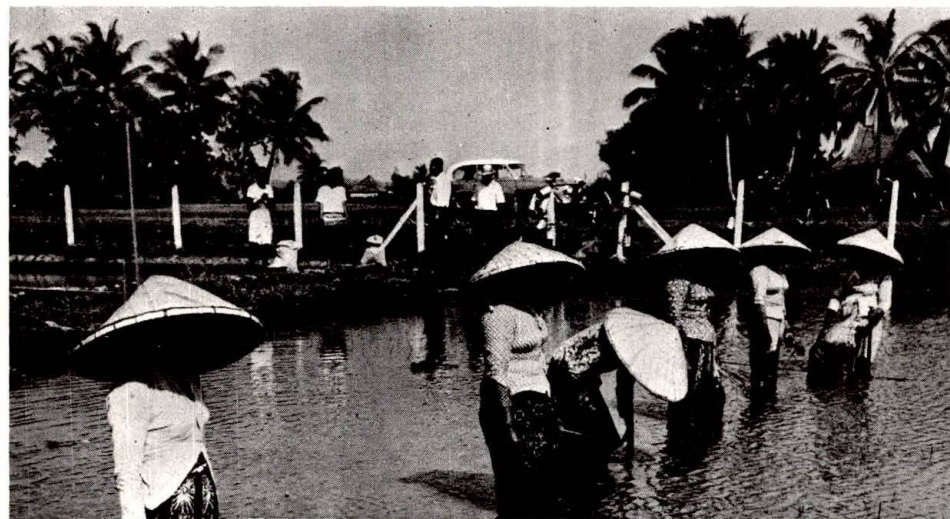
◆ deforestation

As has been mentioned earlier, serious ecological problems are resulting from the extensive cutting down of Malaysia's forests. It has been calculated that in 1981 the deforestation was taking place at the rate of a quarter of a hectare a minute! And the process of replanting and reafforestation is lagging far behind: only 47.700 hectares have been regenerated over the ten years between 1971 and 1980, as opposed to the 364.500 hectares being removed annually!

◆ fisheries

SAM are concerned with the disruptions in the lives of small fisherfolk that have been brought about by the practices of large trawlers. Apart from fishing indiscriminately, they have been destroying the crucial feeding and spawning areas. The fishing industry has reached a stage which is beyond what the experts refer to as the level of Maximum Sustainable Yield — apart from having to face the pollution problems referred to earlier.

If present trends continue, by 1990 there is likely to be a shortage of fresh fish of between 100.000 and 175.000 metric tons. This is serious for a country where fish represents three-quarters of all the protein consumed and where the fishing industry sustains 90.000 fisherfolk.

◆ other issues

Among the other subjects of SAM's campaigns is the need for a better use of land. The absence of rational planning has led to a dramatic drop in productivity — for example through an increasing number of flash floods. The group are also concerned by the difficulties in obtaining clean water, especially in rural areas, as well as the indiscriminate killing of various forms of wild-life, such as elephants, rhinos and tigers. Another theme they have taken up is safety on the job, for example, the problems created by high decibel levels for workers in industry.

What has SAM achieved so far?

An organization is naturally judged by the tangible signs of success that it can demonstrate as a result of its campaign, whatever the cause may be. Although it is still a relatively young organization, SAM already have a number of noteworthy achievements to their credit. This is all the more remarkable in that many of the issues with which they deal go against powerful vested interests.

As part of its general objective to promote a more just, equitable and harmonious development, SAM keep an eye on the activities of the various industries that could compound environmental problems. They also closely monitor the work of the official agencies who are responsible for regulating environmental issues. Whenever they feel that an office is trying to downplay some problem of environmental importance, SAM publicize it and get the public involved. They may take up, for example, the threat to the environment posed by the high lead content in petrol, or the indiscriminate disposal of sewage and industrial affluents, or pollution caused by quarrying and mining.

One of their outstanding achievements has been the saving of the Taman Negara National Park from being destroyed to accommodate a hydro-electric power project. The campaign included the sending of thousands of postcards to the Prime Minister and the selling of T-shirts with a design of high-tension wires running over an inundated forest and the slogan "Taman Negara Bukara Taman Tenaga!" (The National Park is not an Energy Park!).

Community participation

It is perhaps in the field of community participation that SAM have been most successful. How do they achieved this?

The first step is of course to collect the necessary information. They have now put together dossiers on more than one hundred subjects related to environ-

ment and development. This documentation is used for the preparation of memoranda to the Government and brief press releases to draw attention to a particular issue. After this, more detailed coverage is provided through features and editorials in their different publications.

All the while SAM's field staff are actively working with the various communities that have been negatively affected by some development plan. SAM's documentation is indeed based on this first-hand knowledge of local situations: at any one time fieldworkers will be talking to people to try and find ways to mitigate the problems resulting from the pollution of water sources from industries and oil-palm mills, or the damage to land and crops resulting from uncontrolled waste discharge from factories or the depletion of fish resources.

After a thorough investigation into a particular problem, SAM then help villagers to write out petitions to the Government, arrange for them to meet the officials who are responsible and issue press releases for the media. They extend their audience by making slide-shows and preparing materials for publication.

What are the consequences of such actions? Sometimes they have real effect: the sources of pollution are controlled and compensation given for the damages caused. In other cases, unfortunately, the community affected has to bear its suffering patiently, in the hope that some day its cause will be heard. However, the very existence of an organization like SAM encourages poor villagers to continue their battle for a more dignified existence.

Activities with schools and universities

SAM collaborates with the Consumer Association of Penang (CAP) in education programmes and training services for students at all levels - schools, colleges, universities - as well as for youth and women's organizations and residents' associations. Workers' groups and trade unions have also been exposed to information on environment and development issues through programmes run by SAM in various states of Malaysia. Questions such as occupational health and safety naturally figure prominently in these programmes, which highlight the hazards in people's working and living environment. It is estimated by SAM that in peninsular Malaysia 653 people are killed at work each year and approximately 62.000 suffer injuries of some kind.

Statistics like these help to mould public opinion, especially when they are part of a well coordinated press campaign. Over the years the group have been urging trade union representatives to insist that health and safety committees and full workers' participation must be integral parts of any collective agreement with management.

Teachers and lecturers are also encouraged to incorporate environmental issues into the regular curriculum. As a result, many schools now include such issues in geography, science, languages and health courses. There has also been a gradual spread of environmental education in colleges and universities. For there is little doubt that the fundamental social anomalies related to the environment can only betackled by those who have some general understanding of the problems: a generation made aware of them during their formative years could well prove the critical mass leading to positive change.

Periodicals: essential information tools

◆ ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS DIGEST

SAM produce several important periodicals - apart from comprehensive studies on the Malaysian environment, such as the Report first mentioned on page 11 (the third in the series). Suara SAM is the name of its quarterly newsletter carrying current information on environmental problems in Malaysia and SAM's efforts to seek solutions through research projects involving the local communities. The Environmental News Digest is a bi-monthly publication with environmental news briefs which provide a constant updating of the environmental scene in the world as a whole. ▶

Problems such as air, water and soil pollution, rural/urban migration, the growth of slums, the disappearance of traditional lifestyles compatible with the environment: these issues are common to many countries in Asia and another SAM publication, Asian-Pacific Environment, a quarterly newsletter, serves as an information link between groups and individuals in various parts of the region.

STATE OF THE MALAYSIAN ENVIRONMENT 1983/84
SAHABAT ALAM MALAYSIA
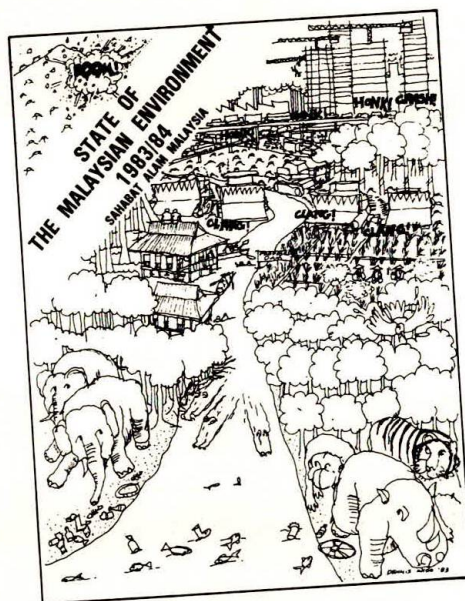
The serious break-down in traditional communities

The way in which Malaysia' traditional communities have been affected by development strategies (however good the intentions): this is a constant theme underlying all SAM's work. A good example is quoted in their 1983 Report: it concerns deforestation. Almost three-quarters of Sarawak's land area is covered by forest whose valuable timber constitutes a major source of revenue for the Government. As in many other Third World countries, this wealth, instead of serving the local population, as well as the nation as a whole, has only helped to widen the gap between the rich and the poor in the area. For the indigenous peoples of Sarawak, the forest has been a source of many things that are vital to their daily existence: timber for their houses and boats, wild fruits and crops to supplement, even to substitute - in bad years - their rice yields, cane and rattan to make baskets and mats, both for their personal use and for sale. They are also used to going into the forests to look for the herbs and plants which they use to heal themselves.

As their forests disappear, so too does the identity of the people. They become, for example, paid labourers in the timber industry, forced into helping to destroy their own habitats. As more and more of them are thrust into the 'mainstream' of the 'development' process their traditional culture dies away and is replaced by the rules that govern cash economies all over the world. Once independent communities, having literally lost their roots, they now depend for their living on the logging industry - and what will happen to them when all the trees are cut down? Along with all species of birds, insects, animals and plants that have been destroyed, this 'progress' has resulted in the virtual disappearance of the concept of self-reliance.

Traditional tribal communities in Sarawak once lived according to a moral and religious code called the det, which specified the rights and obligations of both individuals and groups in the community. This web of reciprocity is now seriously eroded, as people are too preoccupied with their own precarious existence to give much thought to their neighbours. The old values that held the village and community together and that were based on mututal sharing and cooperation have fallen victims to 'development', as even the trees.

For its part, SAM has been active in taking up the matter with the State Government to force the timber companies to reafforest the denuded areas. It has been pressing for the discontinuation of new timber licences and the non-renewal of the present concessions. It is their opinion that all existing timber contracts should be scrutinized from an Environmental Impact Assessment viewpoint to get a better understanding of the effects of the logging, both on the tribal communities and on the environment.

A difficult but vital struggle

Environmental awareness and community participation are the twin planks on which to base action against short-term, short-sighted development strat-

egies which lead to environmental deterioration and the further marginalization of people who are already greatly exploited. This has been the policy of SAM since the beginning and it is clearly proving to be effective.

Of course not all their efforts have been crowned by success. They organized a campaign for a comprehensive law to cover national parks and wildlife conservation and so far this has not met with much positive response. Nor have their continued representations, together with the Consumer Association of Penang and the fisherfolk communities, led to any serious attempt to tackle the present crisis in fishing. An organization like SAM, however, looks at setbacks as learning experiences: a sign that they, in collaboration with the affected people, should remould their plan of action to ensure better results next time.

There is a tendency on the part of governments and business corporations to regard non-governmental organizations as being composed of woolly-headed, starry-eyed romantics who act without a full understanding of the issues involved. Reality, however, suggests that, in the long run, the interests of individuals, nations and indeed the entire world can be safeguarded only if the complex issues linking environmental and development strategies are taken up by large numbers of people NOW. The activities of non-profit, citizens' groups like Sahabat Alam Malaysia, working with meagre resources but great conviction, should be seen as an essential step in this direction, towards a world where the environment is not a source of profit for the few, but a precious heritage nurtured and protected for all humankind.

SAM has recently prepared a useful 'Directory of Environmental NGOs in the Asia-Pacific Region' – the first of its kind. It gives information on addresses, contact persons, membership, activities, publications, achievements, problems and proposals of the various organizations in 16 countries. It can be ordered for $M 10.00 or $US 7.00 (excluding postage) from Sahabat Alam Malaysia, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

PUBLICATIONS PRICE LIST

| No	Title/Price* (M$)	LOCAL PRICE (inclusive of Postage & Bank Commission) (M$)	OVERSEAS PRICE (inclusive of AIR MAIL Postage & Bank Commission) (US$)	OVERSEAS PRICE FOR SURFACE MAIL (inclusive of Bank Commission) (US$)
1.	State of the Malaysian Environment — Development Without Destruction 1980/81 (Bahasa Malaysia/English)..$1.00	$ 1.40	$ 3.00	$ 1.50
2.	State of the Malaysian Environment — Deteriorating Quality of Life 1981/82 (Bahasa Malaysia/English) ..$2.50	$ 2.90	$ 6.50	$ 3.50
3.	State of the Malaysian Environment — Towards Greater Environmental Awareness 1983/84 (Bahasa Malaysia/English)..$4.00	$ 4.40	$ 9.50	$ 5.50
4.	Pesticide Problems in a Developing Country — A Case Study of Malaysia (Bahasa Malaysia/English)..$3.00	$ 3.40	$ 6.00	$ 3.50
5.	SUARA SAM (6 issues a year in Bahasa Malaysia and English) ..$4.50	$ 4.50 (for 1 year)	$12.00 (for 1 year)	$ 4.00 (for 1 year)
6.	Environmental News Digest (6 issues a year in English) ..$30.00	$30.00 (for 1 year)	$30.00 (for 1 year)	$25.00 (for 1 year)
7.	Directory of Environmental NGOs in the Asia-Pacific Region ..$10.00	$10.40	$15.00	$ 8.00
8.	Poster: Towards Greater Environmental Awareness (in colour — in English — $1.00) (Size: 18 by 24 inches — in Bahasa Malaysia — $0.50	$ 1.15 $ 0.65	$ 1.45 $ 0.95	$ 1.30 $ 0.80
9.	Environmental Crisis in Asia-Pacific (English) ..$2.00	$ 2.30	$ 5.00	$ 2.50
10.	State of the Malaysian Environment 1984 (Dossier) (Bahasa Malaysia/English)..$5.00	$ 5.80	$11.00	$ 6.00
11.	Asia-Pacific Environment Newsletter (English — 4 issues a year) ..$6.00	$ 6.00	$10.00	$ 6.00
12.	Buku Panduan Alam Sekitar (Bahasa Malaysia)..$3.00	$ 3.30		

*Note: All prices of books outside of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei will be in US$ currency.

rivers or on cultivable land. The environment that sustained the people of these kampungs was seen as common property, to be cared for so that it, in turn, could look after the inhabitants by providing them with food, water and other necessities. Socially, psychologically and economically the people of a traditional Malaysian village tended to function as a single collective unit for the mutual benefit of all.

