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This issue of *Development Dialogue* is almost entirely devoted to materials arising out of the seminar activities of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and expressing the Foundation's concern with the fundamental issues of Another Development as outlined in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report *(What Now: Another Development)* and elaborated upon in *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies*, edited by Marc Nerfin, and in recent issues of *Development Dialogue*, dealing with, for instance, information, rural development and health.

The role of education in the Third World, which has for a long time been one of the main areas of interest to the Foundation, has in recent years been increasingly discussed as the negative effects of the formal schooling systems of the industrial countries and their uncritical application in the Third World have become more and more apparent. The dangers inherent in this kind of 'mimetic' development have also been given increasing emphasis, but few convincing, practical examples of how these problems can be overcome have been provided. It was with a view to elucidating these issues that the Foundation, drawing, *inter alia*, on the experience gained in Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was privileged to participate in the organization of the 1974 Dar es Salaam seminar on 'Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African Countries' and the 1978 Maputo seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa'. It is material from the latter seminar which forms the bulk of the present issue and which, in our view, marks an important step forward in the discussion and implementation of the alternative models of education needed to replace the hitherto prevailing ones, i.e. in the movement towards Another Development in Education.

While a great deal has been written about the negative effects of the western educational models on the Third World, little attention has been given to the correspondingly negative effects of the uncritical application of the legal systems of the industrialized countries on the societies of the Third World. In order to stimulate the discussion of this matter, we are publishing three papers under the general heading of Another Development in Law. Two of these are based on experience gained in Papua New Guinea, where the Constitution, by the establishment of a Law Reform Com-

mission, has provided for a thorough examination of these issues and where the Foundation has been cooperating with the Commission in organizing two workshops on law and self-reliance. In a third article, the research priorities for Another Development in Law are dealt with in a more comprehensive manner.

These two main sections of the journal are preceded by a lead article by the former Egyptian Minister of Planning and current Chairman of the Third World Forum, Ismail-Sabri Abdalla. Basing his reasoning on a detailed analysis of available statistics, Abdalla argues for the validity and usefulness of the concept of the Third World, showing that it is not heterogeneity and differentiation that characterize present developments but that it is 'the stigma of dependence and exploitation which make Brazil and Saudi Arabia Third World countries just as well as Cuba and Vietnam, in spite of their respective ideologies, wealth or development performance'.

Heterogeneity and Differentiation– the End for the Third World?

By Ismail-Sabri Abdalla

The concept of 'The Third World' has in recent years been increasingly called into question. Thus, almost all western publications now single out the OPEC countries as rich ones that no more share the fate of the majority of Third World countries. Another grouping of this kind is said to be represented by the newly industrialized countries (NICs), who are recreating in some parts of the Third World the illusion of escaping underdevelopment regardless of who owns the industries, what they produce, and to whom they sell their products. Ismail-Sabri Abdalla in this article argues against these current tendencies to dissolve the concept of the Third World. 'One can safely state', he concludes, 'that dependence is with all its corollaries the basic common denominator of Third World countries and comprehensive decolonization the only path out of it. Features and specifications that distinguish countries or groups of countries in the Third World fall short of destroying the fundamental community of condition and goal'.

Ismail-Sabri Abdalla became Director General of the Institute of National Planning in Cairo in 1969, Deputy Minister of Planning in 1971, State Minister of Planning in 1972, and Minister of Planning in 1974. He served again as Director General of the Institute of National Planning in 1975–1977. Ismail-Sabri Abdalla is the author of numerous books and articles. Since 1976, he has served as Chairman of the Third World Forum.

It is quite fashionable today to stress the differences that distinguish various categories of Third World countries. In these times of stalemate in the so-called North-South negotiations or dialogue, this fashion is not simply the reflection of 'divide-and-rule' tactics openly advocated by some circles in the industrialized nations. Quite many of the governments in the South—one might even say a majority of them—express doubts about Third World solidarity, its foundations and its capacity to resist the negative effects of the growing heterogeneity of situations among 'developing nations'. Even those who have committed themselves to the cause of the deprived majority of mankind are more and more preoccupied with the 'process of differentiation' and its possible consequences. The Third World as a concept is challenged intellectually and its usefulness as a tool of analysis and action is increasingly being questioned. It goes without saying that nobody has ever ignored the features that could allow for every kind of classification of Third World countries: size, population, natural resources, per capita GNP, importance of the secondary sector, etc. What is new is the

belief in, or the fear of an outcome of, the differentiation process that may break in a definite way the solidarity of the Third World. Accordingly, one should examine empirically—using conventional indicators—the magnitude and the trends of this process before any analytical exposition of what demonstrates the profound similarities that make of the Third World a reality and not only a slogan for political strife.

Some conventional indicators

Let us first examine who is rich and who is poor in the Third World according to the per capita GNP, in spite of all our reservations concerning the real significance of this levelling indicator. This exercise is unavoidable since great discrepancies among Third World nations in GNP per capita are at the origin of most of the divisive classifications. The most complete and up-to-date source of information in this respect is the *World Bank Atlas*.* It provides country data up to 1975 as well as the relevant rates of change from 1960 to 1975. On the other hand, another IBRD publication—*World Economic and Social Indicators*—supplies other indicators that throw more light on the real situation of most of the Third World population.

Some comments on the classification

Third World countries are more or less poor

Compared with industrialized nations, Third World countries are more or less poor. In fact, if we consider OECD countries we find that, with the exception of Turkey and Portugal, the floor per capita GNP is above US$2,000. The same applies to the CMEA European members, with the exception of Romania. Now, among Third World countries, only eleven have a per capita GNP superior to $2,000. One

Table 1 Classification of Third World countries according to per capita GNP—1975 figures

(a) The 'wealthy': more than US$2,000

Country	Per capita GNP (US$)	Population (millions)
1. Kuwait	15,190	1.0
2. United Arab Emirates	13,600	0.7
3. Qatar	10,970	0.2
4. Libya	5,530	2.4
5. Saudi Arabia	4,010	8.3
6. Bahamas	3,110	0.2
7. Gabon	2,540	0.5
8. Singapore	2,450	2.3
9. Oman	2,300	0.8
10. Venezuela	2,280	12.0
11. Bahrein	2,210	0.3
		28.7

(b) The 'well-to-do': between US$1,000 and $2,000

Country	Per capita GNP (US$)	Population (millions)
1. Trinidad and Tobago	2,000	1.1
2. Djibouti	1,940	0.1
3. Hong Kong	1,760	4.4
4. Iran	1,660	33.4
5. Argentina	1,550	25.4
6. Barbados	1,410	0.2
7. Uruguay	1,300	2.8
8. Panama	1,290	1.7
9. Iraq	1,250	11.1
10. Jamaica	1,110	2.0
11. Fiji	1,090	0.6
12. Lebanon	1,070	3.2
13. Mexico	1,050	60.0
14. Brazil	1,030	107.0
		253.0

* 1977 edition. The *IMF Financial Statistics* do not update the GNP figures at the same pace as those related to international transaction and monetary data.

(c) The 'rock bottom': less than US$200

Country	Per capita GNP (US$)	Population (millions)
1. Haiti	190	4.6
2. Sri Lanka	190	13.6
3. Gambia	180	0.5
4. Mozambique	180	9.2
5. Tanzania	170	14.7
6. Lesotho	160	1.2
7. Pakistan	160	69.2
8. Afghanistan	150	13.7
9. India	140	608.1
10. Zaire	140	24.7
11. Benin	130	3.1
12. Guinea	130	5.5
13. Malawi	130	5.0
14. Niger	130	4.6
15. Chad	120	4.0
16. Guinea- Bissau	120	0.5
17. Burma	110	30.2
18. Burundi	110	3.7
19. Nepal	110	12.6
20. Maldives	110	0.1
21. Somalia	110	3.2
22. Upper Volta	110	6.0
23. Ethiopia	100	28.0
24. Rwanda	100	4.1
25. Bangladesh	90	78.6
26. Laos	90	3.2
27. Mali	90	5.7
		957.6

(d) The 'less poor': between US$200 and $999

The rest of the Third World nations. About fifty-six countries with a total population of 718.7 million. This classification excludes China, with its 820 million people, for reasons to be explained later.

has to add two qualifications here. Only four of those countries have a population of more than two million. The others are 'mini-states' that can hardly be called nations. On the other hand, the total population of those eleven countries amounts to 28.7 million people, that is to say 1.5 per cent of the Third World population. In the second place, fourteen Third World countries have a per capita GNP between $1,000 and $2,000 (comparable to those prevailing in Portugal, Romania, Yugoslavia, Cyprus and Malta) with a total population of 253 million or 13 per cent of the Third World total. The rest of this total (85.5 per cent) live at a per capita GNP inferior to $1,000. In Europe, only Turkey and Albania fall in this last category. The conclusion is obvious: *Third World countries are more or less poor, while industrialized nations are more or less rich,* with a clear line of demarcation around the figure $2,000. Hence, speaking about 'poor nations' and 'rich nations' is not sheer rhetoric. On the contrary, it is a matter of fact; marginal phenomena of relative poverty in the North or relative wealth in the South cannot upset its significance. This can be demonstrated easily if we look carefully into the supposedly privileged countries of the South.

Facts and fancies about OPEC countries

Almost all Western literature and international organizations' publications single out OPEC countries as rich ones that share no more the fate of the 'poor majority'. This view is not simply grave division tactics, it does not correspond to facts. As it might have been noticed, there are eight OPEC countries among the eleven rich of the Third World: Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Gabon, Oman and Venezuela. To measure their real wealth one can refer to their financial position as net importers or exporters of capital. According to the World Bank data published in December 1977, only five countries are 'capital surplus': Kuwait, UAE, Qatar, Libya and Saudi Arabia. The first three have an exceptionally high per capita GNP because of rich natural endowment coupled with limited area and population, as can be

seen in Table 1 above. Saudi Arabia, with a relatively important population (as large as that of Sweden), figures in the table of per capita GNP in decreasing order between New Zealand and the German Democratic Republic. The other OPEC members are net debitors. It seems more adequate, however, to assess the wealth of any oil producing and exporting country by the *number of barrels produced per inhabitant* rather than per capita GNP. In fact, it is doubtful whether the revenues generated from oil extraction and exportation should be included in GNP figures. Oil being an exhaustible resource, it seems odd to assimilate its revenues to recurrent incomes that flow from growing capital and labour stocks. The UN Committee on Development Planning defines the process as the 'conversion of non-renewable resources into long-term investment'.[1] This definition holds in so far as those revenues are not wasted on conspicuous consumption, acquisition of weaponry, prestige projects, bad investments, etc. Then we can notice immediately that with almost the same oil output (around 2.3 million barrels a day) Kuwait and Nigeria have respectively $15,190 and $340. From this point of view, the most populated OPEC countries are not rich countries. Far from that: Indonesia has only $220 per capita GNP; Venezuela, Iraq and Iran have per capita GNP comparable to those of Southern European countries.* Of the total population of OPEC countries, 12.3 million live in 'capital surplus' states; 26 million enjoy a per capita GNP superior to $2,000; 44.5 million have a per capita GNP between $1,000 and $2,000; and all the rest (207 million, 71 per cent of the total) have less than $400. Evidently, nothing justifies considering all OPEC people as rich. This amalgamation has as its only purpose to discredit OPEC action among the group of seventy-seven.