Over the past two decades, high-visibility development plans, based largely on short-term, profit-motivated growth models, have shattered this equilibrium. Among the more negative aspects of the introduction of progress in Malaysia, as in many Third World countries, have been the exponential depletion of

local populations and, on the other, articulate them clearly and press for their consideration by the agencies or Government departments concerned.

The Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) aim at fulfilling this very function. While fully recognizing the need for development, they base their work on the assumption that development cannot be at the expense of the environment and to the detriment of the poorer people who depend on it for their sustenance. In this, they share similar aims and often work with another organization which has already been operating for some fifteen years, the Consumers Association of Penang (CAP).[2]
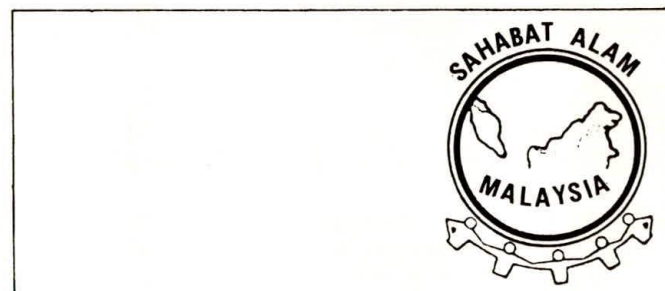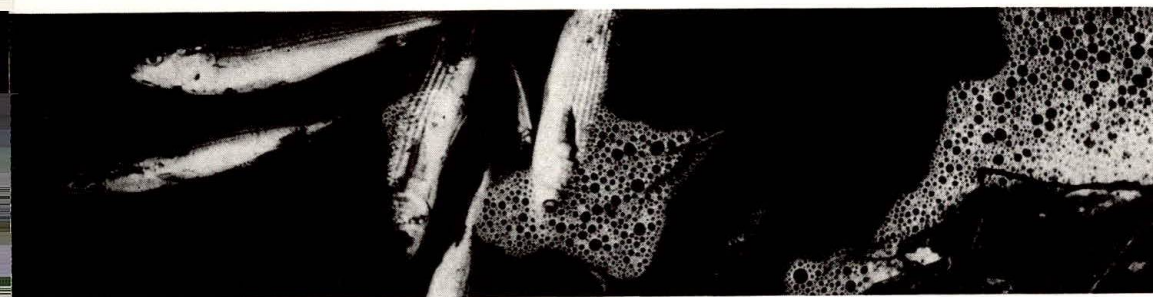
natural resources, the pollution of rivers, seas, coast lines and beaches, the unregulated use of dangerous chemicals guaranteed to grow more food quicker, and the accumulation of disease-breeding waste and sewage. These uncomfortable realities are not, moreover, evenly distributed over the population as a whole: invariably it is the poorest communities who have to bear the brunt, causing tremendous social and economic upheavals among them.

The voices of these people are all too easily lost in the noisy fanfare that accompanies "national development plans", which seem impervious to the needs and wishes of the people living in the villages. Hence the need for intermediaries who can, on the one hand, try and understand the fundamental concerns of the

What are the main problems?

It is the belief of SAM that all the environmental/developmental problems faced by Malaysia to-day should be viewed in the context of the rapid processes of industrialization and urbanization. These twin phenomena have led to the widening of the gap between the two main divisions in that society: between the urban and rural areas, and between the rich and poor urban populations.

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2) See also IDEAS AND ACTION BULLETIN No. 123 "Changing society for the better by starting from the simple basics".

More specifically, research by SAM's staff indicates that, for example, while the land area devoted to growing vegetables and fruits has been steadily declining every year due to unchecked 'developmental' pressures, Malaysia paid some three billion dollars (US) for food imports in 1982. Another example: 42 major rivers in peninsular Malaysia have been pronounced 'dead' by the Government. This is official recognition of the fact that the polluted water can no longer sustain shellfish, shrimps and crabs and is unfit for human consumption or use.

Again, an extrapolation of the present trend according to which 400.000 hectares of forest are being cleared each year, indicates that, by 1990, the country will be totally devoid of high-quality timber. These statistics give some idea of the fundamental and complex socio-economic issues that have to be resolved in the interest of the Malaysian people as a whole.

The Report on the State of the Malaysian Environment, which was published in 1983 by SAM 3) emphasizes the need for greater environmental awareness and for a better understanding of the possible effects of humankind's activities on the environment. The Report also outlines the areas with which SAM is particularly concerned:

◆ food and agricultural production

Like many other Third World countries, Malaysia has been trying, since independence, to increase food and agricultural production and to better the living standards of its agricultural workers. While great progress has been made in certain areas, SAM is concerned that food production is not keeping pace with population growth and huge food import bills are being run up. While governmental programmes have certainly registered successes in earning higher profits from

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3) Obtainable for $US 5 (excluding postage) from Sahabat Alam Malaysia, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

rubber, oil palm and certain other cash crops, large-scale modernization programmes have tended to benefit the large landowners, leaving huge numbers of marginal landowners virtually unaffected in term of benefits. A case study of one of the projects considered to be more successful than many others - the Muda irrigation scheme - leads inevitably to the conclusion that it is a more equitable distribution of land that will be the determining factor exorcising poverty, not the provision of more governmental inputs. Given the fact that only 6.9 million of Malaysia's 13.8 million hectares have been reserved for agriculture, SAM feels that this land should be judiciously divided between food crops and cash crops so that long-term benefits are given priority.

◆ pesticides

Apart from being of immediate danger to people handling them, some pesticides have noxious long-term effects on the environment: this is the theme of another campaign taken up by SAM. A survey that they carried out in 1980 in the areas of Penang and Province Wellesley revealed that over half the farmers and plantation workers complained of some illness or other after they had been spraying. Moreover, almost three-quarters of them had virtually no idea of the dangers of using pesticides without taking due precautions.

The emergence of pesticide-resistant pests has created further problems. A FAO report stated that the number of such resistant species doubled from 182 in 1965 to 364 in 1977. In Malaysia, even the heavy use of pesticides failed to destroy the brown plant hopper that decimated the rice yields at Tanjung Karang in Selangor in 1977 and 1979.

SAM's campaign against the over-use of pesticides and the distribution and easy availability of highly toxic varieties has not, unfortunately, yet made much of an impact on the policies of the pesticide companies concerned.

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ಥರ್ಡ್ ವರ್ಲ್ಡ್ ನೆಟ್‌ವರ್ಕ್

ತೃತೀಯ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಬಹುತೇಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಲಭಿಸಿ ಮೂರು ದಶಕಗಳೇ ಸಂದಿವೆ. ಇಂದಿಗೂ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳು ಆರ್ಥಿಕವಾಗಿ ತೀರ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿದ್ದು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಪರಿಸರ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳಿಂದ ಜರ್ಜರಿತವಾಗಿವೆ. ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯಾ ಸ್ಫೋಟ, ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದಾರಿದ್ರ್ಯ, ನಗರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಳೆಗೇರಿ, ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ವಿಕೋಪ, ನಿರಾಶ್ರಿತರ ವಲಸೆ, ಯುದ್ಧಭೀತಿ ಇವೇ ಮುಂತಾದ ಕೊನೆಗಾಣದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳಿಂದ ತತ್ತರಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಈ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಆಗುಹೋಗುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಈಗಲೂ ಒಂದಲ್ಲ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಿಂದ ಧನಿಕರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಅಥವಾ ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಮುಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇವೆ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಸತ್ವ ಲಗ್ನಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಕನಸಿನ ಗಂಟಾಗಿರುವಾಗ ಈ ದೇಶ ಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಗೆಂದು ಸುಧಾರಿತ ದೇಶಗಳು ದಯಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವ ಸಲಹೆ, ಶಿಫಾರಸುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಅರ್ಥ ಶೂನ್ಯವಾಗುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿನ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳ ನಿವಾರಣೆಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಬಗೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನೇ ರಚಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ.

ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಬಹುಮೂಲ್ಯ ಸಾಧನವಾಗಿರುವ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳ ಮೇಲೂ ಸುಧಾರಿತ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಅತಿಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವಾರ್ತಾಜಾಲದ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಕೇವಲ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಸುದ್ದಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳ (ರ್ಯೂಟರ್ಸ್. ಎಪಿ, ಯುಪಿಐ ಮತ್ತು ಎಎಫ್‌ಪಿ) ಮುಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲದ್ದು ಆವೆಲ್ಲ ಧನಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಪ್ರಭಾವವನ್ನೆ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸುವ ಸಾಧನಗಳಿವೆ. ಹಾಗಾಗಿ, ಇಂದು ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಾರಗೊಳ್ಳುವ ವಾರ್ತಾಲೇಖನಗಳಾಗಲೀ, ಆಕಾಶವಾಣಿ–ದೂರದರ್ಶನ ಕಾರ್ಯ ಕ್ರಮಗಳಾಗಲೀ, ಜಾಹೀರಾತು–ವಾರ್ತಾಚಿತ್ರಗಳಾಗಲೀ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಅಮೇರಿಕ, ಜಪಾನ್ ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದೆರಡು ಐರೋಪ್ಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ಬರುತ್ತಿವೆ. 'ಟೈಮ್ಸ್', 'ನ್ಯೂಸ್‌ವೀಕ್' ನಂಥ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ಲೇಖನಗಳ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನವನ್ನೆ ನಾವು ರೂಢಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವಂತಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ; ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಧನಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಕಲೆ, ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ, ಅಭಿರುಚಿ ಫ್ಯಾಷನ್‌ಗಳೆ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲೂ ಫ್ಯಾಷನ್ ಆಗುವಂತೆ ಪರೋಕ್ಷವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಬೀರುತ್ತಿರುವ ಈ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಜಾಲದ ಮೂಲಕ ಆಗೊಮ್ಮೆ ಈಗೊಮ್ಮೆ ಬಡರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವರದಿ ಬಂದರೂ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡತನ, ಬರಗಾಲದಂಥ ಅಹಿತಕರ ಘಟನೆಯೇ ಪ್ರಧಾನವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳ ಈ ಹತೋಟಿ ಕಮ್ಮಿ ಯಾಗಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ವಿಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. "ಥರ್ಡ್ ವರ್ಲ್ಡ್ ನೆಟ್‌ವರ್ಕ್" ಎಂಬ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯೂ ಈ ದಿಸೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ತೃತೀಯ ವಿಶ್ವದ ಪತ್ರ ಕರ್ತರೂ ಪಂಡಿತರೂ ಒಂದೆಡೆ ಸೇರುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿ, ಸುದ್ದಿ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಚರ್ಚೆ ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸು ತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈಗ ವಿಶ್ವ, ಆಫ್ರಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಅಮೇರಿಕದ ಎಲುಮಂದಿ ಗಣ್ಯ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರು ಭಾರತದ ಸುದ್ದಿ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಜತೆ ಅನುಭವ ವಿನಿಮಯಕ್ಕೆಂದು ಬಂದಿದ್ದು ಆಗಲೇ ದಿಲ್ಲಿ, ಕಲ್ಕತ್ತ ಹಾಗೂ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರ ಗೋಷ್ಠಿ ನಡೆಸಿ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿಗೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನ ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಕ್ಕೆ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಕಾರ್ಯನಿರತ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರ ಸಂಘ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ವರದಿಗಾರರ ಕೂಟ, ಪ್ರೆಸ್ ಕ್ಲಬ್, ಪ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಕ್ಯಾಡಮಿ ಹಾಗೂ ದಿ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ಸ್ (ಮೈಸೂರು) ಲಿಮಿಟೆಡ್‌ನವರು ಸಹಕಾರವನ್ನೊದಗಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

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ಥರ್ಡ್ ವರ್ಲ್ಡ್ ನೆಟ್‌ವರ್ಕ್

ತೃತೀಯ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಬಹುತೇಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಲಭಿಸಿ ಮೂರು ದಶಕಗಳೇ ಸಂದಿವೆ. ಇಂದಿಗೂ ಬಹಳಷ್ಟು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳು ಅರ್ಥಿಕವಾಗಿ ತೀರ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿದ್ದು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಪರಿಸರ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳಿಂದ ಜರ್ಜರಿತವಾಗಿವೆ. ಜನಸಂಖ್ಯಾ ಸ್ಫೋಟ, ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದಾರಿದ್ರ್ಯ, ನಗರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಳೆಗೇರಿ, ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ವಿಕೋಪ, ನಿರಾಶ್ರಿತರ ವಲಸೆ, ಯುದ್ಧ ಭೀತಿ ಇವೇ ಮುಂತಾದ ಕೊನೆಗಾಣದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳಿಂದ ತತ್ತರಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಈ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಅಗುಹೋಗುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಈಗಲೂ ಒಂದಲ್ಲ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಿಂದ ಧನಿಕರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಅಥವಾ ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ಬಹುರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಂಪನಿಗಳ ಮುಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇವೆ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಸತ್ವ ಲಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಕನಸಿನ ಗಂಟಾಗಿರುವಾಗ ಈ ದೇಶಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಗೆಂದು ಸುಧಾರಿತ ದೇಶಗಳು ದಯಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವ ಸಲಹೆ, ಶಿಫಾರಸುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಅರ್ಥ ಶೂನ್ಯವಾಗುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿನ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳ ನಿವಾರಣೆಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಬಗೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನೇ ರಚಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ.

ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯ ಬಹುಮೂಲ್ಯ ಸಾಧನವಾಗಿರುವ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳ ಮೇಲೂ ಸುಧಾರಿತ ದೇಶಗಳ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಅತಿಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವಾರ್ತಾಜಾಲದ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆ ಕೇವಲ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಸುದ್ದಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳ (ರ್ಯೂಟರ್ಸ್, ಎಪಿ, ಯುಪಿಐ ಮತ್ತು ಎಎಫ್‌ಪಿ) ಮುಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಅವೆಲ್ಲ ಧನಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಪ್ರಭಾವವನ್ನೇ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸುವ ಸಾಧನಗಳಾಗಿವೆ. ಹಾಗಾಗಿ, ಇಂದು ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಾರಗೊಳ್ಳುವ ವಾರ್ತಾಲೇಖನಗಳಾಗಲೇ ಆಕಾಶವಾಣಿ–ದೂರದರ್ಶನ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಗಳಾಗಲೇ, ಜಾಹೀರಾತು–ವಾರ್ತಾಚಿತ್ರಗಳಾಗಲೇ ಬಹುಪಾಲು ಅಮೆರಿಕ, ಜಪಾನ್ ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದೆರಡು ಐರೋಪ್ಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ಬರುತ್ತಿವೆ. 'ಟೈಮ್ಸ್', 'ನ್ಯೂಸ್‌ವೀಕ್' ನಂಥ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ಲೇಖನಗಳ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನವನ್ನೇ ನಾವು ರೂಢಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವಂತಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ; ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಧನಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಕಲೆ, ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ, ಅಭಿರುಚಿ ಫ್ಯಾಶನ್‌ಗಳೆ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲೂ ಫ್ಯಾಶನ್ ಆಗುವಂತೆ ಪರೋಕ್ಷವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಭಾವ ಬೀರುತ್ತಿರುವ ಈ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಜಾಲದ ಮೂಲಕ ಆಗೊಮ್ಮೆ ಈಗೊಮ್ಮೆ ಬಡರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವರದಿ ಬಂದರೂ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡತನ, ಬರಗಾಲದಂಥ ಅಹಿತಕರ ಘಟನೆಯೇ ಪ್ರಧಾನವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಟ್ಟದ ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳ ಈ ಹತೋಟಿ ಕಮ್ಮಿಯಾಗಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲ ಅನೇಕ ವಿಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. "ಥರ್ಡ್ ವರ್ಲ್ಡ್ ನೆಟ್‌ವರ್ಕ್" ಎಂಬ ಅಂತರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯಾ ಈ ದಿಸೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದೆ. ತೃತೀಯ ವಿಶ್ವದ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರೂ ಪಂಡಿತರೂ ಒಂದೆಡೆ ಸೇರುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿ, ಸುದ್ದಿ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಚರ್ಚೆ ವಿರ್ಡಿಸು ತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈಗ ಏಷ್ಯ, ಅಫ್ರಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಅಮೆರಿಕದ ಎಳು ಮಂದಿ ಗಣ್ಯ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರು ಭಾರತದ ಸುದ್ದಿ ಜೀವಿಗಳ ಜತೆ ಅನುಭವ ವಿನಿಮಯಕ್ಕೆಂದು ಬಂದಿದ್ದು ಆಗಲೇ ದಿಲ್ಲಿ, ಕಲ್ಕತ್ತಾ ಹಾಗೂ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್‌ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರ ಗೋಷ್ಠಿ ನಡೆಸಿ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿಗೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನ ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಕ್ಕೆ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಕಾರ್ಯನಿರತ ಪತ್ರಕರ್ತರ ಸಂಘ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ವರದಿಗಾರರ ಕೂಟ, ಪ್ರೆಸ್ ಕ್ಲಬ್, ಪ್ರೆಸ್ ಅಕಾಡೆಮಿ ಹಾಗೂ ದಿ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ಸ್ (ಮೈಸೂರು) ಲಿಮಿಟೆಡ್‌ನವರು ಸಹಕಾರವನ್ನೊದಗಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

REACHING YOUNG ADULTS THROUGH ENTERTAINMENT

A Population Reports Supplement

YOUNG PEOPLE love mass-media entertainment—radio, television, music, videos, film, comic books, and more. The entertainment media love young people, too; much of mass-media entertainment is aimed at young adults, who, even in many developing countries, often spend substantial amounts on entertainment. Love, romance, and sex are favorite topics of this entertainment (465), and many young people say that this is where they learn about sex.

What young people see and hear about sex in popular entertainment is often misleading, incomplete, or distorted. Casual or impetuous sex is depicted as acceptable and often as without risks or adverse consequences such as unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. From most mass-media entertainment, young people learn behavior that puts their health at risk.

Efforts are underway, however, to use the mass media to help young people adopt more healthful behavior. These range from comic books that tell young people how to avoid HIV/AIDS (404) to large-scale campaigns such as the Philippine Multi Media Campaign for Young People, which, through television, radio, music videos, and a telephone hotline linked to youth assistance agencies, encouraged young people to postpone sex (414, 523).

The following two pages display images from enter-educate productions around the world. Details about these materials appear on the back page.

Using the entertainment media for health messages has many advantages. This "enter-educate" approach is:

- **Pervasive:** The broadcast media reach people all over the world.

- **Popular:** People seek out entertainment and pay attention to it.

- **Personal:** Entertainment can depict personal situations and relationships meaningful to the audience.

- **Passionate:** Entertainment can generate intense feelings, which enhance learning.

- **Persuasive:** When the audience identifies with stars or characters, they seek to behave like these role models.

- **Practical:** Skilled professionals and the communication infrastructure are already available.

- **Profitable:** The mass media are cost-effective, and good entertainment attracts commercial support.

- **Proven effective:** Surveys show that messages in songs, dramas, and variety shows can influence knowledge, attitudes, and behavior (382, 381, 380).
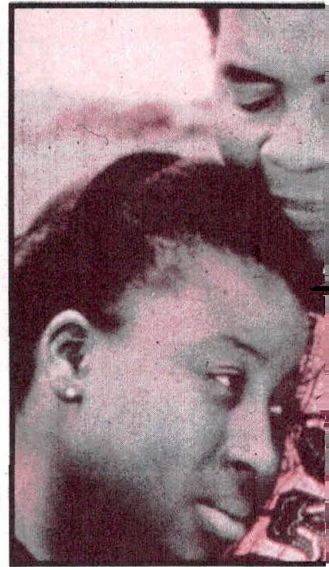
REACHING YOUTH THROUGH MEDIA WORLDWIDE
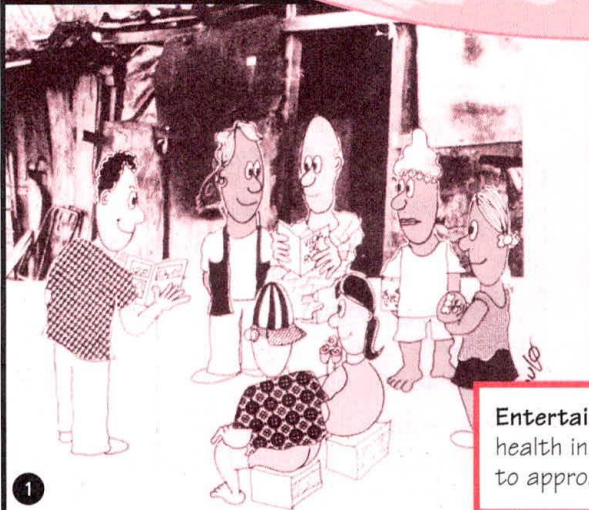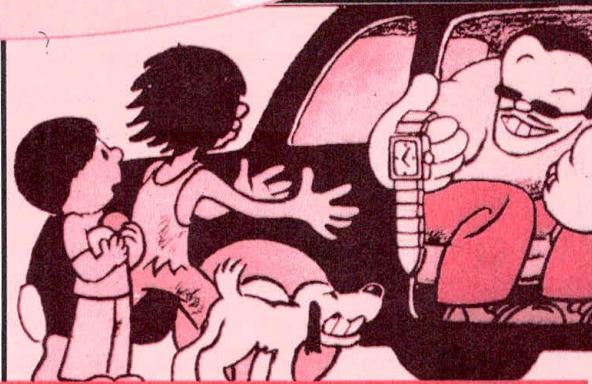
BRAZIL:
Vida de Rua

Entertainment can inform young people about reproductive health in media they enjoy. Entertainment may be the only way to approach hard-to-reach young people such as street kids.

2 BRAZIL: Street Kids International

11 KAZAKSTAN Poster

OPEN LINE
with EDDIE & GRACE

MANILA'S
**HOTTEST
NEW
RADIO
TALK SHOW**
STARTS
APRIL 3

*For people who want
to talk honestly about*
**LOVE,
COURTSHIP,
MARRIAGE,...**

MONDAY - FRIDAY
10:00 - 11:00 P.M.

RADIO DZEC 1062AM

CALL 985-737   981-237
984-793   992-317

9

ANG UMAAYAW AY NAGWAWAGI
10
PHILIPPINES
DIAL A FRIEND
858-991 to 94
MONDAY TO SATURDAY
1:00 PM ~ 9:00 PM

Hotlines can link young adults to services. Telephone counselors can offer advice on such problems as peer pressure, dating, and relationships. They can make referrals to appropriate care.

14

青年服務
熱線：H722733
地址：香港家庭計劃指導會
香港軒尼詩道152號/九龍馬頭涌道105號

HONG KONG
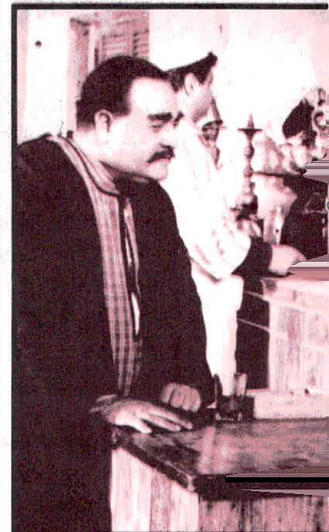
Dramas can encourage responsible sexual behavior by showing young viewers how characters weigh options and make choices that affect reproductive health.

3 ZIMBABWE: More Time

4 THAILAND: My Way

Daeng Noi Lek Nid

5 MEXICO: Blue Pigeon

Cartoons allow more flexibility when depicting sensitive subject matter.

Popular music can reach vast audiences of young people with messages about delaying sex.

Tatiana y Johnny
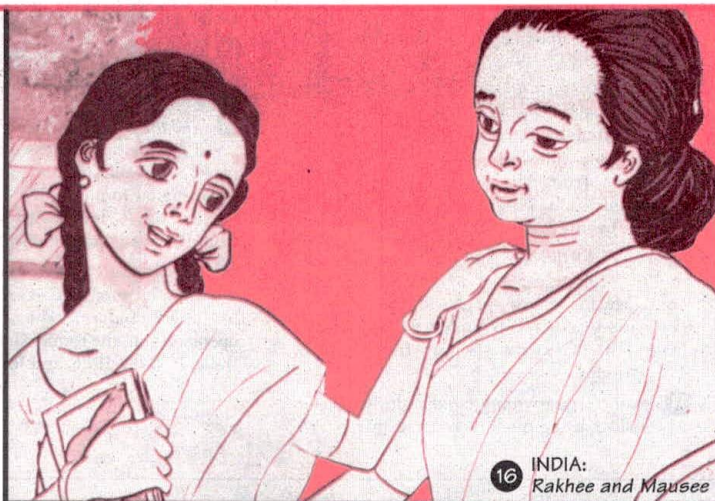
6 PHILIPPINES: Lea Salonga and Menudo

7 MEXICO

8 MEXICO: Best Wishes

12 INDONESIA: Alang-Alang

Through **dramas** and **documentaries** adults learn about young people's hopes and fears. Media can help advocate education for girls.

SIDA presents

No One Ever Told Me...

A Film by Lena Hellman

15 EGYPT: And the Nile Flows On

16 INDIA: Rakhee and Mausee

13 TANZANIA

Communicating with Youth?

Ask the Media/Materials Clearinghouse

The Media/Materials Clearinghouse (M/MC) at the Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs welcomes requests for examples of communication materials for young people. The M/MC offers access to a continually growing collection of pamphlets, posters, videos, audiotapes, films, and novelty items produced worldwide to promote reproductive health and family planning. The 25,000-item collection contains over 1,700 materials produced specifically for young people, including over 300 videos, 1,100 pamphlets, and 280 posters from 75 countries.

Health communication specialists can use materials from the M/MC to develop new materials and to support their advocacy and training programs. The M/MC provides a single copy or reproduction of any item free of charge, to be used for educational purposes, to health care professionals working in developing countries.

In your request to the M/MC, please state the desired medium, intended audience, specific subject, and language (for example, "posters for teenagers about abstinence, in French"). M/MC staff will conduct a search of the collection and provide single copies of materials for review, information about ordering the materials, and any other relevant information. A bibliography also can be supplied on request.

What's New, a periodic newsletter highlighting materials recently received in the M/MC, is distributed free to qualified requesters.