The newly industrialized countries (NICs)

This is the latest comer in the series of distinctions among Third World nations. It has not yet found its way into UN publications, but it is increasingly pronounced in the corridors during international negotiations.** No definite list of countries has been provided up to now, and lists proposed from time to time vary significantly. Nevertheless, some names occur in all of them: for example, Brazil, Mexico, Iran. The advocates of this concept did not—to our knowledge—bother setting a criterion for industrialization or defining a precise point beyond which a country should be considered industrialized. Such a point remains as vague and confusing as the unduly famous point of 'take off'. Nevertheless, the issue is of importance in so far as it might recreate in some Third World nations the illusion of escaping underdevelopment through relentless multiplication of industrial plants, regardless of who

* As a footnote on Third World solidarity, the five capital surplus OPEC members contributed to development aid in 1975 by the following shares of their GNP: Qatar 16.9 per cent, UAE 13.59 per cent, Kuwait 11.44 per cent, Saudi Arabia 7.42 per cent, Libya 2.96 per cent. (Source: *OECD Development Cooperation*, 1977 Review). This aid is not tied; on the contrary, the money is spent usually in OECD countries. Unfortunately, a good part of this aid is channelled through international agencies: World Bank (third window and bonds), IMF (oil facility and raised quotas), IFAB, etc. Thus it is distributed along the old rules and regulations much criticized by Third World countries and its impact as an expression of Third World solidarity is hardly felt. It would have been more conducive to growing unity of action and increasing bargaining power if they had their own aid coordinating body, something similar to the DAC but coupled with consultation mechanisms with other Third World nations or groups of nations. This could have given birth to Financial Cooperation among Developing Countries: FCDC that could enhance both ECDC and TCDC.

** The CDP identifies in its latest report (March 1978) the 'rapidly industrializing countries', a term much more cautiously worded than NICs.

owns them, what they produce, to whom they sell their products and all the direct and indirect effects they might have on other sectors of the national economy and on the physical and cultural environment, as well as their social and political consequences. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine closely what indicators we have to measure the 'degree' of industrialization, and more specifically to know when a country stops being a raw material producer and becomes 'industrialized' (leave alone the concepts of developed and underdeveloped).

Without hesitation, we can dismiss the GNP per capita as irrelevant in this respect. A quick look at the table of countries with more than $2,000 per capita GNP suffices to realize that 'wealthy' and 'industrialized' do not coincide. Indeed, none of these eleven countries is ever mentioned as newly industrialized. On the other hand, if we establish a list of those most frequently cited as NICs, we have: Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Iran, Taiwan and South Korea. Iran ($1,660) should be put aside because of its oil exports. Then we find the highest per capita GNP in Argentina ($1,550), the lowest in South Korea ($590) and the median in Brazil ($1,030). The case of India is quite disturbing. Its industrial capacities are by no means inferior to any of the above-mentioned countries. Yet its per capita GNP is only $170, and it counts for two-thirds of the total population of the low-income countries. This awkward situation led the international organizations to draw a subtle distinction between the low-income countries on the one hand and the least developed countries (LDCs) on the other. India appears in the first group but not in the second. A better indicator of industrialization can be expressed by the share of manufactures in the total exports of a country. Yet this share should not be accepted at its face value. A more rigorous analysis must define what part of it reflects the activities of 'runaway' and 'plantation' industries, the intrafirm trade of TNCs, etc., and must calculate accurately the real value added locally.* Logically, the share of the manufacturing sector in the GDP seems more relevant in this respect.

However, a number of qualifications remain necessary. First, there may be some misallocation of resources, as in the case of overemphasis on industry to the detriment of say agriculture, health or education. Second, it is important to determine what exactly is controlled by TNCs. The issue is crucial in Third World countries, because if TNCs try to insert themselves in the set-up of an industrialized nation, in Third World nations they submit the local development to their global strategy. The least that can be said is that the kind of industrialization which they carry out cannot always be considered positive from the point of view of national development and its requirements. The multiplier effect of an industrial plant, in particular, can be very limited or completely absent. It would be absurd, of course, to ignore the fact that a limited number of Third World countries have no specific industrial problems: energy supply, raw materials or exports. What we are arguing against is the label 'newly industrialized countries', because it conveys the idea that those countries have succeeded in joining the 'club' of industrialized nations, and implies that such a path is open to other countries in the South. What distinguishes the

* Exports of manufactures can be important for the economy of a Third World country. But, compared to the world trade in manufactures, they remain very modest. In 1974, the total non-oil exports of the Third World countries amounted to 12 per cent of the world exports. Exports of manufactures accounted only for 16 per cent of this total. In the same year, the corresponding figures for the developed market economies were respectively 73.5 per cent and 74.6 per cent (*ODC Agenda for Development*, 1977).

Table 2 Social indicators in some 'well-to-do' Third World countries

Country	Income recorded by highest 5 per cent of households	Income recorded by lowest 20 per cent of households	Birth rate (annual live births per thousand population)	Death rate (annual deaths per thousand population)	Life expectancy at birth (years)	Labour in agriculture (per cent of total labour force)	Primary school enrolment (all ages as percentage of primary school age population)	Adult literacy (as percentage of total population over 14 years)
Brazil	35.0 %	3.0 %	37.1	8.8	61.4	44 %	71 %	68 %
Iran	29.7 %	4.0 %	45.3	15.6	51.0	41 %	79 %	50 %
Libya	–	–	45.0	14.7	52.9	32 %	136 %	27 %
Mexico	30.7 %	2.1 %	42.0	8.6	63.2	41 %	107 %	76 %
Saudi Arabia	–	–	50.2	24.4	42.0	61 %	34 %	15 %
Venezuela	–	–	36.1	7.0	66.4	21 %	101 %	82 %

Source: *World Economic and Social Indicators*, IBRD, May–June, 1977

industrialized countries cannot be confined to a simple indicator. A full set of indicators is needed in order to express quantitatively the qualificative state of being part of the Centre: low percentage of the labour in the primary sector, a growing tertiary sector, high per capita income, share of manufacturing and services both in GDP and in exports, low birth rate, literacy close to 100 per cent, etc. As we shall see below, the image of the so-called NICs is far from that of most OECD countries.*

The IBRD social indicators

The desperate living conditions of the majority of the Third World population are too well known to be illustrated here by some social indicators. What is more relevant to the issue of differentiation is a look at the IBRD social indicators in a sample of countries supposed to be 'well-to-do', because of either their high income or their industrial development.

A few comments are needed. First, the high percentage of labour engaged in agriculture. Without conferring any absolute value on this indicator, it helps here to show a noticeable structural difference between the industrialized nations and the countries mentioned in the table above. People working in agriculture, forestry and fishing in OECD countries represent between 2.7 per cent (United Kingdom) and 15.8 per cent (Italy) of the total employment. Portugal, Spain and Ireland are exceptions.** On the contrary, the 'well-to-do' coun-

* See the in-depth analysis of Raul Prebish: 'Peripherial Capitalism', *Cepal Review* (1976:11). The term sub-imperialism used by some authors to designate Brazil or Iran, for instance, should be understood—in our opinion—in a political sense that stresses the advanced degree of integration of the élites of those countries with the imperialism of the Centre, which makes them aggressive and domination-oriented in their relationships with smaller or less powerful neighbours.

** Turkey of course is similar to many Third World countries. See *OECD Observer* (May 1977).

tries have a percentage very close to that prevailing in their respective regions. According to the same source, the percentage of labour in agriculture has a median of 37.7 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean (lower than the figures of Brazil and Mexico) and 48.3 per cent in North Africa and the Middle East (lower than Saudi Arabia and slightly higher than Iran). The oil-rich countries of the Middle East, on the other hand, have performed less well than some oil-less countries of the same region in the areas of health and education. Syria, Tunisia, Jordan and Egypt have higher life expectancy than Iran and Saudi Arabia. Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia have higher rates of literacy. In the same areas, Cuba has better indicators than Brazil (birth rate 25 promille, death rate 6 promille, life expectancy 70 years, literacy 78 per cent). More significant is the high level of income inequalities. Many authors like to point out that inequalities within Third World countries are remarkably higher than in industrialized countries. This comparison overlooks the fact that the wealth available in the latter allows the improvement of the lowest income without real sacrifices imposed on the highest, while a drive towards greater equality in poor nations has usually a sizeable negative impact on the standard of living of the middle classes, who are often influenced by the pattern of consumption prevailing in the so-called consumer society. Consequently, while reducing income inequalities within the rich nations is instrumental in social and political stability, it has some negative effects in poor countries: brain drain, skill drain, dissatisfaction and tensions among the active and influential middle classes. This, of course, does not apply to Third World countries with high income, where lesser inequalities can be a recommendable substitute to authoritarian regimes.

How far the differentiation?

In the above discussion, we were dealing with the figures of 1975 as a rule. Obviously, such a snapshot can reflect the differences at a given point of time but not the differentiation over a relatively long span of time. Again, the data provided by the IBRD show the performance of the GNP per capita over about fifteen years for different groups of countries.

Table 3 GNP per capita in different groups of countries (in current US$)*

Countries	1960	1970	most recent year
Lower income	62.5	96.7	142.7
Middle income	130.2	238.8	356.5
Upper middle income	284.5	444.6	705.6
Higher income	532.0	930.1	1,270.3
Industrialized	1,651.4	3,082.8	4,827.5

Source: *World Economic and Social indicators*, IBRD, May–June, 1977.

Putting aside the problems of calculation of deflators and conversion to US currency at 1970 prices, this table is telling. In fact, if we compute the total increase in GNP per capita over the period as a percentage of 1960 figures, we find that the increase in the five groups of countries is respectively 128.3 per cent, 173.8 per cent, 148 per cent, 138.8 per cent and 192.3 per cent. A first conclusion is that the economic growth of the last fifteen years did not modify significantly the structure of the world GNP distribution among the five groups of countries. More interesting is the fact that GNP per capita in the industrialized countries in 1960 was 3.1 times that of the higher income

* In this classification, the 'industrialized countries' are those of the OECD, Portugal, Spain, Greece and Turkey excepted, plus Israel and South Africa. Higher income countries are those with GNP per capita over 1.075, upper middle income from 521 to 1.075, middle income from 266 to 520 and lower income 266 or less.

group and became 3.8 times in the 'most recent year', say mid 'seventies. Obviously, even for this group of 'developing' countries the 'gap' is not narrowing; the contrary is true. The relative position of the higher income and upper middle income groups shows that the latter has done less than the first. The gap between the lower income and the higher income groups has widened: 8.5 times in 1960 and 8.9 times in the latest data. This may not be surprising: in the free interplay of market forces, it is foreseeable that the rich will become richer and the poor poorer. It is quite logical that the upper middle income group registers a low increase, comparable with the lower income: this has always been the fate of the 'petty bourgeoisie' in the capitalist society. Hence two conclusions become self-evident. *First, the differentiation process did not produce during the last fifteen years effects of such a magnitude that any group of 'developing nations' can stand outside the Third World. Second, the 'gap' between the higher income group and the industrialized nations was still growing.**

What this exercise shows is that there has been no 'trickling down' or 'catch up', and the differentiation did not change the world structural set-up radically. It could not have been otherwise. A deeper analysis of the International Order unveils the reasons.