The M/MC also distributes *The PCS Packet Series* (published 1983–1994), a series of 17 packets containing actual sample materials along with materials development guidelines. Packets particularly relevant to work with young people include:

- No. 5 — *Reaching Young People*
- No. 12 — *Photonovels and Comic Books for Family Planning*
- No. 15 — *Songs for Family Planning*

When requesting, please specify English, French, or Spanish.

Send inquiries and requests to: Manager, Media/Materials Clearinghouse, Johns Hopkins Population Information Program, 111 Market Place, Suite 310, Baltimore, Maryland 21202-4012, USA; fax 410/659-6266; or e-mail mmc@jhu.edu.

MEDIA/MATERIALS CLEARINGHOUSE

ENTER-EDUCATE MATERIALS — Key to Photos on Pages 2 and 3

1 *Vida de Rua* — AIDS-prevention comic book for Brazilian street children. Produced by Federal University of Minais Gerais with technical assistance from the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and the Johns Hopkins Center for Communications Programs (JHU/PCS) with support from the US National Institutes of Health, 1992.

2 *Karate Kids* — AIDS prevention comic book and video for street children. Produced by Street Kids International in association with the National Film Board of Canada and Kinderpostzegels Nederland with technical assistance from the World Health Organization Global Program on AIDS, 1990.

3 Poster advertising *More Time* — motion picture about adolescent love in Zimbabwe and its problems—unwanted pregnancy, STDs, and AIDS. Produced by Development through Self-Reliance, Inc., John and Louise Riber, and Media for Development Trust Productions, 1992.

4 *My Way* — animated video for older youth in Thailand about the sexual decisions of four young women. Produced by the United Nations Population Fund, Thailand Ministry of Public Health, Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning (JOICFP), and International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), 1993.

5 *The Blue Pigeon* — animated video for middle-school students in Mexico that explains the process of puberty. Produced by Fundacion Mexicana para la Planeacion Familiar, A.C. (MEXFAM) and JOICFP, 1989.

6 *That Situation* and *I Still Believe* — songs and music videos by Filipina singer Lea Salonga and international music group *Menudo*, encouraging abstinence among Philippine youth; part of the Multi Media Campaign for Young People. Produced by the Population Center Foundation with assistance from JHU/PCS with support from the US Agency for International Development (USAID), 1987–90.

7 *Detente* and *Cuando Estemos Juntos* — songs and music video by Tatiana and Johnny, encouraging abstinence; distributed in Latin America. Produced by Fuentes y Fomento Intercontinentales with assistance from JHU/PCS with support from USAID, 1986–88.

8 *Best Wishes* — animated video about a young Mexican couple's differing expectations as they begin married life. Produced by MEX-FAM and JOICFP, 1992.

9 Flyer for *Open Line* — radio call-in show in the Philippines. Produced by the Philippine Family Planning Program and Eagle Broadcasting Company with initial technical assistance from Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs (JHU/CCP) with support from USAID, 1994-present.

10 Flyer for *Dial-A-Friend* — telephone hotline in the Philippines, part of the Multi Media Campaign for Young People. Produced by the Population Center Foundation with assistance from JHU/PCS with support from USAID, 1987-present.

11 Poster urging young couples in Kazakstan to consider using modern contraceptives. Pro-duced for the Human Reproductive Health Center of Almaty with assistance from JHU/PCS with support from USAID, 1994.

12 *Alang-Alang* — dramatic television mini-series in Indonesia about a young girl's struggle to better her life and find tolerance and support within her family. Produced by Teater Popular, Inter Ksatriya Film with technical assistance from JHU/PCS with support from USAID; sponsored by the Indonesian Ministry for Population/BKKBN, 1994–95.

13 *No One Ever Told Me* — documentary film about very young mothers who continue their education at a special school in Tanzania. Produced for the Family Planning Association of Tanzania and the Swedish Institute for Development Assistance, 1994.

14 Poster for youth hotline in Hong Kong. Produced by the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong, 1977.

15 *And the Nile Flows On* — Egyptian television serial drama that addresses early marriage, son preference, and misperceptions about family planning. Produced by State Information Service IEC Center with technical assistance from JHU/CCP and support from USAID, 1992.

16 *Rakhee and Mausee* — animated video promoting education and economic opportunities for girls in India. Produced by JOICFP in cooperation with the Family Planning Association of India, UNFPA, IPPF, and Raikhik Films, 1994.

Dr. Anant R. PHADKE
50, LIC Quarters, University Road
Pune 411 016
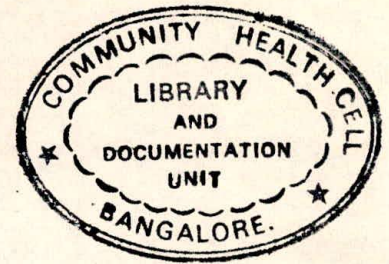
SELF-PRESENTATION

1. RURAL HEALTH CONSCIENTIZATION

INTRODUCTION.

For the last 15 years, I have been involved through VCDA in the health-conscientization programme undertaken in three taluks near Pune city. Today, about 70 village health workers, trained by me, are providing elementary health-care and along with it are doing health-conscientization. This health-conscientization is a combination of technical, medical type of health education and a social-cultural-political orientation about health issues.

The main aim of our work is not to provide health services as such. This is not only because we lack adequate resources but also because we feel that the State, which collects so much of taxes from the people, should be pressurised to do its job. Secondly, over a period, some sort of modern health care are now reaching the rural areas. But these services are generally substandard, exploitative and sometimes even hazardous. But there is hardly any critical health education being done to expose their nature. Health-education/conscientization is very much needed to put pressure on the rural doctors to reduce modern quackery and ex-ploitation.

Initially, we tried to do only health education without providing any medicines through our village health workers (VHW). But experience taught us that nobody listens to the lady VHW unless she establishes her credibility as a knowledgeable health person. It is only when medicines given by the VHW give relief to sick persons, that the villagers start believing that she "knows something". Then only do village people start at least listening to her advice.

I therefore trained the VHWs the elementary treatment of some common simple diseases like diarrhoea, simple fever, worms, sca-bies, conjectivitis, etc. The ability of our VHWs to treat these diseases established their credibility as health workers. Second-ly, as of today, health care for even these simple ailments is either absent in the village (especially the remote ones) or when it is available, it is generally irrational, exploitative and hence costly. Rational, low-cost treatment for even simple ail-ments is an unmet felt need of the people.

FOUR ASPECTS

After enunciating briefly our strategy of combining health education with provision for elementary health services, let me briefly dwell upon four aspects of our work with reference to the issues addressed by this meeting.

1. Ways and Means.

Our health communication is mainly individual and oral. Our VHWs give health-educational messages, either technical or socio-political, mainly at individual level. This is supplemented by book-size line-drawings which explain whys and hows of certain common health-eductional messages. For the last 3-4 years, we have been using the excellent pictorial booklets prepared by the NGO - NIROG, for this supplementation. The VHWs show and explain these pictorial booklets to the village people sometimes in a meeting. But generally they talk to individual patients.

The overall approach is to cater to the felt-need of the person seeking medical aid (say treatment of diarrhoea) and use this opportunity of interaction to give health education about that particular health problem (say diarrhoea) and the broader social aspects of this health problem. This broader conscientiza-tion can be a discussion about how some doctors cheat people through overcharging, unnecessary use of injections and of in-travenous saline ; or can be a discussion about lack of hygienic water supply or of latrines in the village.

Once VHWs have established their credibility through cura-tive/symptomatic medical care, village women seek their advice on all kinds of health issues from their doubts about diseases like say tuberculosis or cancer etc. or a childless woman may share her sorrow and seek advice about her infertility. Thus elementary curative/symptomatic care through VHWs provides a medium for dialogue with the villagers on health issues.

For the last two years we have used the medium of the Arogya Yatra (Health March) to take our health messages to the people. In this 5 day programme during the agriculturally off-season, a team of about 15 health educators carry health-educational material in a jeep to five centrally located villages in an area, camping in each of these villages for a day in the village school. During the day-long programme in the school, we display human organs kept in glass jars and the VHWs explain the structure and function of these organs along with the important diseases afflicting these organs. This helps a great deal to remove many misunderstandings and superstitions about health issues. Also on display are picto-rial poster exhibitions on issues like misuse of injections and intravenous saline, on women's reproductive health, AIDS, anaemia, jaundice etc. VHWs explain these posters. Next morning this team moves to the next centrally located village in that area to repeat this programme.

We have a good slide show in woman's reproductive health. Some of our VHWs are now adept enough to explain this slide show to a group of women, either during the Arogya Yatra or during special meetings.

2. Rationale of this form of communication.

As explained above, this form of health communication caters to the felt-need of the villagers, and helps to establish the credibility of VHWs as health professionals. Secondly, a health-

educational advice about say diarrhoea makes more impact, when the patient is suffering from diarrhoea. With low literacy and absence of a tradition in the village of health-educational activities at public level, this low-cost individualised health education at a time when the villager is interested to know about a particular health problem she/he is facing, seems an appropriate one.
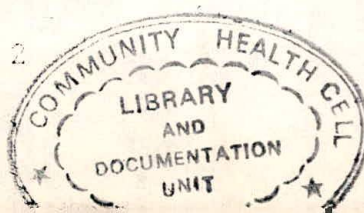
3. Social Relations.
Health work through VHWs establishes three types of social relations.

a) Economic : In an embryonic form, it establishes alternative healthy economic relations through its low-cost, non-exploitative elementary health care activity.

b) Social : Availability of easily accessible, friendly health professional based in the village itself sets up in a rudimentary form, social relations of health-care compared to the existing dominant health-care relations dominated by physically and socially alien doctors.

c) Cultural-ideological : Health education through VHWs fosters alternative socio-cultural relations through the demystification of medical science. When ordinary village women grasp elements of modern medicine and provide elementary health-care, this activity undermines the dominant ideology that health-care can be provided only by college educated, elite doctors. Secondly, our stress on health education also undermines the dominant ideology of equating health-care to pills, injections, high-tech interventions. Thirdly, our stress on social and not merely technical aspects of health-care fosters awareness that health is dependent on broader socio-economic forces ; that today's health-care is urban-oriented, is exploitative and that there can be an appropriate, village-based, low-cost alternative to it.

4. Transformation effected.
The extent of change in social relations through this health-conscientization is very difficult to measure. We have not assessed such a change in a systematic, objective manner. But our impression is that increased health awareness has meant a kind of public pressure on the private and government doctors to perform better. Secondly, it has meant seeking of medical advice in time, of decrease in some of the misconceptions and superstitions on health issues like -starving a patient of diarrhoea, branding the abdomen with hot iron for respiratory distress, untouchability during menstruation, blaming the wife for infertility or for not begetting a male child etc; etc.

Overall, one can say that though VHWs have their limitations, they can be very effective, appropriate agents for fostering in a rudimentary form, alternative sets of social relations, especially at cultural-social-ideological level.

2-CLINICAL MEDICAL PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

Lok Vidnyan Sanghatna (LVS) is the People's Science Movement in Maharashtra. It has been working for the last fifteen years with the twin objectives of

i) fostering scientific attitude amongst the people through relevant techno-scientific education and

ii) fostering pro-people attitudes amongst scientists through debates and lobbying on techno-scientific issues of direct social relevance.

For the last five years, we have formed the Health-Committee of the LVS. It consists mostly of like-minded doctors in private practice, who are trying to practice rational; ethical medicine and are interested in public education towards that end. Described very briefly below is the communication process and its implications as experimented in the work of this Health-Committee.

1/COMMUNICATION AMONGST DOCTORS

i-Mode of communication

The first three years we concentrated on trying to establish communication amongst like-minded doctors. We meet regularly for the last five years on the last Tuesday of every month at night. Meeting at night on a working-day is the only convenient time for private practitioners. A socially relevant topic is selected for discussion. For example topics like : what instructions need to be given to patients for collection of sample for laboratory investigations; the role and limitations of Electro Cardiography in the diagnosis of Ischaemic Heart Disease; use and misuse of new antibiotics, etc. Though members of the Health-Committee are rational practitioners, a lot of discussions is required for all to reach a consensus on rational and ethical position on a particular clinical intervention.

Attempt is made to share the consensus amongst sensitive sections of doctors, in the form of a mimeo-paper or by sending the consensus-paper for publication to a magazine devoted to rational therapeutics like "Drug Disease Doctor" or "Bodhi".

In the wake of inclusion of doctors under the Consumer Protection Act, such a consensus building has acquired special significance. The law expects doctors to provide average "reasonable" care. If doctors' organisations prepare guidelines about what is "reasonable care" under local conditions, judiciary would respect these guidelines. Doctors following these guidelines would be legally safe in the event of any mishap. With this view, by way of example, we prepared guidelines for minimum laboratory investigation before undertaking "peripheral" surgery (so called minor surgery) for appendicitis, tonsilitis, piles, hernia, etc. It took

several meetings of experts to come to a consensus on this issue. This consensus has been adopted by the local doctors' organisation - Association of Hospitals of Pune (AHP).

ii-Rationale of this mode of communication

The doctors' community suffers from professional rivalry due to intense competition, irrational and unethical practices, lack of social orientation and paucity of health-educational efforts, etc. Doctors who want to overcome these defects and foster rational, ethical practice and public education towards that end, are in minority. Moreover, there is no socially oriented platform available for such doctors. They therefore tend to get frustrated and join the mainstream. The Health-Committee of the LVS provides such a platform and peer-group support for such doctors. Discussion on rational, ethical medical practice brings about clarity and mutual understanding. The consensus developed through such discussions carries more social weight than views of individual experts.

Such a consensus is especially needed in the context of the inclusion of doctors in the Consumer Protection Act. This activity of consensus building on rational, ethical medical care is a small step towards building a pressure group armed with concrete positions on some major issues in clinical practice. Such a group can provide an impetus or pressure for the mainstream of medical community to increase the rationality and ethicality in medical practice.

iii-The change effected

This is difficult to measure. One can only say that the Health-Committee has earned a good reputation amongst the sensitive section of doctors in Pune.

Though the Health-Committee has no formal place in the doctors' circles, as mentioned above, its guidelines for pre-operative laboratory investigations have been adopted by the Association of Hospitals of Pune. A printed form to be filled in by the patient, giving relevant 'history' (health information) required by the anaesthetist before giving anaesthesia, has been prepared by the Health-Committee. It is being used by many hospitals. This is one step towards encouraging minimum standards for health care. (Generally, in small private hospitals, anaesthetists do not visit the patients to take such a history). These forms document and provide such a history, which is in the interest of both the patient and the anaesthetist.

Like-minded doctors in other States have shown interest in duplicating this activity in their own town.

2/COMMUNICATION WITH PATIENTS

i-Mode of communication

The Health-Committee has prepared in the regional language

standard health-educational brochures on about 25 common diseases and surgeries like diarrhoea, fever, anaemia, jaundice, diabetes, high blood pressure, heart-disease; operations like removal of appendix, tonsils, uterus, piles, etc. These pamphlets are short, measure about 1500 words and are in the form of questions and answers on that particular topic. They would be sold to willing doctors at a nominal cost-price of Rs 1/- per leaflet. It is expected that doctors would give these to the relevant patient. It is thus an individual level communication in a written form to supplement the oral dialogue between the doctor and the patient.

ii-Rationale of this choice

Doctors have been occasionally writing health educational articles for the lay press on these diseases and surgeries. But such articles reflect the individual views of the doctor and may also reflect doctors' interest. A literature prepared by a group of doctors of the Health-Committee is free of these individualities.

Secondly, a person who develops say high blood pressure this year, may have read about an article on this subject in a magazine two years back and hence does not remember its contents. Keeping press-cuttings of newspapers on health-educational articles is hardly done. There is therefore a need to supply some health-educational material when the person needs it. Hence this attempt to provide such leaflets through doctors. Once the concept of standard health-educational brochures takes roots, patients will go to book-shops to buy these pamphlets. Today, given the lack of tradition and availability of such material, and given the low level of health-awareness, such pamphlets will have to be chanelised mainly through doctors.

Thirdly, patients many a times do not fully understand the explanation given by the doctor; the patient may have other difficulties (financial, social, etc.) nagging him/her and hence can not listen to the doctor with adequate attention. Even if the patient understands the doctor's explanations, she/he tends naturally to forget part of it. Moreover, the family members should also know a few things about the disease and its treatment.

And lastly, majority of doctors neither have the time nor the inclination to explain things to the patient in a simple, friendly manner. Given all these factors, written explanations and instructions in the form of a pamphlet offers the best mode of communication to supplement the oral dialogue initiated during the visit of the doctor.

iii-Social relations

These health-educational leaflets are from a People's Science Organisation which is trying to build a bridge between the people and the scientific community. This activity therefore is a concrete step to change the prevalent pattern of non-communication and mystification of health-science. These pamphlets are based on
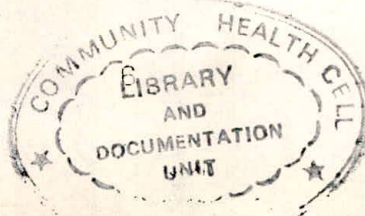
a consensus amongst doctors with a rational, ethical perspective, about how much and what to tell patients about different diseases and their treatment. This helps to foster scientific, ethical perspective on treatment of various diseases and counteracts views based on ignorance or individual likes, dislikes or vested interests.

Thus for example when the pamphlet on removal of uterus explains say five reasons for which the uterus may be removed surgically, it means there is no other rational reason to remove the uterus. This knowledge would expose the proposal to remove the uterus for dubious reasons like swelling of the cervix or a 'tumor' (whatever its nature or size) of the uterus. These pamphlets would thus foster rational, ethical relations in medical practice.

These pamphlets give the important benefits and risks of different common surgeries. This would enable the patient to give an informed consent. This again is not a very prevalent practice in India as of today.

iv-Change effected

Though the pamphlets are now ready after about 20 meetings (one for each subject), they are currently in the press. They are being serialized in a popular weekly for wider publicity. Soon systematic effort would be made to sell these pamphlets to the sensitive section of doctors all over Maharashtra State. The impact of this activity would be known only a couple of years after the sale of these pamphlets.

Extension of Democracy and Freedom of Press

BUDDHADEB BHATTACHARYYA

THE years preceding the massive electoral triumph of the Left Front in West Bengal in 1977 had been marked by a process of brutal trampelling underfoot of democratic norms and practices in this State as elsewhere in the country. And thus, the sweeping mandate for the Left Front at the polls was also a popular indictment against this ruthless suppression that had marked the "Emergency years". The first important task before the newly-elected Government was the all-round restoration of democracy. And to this task the Left Front Government devoted itself with a pro-people outlook.

The series of Black Acts of the Emergency period, including the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), were quickly dispensed with. Political prisoners of all shades and creed were released forthwith. Freedom was guaranteed to *all* political parties and trade union organisations. And *ipso facto*, the Opposition was assured of full freedom, something these worthies had proved obstinately unwilling to concede when they had clung to office. This was, of course, to be expected of a regime that had thrived on autocratic policies and had made the Information Department of the State Government a Department of Censorship.

In the national plane of late, one is constrained to point out, the hydra-headed menace of authoritarianism has raised its ugly head. The signs are ominous enough in their implications. Counter-democratic ploys are being put to practice against democratic institutions; Opposition parties and non-Congress-I State Government are being threatened with gestures that are more than menacing; Black Acts like the one on Disturbed areas are being cavalierly enacted; para-military forces are being put to use in a frighteningly frequent manner; the judiciary is sought to be browbeaten; the press is being subjected to relentless pressure; and the *Doordarshan* and the *Aakashvani* have been transformed into brazen mouthpieces of the Congress-I party and Government. The signs, as we said, are patently ominous and the 59th Amendment of the Constitution, ostensibly aimed at the Punjab, has ramifications embracing *much* larger contexts. All this has doubtless contributed to the gradual but inexorable crumbling of democratic norms.

Right after its assumption of office did the Left Front Government set the process of democracy moving. During the previous regime, the elec-

toral process itself had been stifled. The present Government set about organising elections to the panchayats and urban local bodies — something the Congress Government had not even considered to be worth implementing. It is the Left Front Government that had guaranteed voting rights to those of 18 years of age and above, thus extending the franchise to the youth of the State. And this is something quite unique in the entire country. The working at the grassroots level of more than 62,000 winning candidates in the three-tier panchayat polls is a demonstrative exercise of democracy in its real pro-people form. In the some vein, the extension of these democratic principles to the level of the various statutory bodies as well as in the school, college, and university Governing Bodies generated immense popular enthusiasm. Full autonomy was quickly returned to the various self-governing institutions.

The unfortunate tragedy of the big press is the fact that it had never been able to digest and live with the reality of a Left Front Government in office. And the feeling has not abated over the last decade. It is quite the contrary, in fact. Here, we have to confess, the Left Front Government's continuance has contributed in no small measure to this state of affairs. For, its very presence has set about hardening of the polarisation of classes in a marked, if expected, manner. The Calcutta-based big press, in particular, has remained wrathful about State Government, and has been sniping at it in a fairly regular fashion. Let us clarify the State Government's stance to this by stating in unambiguous terms that we feel that the press is at its full liberty to stick to facts and to editorialise in all kinds of manner in an attempt to let off broadsides against the State Government's policies and the supposed implications thereof. We firmly believe in the maintenance of a free and unfettered press.

But what we do find reprehensible is the way in which a section of the press would spread a series of canards on the basis of what can be described with fair accuracy as little more than half-truths and untruths. This, we firmly hold, is something that stands far from the democratic norms about which our friends of the press are so much concerned here in West Bengal.

We humbly submit that the Left Front Government (being a *Left* Front Government) has never resorted to any form of pressure tactics to dissuade the big press from the onerous path they have unfortunately chosen to cling to, by getting hold of the wrong end of the stick. There has never been a

The author is Minister for Information and Culture, West Bengal.

departure made from the norms of our policy of releasing of advertisements to the press. Only in two isolated instances exceptions had to be made — and in both cases the issue concerned blatant communal propaganda. The matter was referred to the Press Council which fully upheld the State Government's stance. Problems, however, remain in that on the eve of polls in the State, be it for the assembly, the panchayats, or the urban local bodies, a section of the press tries in a desperate manner to appear as prophets of doom in protending dire consequence for the Left Front at the elections. That their wishful thinking inevitably ends up much short of the reality never seems to dissuade them from showing praiseworthy perseverence, though.

Perhaps the readers might pardon a slight diversion to allow me to draw their attention to the sordid state of affairs in the Congress-I-run States, as indeed, in the capital itself. There, those brave journalists and correspondents who dare expose the dark misdeeds of the Government run the terrible risk of getting beaten up, chased about and, in very many instances, ending up quite dead. A look into the States of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan *et al*, would amply bear this out. Any newsman incurring the wrath of the administration and/or the ruling group is routinely subjected to untold harrassments that beggar description. Printing presses are burnt down or simply forcibly closed the proprietors of the 'offensive' publications are threatened with dire consequences, and in this way, the press is kept gagged and fettered — and finally constrained to toe the 'official' line. Can one envisage, even in one's wildest dreams, anything of this sort happening over here? In all truthfulness, would even the barons of the big press ever dare imagine such turn of events in West Bengal under the Left Front Government?

One has, however, to operate within the reality of the situation, and wishful thinking would get us nowhere. And, in the given circumstances, the Left Front Government has recently set up a Mass Media Centre to start organising a viable exchange of views on the various aspects of the media *per se*, with the active participation of members of the Fourth Estate. We are fairly bemused by the fact that even this Centre is being subjected to highly critical and, as is to be expected, fairly jaundiced scrutiny by the gentlemen of the big press. Why should, they have started thinking aloud, a Government (and, then again, the Left Front Government, to boot) take upon itself activities like organisation of seminars and symposia that are traditionally associated with academic institutions? There must be, it is promptly concluded, *some* deep, dark conspiracy behind this non-formal move to undermine in *some*, as yet unknown, manner the freedom of this press. "Decoy" has been the word used by these worthies to describe the Centre — such xenophobia! What makes one particularly sad is that these inuendoes and inane apprehensions are being hurled at an institution that is a fledgling and has, in fact, just been formally launched.

And yet, we *would* look forward to a viable future for the Centre which can flower into a healthy plat-form *and* a sounding board for lively and frienlyd exchanges of a myriad of ideas and opinions regarding constant evaluation of the unfolding role of the media, and debating the future perspective for years to come. No matter whatever attitude is put on display by a section of the press *vis-a-vis* this institution, the Left Front Government shall never compromise, even in the slightest possible measure, its considered and firm stand on upholding the democratic feedom of the press, something that we cherish as sacrosanct as an integrated part of the process of democracy. We harbour no rancour against the press for their 'crusade' of counter-factual fusillades against us, for we are confident, in our deep respect for the people's verdict — and to repeat a well-worn *cliche*, which nonetheless does need reiteration from time to time, — that it is the people who have the final word. □

WHY THIS BOOK IS SO POLITICAL

When, 17 years ago, I (David Werner) first began working for improvements in health with villagers in western Mexico, I did not look far beyond the immediate causes of ill health. As I saw it, worms and diarrhea were caused by poor hygiene and contaminated water. Malnutrition was mainly caused by scarcity of food in a remote, mountainous area where drought, floods, and violent winds made farming difficult and harvests uncertain. The high death rate in children (34%) resulted from the combination of infection, poor nutrition, and the long distance to the closest health centers.

In short, I saw people's needs in physical terms, as determined by their physical surroundings. This short-sightedness on my part was understandable, for my training had been in life sciences. I had little social or political awareness.

I might have remained that way, as do many health workers, except that I came so close to the mountain people. I knew from the first that they had strengths, skills, and endurance that I lacked. And so I was able to let them teach me about the human—and inhuman—side of their needs and their lives. They did not sit down and spell things out for me; rather they shared with me their homes, their hardships, and their dreams. Many times I have struggled with a family, against odds, to prevent the loss of a child, a cornfield, or hope. Sometimes we won; sometimes we lost.

Little by little, I became aware that many of their losses—of children, of land, or of hope—not only have immediate physical causes, but also underlying social causes. That is to say, they result from the way some people treat or affect the lives of others. Time and again, I have experienced occasions where death and suffering of children and other persons I have to come to love have been the direct or indirect result of human greed.

On page 109 of *Where There Is No Doctor,* there is a photograph of a very thin little boy in the arms of his malnourished mother. The boy eventually died—of hunger. The family was—and still is—very poor. Each year the father had to borrow maize from one of the big landholders in the area. For every liter of maize borrowed at planting time, he had to pay back 3 liters at harvest time. With these high interest rates, the family went further and further into debt. No matter how hard the father worked, each year more of his harvest went to pay what he owed to the landholder. Each year he had to borrow more, and pay back 3 times as much. Eventually, the family had to sell their few chickens and pigs, and finally even the beans they had grown on the steep mountain slopes, to buy enough corn to survive.

With no eggs or beans to eat, the mother became increasingly malnourished. Her breasts failed to produce milk for her baby. So she fed him the only food they had—cornmeal and water. In time the child died.

Part of the problem may also have been that the father occasionally drinks with the other men. When he gets drunk, he loses his judgement and sometimes, to buy rounds of drinks, sells a part of the family's precious supply of corn.

This is sad. But look at the father's life. The hard work he does only to go deeper into debt. The death of a child he loved and whom he feels he failed. The apparent hopelessness of his situation. And frequently his own hunger—not only for food, but for a fair chance to benefit from his own hard work. We cannot blame him if he occasionally drinks too much!