The substance: the Third World—a fact or a fiction?

The denomination

The term 'Third World' was coined by some French authors.** To them 'Tiers Monde' was in analogy with 'Tiers Etat', usually translated 'Third Estate', a term that designated before the French Revolution all those who did not belong to either of the privileged 'estates': the nobility and the upper clergy. The notion did not imply any idea of hierarchy among the privileged 'estates'—there were no First and Second Estates. Moreover, the 'Third Estate' was defined negatively: all those who had no privilege. They included merchants, civil servants, craftsmen, farmers, peasants, and workers of all kinds. Consequently, the use of the term 'Third World' should not lead to such terms as First or Second World. It simply designates *all nations that did not become, during the historical process of the establishment of the present World Order, industrialized and wealthy*. Obviously, it has nothing to do either with the Chinese 'theory of three worlds', where the two 'superpowers' are a kind of first world, the other industrialized nations the second, etc. On the contrary, the distinction between OECD countries and the European socialist countries, while radical in many other aspects, is of a different nature, based on political and social criteria more than economic ones. The historical view of the state of our planet is essential for the right understanding of what is the Third World, because it is in the final analysis the periphery of the system produced by the expansion of world capitalism, while the group of European socialist countries is a product of a split in the Centre of the system.†

* The average of the high income group is inflated by the inclusion of countries like Spain, Greece, Romania and Portugal on the one hand and the Dutch and French colonies on the other.

** The most famous is Alfred Sanvy.

† Lenin's strategy for the Russian Revolution was based on the idea that under the impact of the law of uneven development of capitalism, the revolution had better chances of success in the weakest point of the system. This implies clearly that he considered Russia as part of the Centre. For the Third World, he stressed the importance of national liberation movements.

Genesis of the Third World

One cannot grasp the reality of the Third World if the analysis is limited to contemporary data. *The Third World is a historical phenomenon that is part and parcel of the process of emergence of the present World Order.* We are so accustomed to living within this order that we too often forget that it is a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of mankind. Unconsciously, we think of its existence and modus operandi as the 'Natural Order', in the sense that philosophers of the eighteenth century used this term. The historical approach, on the contrary, can demonstrate that a single process, i.e. the expansion of capitalism, provides the necessary and sufficient explanation of today's polarization between 'developed' and 'developing' countries.

Looking back, we can see the genesis of the World Order some two centuries ago. During tens of thousands of years, men lived in separate communities more or less large and sedentary, each one knowing only of the existence of its immediate neighbours. The empires of ancient times each covered a limited portion of the globe and none of them integrated all the communities it controlled into a single socio-economic system. Travellers who ventured on long trips were often motivated by curiosity and brought back more tales than commodities.

Until the end of the fifteenth century, to the people around the Mediterranean,* the world meant—besides their immediate periphery in Europe and the Middle East—China and India. Needless to recall that by then 'international trade' was still sporadic and confined to a small number of luxuries.

Even when after the declaration of American independence in 1776, Tom Paine said that 'the birthday of a New World is at hand', the globe was far from being known to all its population.** It was the nascent socio-economic system of capitalism that threw the Europeans into an unprecedented enterprise: the conquest of the whole planet. The captured riches of conquered nations provided a good part of the primitive capital accumulation that allowed the wealthy Europeans to invest in transforming inventions, considered so far as curiosities supplying the courts of Kings and Princes with gadgets, into techniques of production. Modern industry was born with two characteristics: a voracious appetite for energy and raw materials and an endless need for ever-expanding markets. Colonialism was the means to ensure both. Thus, capitalism† unified the world for the first time in man's history not only politically, but also economically.

It is fashionable today in some circles in industrialized nations to emphasize the 'interdependence' of all nations, including the most powerful†† as if it were an entirely new phenomenon—while what is in fact new is its present magnitude and complexity. Interdependence started the day the Lancashire textile

* Literally, the sea in the 'middle of the Earth', a becoming name for a region considered—at least by its inhabitants—as the 'cradle of civilization'.

** Books of history tell about the 'age of discoveries'. The term is typically ethnocentric: the Europeans were discovering other lands and peoples, but not the other way round.

† We do not attach any value judgement to this term here. It describes simply a mode of production characterized by the search for maximum profit by the owners of the means of production through the play of market mechanisms.

†† See, for instance, Harlan Cleveland, 'The Third Try at World Order' in *US Policy for an Interdependent World* (World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, 1977). It has the great merit of telling the people of the first super-power how their might and prosperity are dependent on what is going on in other parts of the world, especially in Third World nations.

mills expanded by the use of American, Indian and Egyptian cotton. In turn, the economies of the colonies were shaped by the colonial powers to satisfy primarily the needs of their own industrial growth. Thus the colonies became economically dependant, as well as militarily occupied and politically enslaved. In the nineteenth century, 'free trade' was the 'war cry' of the most industrialized countries, while each power was managing to build its own empire where it enjoyed 'imperial preference'. By the end of that century, the entire globe was under the dominance of industrialized nations and most of its population was part of one of the colonial empires.* Thus the world economy evolved into an integrated system, parts of which are interdependent. But the central question remains, as in the case of the integration of a national economy, who manages the system and thereby draws the major portion of its benefits? Economists say that the market tends to exclude the sub-marginal producer and favours those who have a 'rent position'. The Classics used to think that 'survival of the fittest' was both natural and beneficial. The real development of the market economy favoured growing inequalities regionally and socially.

At the national level, only deliberate action by the State brought about a serious reduction of those inequalities. In the absence of a world government, such a corrective action does not exist. On the contrary, military and political coercion exerted by the colonial powers aggravated greatly the built-in bias of the system. The outcome of this process was the formidable industrial growth in a few nations (the Centre of the system) to the detriment of the rest of mankind (the Periphery). Underdevelopment is not sheer historical backwardness. It is a distorted, extroverted and dependent development, the by-product of the development in the North.

The characteristics of Third World countries

The historical process described above left its distinctive stigmata on all Third World nations. They have been conquered, occupied by foreign troops, politically submitted, economically exploited and culturally aggressed.

Latin American, Caribbean, African and Asian** countries have been under *one form of colonialization or another*† for periods varying from a few decades (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, etc.) to five centuries (Mozambique, Jamaica, etc.). Those who obtained formal independence at an early date (Central and South America) remained politically under the hegemony of some big power. The trauma of foreign domination explains the ambivalent love-hate relationships between most of the newly independent nations and the former colonial powers. At the same time, the specific capitalist character of this domination explains the often vague but never absent anti-capitalist component of Third World nationalism.

Third World countries have been, and still are, victims of tremendous *economic exploitation*. In essence, this exploitation has two main forms: the drain of resources and the reshaping of the economies accordingly. From the

* This phenomenon drew the attention of several thinkers, who called it 'imperialism' and offered various analyses to explain it. Hence, the word is not a Marxist invention. See, for example, the works of Hobson and Schumpeter and also H. Kohn, *World Order in Historical Perspective* (1942).

** A noticeable exception is Japan. China, on the other hand, has never been entirely occupied by the Western powers.

† This includes colonies proper, protectorates, mandates, special unequal treaties, etc. always with the presence of foreign troops.

gold of Peru to the oil of the Middle East, the natural resources of the Third World fed the unprecedented industrial growth in the North. Western authors usually emphasize the role of science and technology, the entrepreneurial and managerial capabilities, etc. in this growth. But they often overlook the fact that it was simply unimaginable without the unlimited supply of raw materials and energy from the South at cheap prices.

The 'human resources' of the Third World contributed greatly to the prosperity and progress of the industrialized nations by means of physical transfer (from the slave trade to today's brain drain and migrant workers) and exploitation of the labour force at home in plantations, mines and foreign-owned industries. To facilitate this exploitation, the socio-economic set-up was reshaped by the colonialists in ways that favoured the designs of the colonial rulers to the detriment of national development. As has been mentioned before, this distortion is the essence of 'underdevelopment', or in other words the major cause of symptoms recognized as the characteristics of this condition. The notion of 'delay' in development is utter nonsense. What counts in fact is not the time span, but what happened during it, since the dynamics of expansion of world capitalism had left no place for a 'stationary state'.

Political decolonization has been achieved with few exceptions. Unfortunately, it did not bring with it economic decolonization. Therefore, the exploitation continues. It has become more subtle, hiding behind the opaque curtain of market play, but the combination of transnational corporations' expansion and inappropriate development strategies adopted by Third World governments has given it new dimensions both in depth and magnitude. We will not elaborate on this here, given the abundance of available literature, but we will dwell briefly on one example because of the confusion it has created: the oil-exporting countries whose billions are one of the favourite topics of mass media. From the outset, let us agree that national interest should push an oil-producing nation to export only within the limits of its needs of foreign currency, for the obvious reason that oil is exhaustible. When it exports more, it complies with the needs of other nations, especially the industrialized ones. By so doing, it converts a real asset whose value is bound to increase into a financial asset whose purchasing power will decline regularly, given the chronic state of world inflation.* The monetary wealth it can get in excess of the needs of national development stimulates conspicuous consumption, investment in inordinate prestige projects and the acquisition of weaponry to the detriment of real overall independent development. Moreover, surpluses of petrodollars are deposited or invested mainly in industrialized nations. Thus all the petrodollars are in fact recycled, leaving the exporters too often with a mass of consumption goods and gadgets and some uneconomic infrastructures, industrial plants and nuclear power stations.

* In a speech delivered at the SID Conference on 'Equality of Opportunity Within and Among Nations' (Amsterdam, 29th November—5th December, 1976) Minister Pronk of The Netherlands said that oil prices had already lost more than 30 per cent of their overall purchasing power, while prices of equipment imported by OPEC nations had doubled. Besides, we would draw attention to the fact that inflation is indispensable for the functioning of today's capitalism. Under the Keynesian umbrella this became a kind of conventional wisdom. What is alarming Western countries in the present situation is not the magnitude of inflation but its coexistence with relatively high rates of unemployment. See Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, 'The Structural Nature of Inflation', *Monnaie et Structure Economique* (Paris, 1954).

Last but not least, most Third World nations suffered from *cultural aggression*. Western people were, and remain to a great extent, convinced that their civilization is radically superior to all others. For centuries they used to equate it with human civilization, tracing it back to the Ancient Greeks in complete ignorance or disdain for the remarkable achievements of the Chinese, the Indians or the Arabs.