Perhaps no one is really to blame. Or perhaps we all are—all of us, at least, who live with more than we need while others hunger. In any case, it is not right, it is not kind, it is not human, to remain silent in a world that permits some persons to grow fat from the hard work of others who go hungry.

The child in the photograph who died is not alone. In the mountain villages I know, there are hundreds of similar children—some dead and some waiting. In the world there are millions. One fourth of the world's children are undernourished, most for reasons similar to those I have just described. Their problems will not be solved by medicines or latrines or nutrition centers or birth control (although all of these, if approached decently, may help). What their families need is a fair chance to live from their own labor, a fair share of what the earth provides.

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Do I make myself clear? Let me tell you about Chelo and his family, whom I have become close to over the years. Chelo has advanced tuberculosis. Before the villager-run health center was started in his village, he received no treatment. He knew he had tuberculosis. He wanted treatment. But he could not afford the medicines. (Basic tuberculosis medicines are not expensive to produce. But in Mexican pharmacies, they are sold at up to ten times their generic price in the United States and other developed countries.) Although the government's tuberculosis control program does give free medication, it requires that patients go often to one of its city health centers for tests and medication. For Chelo, this would have meant 250 kilometers of travel every two weeks. He simply could not afford it.

For years, Chelo had worked for the richest landholder in the village. The landholder is an unhappy, overweight man who, apart from his enormous landholdings, owns thousands of cattle. When Chelo began to grow weak from his illness and could not work as hard as before, the landholder fired him, and told him to move out of the house he had been lending him.

Chelo, his wife, Soledad, and his stepson, Raul,* built a mud-brick hut and moved into it. By that time Chelo was coughing blood.

Around the same time, the community-based health program was getting started in the area, but as yet no health worker had been trained in Chelo's village. So a visiting health worker taught Chelo's 11-year-old stepson, Raul, to inject him with streptomycin. Raul also learned to keep records to be sure Chelo took his other medicines correctly. The boy did a good job, and soon was injecting and doing follow-up on several persons with tuberculosis in the village. By age 13, Raul had become one of the central team of health workers in the area. At the same time, he was still attending school.

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*These are real persons, but I have changed their names.

Meanwhile, Chelo's family had cleaned up a small weed patch and garbage area at the lower edge of town. With much hard work they had constructed a simple irrigation system using ditches and grooved logs. At last they had a successful vegetable plot, which brought in a small income. Chelo's health had improved, but he would never be strong. Treatment had begun too late.

Economically, Chelo had one setback after another. Just when he was beginning to get out of debt to the storekeepers and landholders, he fell ill with appendicitis. He needed hospital surgery, so health workers and neighbors carried him 23 kilometers on a stretcher to the road, and from there took him to the city by truck. The surgery (in spite of the fact that the doctor lowered his fee) cost as much as the average farmworker earns in a year. The family was reduced to begging.

The only valuable possession the family had was a donkey. When Chelo returned from the hospital, his donkey had disappeared. Two months later, a neighbor spotted it in the grazing area of one of the wealthier families. A new brand—still fresh—had been put right on top of Chelo's old one.

Chelo went to the village authorities, who investigated. They decided in favor of the wealthy thief, and fined Chelo. To me, the most disturbing thing about this is that when he told me about it, Chelo did not even seem angry—just sad. He laughed weakly and shrugged, as if to say, "That's life. Nothing can be done."

His stepson, Raul, however, took all these abuses very hard. He had been a gentle and caring child, but stubborn, with an enormous need for love. As he got older, he seemed to grow angrier. His anger was often not directed at anything in particular.

An incident with the school was the last straw. Raul had worked very hard to complete secondary school in a neighboring town. Shortly before he was to graduate, the headmaster told him in front of the class that he could not be given a certificate since he was an illegitimate child—unless his parents got married. (This happened at a time when the national government had decided to improve its statistics. The president's wife had launched a campaign to have all unwed couples with children get married. The headmaster's refusal to give graduation certificates to children of unwed parents was one of the pressures used.) Chelo and his wife did get married—which cost more money—and Raul did get his certificate. But the damage to his pride remains.

Young Raul began to drink. When he was sober, he could usually control himself. But he had a hard time working with the local health team because he took even the friendliest criticism as a personal attack. When he was drunk, his anger often exploded. He managed to get hold of a high-powered pistol, which he would shoot into the air when he was drinking. One night he got so drunk that he fell down unconscious on the street. Some of the young toughs in town, who also had been drinking, took his pistol and his pants, cut off his hair, and left him naked in the street. Chelo heard about it and carried Raul home.

After this, Raul hid in shame for two weeks. For a while he did not even visit his friends at the health post. He was afraid they would laugh. They did not. But Raul had sworn revenge—he was never quite sure against whom. A few months later, when drunk, he shot and killed a young man who had just arrived from another village. The two had never seen each other before.

This, to me, is a tragedy because Raul was fighting forces bigger than himself. As a boy of 12, he had taken on the responsibilities of a man. He had shown care and concern for other people. He had always had a quick temper, but he was a good person. And, I happen to know, he still is.

Who, then, is to blame? Again, perhaps no one. Or perhaps all of us. Something needs to be changed.

After the shooting, Raul fled. That night, the State Police came looking for him. They burst into Chelo's home and demanded to know where Raul was. Chelo said Raul had gone. He didn't know where. The police dragged Chelo into a field outside town and beat him with their pistols and rifles. Later, his wife found him still lying on the ground, coughing blood and struggling to breathe.

It was more than a year before Chelo recovered enough to work much in his garden. His tuberculosis had started up again after the beating by the police. Raul was gone and could not help with the work. The family was so poor that, again, they had to go begging. Often they went hungry.

After a few months, Chelo's wife, Soledad, also developed signs of tuberculosis and started treatment at the village health post. The local health workers did not charge for her treatment or Chelo's, even though the health post had economic difficulties of its own. However, Chelo's wife helped out when she could by washing the health post linens at the river. (This work may not have been the best thing for her TB, but it did wonders for her dignity. She felt good about giving something in return.)

About 4 years have passed since these last incidents. Chelo and his wife are now somewhat healthier, but are still so poor that life is a struggle.

Then, about a year ago, a new problem arose. The landholder for whom Chelo had worked before he became ill decided to take away the small plot of land where Chelo grew his vegetables. When the land had been a useless weed patch and garbage dump, Chelo had been granted the rights to it by the village authorities. Now that the parcel had been developed into a fertile and irrigated vegetable plot, the landholder wanted it for himself. He applied to the village authorities, who wrote a document granting the rights to him. Of course, this was unlawful because the rights had already been given to Chelo.

Chelo took the matter over the heads of the village authorities to the Municipal Presidency, located in a neighboring town. He did not manage to see the President, but the President's spokesman told Chelo, in no uncertain terms, that he should stop trying to cause trouble. Chelo returned to his village in despair.

Chelo would have lost his land, which was his one means of survival, if the village health team had not then taken action. The health workers had struggled too many times—often at the cost of their own earnings—to pull Chelo through and keep him alive. They knew what the loss of his land would mean to him.

At an all-village meeting, the health workers explained to the people about the threat to Chelo's land, and what losing it would mean to his health. They produced proof that the town authorities had given the land rights to Chelo first, and they asked for justice. Although the poor farm people usually remain silent in village meetings, and never vote against the wishes of the village authorities, this time they spoke up and decided in Chelo's favor.

The village authorities were furious, and so was the landholder.

The health team had taken what could be called political action. But the health workers did not think of themselves as 'political'. Nor did they consider themselves capitalists, communists, or even socialists. (Such terms have little meaning for them.) They simply thought of themselves as village health workers—but in the larger sense. They saw the health, and indeed the life, of a helpless person threatened by the unfairness of those in positions of power. And they had the courage to speak out, to take action in his defense.

Through this and many similar experiences, the village health team has come to realize that the health of the poor often depends on questions of social justice. They have found that the changes that are most needed are not likely to come from those who hold more than their share of land, wealth, or authority. Instead, they will come through cooperative effort by those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. From themselves!

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More and more, the village team in Ajoya has looked for ways to get their fellow villagers thinking and talking about their situation, and taking group action to deal with some of the underlying causes of poor health.

Some of the methods they have developed and community actions they have led are described in several parts of this book. For example, three of the village theater skits described in Chapter 27 show ways in which the health team has helped the poor look at their needs and organize to meet them.

These 3 skits are:

SMALL FARMERS JOIN TOGETHER TO OVERCOME EXPLOITATION (page **27**-27),

USELESS MEDICINES THAT SOMETIMES KILL (page **27**-14), and

THE WOMEN JOIN TOGETHER TO OVERCOME DRUNKENNESS (page **27**-19).

These popular theater skits had, and are still having, a marked social influence. Villagers participate with new pride in the cooperative maize bank set up to overcome high interest on loans. Women have organized to prevent the opening of a public bar. And storekeepers no longer carry some of the expensive and dangerous medicines that they sold before. In general, people seem more alert about things they had simply accepted.

On the other hand, new difficulties have arisen. Some of the health workers have been thrown out of their rented homes. Others have been arrested on false charges. Threats have been made to close down the villager-run program.

But in spite of the obstacles, the health team and the people have stood their ground. The village team knows the road ahead will not be easy. They also know that they must be careful and alert. Yet they have chosen to stand by their people, by the poor and the powerless.

They have had the courage to look the whole problem in the eye—and to look for a whole answer.

The story of Chelo and his family is true, though I have not told the half of it. It is typical, in some ways, of most poor families. Persons in several parts of the world who are poor or know the poor, on reading Chelo's story have commented, "It could have been written here!"

I have told you Chelo's story so that you might understand the events that have moved us to include in this book ideas and methods that might be called 'political'.

> What I have tried to say here has been said even better by a group of peasant school boys from Barbiana, Italy. These boys were flunked out of public school and were helped, by a remarkable priest, to learn how to teach each other.*
>
> The Italian peasant boys write:
>
> *Whoever is fond of the comfortable and the fortunate stays out of politics. He does not want anything to change.*
>
> But these school boys also realize that:
>
> *To get to know the children of the poor and to love politics are one and the same thing. You cannot love human beings who were marked by unjust laws and not work for other laws.*

---

*Letter to a Teacher, by the school boys of Barbiana. For more ideas of these school boys, see p. 16-16.

FIFTIETH WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

WHA50.27

Agenda item 17.1

13 May 1997

Strengthening health systems in developing countries

The Fiftieth World Health Assembly,

Mindful of the principles of, and obvious need for, technical cooperation among developing countries (TCDC) and of the interest shown by the Health Assembly by virtue of its resolutions WHA31.41, WHA31.51, WHA32.27, WHA35.24, WHA36.34, WHA37.15, WHA37.16, WHA38.23, WHA39.23, WHA40.17 and WHA40.30, in strengthening this type of cooperation with a view to improving the health situation in the developing countries;

Reaffirming resolutions WHA42.37, WHA43.9, and WHA46.17 with regard to the importance of technical cooperation among developing countries as a fundamental element of health development;

Recognizing the equality of all people and the need to promote sustained economic and social development as a means of eradicating poverty and reducing the increasing numbers of marginalized people;

Underlining the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as set out in the United Nations Charter, including the sovereign equality of States, and the purposes of developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people;

Expressing particular concern for the health of people living under exceptional conditions, especially during natural disasters or armed conflict and under foreign occupation;

Noting with satisfaction the decisions taken by the non-aligned and other developing countries concerning the adoption of principles related to health development of their people and particularly those related to health sector reform as is currently under way in many countries;

Welcoming in this regard the recommendations made at the Technical Consultation Meeting on Health Sector Reform, held in Cartagena, Colombia on 19-21 February 1997;

Proclaiming that health sector reforms should facilitate the provision of health care to meet human needs, and that these must be governed by respect for human dignity, equity, solidarity and ethics;

Recognizing that health sector reforms, while intended to rectify failures of the health system, can be adversely affected by forces and constraints outside the purview of the health sector, such as high indebtedness, fiscal stringencies, structural adjustments and undue restrictions;

Recognizing the importance of TCDC as an effective vehicle for health development and realizing that cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries is not an option, but an imperative, and that only the nurturing of a spirit of collective self-reliance and adoption of joint strategies will allow effective implementation of people-centred socioeconomic development,

1.   WELCOMES the continuing political commitment of the non-aligned and other developing countries to facilitating the enjoyment of good health by all their people without hindrance, and to providing access to proper health care for all;

2.   REMINDS Member States that everyone has the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of social well-being and physical and mental health;

3.   CALLS UPON Member States:

(1)   to promote the improvement of the health conditions of their people by strengthening the health sector within the context of comprehensive and sustained economic and social development;

(2)   to identify appropriate policies and programmes for the promotion of health for all in accordance with the specific needs of each country;

(3)   to strengthen the advocacy and negotiating capabilities of the health sector in order to ensure greater resources for health development;

(4)   to strengthen the leadership role of ministries of health in reducing inequity, performing regulatory functions, monitoring health financing mechanisms, reallocating financial and human resources and coordinating internal and external cooperation for health in order to prevent fragmentation and dysfunction of health programmes;

(5)   to foster the reorientation of human resources in the light of the needs of each health care system;

(6)   to support activities oriented towards harmonizing the multiple actors - public and private - to make them consistent with national health policies;

(7)   to accord the highest priority to health development;

(8)   to foster the identification of critical factors impeding health development and the systematization, documentation and dissemination of experiences with health sector reforms within an international network of cooperation;

(9)   to promote and support TCDC actions, activities and programmes for reforms in the health sector among Member countries and their institutions;

4.   CALLS UPON the developed countries:

(1)   to facilitate the transfer of materials, equipment, technology and resources to developing countries for health development programmes that correspond to the priority needs of those countries, and further to support the application of the principles of TCDC;

(2)   to provide WHO with the necessary financial resources to implement agreed priority programmes which support effectively the efforts of developing countries in accelerating the attainment of health for all through primary health care;

5. REQUESTS the international and multilateral institutions and agencies:

(1)   to provide, within their mandate, greater support and resources to facilitate health sector reforms in developing countries that is designed to achieve equity in access to health care for their populations;

(2)   to identify obstacles to health for all and to support and uphold the self-reliance of these countries in charting their own path to health and human development;

(3)   to implement the relevant conclusions of the summits and conferences of organizations of the United Nations system that address health problems and make recommendations in this field;

6. REQUESTS the Director-General:

(1)   to provide full support to all countries, especially the non-aligned and other developing countries, to pursue their own health sector reform efforts, and to improve the quality of health for all their people, with the firm understanding that such efforts should respond to the specific needs of each country, and to seek extrabudgetary resources in addition to the regular budget resources already assigned for such efforts;

(2)   to provide an analytical capability to distil the different experiences of health sector reform based on firm evidence;

(3)   to promote and support countries, especially in the context of TCDC, in the area of health sector reform by establishing a network of relevant institutions to identify critical factors impeding health development and the systematization, documentation, and dissemination of health sector reform approaches and to enable countries to exchange experiences on a continuing basis;

(4)   to ensure that activities supporting health sector reform are closely linked to those aimed at renewing the health-for-all strategy;

(5)   to promote measures for joint action, in agreement with the United Nations and other relevant international agencies, in order to accelerate health development in the developing, and especially the least developed countries;

(6)   to report on the progress achieved to the Fifty-first World Health Assembly.

Ninth plenary meeting, 13 May 1997
A50/VR/9

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3

Personnel Decisions International: What Makes a Good Boss? Americans Say It's Communication and Interpersonal Relationship Skills.

Author/s:
Issue: Oct 12, 1999

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 12 /PRNewswire/ -- Organizations judge bosses primarily by their ability to deliver financial results. Employees, however, use a different measuring stick. More than one-third (37 percent) of people surveyed identified "communication skills or interpersonal relationship skills" as most important in a good boss, according to a national survey commissioned by Personnel Decisions International (PDI), a global management and human resources consulting firm.

The next most popular response was a boss' ability to understand employees' needs and help them develop their skills (19 percent), and 18 percent said a boss' ability to make good day-to-day decisions is what counts most. Forty-two percent said "poor communication skills or interpersonal relationship skills" is what makes their bosses least effective.

"If a manager doesn't have these skills, he or she won't be able to lead effectively and will eventually be unable to deliver results," said Gordy Curphy, vice president and general manager for the Denver office of PDI. "High turnover, low employee morale and lack of trust within the organization often stem from management's inability to communicate and relate well with employees. Those are big concerns in a tight labor market."

How can bosses improve?

Improving communication or interpersonal relationship skills is trickier than it might appear. "These behaviors are built up over many years, so most bosses see these skills as a given, and they believe they're already good at them," says Curphy. "It requires some type of intervention -- through a performance appraisal, an outside expert or a 360-degree performance feedback tool in which peers, subordinates and supervisors provide feedback --

performance feedback tool in which peers, subordinates and supervisors provide feedback -- to help them see how they stack up."

But the message alone won't change the behavior. Bosses need an action plan and a supervisor who will hold their feet to the fire. "Ready-made, one-day communication seminars don't produce long-term results," said Curphy. "Executive coaching needs to be a part of the solution, and you need to build a good on-the-job action plan for improvement, with the boss' supervisor checking in and providing ongoing feedback."

How to identify and prevent the problem

Upper management plays a key role in identifying a boss who has poor communication or interpersonal relationship skills. "If upper management is doing its job, it should be obvious," said Curphy. "They'll see the signs in areas such as turnover and low morale. The boss' boss needs to have his or her fingers on the pulse of the organization and take action when necessary. Employees may not feel comfortable addressing the issue with their boss."

An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Organizations should not only look for, but also test for, these skills when hiring managers. "People can be very smooth and polished in an interview and later exhibit poor interpersonal skills or dark-side personality traits," said Curphy. "A management assessment is a good indicator of one's true behavior."

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Continued from page 1

Management, however, is too often reluctant to include assessment in the hiring process. "Organizations are often focused on getting bodies in the door quickly, especially in a tight labor market," said Curphy. "But taking the time to conduct a more rigorous assessment of skills when hiring can save the organization months of trying to fix a problem later."

You think you have a bad boss on your hands?

Hopefully you're lucky enough to work for a good boss, but if not, keep in mind it could be worse: 33 percent of people surveyed identified Ebeneezer Scrooge from Charles Dickens' A Christmas Carol as the boss they would like least to work for.

Other bosses who would most likely cause employees to start mailing out their resumes include Rebecca Howe (Kirstie Alley) from the television show "Cheers" (11 percent), Amanda Woodward (Heather Locklear) from the television show "Melrose Place" (10.4 percent), and Franklin Hart (Dabney Coleman), the boss from the movie "9 to 5" (10.2 percent).

Founded in 1967, Personnel Decisions International (PDI) is a global consulting firm based in organizational psychology that specializes in assessment-based selection and development of managers and organizations. Headquartered in Minneapolis, it serves clients worldwide with domestic operating offices in Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Minneapolis/St. Paul, New York, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., and international offices in Brussels, Geneva, Hong Kong, London, Paris, Royal Leamington Spa (UK), Singapore, Stockholm and Tokyo. Visit PDI's Web site at http://www.personneldecisions.com

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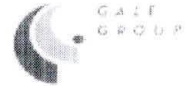
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COMMUNICATION FOR VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION

Temple Bay, Mahabalipuram

Sept. 1 - 4, 1988

FORMATION OF A FORUM: CONCERNS AND CONSIDERATIONS

- Dr L S Gandhi Doss
  Reader in Social Work
  Bangalore University.

This brief paper attempts to present certain aspects that requires attention while creating a Forum of a more "Communicative Voluntary Organisations" - It is, essential to state some basic assumptions underlying in such exercise.

In the era of ever exploding communication technology, voluntary organisations, particularly, working in the development arena appear to feel that they live in a world of isolation, especially neglected by the media world.

Todays society being greatly influenced and manipulated by the media. The media either controls or regulates the flow of message to people. Therefore the dictum came to stay "Media is Message".

Therefore, for people working at the grassroot level, the question in relation to media seem to be

    a) Whether the present media reflects the
       true picture of the large section of
       population of the society or

    b) Do NGO seek a greater participation in
       the media

    c) Can people and media be organised for their
       common participation, or else

    d) What are we looking for?

The purpose of NGOs looking towards the media aspect arises out of a conviction that support from media would greatly enhance the development process and their cause oriented action. NGOs must be conscious of the fact that media can never be a substitute to the direct work with people. Drawing inspirations from various action movements, let me state certain concerns for consideration before we go to create a 'Forum'.

In order to exploit the media what is necessary is
identification of problem/issues and some vision towards
the direction this aimed at. We have to create a powerful
belief system in anything we work with.

Very often NGO may agree to a particular belief system
but disagree on the 'content'. Normally, there is basic
agreement in relation to concept but disagreement exist
over strategy, tactics, selection of proper agents of
social change and immediate goal. The more we are conscious
to this problem, the better is our work.

Any curious communicator would ask, as to, what is happening
at the moment between NGOs and media. One has to review
the existing relationship or use of media between NGOs viza
viz media inorder to define a new relationship in the context
of Socio Economic political process.

NGOs in development work normally, hesitant to be in the
midst of media attention.

Most of the coverages were either informative or documentary
in nature and therefore insufficient to enthuse the reader
or viewer for any support.

The distinction between using media to find a place in the
news and to use the media to further your cause must be
understood.

The Network: We must be clear in our work that the mass
media may be a source of information but they are not a key
source of influence. Indirect evidence attesting to the
essential role of communications network is found in diffusion
theory, which emphasise the importance of personal interaction
rather than impersonal media communication in the spread of
the idea. In other words, any information desimination must
be followed by some followup work. It was found in various
movements that mass communication alone is probably
insufficient without a network of communication specifically
linking those interested in the matter. If an action or
development or a movement is to grow rapidly it can't rely
upon its own network of communication but must capitalise
on networks already in existence.

To sustain any effort one must have linkages of people who
matter in thework. It was found 'People act in terms of
past experience in knowledge'. People who have had similar
perception of a situation and to mutually reinforce those
perceptions and subsequent interpretations. Hence, in this
type of co-optable network whose members have had common
experience, predisposes their receptiveness to action. How-
ever such network must exert less control over the co-optable
members.

Action movements do not occur. It must be organised. So
also, to have rightful place in the media both people and
voluntary agencies must be organised. NGOs must only enable
people to articulate or to find their rightful place in the
medium most suitable and conducive to them. It must be noted
that voluntary organisation must create a work culture or
organisational culture to withstand the various time tested

strategies of the media world.

All communications is always to keep the process of work
alive to the needed situation. Hence NGOs must work towards
time targetal approach in order to realise this objective in
the fast changing society. It is essential to keep in our
mind that "Let us shine by virtues of our work than by media
attention".

An Introduction to Group Media

Today we are living in an information age. People are constantly exposed to thousands of information every day through Radio, Cinema, Newspapers, Television and a Number of audio visuals means of communication.

This has introduced a 'new culture' among the people to be known as 'audio visual culture' making communication process more sensorial than before.

In order to reach out to people today with the messages of love, harmony, peace, respect for life and brotherhood, we need to communicate to them in an audio visual way.

Mass media attract, influence and persuade people very powerfully and even alter their behaviour.

However, the communication through mass media is one way and indirect.

There is no direct relationship between the sender and the receiver during the process of communication.

We read the text in newspapers! We see the images in films and Television! We hear music, songs and news over the radio! But we do not see the persons in real during the process of communication !

There is no interaction between the sender and the receiver. Nor is there a planned and focused discussion among the receivers on the message received.

On the contrary, Group media facilitates two way and direct communication.

Group media are those communication activities where the process involves a live presentation and experience in which people directly participate.

Any medium used in a group, be it electronic or non electronic could be called a group medium.

The list of Group media includes even films projected during a training programme, radio plays which are available on discs or cassettes analysed in groups, theatre which deals with life problems and invites the audience to collaborate in solution seeking, songs which deal with a vision of life and which stimulate discussion and exchange.

While group media do not reach a large audience, they guarantee a deeper formation, help illustrate and explain values with all its consequences, and make possible a free and conscious decision for change.

Group media are directed to groups.

Group media are not meant for a heterogeneous mass audience. They are meant for groups. Generally groups have a limited number of participants so that each individual can make a personal contribution to the topic.

Group media provokes dialogue

The purpose of communication here is to favor exchange of ideas and experiences within the group. The main emphasis lies in the active participation of the members, who are supposed to develop from passive listeners to active constructors of their own lives.

Group media tries to give a thorough treatment of the theme:

On the one hand, the presenter presents the problem. On the other, the receivers are invited to develop and deepen the theme in the follow-up discussion.

Group media are inexpensive

We can produce group media with available resources using our own creativity and imagination. Group media such as posters, puppets, flash cards, flannelgraphs require very less expense only.

Group media favor the building up of personality:

Mass media support the massification trend in society which leads to uniformity of thought, of values and of behaviour, and inclines the individual to leave the decision to others.

But, group media promotes personality orientation, which leads to a conscious and responsible role of the individual and of the individual as a member of community.

Group media productions present a challenge

Group media presents an important discussion topic, a problem which is in some way vital for the group, challenging the participants to explore the problems in a deeper level and to find out solutions.

Group media are usually open ended

Group media presentations offer more scope for analysis and discussion by the group rather than giving already finalized solutions to the issues dealt.

Group media are easily put into circulation

Financially and technically group media are within the range of acquisition by development and health activists and communities.

Group media are usually short

Group media productions are usually short and allow time for a follow up discussion. The discussion time itself can be kept flexible according to the possibilities of the participants.

The facilitator has an important role to play

The facilitator has an important mediator function. His or her task is to give leadership to the group and to enable the participants to get the maximum value from the programme.

Today we have a number of group media amidst us for use.

Flashcards
Flannelgraphs
Puppets
Posters

Cartoons
Dramas
Role plays
Black boards
Case studies
Charts
Diagrams
Models
Demonstrations
Simulation games
Audio cassettes
Video cassettes
Folk dance
Recorded radio programmes
Flip charts
Stories

CONFLICT QUESTIONNAIRRE

1. ___ Soft words win hard hearts

2. ___ Come now! Let us reason out together!

3. ___ The words of the strongest has more weight!

4. ___ You scratch my back! I will scratch your back!

5. ___ The best way to solve a problem is to avoid them!

6. ___ If some one hits with a stone, hit him with a piece of cotton!

7. ___ It is by knowledge and not by numbers we can arrive at a right decision!

8. ___ If you can not make others do as you think, make them think as you do!

9. ___ It's better to have half loaf of bread than having no bread at all!

10. ___ If some one is ready to quarrel with you, it's not worth knowing him at all!

11. ___ Soft words make soft ways!

12. ___ Dig and dig, the truth may come out!

13. ___ One who fights and runs away, will run again another day!

14. ___ Fair exchange brings no quarrel!

15. ___ There is nothing in this world for which we need to fight for!

16. ___ Kill your enemy with your soft heart!

17. ___ Seek till you find, your labor will never go waste!

18. ___ Might overcomes the right!

19. ___ Tit for tat is fair to play!

20. ___ Avoid quarrelsome people! They will make your life miserable!

How to play this exercise?

The participants must be asked to read each statements carefully and apply marks based on their behaviour.