They had a good conscience during the colonial era because they were bringing the benefits of civilization to the barbarians. Not only did they bring in new scientific and technological knowledge, but they also introduced ways of life, social values and languages that were alien to the people they conquered. In a typically ethnocentric drive, they denigrated national cultures *en bloc* and taught the happy few who got access to modern education that in order to be civilized and cultured they had to mimic European and drop national cultural and social values. Languages which for centuries vehicled sophisticated scientific knowledge were relegated in favour of foreign ones.[2]

Our societies became the subject matter of a new science 'ethnology', because the comparative study of cultures presupposes a minimal degree of equivalence. Such equivalence remained until recently a strange and shocking idea. The effects of cultural colonialism are the more lasting. They explain the fascination the West exerts on our upper and middle classes, the cultural schizophrenia of many of our intellectuals and their lack of confidence in the capabilities of our people, as well as the recurrence of 'fanatic' politico-religious movements rejecting all that comes from the West and seeking salvation in a return to the 'purity' of antique times. They explain chiefly why we in the Third World were unable for decades to identify any paths to development other than the historical Western pattern.*

Most of these characteristics apply to China. Nevertheless, we think it would be inappropriate to include China in the Third World. It has never been really occupied by Western troops. Political impact of the Centre never amounted to complete domination. Chinese culture stagnated but never collapsed. The size of the country, its population, the variety of its resources, the permanent seat in the Security Council, and its real weight in world politics make China a big power, with some distinctive features it is true, but still big enough to influence increasingly the shape and ways of operation of the system. Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that China is not a member of the non-aligned or the seventy-seven groups.

Power structures and neo-colonialism

This sad story did not come to a 'happy end'. The dominance of the industrialized North-West did not cease. The most crude forms disappeared almost entirely, but the Centre had already built a sophisticated system of power structures allowing it to pursue these aims by other means, mainly by the built-in mechanisms of the system. Whatever the 'wealth' or the industrial growth of a Third World nation might be, it remains entangled in

* The *Encyclopedie Francaise* published in the 'thirties by a group of authoritative scholars under the auspices of the Minister of Education offers a striking example of ethnocentrism. The authors oppose 'pensée orientale' to 'pensée occidentale' and characterize the first as 'prelogique' and the second as 'logique'. Those distinguished members of 'L'Union Rationaliste Française' simply forgot that in their otherwise scholarly monumental work they were using 'arabic numbers' and dealing with disciplines such as 'algebra' and 'chemistry', whose names indicate their Arab and Egyptian origins.

the cobweb of the interlinked power structures managed by the industrialized powers. The first of those power structures, *the military might,* is in the hands of the most industrialized nations. It continues to increase at high rates in spite of all the conferences dealing with disarmament. Military expenditure has been increasing during the last ten years at an average of 7 per cent, while weapons are becoming more and more devastating. The impact of this armament on the countries of the Third World is many-faceted. It is a permanent threat to their independence. Many of our nations gained their sovereignty after bitter, long and destructive wars. Others have been victims of aggression. The Namibians, the Palestinians, the Zimbabweans and the Blacks of South Africa are still under military coercion. In some areas, a protracted war-like state forces national governments to divert from development an appreciable proportion of their GNP to buy increasingly sophisticated and costly weapons. In other areas, the complacency of some governments in the North and/or the desire to increase their share in a particularly lucrative trade allow other Third World regimes to get the necessary equipment to strengthen military dictatorships, to wage local wars about conflicts that could otherwise be settled peacefully, or even simply to satisfy the megalomania of some heads of state. On the other hand, since the 'balance of terror' has made military adventures in the North almost suicidal, the Third World in full process of transition offers a good market for weapons considered technically obsolete, where they can be destroyed in local wars often provoked by the struggle for influence among the big powers.

The Third World becomes the battlefield where risks of global confrontation seem easier to control. Finally, Third World nations have to depend on supplies and 'know-how' from arms producers in the North to secure their national defence requirements in a world that lives in a state of 'armed peace', and in which aggressions and subversions occur only in the Third World. This is of course a form of dependence, but what is more disquieting is the process of vertical integration of the military of some Third World nations through training by those countries which supply the weaponry. World peace and generalized disarmament would thus be the best gifts the big powers could offer us.

Second, *the factors of economic power*—industry, technology, finance, etc. are concentrated in the hands of a small number of industrialized nations. Some salient features of this kind of domination should be mentioned. The share of all Third World nations in the world industrial output amounts to only 7 per cent, less than that of the USA alone. Noteworthy is the fact that this industrial explosion in the North is heavily dependent on the Third World for energy and raw materials. The case of oil is too wellknown. For raw materials we quote the *International Economic Report of the President to the Congress* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, March 1975). It shows this dependence in the case of USA, Japan and the EEC in supplies of thirteen strategic raw materials.* Phosphate excepted, the USA dependence ranges from 20 per cent (iron ore) to 98 per cent (manganese) and 100 per cent (natural rubber). The European Economic Community relies on imports for 100 per cent of its needs in five of the thirteen commodities and Japan in seven. Yet, economic power belongs to those who process and manufacture as a result of previous accu-

* Bauxite, chromium, cobalt, copper, iron ore, lead, manganese, natural rubber, nickel, phosphate, tin, tungsten and zinc.

mulation of capital and technology. In the field of technology, beside the accumulated 'know how', there is the ever growing concentration of research capacity. Over 90 per cent of all living scientists and technologists are at work in the industrialized countries. Over 90 per cent of their activities are concentrated on research for the rich world and on converting their findings into protected technical processes, even though a good number of them are relative to Third World nations.[3]

The international monetary system is based on the paper dollar and managed in fact by the five major industrialized powers: USA, West Germany, Japan, UK and France. As a result, the Third World nations own only 4 per cent of the world reserves, and inflation imported from the industrialized countries swells up and amplifies local inflationary pressures.* Quite intolerable—yet too often tolerated—is the IMF gross intervention in the internal affairs of Third World countries to impose conservative socio-economic policies victimizing low-income strata, notwithstanding all the fashionable denunciation of poverty. The external debt service added to returns on foreign investment often reverse the financial flows. The South pays more than it receives if we take into consideration the terms of trade for raw materials. The concentration in the 'international capital market' explains easily this afflicting fact. The world food market is dominated by three countries (USA, Canada and Australia), which provide 69.7 per cent of the total world exports of grain.[4] The political utilization of food supplies is now common knowledge. It is the more effective because food shortages are a particularly sensitive matter; they can cost most governments their existence. A good many other aspects of economic dominance can of course be enlisted, but not within the limits of this paper.

Finally, there is *the cultural dominance* of Western civilization** excerted through education, information and communication systems. 'Modern education' is widespread at its various levels among industrialized nations, while the majority of the Third World population are still illiterate. This in itself is a decisive factor of supremacy. But more relevant to dominance is the fact that our intelligentsia is trained in Western or Western-like universities. The education systems in our countries have been tailored after the Western patterns, irrespective of differences of national cultures and the local socio-economic and physical environment. As a rule, national languages have been discarded as vernacular unable to vehicle modern scientific knowledge. The inefficiencies of our systems of education are generally recognized even at home, but very little attention has so far been given to their appropriateness and the possible link between the two phenomena. However, those systems contributed greatly in the formation and shaping of Third World élites with all the incalculable consequences of their being ever fascinated by the West.

Among many other things, we would like to emphasize the poor knowledge of national history and culture and the lack of knowledge about other Third World nations, the dichotomy that persists in some cases between a sclerosed traditional education and the modern one often coupling 'dual economy' with 'dual culture'. Needless to say, we are not

* While a rate of inflation of 20 per cent is exceptional and considered very alarming in the industrialized countries, rates around 80 to 100 per cent became a fact of life in many Third World countries. See *Financial Statistics* (IMF, 1974–8).

** Understood as European-American, including Eastern European countries.

denouncing access to the fruits of the formidable scientific progress achieved by Western countries. It goes without saying that the universal laws of physical and mathematical sciences should be studied and propagated. But the ways and means of conveying scientific knowledge should be related to local conditions. On the other hand, social sciences are too much influenced by the societies in which authors carry out their research, so their findings cannot *a priori* be valid all over the world and at all times. Our societies remain, so to say, virgin land for national research work in need of new tools of inquiry and analysis. New findings that may be thus reached will enrich the social sciences and broaden their scope, until now terribly europeocentric.

More dramatic is the situation in the field of information. Four Western news agencies have the practical monopoly of news dissemination all over the non-socialist world. Without going as far as accusing them of systematic and intentional distortion of fact (even though this happens sometimes), misinformation is the logical result of the unavoidable, and inevitably value-loaded, process of selection that raises some events to the rank of 'news' and dismisses others as insignificant or of no interest. Consequently, information within the Third World and about the Third World is inadequate and often biased or misinterpreted. Mass media carry around the clock a one-way and lopsided flow of news, ideas and images from the North-West to the South. Our broadcasting stations are not powerful enough to reach the public in rich countries, and in any case nobody would care to listen to them. Our newspapers are read only by some specialized scholars. Movie-goers in a few Western cities occasionally watch films from Third World countries, when these win a prize at a Western festival and are introduced into Western distribution circuits—that is to say, when they satisfy Western tastes and are more or less in conformity with preconceived images. On the other hand, the Third World population is literally flooded with information about astronaut's and the Mafia, bright scientific discoveries, the 'merits' of gadgets and the whims of fashion makers and product designers. The technical revolution in communications aggravates the situation both by the new means it provides (TV satellites, for instance), which the poor countries cannot afford to buy, and the capacity it confers on those who handle them to reach the illiterate in the remote villages of developing nations. Thus, political propaganda, business advertisements and social and cultural values are constantly hammering the citizens of the Third World, reshaping their tastes, changing their behaviour and altering their culture for better or for worse. Once more, we are not advocating cultural chauvinism or defending parochial values and concepts. On the contrary, we believe that cross-cultural fertilization played historically a decisive role in human advancement. It could now play a far more important one, if cultural diversity is recognized, national cultures have equal opportunities to flourish and cultural exchanges become multilateral and less unequal. Free circulation of information reminds us of free trade in commodities, in so far as both can be beneficial to all partners only when power relations do not allow some of them to keep most of the benefits, if not all, for themselves.[5]

The existence and the interlinked effects of these power structures explain the nature and the mechanisms of 'neo-colonialism', the term coined to designate the persistence of exploitation and dominance exerted by the Centre on the Periphery after the disappearance of old forms of colonialism. Noteworthy is the fact that neo-colonialism is not merely the contin-

uation of economic exploitation; extra-economic coercion aggravates the imbalance in economic power in the same way as under colonialism, but more subtly and insidiously. Neo-colonialism cannot be understood without the military might, political influence and cultural/information supremacy. As part of the World Order, Third World nations move within the framework of the above-mentioned power structures. For sure, the emergence of the group of industrialized socialist countries has been historically a breach in the closed system we have just described. It helped significantly in the emancipation process of several nations in the South, especially during the last two decades. But the impact of the socialist industrialized countries on the system remains far from decisive. On the other hand, the impact of the Centre on those countries is not negligible. The international relations of Third World countries as a whole continue to take place along a North-West/South axis. Three-quarters of Third World exports go to OECD countries. We import from them more than we export, both percentage-wise and in absolute monetary terms, the balance being financed by credit.* All the foreign investment and most of the 'aid' and loans which our countries receive come from the sixteen OECD countries, which are members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), and the international financial institutions controlled by the big five (USA, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom, France and Japan). Science and technology, culture and information, tourism and migrations, all follow the same pattern of 'international trade'. If we superimpose all the networks of world airlines we get a clear illustration of the complexity and dynamics of the World Order. The extreme density of the global network obtained by the superimposition of all the route maps around the North Atlantic reflects the terrible weight of the Centre; while most of the other lines are North-South with very few breaking the rule and operating South-South.