5 Marks- Typical way of my behaviour in conflicting situation
4 Marks - Frequently
3 Marks- sometimes
2 Marks- Occasionally
1 Mark - Never

Once they finish ranking, the marks have to be written on the following table:

5	3	1	4	2
10	8	6	9	7
15	13	11	14	12
20	18	16	19	17

The participants have to place their marks next to the respective statement number given above.

The total mark of each column will indicate how strong are they in each of the following behaviour.

First column: Submissive- inferiority complex
Second column: Superiority complex- aggressive personality
Third column: good in establishing relationships but poor achiever
Fourth column: Assertive personality- good team member- a very healthy personality
Fifth column: Analyser- Assertive- good team member and leader- achiever

The facilitator makes individual analysis based on the scorings. The scoring sheet should be given separately without comments or instructions.

-Magimai pragasam

Main Identity

From:	"Poornima N Ramakrishna" <poornima@mahiti.org>
To:	"poornima" <poornima@mahiti.org>
Sent:	Monday, August 11, 2003 12:37 PM
Attach:	programfiles.zip
Subject:	Workshop on Information Communications Technologies (ICTs) forDevelopment in Bangalore

----- Original Message -----
From: Poornima N Ramakrishna
To: poornima
Sent: Monday, August 11, 2003 2:02 PM
Subject: Fw:

Dear Friend,

OneWorld South Asia is conducting a four-day workshop on Information Communications Technologies (ICTs) for Development in Bangalore from August 18 – 21, 2003.

We have about 200 partners in South Asia and have been conducting training programmes for NGOs on building knowledge management skills and using the internet for communications through email, discussion forums and websites. The attached sheet gives the programme schedule.

We would like you to nominate one person for the training course that should match the following criteria.

- Be reasonably senior in the organizational hierarchy (project manager or above)
- Understand English
- Be reasonably proficient with computers.

Kindly fill in the nomination form and send it back to us.

We are charging a nominal amount of Rs 1500 (Indian) as registration fees for the workshop. We will provide accommodation but the nominee will have to pay for his/her own travel and local expenses.

Yours sincerely,

sd/-

(NITYA JACOB)
Regional coordinator
OneWorld South Asia
C1/22 Safdarjung Development Area
New Delhi – 110016.

lib - ICT file
In/
5/9/03

Training venue:

Mahiti
314/1, 2nd floor, Vijay Kiran Building,
7th cross, Domlur Layout, Airport Road
Bangalore 560071
Ph: +91 80 51150580/1/2/3

TIMES FOUNDATION

The Times Group is the largest and most professionally managed media conglomerate in India. Starting with its flagship publication, The Times of India, 164 years ago, the Group today is a leader in the publishing business and an emerging leader in the electronic media.

As an associate of Times Foundation opportunities are provided to synergise social investments and share knowledge with the global majors focussing on India and to integrate with stakeholders. We work towards effective intervention towards stimulating growth in the development industry.

Times Foundation invites your organisation to associate and be a part of the platform we are creating of stakeholders in the development industry for which an association form is herewith attached.

The Times Foundation is looking forward to closely working in the programs of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Monitoring and evaluation, Capacity building, Grading and effectiveness analysis and many other focussed programs.

Associates of Times Foundation would benefit:

- Access to information on funding initiatives of Times Foundation and funders
- Print and Electronic media outreach initiatives
- Focussed and effective information dissemination
- Online scalable collaborations and resource sharing
- Partner initiatives for needs assessment and documentation
- Access to publication and reports on a wide range of subjects
- Volunteer engagement programs
- Showcasing Success Stories
- Free and Preferential rates for capacity building initiatives
- Collective co initiated fund raising initiatives
- Cause Related Marketing plans
  Direct Funding opportunities through timesfoundation.org in turn saving costs for setting up a payment gateway and enabling receipts of funds online.

Associate services desk is operational to provide information and handle the various aspects of associations and post association communications. You can send your requests for information, communications, queries etc to mail: timesfoundation@timesgroup.com or alternatively the following:

Sunit Bezbaroowa : 011-23302115
Sushmitha Paidi: 011- 23302552
Angela Devi   : 011-23302864
Anuradha Phadke: 022 -5635 4398
Laxmi Parmar: 022 - 5635 4321
Associate Service Desk: 011- 23302103 / 01123302193

Associate Organisation

TIMES
FOUNDATION

Associate Organisation Form

Name of the organisation: _____

Category (Trust, Society, NGO, Other): _____
(Kindly attach the relevant registration documents.)

Name and contact details of the head of the organisation:_____

Contact person for communication: _____

Telephone: _____

Fax: _____

Address of the organisation

_____

_____

_____

_____

Brief write-up on the organisation (main objectives, background, areas of expertise, achievements, future plans).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

E-mail ID for communication: _____

(Kindly note that all communication will be primarily on e-mail)

Details of your Demand Draft/ Cheque. This would be payable to Times Foundation)

Amount : _____

DD/ Cheque number : _____

DD/ Cheque dated : _____

Bank : _____

(Please note that the <u>annual fee</u> is <u>Rs 5,000</u> per organization)

Area(s) where your organisation has expertise in (check only those that are applicable)

☐ Health and sanitation   ☐ Women's welfare

☐ Education   ☐ Rural development

☐ Child welfare   ☐ Public health

☐ Environment   ☐ Poverty reduction

☐ Youth welfare   ☐ Welfare of the elderly

☐ Welfare of the physically and mentally challenged   ☐ Artisans' welfare

☐ Other (please specify)

Associate Organisation

communicate.
fundraise.

workshops in 2003

annual reports

brochures and newsletters

media relations

basics of public fundraising

editing skills

mcas

encourages public communication
and fundraising for good causes

mcas -- murray culshaw advisory services -- Bangalore,
serves the voluntary sector in India. We offer training in
public communication and fundraising, undertake research
on issues pertaining to the voluntary sector, publish books
and maintain a database of about 8,000 organisations in
India. For an update on our activities, subscribe to our
monthly e-newsletter, Fundraising India, by emailing us at
training@fundraising-india.org.

Please mail the tear-off registration form to:
Director, Training
mcas - murray culshaw advisory services
2nd Floor Vijay Kiran Building
314/1 7th Cross Domlur Layout
Bangalore 560 071
Tel: 91-80-535 2003/ 5115 0580
email: training@fundraising-india.org

Annual reports
'The sessions were practical with good personal
attention... it clarified many of the concepts I
already had.'
Xavier Arockiasamy, People's Watch,Tamil Nadu

Brochures & newsletters
'I found all the sessions in this workshop very
valuable. I appreciate the attention to detail that
characterised the whole programme. I take back
with me key learnings like drawing up a creative
brief to define our constituency base, as well as
effective writing and editing skills.'

Mrinalini Rao, Railway Children, Mumbai

Media relations
'Developing a media plan and understanding the
hierarchy of a newspaper were things I drew from
this workshop.'

Somini Sen Dua, CINI, Kolkata

Basics of public fundraising
'The workshop was very helpful to me in that I
began to see fundraising as an activity that requires
concrete planning and firm support from the
leadership of the organisation and its board. The
sessions 'planning a fundraising strategy' and
'making a presentation to board members' were of
special benefit to me as these were areas I was
deficient in.'

**Sujay Banerjee, Vikramshila Education Resource
Society, Kolkata**

Editing skills
'Editing and proofreading was good as I was doing it
for the first time. It is a new area of learning I was
introduced to.'

M Malini, Centre for Knowledge Societies, Bangalore

communicate. fundraise.

workshops in 2003

Communication plays a vital role in linking voluntary sector initiatives with society. However, most voluntary organisations seldom communicate their work. At mcas, we believe that voluntary organisations must communicate with, seek support from and be accountable to the general public. Over the past three years, our short and long-term workshops have helped bridge this gap.

Our 'communicate. fundraise .' courses have been designed to help voluntary organisations communicate in a simple manner and build a constituency of support. All courses are very practical and are led by mcas faculty with support from experienced voluntary sector and media professionals.

Each participant will get a bound copy of our comprehensive course material comprising presentations, handouts, exercises and supplementary reading material. This will serve as a reference manual for follow-up.

Annual reports	Brochures & newsletters	Media relations	Basics of public fundraising	Editing skills
23 - 25 April	**25 - 27 June**	**27 - 29 August**	**15 - 17 October**	**3 - 5 December**
Produce Annual Reports that people will actually read	*Produce brochures and newsletters that win friends for your organisation*	*Learn to use the media effectively to support your fundraising strategy*	*Establish a public communications and fundraising (C & F) programme*	*Learn to write and edit effectively*

- what your Annual Report can do for you
- building your database
- content guidelines
- organising content
- communication elements
- appeals and thank you letters
- financial frameworks and charts

- creative brief and concepts
- production outline
- design principles
- writing and editing content
- printing options
- e-newsletters

- how media works
- types of coverage
- making friends with the media
- developing a press kit and release
- writing and distributing your press releases
- planning a media campaign
- organising press conferences
- TV, radio and the Internet

- building a constituency
- importance of C & F
- income analysis and target setting
- communication [...]ments
- donor relations
- methods of C & F
- ethical issues
- maintaining media relations
- role of your Board
- your C & F Plan for a year

- copy editing and proofreading
- developing a style guide
- common problems in spelling, grammar and punctuation
- headlines, captions and vocabulary of printing
- factchecking and queries
- consistency
- tight copy

Who should attend: Persons handling communication in their organisation and/ or actively involved in fundraising.

Register by phone 080-535 2003, 5115 0580 or email us at training@fundraising-india.org, followed by confirmation through post with a DD favouring 'Murray Culshaw Advisory Services,' payable at Bangalore. *If you wish to cancel your registration, we will retain 20% of the fees.*

Please use a separate (photocopied) form for each participant. The fees include course materials, vegetarian lunch and refreshments. If you require accommodation, please inform us at least two weeks in advance, specifying your budget, and we will do our best. Note: Accommodation is **not** part of the fees below.

PLEASE USE BLOCK LETTERS

NAME _____

ORGANISATION _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

CITY _____ **PIN** _____

TEL (with code) _____

EMAIL _____

✓ **Yes, I want to register for the workshops ticked below**

	Workshop	Fee (Rs)	
☐	Annual reports	1,500	
☐	Brochures & newsletters	1,500	
☐	Media relations	1,500	
☐	Basics of public fundraising	1,500	
☐	Editing skills	1,500	
		Total	

I enclose a demand draft no. _____ dated _____ for the amount of _____ payable to "Murray Culshaw Advisory Services", Bangalore.

Date and seal   Signature

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Mr Naidu , Programme Secretary
Capart, Delhi

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Jayant Bhuyan, Senior Director
Confederation of Indian Industry, Maharashtra

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Dr Mann, Development Consultant
United Kingdom

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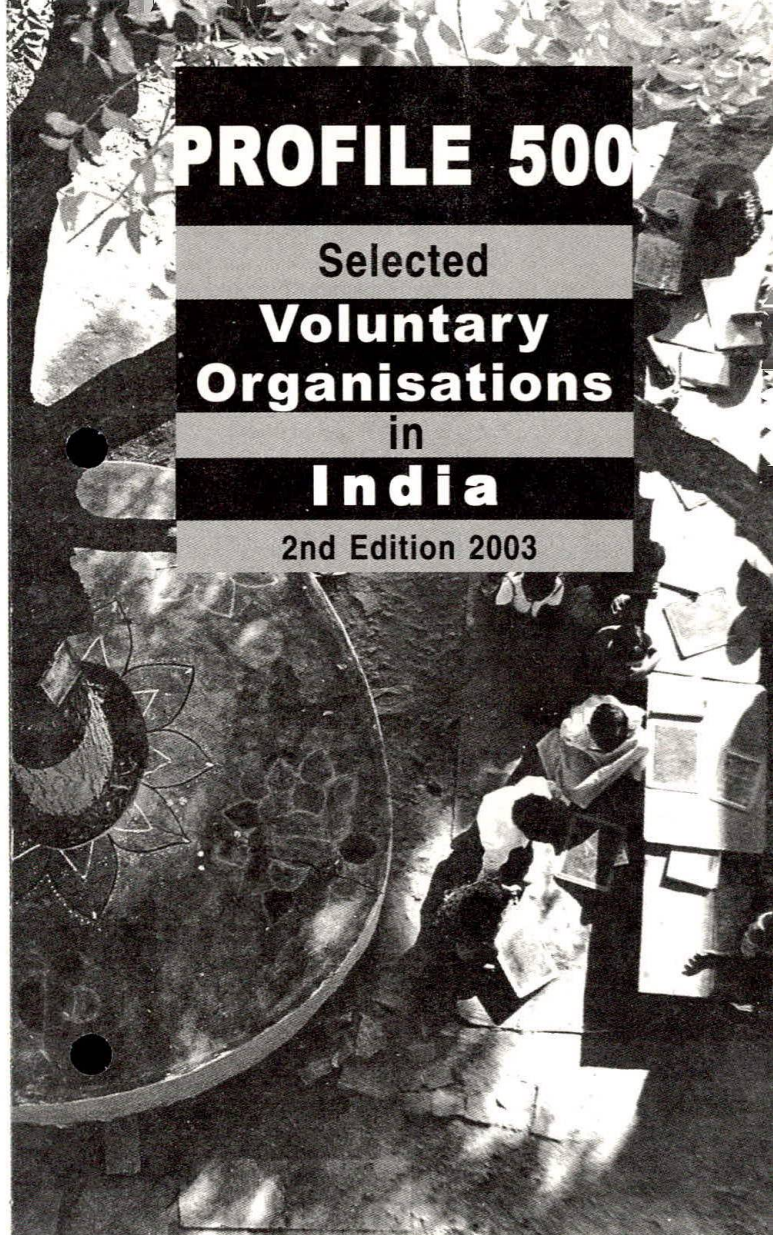
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- ❑ Health and Disability
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- ❑ Women
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