Two further remarks are necessary. First, the inherently unequal character of any North-South exchange. Without engaging in the famous debate on 'unequal exchange', we state simply that the imbalance of powers is such that a Third World country inevitably gets less than it gives in any exchange with the North-West. Second, the World Order is not without a striking analogy with cosmic systems. As in astrophysics, there are phenomena of attraction and gravitation: the weight of the Centre is such that the elements of the Periphery tend to remain satellites. Only the deliberate, conscious and persevering action of man can help to escape the inertia of the system. The concentric force of the power structures can be challenged by delinking from the World Order (self-reliance); it can be offset by the creation of countervailing forces (collective self-reliance: subregional, regional and all Third World).

Conclusion: On Heterogeneity

To conclude, one can safely state that dependence is with all its corollaries the basic common denominator of Third World countries and comprehensive decolonization is the only path out of it. Features and specifications that distinguish countries or groups of countries in the Third World fall short of destroying the fundamental community of condition and goal.

Distinctions and differences are perceived differently by the various socio-economic

* According to recent IBRD figures, in 1975 Third World countries' imports from the industrialized nations amounted to 123 billion, while their exports to this group did not exceed 26 billion.

groups, both in the North and in the South. They are assessed according to various value systems and class interests. In the absence of a global view of the forest, different individuals see different trees. Hence all the talk about the heterogeneity of Third World countries. We have demonstrated how the so-called 'differentiation process' is of very limited significance. Let us now deal with heterogeneity.

What criteria for heterogeneity?

Those who talk about the 'growing heterogeneity' of Third World countries mention usually as evidence: increasing discrepancies in income, different stages of growth, extreme variations in size, population and endowment in natural resources. We have already discussed the issue of per capita GNP and proved that the 'happy few' (eleven countries, 28.7 million people) aside, all Third World countries are more or less poor. According to the IBRD data, the average per capita GNP of the higher income group in 1975 was $1,270.3 against $142.7 for the lower income group—that is, 8.9 times higher. To compare with OECD countries, let us recall that the per capita GNP of Switzerland is 9.3 times that of Turkey. Yet nobody speaks about heterogeneity within the OECD. As for 'stages of growth', we do not believe in W. Rostow's pseudo theory or any other linear conception of development inspired by the historical pattern of growth in the West.* Development can and should take different paths in accordance with the concrete conditions of every nation. This being stated, differences in the importance of the secondary sector do exist in the Third World, but as we have demonstrated previously they do not amount to an insurmountable obstacle to common action. The lack of enthusiasm for the admission of Spain, Portugal and Greece to the EEC does not break down the OECD. As for size, the difference between Senegal and Brazil is not much greater than that between Belgium and Canada. The same applies in the case of population: Ireland and the USA on the one hand, Somalia and Indonesia on the other.** Finally, considering differences in natural endowment, we can ask how important are the natural resources of the Netherlands or even Japan? Thus the criteria suggested by the advocates of the theory of growing heterogeneity are far from convincing, particularly when it is used to deny the community of interests and the possibility of joint actions and institutional framework for Third World nations.

Is heterogeneity undesirable?

Nobody has ever pretended that the Third World as a group of nations is perfectly homogeneous. The factors of differentiation are of historical character and cannot be formulated in economic terms exclusively. In our opinion, the main factors are two. First, there is the variety of cultural background. Our people were not born with the present World Order; our countries have ancestral values that helped in building bright civilizations. Before the unification of the world under the dominance of Western capitalism, those civilizations developed independently even though they achieved similar material progress.† The case of Japan shows how painful and even dramatic is the shock between national cultural values and intensive capitalist growth. In the 'underdeveloped' world old cultures have

* It suffices in assessing Rostow's 'theory' to recall that for him the ultimate measure of growth is the number of private cars per inhabitant!

** Mini-states are left aside in both cases.

† Egypt and China in ancient times developed on parallel lines without any contact whatsoever.

been aggressed and submitted to Westerns values, but still they remain alive. We fully recognize national cultures and the great area of common culture: India, the Arab World, Black Africa, Latin America, etc. Second, the colonial heritage explains another series of differences, mainly of size and population and the degree of integration with the capitalist system (often confounded with development). Artificial borders drawn by the colonial powers according to the outcome of their disputes or in order to divide ethnic groups, or at the limit to satisfy the greed of a major company or the megalomania of a local colonial officer, are at the origin of most of the mini-states, the landlocked countries and the extremely resource-deprived ones. Policies of European settlements in some parts of the South, as opposed to reliance on local strata for the exploitation of the 'natives', can explain the population's acceptance of or resistance to integration processes. Even in the area of natural resources we should keep in mind the fact that the demand of Western industry has so far been decisive in the discovery and exploitation of resources as well as in their valuation. That is why we believe that the only disturbing factor that threatens Third World unity of interests and action is the growing vertical integration of some countries with the world capitalist system through the co-option of the local élites and the deliberate use of existing power structures, that is to say in the cases where the ideal of liberation and comprehensive decolonization is abandoned. But even in such cases the political choice will never solve the problem once and for all. The case of Turkey is striking evidence of failure and merits reflection from all those who dream of a remake of the Japanese experience. Some sixty years ago, Kemalism imposed a policy of forced Westernization of all aspects of the nation's life and chose to cut deliberately all ties with Turkey's Middle East neighbours in order to join Europe. The results in the area of economic growth are very poor: per capita GNP (1975 figures) $900, the lowest in all Europe, West and East, coming after that of Albania and well behind many Third World countries. Labour in agriculture engages 60 per cent of the total labour force, while the literacy rate is only 55 per cent. Member of the NATO and the OECD for obvious strategic reasons, Turkey cannot enter the EEC in the foreseeable future.

'Another Development' can be the key to correcting the distortions in Third World economies. Self-reliance should off-set the integration process. Sub-regional and regional forms of collective self-reliance may be the best way to overcome the consequences of artificial borders, etc. But Another Development is not a unique set of receipts to be applied everywhere. On the contrary, its essence is precisely to *avoid the standardization and uniformity* which are part and parcel of the dynamics of capitalism. Liberated from foreign dominance, our peoples should discover patterns of development that favour the renaissance of the national cultures. Diversity (or heterogeneity) of the emancipated Third World societies will be enriching for all humanity; crosscultural fertilization can become meaningful and beneficial. So, diversity is desirable and does not provoke by itself conflicts of interest. Such conflicts exist today as a result of inherited situations, action of the Centre, misperception by the élites or mishandling by the politicians. There again, once the community of goal is well understood and deeply rooted, the real conflicts of interest can be managed. We do not believe that they amount to much. On the contrary, we have areas of diversity of interests according to the different situations of Third World countries and groups

of countries. This diversity (or heterogeneity) can be helpful if a united front of Third World nations can defend different sets of claims corresponding to the needs of different groups of countries and put the emphasis on one set or another when it seems timely. *Changing the World Order is a process and not a single and limitative list of demands.* We should keep in mind that we are part of this Order and consequently we can introduce changes by our own will when we adopt appropriate development strategies and enhance Third World solidarity. The North-South negotiations carried the illusion that our internal problems could be solved if we obtained a better bargain with industrialized nations—Third World solidarity being simply a means of pressure. In such an approach some countries may get some chips, but the World Order will remain the same. Let us hope that the collapse of those negotiations opens our eyes so that opinion makers and decision-makers in the Third World can see the real road to decolonization.

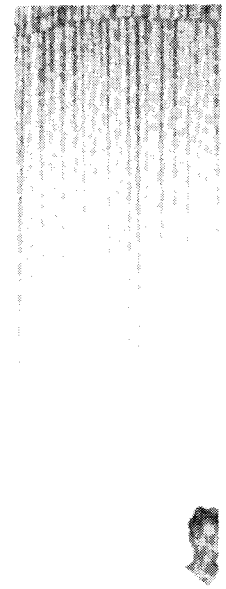
In manner of conclusion, we emphasize once more that the Third World is a fact of history and the present World Order. It cannot be dismissed without serious damage to the analysis of international relations, the elaboration of development strategies and the study of major issues facing mankind: mass poverty, life styles, environment and war and peace. The concept does not allow any hierarchy of worlds, nor any kind of third option between capitalism and socialism. It only conveys the notion of not belonging to the industrialized countries, either capitalist or socialist, and of bearing the stigma of dependence and exploitation. Brazil and Saudi Arabia are Third World countries just as well as Cuba and Vietnam, in spite of their respective ideologies, wealth or development performance. We do not know of any other term that can designate our countries better. The term 'developing nations' is nothing but a myth.

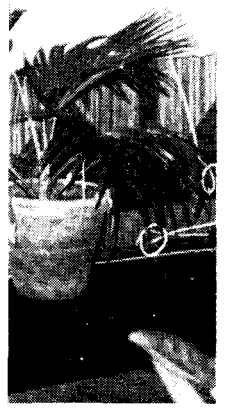
Notes

1. Report on the Fourteenth Session of the Committee on Development Planning, UN, New York, 1978.
2. See Calvet, L. J., *Linguistique et Colonialisme*, Payot, Paris, 1974.
3. *Reshaping the International Order: A Report to the Club of Rome*, New York, 1976.
4. See *Agenda for Action*, Overseas Development Council, New York, 1977.
5. See UNESCO, *Draft Medium Term Plan*, submitted to the Nineteenth General Conference, Nairobi, 1976, and the Proceedings of the Conference. Many of the topics outlined are discussed extensively therein.

Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa

Seminar organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Maputo, 17 to 28 April, 1978.





The 1978 Maputo Seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa' was held at the ex-Sociedade de Estudos and attended by 32 participants from 11 countries and three African liberation movements. In addition, five resource persons and about 30 observers took part. It was directed by Pamela Rebelo, Director of the Department of Planning in the Ministry of Education and Culture of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and Patrick van Rensburg, Secretary to the Serowe Brigades Development Trust in Botswana.

The Seminar was opened by H. E. Graça Machel, Minister for Education and Culture of the People's Republic of Mozambique. During the following session the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam, Ibrahim M. Kaduma, recalled the results of the 1974 Dar es Salaam seminar on 'Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African Countries' organized by the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. (A selection of the papers presented to this seminar is available in DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE *1974:2.)*

The following three days were devoted to the presentation of national reports prepared by the participating countries, outlining the progress made and the problems encountered after the 1974 seminar. At the end of the first week, the participants were divided into four groups and given an opportunity to observe and study the tremendous educational achievements made in Mozambique as a result of FRELIMO's determined efforts to liberate the country and to create a new society. In the second week, provision was made for further discussions in four study groups of the theoretical and practical insights gained during the first week and this formed the basis for the Summary Conclusions arrived at by the end of the seminar.

The selection of seminar papers published here is necessarily limited and primarily intended to illustrate the broad range of experience gained in Africa, stretching from Tanzania's comprehensive efforts in the whole field of education—very well described during the seminar by the Tanzanian Minister for National Education, the Hon. N. A. Kuhanga—to the revolutionary experience of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Patriotic Front. The Summary Conclusions and the essay by Patrick van Rensburg, written after the seminar and elaborating on its results, should, however, make up for the omission of some of the material produced for the seminar and give the reader a sense of the vitality and dedication of those who are shaping the educational alternatives for Southern Africa.

One of the most important themes in the discussion of the crisis of the

formal schooling systems in the Third World and particularly in Africa has been the need for Another Development in Education, combining—as is pointed out by many of the contributors to this issue—education and production. No one at the Maputo seminar stated this problem more eloquently than H. E. Graça Machel, the Minister for Education and Culture:

'In the People's Republic of Mozambique, education is being developed in a manner that links it closely with the concrete necessities of our socio-economic development. Education is closely linked to the demands of the new society, the socialist society that we want to build. We understand that it is practice which determines consciousness and not consciousness which determines practice. This has led us to apply as a principle of revolutionary education the linking of the school with the workplace, study with production. Thus, since the time of the armed struggle, we have followed the watchwords "Study, Produce, Combat" in all our education centres.'

'The objective is essentially political. Transform the mentality, transform the students into producers who identify with the worker and peasant classes, who identify with their aspirations, interests and struggles.'

'We are making efforts to create close links between the schools and the centres of production, making the production centres into schools, in a manner in which the teaching has a very practical character. If the school is not linked with the community, it can no longer be an agent of change in the society, nor can the community influence the school.'

'If we forge a close link between school and community, school and production, we can ensure a permanent link between theory and practice, between intelligence and the hand, one of the basic principles of our educational policy.'

'On the other hand, the efforts we are making towards bringing education to the mass of our people would not be possible economically without the educational centres' struggling towards furnishing their own needs thus lessening the burden on the state.'

'In this fashion, we are combatting elitism, contempt for the working masses, disdain for manual work, and rooting the school in society.'

The Struggle Continues: Mozambique's Revolutionary Experience in Education

During the seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa', great importance was attached to the revolutionary experience of the host country, Mozambique, in the field of education. In the national paper prepared for the seminar and read by the Rector of the Eduardo Mondlane University, Fernando Ganhão, the link between the military struggle and the educational efforts for the transformation of society was strongly emphasized. 'It was during the armed struggle, within the context of combat against Portuguese colonialism and the building of a new type of society in the liberated zones, that we initiated FRELIMO's political line in the field of education. It was a new battle front within the general combat; the search for appropriate ways to give content to and reach our defined objectives, to "educate man in order to win the war, create a new society and develop the country".'

Introduction

The 1978 Maputo Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa gathered delegates from countries with differing experiences over varying lengths of time. Several nations achieved independence a long time ago, others relatively recently. Some are still struggling to overthrow their oppressors.

Mozambique, independent for nearly three years now, has considerable experience of the problems of nationhood. During ten years of armed struggle we forged the principles which guide our society. It was this context which taught us that education always has a particular objective; one which expresses the interests of the dominant class.

Every society educates its members to fit into it. What is transmitted is not a random selection of knowledge accumulated by humanity, but a specific body of facts and attitudes which enable a person to integrate with, participate in and desire a certain type of society.

We do not wish to give here an account of what colonial exploitation entailed for Mozambique. All of us know what colonialism is: how it serves the economic interests of the colonizing power by unilaterally directing the dominated people towards the most efficient forms of usage.

During 500 years of Portuguese domination in Mozambique, the objective of colonialism, especially in the field of education, was to dehumanize the Mozambican and to create conditions which enforced his submission. The instruments used were obscurantism, superstition, hard labour, the palanquim, the 'palmatoria' (corporal punishment), torture, massacre and exploitation. Add to this the facts of underdevelopment in fascist Portugal itself and you have the harsh spectacle of illiteracy, misery, suffering and silent revolt which dominated our people in the colonial years.

There were two kinds of education within

the class structure of colonial domination: the official education, virtually confined to urban areas and destined for the children of the colonial bourgeoisie, and missionary education in the rural areas—the fruit of the Concordat between the Portuguese colonial state and the Holy See in 1940.

The Mozambican Liberation Front was founded in 1962 in response to these years of oppression. The aim of FRELIMO was to put an end to colonial domination and all its consequences, to liberate the people of Mozambique. It was formed so that the people of Mozambique could create a new society, free from foreign domination and oppression; so that they could build a prosperous Mozambique, advanced, developed and strong.

Many and varied were the difficulties we confronted during the years of the struggle. For instance, with the appearance of liberated zones, some areas of our country began to separate themselves from the colonial administration, but there still remained within them feudal structures and the anti-democratic authority of the *regulos*.*

Nor was everyone unanimous about the path we had to follow to reach our desired objective. Some had their own way of interpreting the objective of 'a free Mozambique, prosperous, developed and strong'—interpretations which did not always conform with the interests of the broad masses who were being exploited.

At the same time, new exploiters appeared who wanted to take over from the colonialists in the exploitation of our people. For some of them, independence signified the continuation of feudal or capitalist domination.

As the struggle developed, it took on new dimensions. Two lines were clearly demarcated within FRELIMO: one reactionary and linked to the continuance of exploitation, the other revolutionary and committed to the defence of the interests of the broad masses of the people. An ideological struggle was taking place within FRELIMO itself.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO in 1968 was the point of rupture between the two sides; it became a congress of victory for the revolutionary line. The armed struggle for national liberation now became a full revolution. The fight against Portuguese colonialism took on more advanced forms, turning into an open struggle against the system of exploitation of man by man, against capitalism and imperialism.

It was a path of protracted struggle, difficult struggle, but one which foresaw already a bright future for the people of Mozambique.

Through battle after battle, knowing how to transform weaknesses into advances towards victory, defeating colonialism and its imperialist supporters, always clarifying our political and ideological line, we attained national independence.

Already, throughout large areas of our country, one million Mozambicans were building a new type of society: a society modelled according to our aspirations, a society free from all forms of exploitation of man by man.

This was the major lesson of ten years of armed struggle, of ten years in the liberated territories. During each day of that glorious decade, our line was put to the test. In our daily lives, in the combat for a new society, never before known to our people, the line of FRELIMO was clarified and made concrete.

* Local authorities nominated by the colonial administration, sometimes traditional Chiefs.

'It was a new battlefront . . .: to educate man in order to win the war, create a new society and develop the country'

FRELIMO's political line in the field of education

All of us, to varying degrees of intensity, had our formative education within the old society. The burden of traditional-feudal education influenced everything; it showed in social discrimination based on age and sex, tribalism, obscurantism, superstition and apathy. Superimposed upon this was the burden of colonial-capitalist education; its features were racism, individualism, selfish ambition, élitism, contempt for women and, generally, the dehumanization of the Mozambican people.

These were burdens which made the struggle even more difficult for us, chains that bound us to the past and prevented our advance. To go forward, we had to break those chains. And the only way to do that was to educate the Mozambican men and women for victory, encouraging them to use their capacities, their power, the wealth of their country and the force of their people.

A new education, an education to form the New Man, a new mentality. But this does not signify just the education of a new generation. It means the education of the whole people, once they are out of reach of colonial domination. It is the revolutionary transformation of everyone. It is the transformation of the whole liberated zone of our country into a new school. This has been a major concern of FRELIMO since its foundation in 1962.

The programme of FRELIMO's First Congress outlined these tasks in relation to education and culture:

1. 'The liquidation of colonial and imperialist education and culture. Reform of existing education; energetic and rapid combating of illiteracy.'
2. 'Development of instruction, education and culture to serve the liberation and peaceful progress of the Mozambican people.'

It was during the armed struggle, within the context of combat against Portuguese colonialism and the building of a new society in the liberated zones, that we initiated FRELIMO's political line in the field of education. It was a new battlefront within the general combat; the search for appropriate ways to give content to and reach our defined objectives, to 'educate man in order to win the war, create a new society and develop the country'.

The conditions of war were propitious for substantial changes and the struggle itself demanded strong bonds of solidarity. To teach and to learn these were tasks for everybody.

As the armed struggle progressed, new zones were prised free from colonial control.

The old administration and the missions departed along with the colonial army, and the existing colonial schools disappeared.

It was not, then, a question of transforming the schools. We were creating our own new ones in the liberated zones. Not school buildings with their classrooms, offices and libraries, but schools—teams of people, teachers and pupils, brought together with the sole aim of learning together through mutual aid and enrichment. Most of the time we had no buildings, no notebooks or texts; but we had an immense will to learn in order to contribute to the struggle and advance towards victory.

Small boards of smooth wood, on which the pupils wrote with pieces of charcoal, replaced exercise books. In those first classes, often seated on the ground, every student would devise some way of learning writing and arithmetic. If chalk ran short, the teacher would use a piece of dry cassava for writing on the blackboard. If a building was not available, a tree frequently provided sufficient shade so that school activities could take place.

We did not have 'trained' teachers; but we trained teachers. Often the teacher, knowledge-wise, was just a few lessons ahead of his students; but we were not deterred. Working collectively, the teachers helped each other. The holding of fortnightly inter-school meetings made it possible to organize joint work sessions to prepare lessons and supplement the teachers' knowledge. Mutual help was a principle rigorously applied.

In education, as in all other sectors, we were following the vital guideline: 'Constant and progressive raising of the political, scientific and cultural levels of the largest possible number of cadres'.

We did not have at our disposal the human resources to release large numbers of teachers for complete and lengthy training. Through intensive crash courses followed by immediate practice, however, we gradually raised the level of teacher training, making our candidates better able to carry out their tasks.

We created new teaching aids because of the lack of formal materials. By using his or her initiative, each teacher overcame the shortages, gathering together whatever resources came to hand.

For instance, we used to make rudimentary balances, which were by no means accurate, but which nevertheless enabled pupils to learn the rules of weighing. Small sticks, stones and seeds were adequate for lessons in counting and comparing and for teaching about movement and the stars. And when maps for geography lessons were lacking, the maps of Mozambique and Africa would be drawn on the ground; this was general practice in every school. These are just a few examples of the immense resources we have within our reach if creative initiative is freed.

Programmes more appropriate to our reality were drawn up. In zones where there were no programmes, teachers organized the programmes together in order to give their students the minimum knowledge that 'it was necessary to have'. But the liberated school of Mozambique was much more than a place for the transmitting of knowledge—it was a centre for the formation of the New Man, the person with a national culture, with a Mozambican personality.

As a centre of democracy, the school demanded methods of work which assured an effective democracy in teaching and in education in general. Indiscipline on the part of a student was analysed in the light of the structures to which he or she belonged. Measures for his re-education were then proposed by teachers and pupils together, and finally submitted to the school directorate.

Every political guideline which affected the interest of the educational centre was analysed deeply by everyone. The purpose of this was to improve it by adapting it to the real needs and capabilities of the students before acting upon it. At the same time, however, there was a demand for a deep and conscious discipline so that, when a decision was finally taken, it would be accepted. To ensure this, the directorate of each centre had to follow the preoccupations of the students carefully and live closely with them so as to know their strengths and weaknesses. It was necessary, in short, for the directorate to enjoy the confidence of everyone at all levels.

Constant exchanges of experiences at all levels, among students and teachers, enabled us to synthesize our experiences, to find ways of applying creatively this or that guideline. And so democratic structures were created within the student body.

At every level, the students themselves elected 'responsibles': individuals chosen from their vanguard to give leadership in the classes, sectors and groups. The students learned to choose as their representatives those who held the political and moral confidence of the people they were going to lead.

These student representatives participated with the school directorate in discussing and resolving the school's problems. In keeping with the principle that power belongs to the masses, we prepared the students, while at school, to assume power.

The school was an appropriate place to commence the battle for the emancipation of women. We all found ourselves deeply conditioned by the heritage we had received concerning the place of women in society. It was not enough to give women the right to study; a new mentality had to be created, a new set of convictions about the role of women in the revolution. In the schools we educated students for a real sense of comradeship, breaking down the reactionary concept of women as intended simply for sex, production and reproduction. And we saw our women grow within the struggle, with the freeing of their initiative, developing themselves side by side with their brothers and emancipating themselves within the revolution.

Manual labour or production is an integral part of a class education. It is the intimate linking of intelligence with the hand. Our students were putting knowledge into practice, improving the forms of cultivation by the theory acquired. Through productive work they were coming to understand the value of the people and the significance of exploitation. They were learning to hate the enemy and to feel proud to be the sons and daughters of the labouring classes. Production in the schools also contributed to the collective effort to overcome existing economic difficulties.

All the schools had fields. All the work—cleaning, the construction of buildings, latrines, desks and benches—came from the joint efforts of the students and local villagers. A weekly timetable of activities divided the time between formal classes, production work, cultural activities, sports, political study and meetings to analyse and criticize our life.

In the liberated zones, we achieved a high degree of integration of school and community life. The school was truly part of the community. Any problem which affected the life of the school or village was jointly discussed, and together we arrived at solutions to the difficulties that arose.

We produced together and ate the same food. We constructed buildings for the village and the school together. We dug the trenches and shelters for our protection together. In the face of enemy bombings and invasions, we

fought together. We were a people united in struggle—the struggle for an independent Mozambique.

The people were the teachers of Mozambican culture, of the history of our heroes. The students were the teachers of science and new methods of analysis. Traditional dances, as old as the people themselves, were taken up, adapted to the new phase, revived. We sang in all our languages and danced with all the tribes. The soldier from the Limpopo shed his blood on the Makonde Plateau, and the rhythm of the *makwaela** intermingled with the pulse of the *limbondo*.** A national culture was evolving, a pride in being Mozambican was growing with it. The tribe was dying to give birth to the nation.

We learned the history of other oppressed peoples; we sang of their struggles; we knew what it was to be internationalist. We were forming the New Man in Mozambique.

The development of the Mozambican personality required strong emphasis on the cultural formation of the Mozambican people. Creative initiatives sprang up spontaneously. Poems and songs composed by the students appeared in all the schools, and plays were written and acted. Some spoke of our struggle and our victories; others exposed enemy infiltration.

Through culture, we were spreading the political line. We were mobilizing, we were developing vigilance and we were teaching how the enemy used our weaknesses to infiltrate into our midst. We were criticizing vices, deviations and reactionary traditions. We were creating a revolution within culture and a culture within the revolution.

* A dance from Southern Mozambique deriving from the South African mines.

** A Mozambican dance.

It was in this context that we learned the value of criticism and self-criticism. In our daily struggle to be capable of responding to what the revolution demanded, we began to eliminate the persistent influence of the old societies and started our transformation into new men and women. There were no longer tribes or races. We were all people of Mozambique.

The revolution taught us that the enemy has neither tribe nor colour. The enemy is all those who defend the interests of the exploiters; all those who, by their behaviour and actions, identify with them.

Thus we learned what value to place on the expression 'comrade'. As we sweated together on marches and in efforts to transform nature, as we studied together and together synthesized our experiences, as we struggled together against erroneous ideas and values, a true friendship was forged among us—built on principles and tempered through revolutionary practice. Then, men and women made equals by sharing in the same tasks, the same battle and the same ideas called each other 'comrade'.

National unity reached new heights. One of the major themes that education had to convey was the unity of the people. It was by uniting in work and in struggle that we became truly united. Portuguese, the language of the colonizer, took on a new aspect. It became a vehicle of unity, by which we learned the objectives of our struggle, the heroism of our people, the richness of our country. In Portuguese we discussed our common problems, improved our methods of work, sang of our victories and lauded our heroes.

Literacy for all, learning Portuguese as a means of national communication, became then a constant concern of FRELIMO. Priority had to be given to the militants and the

army, the backbone of our organization. Through literacy, we were taking our first steps towards the elimination of obscurantism and ignorance, increasing our forces and consolidating our unity.

Pupils, teachers and all who knew how to read and write Portuguese were enlisted in the literacy programmes. During school holidays, the campaign was stepped up. Students came great distances, some from as far as Tanzania where FRELIMO's secondary school was located. They mixed with the local population and became a unified mass of people in a common struggle, each in his own field of combat, each giving all that he had.

But our schools, because they were decisive centres in the formation of the New Man and guarantees of the revolution's future, were constantly subject to enemy attack—both from the colonial enemy and from the enemy within, the reactionary influences which we carried with us, the opportunists, the self-ambitious.

Over the years, the agents of colonialism and imperialism infiltrated among us and spread reactionary propaganda in our schools. They used corruption and vice—any weakness that would create indiscipline and lower morale. To stay true to our course we had to fight many battles; we had deviations in all our schools—authoritarianism among our 'responsibles', corruption, liberalism and anarchy. In this constant struggle, we learned that the school is either a centre of revolution or a centre of reaction.

'A revolution is a tortuous path, full of curves and precipices . . .' And each passing day we had to reassess the course we were taking, learning from today's problems the lessons which would serve us tomorrow.

This was how we advanced. But there were considerable experiences to be synthesized and overcome, for we all—in varying degrees—brought with us the influence of the old society. Individualism, élitism, complexes—these existed in many of us.

In 1968, at the time of the Second Congress, the political crisis within FRELIMO had inevitable repercussions on education. Two antagonistic positions emerged: education for the people or education for a minority of new exploiters. FRELIMO's secondary school was, at that time, located in the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam. It had grown from the need to train technical cadres. At that point, we did not yet have the material conditions in the liberated zones for a secondary school to function properly, but the location of the school in Dar es Salaam raised many problems.

The students lived completely outside the reality of the struggle, of the liberated zones, and there was no way of integrating the school with the life of the people. The means for overcoming this problem had not yet been created. Many of the pupils were the sons and daughters of Mozambican refugees in Tanzania. Many came from mission schools and had never lived in the liberated zones. They were easy prey for the false ideas propagated and defended by FRELIMO's reactionary wing. When these reactionary forces felt themselves defeated in the liberated zones, they turned to a point which looked more promising for them—the Mozambique Institute. Manipulated and lacking any real political consciousness, the students began an open rebellion against FRELIMO and its educational policy of serving the people. Elitism, individualism and an arrogant contempt for the people developed, and we were forced to close our secondary school.

Some may think that this slowed down the training of cadres, but in effect it did the oppo-

site. It was a hard battle, but we won. We made advances in the clarification of our line and our work methods. We defined the types of cadre which we wished to train: cadres who identified with the people and their struggle; students who were conscious that the knowledge they were acquiring was the fruit of people's sacrifices and ought, therefore, to be placed at their service. We learned that in revolutionary education, politics must always remain in command. We wanted technical cadres with high levels of scientific expertise, but we did not want exploiters. Thus, when we reopened the secondary school, we were more secure in our beliefs and methods and more certain that we could now train cadres who were prepared, politically and technically, to carry out the revolution. When political or disciplinary issues arose, we did not hesitate to interrupt classes for several days, endangering the pedagogical programme, so that the students could discuss thoroughly the problems affecting them and work out solutions. We were convinced that, above all, the school had to be safeguarded against infiltration and deviation from the political line of FRELIMO.

This is just one example of the kind of internal struggle we engaged in on our way towards a revolutionary education.

When we speak today of the rich experience of education we gained through our struggle, we are not using empty words. For, in reality, we built a new type of education in the liberated zones—a class education for the defence of the working masses; an education which came about dialectically and which advanced according to the actual demands of the struggle.

It was not an educational system that was copied. Rather, it was one worked out, discussed, analysed, experimented with and rectified over a decade. It was a system enriched by lessons drawn from a searching analysis of other peoples' revolutionary experiences, lessons which were critically assimilated.

We still had many faults to work at. But our triumphs were revolutionary ones which we should prize, develop and never abandon. For the first time in our history, children grew up outside colonial tyranny, free from dogmatic traditions. There is already a generation—some thousands of children—that studied entirely in the new schools. We have confidence in them. They are the seedbed from which the revolution will grow and triumph definitively.

This, then, was the march we took under FRELIMO's guidance until 1975, the year of national independence. It was a long march, but a good one; a march on which we learned vigilance and preparedness for any task; a march on which we learned to set aside our smaller personal interests for the sake of our larger national destiny.

Education after independence

National independence brought freedom throughout Mozambique. No longer was it a matter of the slow advances characteristic of armed struggle when, inch by inch, we won the land and liberated the people. With national independence, about nine million Mozambicans were liberated. From 1962–75, two sections of the Mozambican people had followed two distinct paths. Under FRELIMO's guidance, one section was building a new society; the other continued under colonial subjection. So, on the one hand, we had an educational system which created people capable of building a society without exploitation; on the other, we had one which had evolved over 500 years of colonialism and which created people who would enable a neo-colonial capitalist society to persist.

This was our inheritance at independence on 25th June, 1975. As in 1962, illiteracy was widespread and every form of obscurantism existed and was on the increase. We already had an emergent petty-bourgeoisie which wanted to take the place of the colonial dominators. We had a privileged élite of those who had studied and meant to fill the oppressor's role. There were a few teachers, mainly foreign, divided by the existing system of discrimination into all kinds of categories. The same discrimination divided students into various kinds of schools. The official schools were to be found in the urban areas and these catered for the sons and daughters of colonial settlers and one group of Mozambicans, the *assimilados*.* These establishments, too, were divided into several types according to the social class of the children's parents.

The rural zones were designated for missionary schools where most of the pupils were Mozambicans. In these, cultural alienation and religious instruction predominated. The university was restricted to a tiny minority: the sons of the professional classes, doctors and engineers.

A wave of rivalry and anarchic liberalism came to the fore in education in the period before the Transitional Government. Everyone gave directions, everyone had authority and each did what he or she wanted. After fifty years of fascism, there was an explosion of liberalism, encouraged by a Government eager to hand the country over to FRELIMO in the maximum state of economic disorganization and social chaos. At independence, therefore, there were two paths which had to be followed simultaneously. On the one hand, we had to maintain and develop the revolutionary educational system evolved in the liberated areas, the FRELIMO schools; on the other hand, we had to dismantle the cumbersome colonial structures which we had inherited. Our education had to be spread through the whole of Mozambique. We needed to inculcate in our teachers a sense of responsibility and conscious discipline, bringing FRELIMO's political line to life in the schools. We needed, too, to combat false versions of democracy and liberty which were, in fact, nothing more than liberalism and anarchy. It was no easy situation and we have not yet totally succeeded in dealing with it.

The primary concern of our Government was to control the schools, and nationalization of both private and missionary schools was the first measure towards this end. This enabled us to remove from the colonial-capitalist apparatus those eyesores which most demanded attention, particularly the system of discrimination. Nationalization also facilitated the building throughout the country of an educational system oriented and directed by the Party and the State.

Nationalization in the education sector created the base for a democratization of education. We were able to start combating the obscurantist and élitist methods of bourgeois colonial education.

The great majority of foreign teachers did not accept this. They ran away. And not only the foreigners—Mozambicans too. Their departure did not worry us unduly. We are training our own teachers. Certainly this will take some time and we are experiencing serious difficulties. But we continue to maintain that politics must be our first priority.

Even during the Transitional Government we organized the First National Seminar on Education. Here, for the first time, programmes were adopted for the whole territory of

* Mozambicans assimilated into Portuguese colonial society.

Mozambique—programmes leading to a different future. But it is not enough to define the objectives of education, or to create new programmes and teach FRELIMO's history, in order to have a revolutionary system of education. It is necessary that the teachers themselves assume these objectives, make them their own and transmit them as new revolutionary values to their students. This is a long battle which has only just begun. From here on, our concern is to train teachers, to give refresher courses, to keep alive the line which guided us through the armed struggle. We intend to promote a process of education that is lasting and progressive.

Since independence, we have trained more than 2,000 primary school teachers and about 12,000 others have taken refresher courses. We have started training secondary school teachers and, through provincial and regional seminars, we have gradually raised their pedagogical and political levels. This coincides with one of our major concerns—the transformation of existing teachers, instilling in them our ideology so as to make them better able to carry out their duties.

In these three years of independence, we have experienced a veritable explosion in our schools. From about 690,000 children with schooling in 1974, we have reached close to 1,300,000 pupils in 1977. The number of secondary schools has jumped from 43 to 103 in two years. Our programmes are constantly under review in order to improve them.

On attaining independence, we discarded all the colonial textbooks, since there was no way in which they could be used or adapted within our educational aims. We wrote lesson texts, based on our various new programmes, for subjects and classes. Through intense collaboration and mutual help, teachers in all our schools gradually overcame shortages of materials and books. They have produced their own study texts for the students—texts which reflect our ideology, our new educational line.

Today, we already have reading books for every class in all the country's schools. Books for several other subjects will be ready before long.

At the same time, we have begun to democratize work methods in our schools and to collectivize their administration. This has been a difficult phase, since the real significance of freedom and democracy has not always been correctly understood.

We have frequently fallen into the error of liberalism by resisting democratic centralism. It was not difficult, however, to identify enemy action in our schools. There were the same attempts that we had experienced in the liberated zones, the same infiltrations and the same propaganda, though now disguised in other forms. The enemy wanted to prevent the schools from becoming socialist training centres because, as everyone knows, where socialism is born, capitalism and exploitation die. Pupils and teachers are obvious targets for infiltration. Some merely fail to grasp the real meaning of a people's democracy; others take every opportunity to provoke incidents, disorder and turbulence in order to sabotage the revolutionary process. Little by little we have learned how to explain ourselves to the former and to unmask the latter. Schools have begun to be integrated into the community. Teachers and students are no longer minor intellectuals, but have become workers in education, part of the people.

The consolidation of people's power requires schools to be an integral part of the society we are building. Local people should know and be part of the life of the school in their area; they should take part in analysing

its problems and in finding proper solutions. The parents of our pupils have begun to learn how the school is organized and to join with its various elements in developing its activities.

The experience of the population in agricultural and other skilled work, as well as in popular culture, is passed on to pupils in jointly arranged classes and activities. In turn, teachers and students contribute their knowledge through discussion and their labour through manual work. Sharing the activities of the workers is both an encouragement to them and a way of raising production for the country. 'Producing is learning, learning in order to improve production and struggle'—this remains our permanent watchword. The constant link between theory and practice in our struggle is a proper respect for manual work.

FRELIMO's Third Congress for the Advance to Socialism strengthened our positions, making them clearer and setting concrete goals to be achieved by 1980. Its fundamental guidelines for education include:

1. An intensification of the political and ideological training of teachers and pupils.
2. The consolidation of an educational system serving economic and social development and the worker-peasant alliance.
3. The forging of stronger links between education and production, between theory and practice, for the effective transformation of society.

It is vital to organize education so as to make it accessible at all levels to workers and their children, thereby giving them a materialist and scientific concept of the world. In this way, education can become a tool for the development of the country, not only in economic terms but socially and ideologically as well. Our measure of closing the tenth and eleventh secondary school classes—the pre-university classes—should be seen in this context. Such a measure enables us to plan more efficiently the distribution of pupils who complete class nine. It becomes possible to allocate them to tasks which the country's needs make imperative. Placing all pre-university students in one centre also enables us to make better use of the university staff we have. Both the pre-university course and the secondary school teacher-training programme are residential. This offers better possibilities for the development of collective work.

In literacy and adult education, we are witnessing a vast movement throughout the country. Literacy has been firmly established as a priority not only in the Ministry of Education and Culture but also within various other structures. Tens of thousands of adults have become literate in the few years since independence—a reflection of popular response to the watchword 'learn in order to increase and improve production'. Dozens of political and technical training courses have been organized for our workers. Today, night courses have reached an unprecedented level of development in Mozambique's history.

This broad movement answers the need to help workers and peasants develop their political and technical knowledge for the sake of the country. It will enable them to control and enhance the economic prospects of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Only with such knowledge will it be possible for the workers and peasants to reach a scientific conception of the world, a Marxist-Leninist ideology. Only through literacy will workers be able to gain the necessary power to control nature and utilize it in the service of our people.

This year we are beginning a long campaign which will take place in the priority sectors of our national life: the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces; the industrial and rural

workers in organized centres of production, factories, state firms, cooperatives and state farms; and the deputies of the people's assemblies. These are centres vital to the economic independence of our country, centres which guarantee our revolutionary gains. We plan to train 3,400 literacy teachers in this campaign.

In all our schools, factories, communal villages and various places of work, *Grupos Culturais Polivalentes** have been set up. At this moment, all over the country the First Popular Dance Festival is taking place, enriching and affirming our cultural heritage, contributing to the formation of a national culture.

Physical education and sport, limited in colonial times to a restricted number of participants, today reach all parts of the territory. We are developing sport for the masses, promoting fixtures between workers and peasants and among youth in general. This will contribute to the improved physical fitness and health of the nation. The First Interscholastic Games which finished earlier this year have already shown us our capacity in this sector.

* Groups for mobilizing the people through dance, theatre, poetry, etc.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique, an independent and sovereign country, we are creating the material and ideological conditions for a socialist society under the guidance of FRELIMO, our vanguard party. Our line in education, then, serves the worker-peasant alliance. We want to create a scientific mentality, a Mozambican person with a Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In this process, education has a key role. It must, however, be a new type of education, one totally directed towards the good of the working masses.

In this context there is still much to be done. We must destroy the remaining traces of colonial-capitalist and feudal-traditional education. We must develop a balanced policy giving equal attention to adult and formal education. We must give priority to occupational training while not neglecting medium- and long-term perspectives.

The secret of the triumph of socialist society lies in educating the people. Education, revolutionary in form and content, enables the working class and peasantry to be, in reality, the leading force throughout society.

Education and Self-reliance in Tanzania: A National Perspective

Ever since the Arusha Declaration and President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's speech 'Education for self-reliance' in 1967, Tanzania has played an important role in the movement for educational reform in Africa. Thus, in 1971 universal adult education was declared a permanent and integral part of Tanzania's educational planning efforts. In 1974, it was furthermore decided that universal primary education should be effected by November 1977. In this assessment of the achievements and aspirations of the Tanzanian government in the field of education, presented at the Maputo seminar by the Minister for National Education, the Hon. Nicholas Kuhanga, the following features were emphasized. ' "Education is work" has become the catchword since 1974. Primers in adult education classes discuss social and economic issues which concern the adult learner so that the study sessions gives him an opportunity to analyze the challenges and acquire possible solutions' ... 'Primary school curricula and syllabuses have been modified to suit Tanzanian rural needs' and 'what we are trying to do in Tanzania', the Minister asserted, 'is to make primary education serve the majority of the Tanzanians in the rural areas.'

Tanzania, as a socialist country in the making, has opted to democratize essential social services for the benefit of all its people. This decision implies an operative ideology that would involve the masses in the process of their development. The decision of Tanzania to involve the masses in their own development cannot be fully grasped without a short outline of the country's philosophy, with special reference to its educational implications.

It is through education that people identify their needs and choose alternative solutions to meet them. It is through education that people gain knowledge, skills, values and mental attitudes that equip them to be their own masters and enable them to control the forces and laws of nature, whereby they can transform their environment, and establish better relationships in the universe for a better life. It is through education that people measure their progress towards intended goals and enjoy the fruits of those achieved. Education, therefore, plays a major role in the development of Tanzania as a socialist state.

Background information

Tanzania is one of the East African countries, with an area of 937,062 square kilometres. Its population is estimated at sixteen million, most of whom—over 90 per cent—live in the rural areas. The per capita income is US $166. Agriculture earns the country 45 per cent of its GDP and manufactures earn only 10 per cent.

The total government expenditure in 1972–73 was 3,179.4 million Tanzania shillings (about US $475 million) of which 473.9 million was spent on education—that is, about 14.9 per cent of the total budget.

In 1970, the literacy rate was 30 per cent among a population of over fifteen million. By 1977, the rate had shot up to above 80 per cent, through an intensive functional literacy programme. Between 1975 and 1977, 2,255,820 adults passed the National Literacy Examinations out of a total of 5,800,000 registered adult students. With the introduction of universal primary education in 1977, enrolment in Standard I has shot up from about 50 per cent to over 90 per cent.

Secondary school education intake has been dropping percentagewise. In the 1960s, 13 per cent of primary school leavers got into secondary schools; in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the figure dropped to 10 per cent; and in the mid 1970s, only 6 per cent could be accommodated in the conventional secondary school system, although in terms of actual numbers the enrolment has risen from 4,300 in 1961 to 15,850 in 1977.

The university intake is even more restricted. It reflects the national limitation in carrying the burden of higher education for human resource development in order to cater for the high-level manpower requirements of the nation. Only about 3 per cent of all the high school leavers can get places in institutions of higher learning both at home and abroad.

National perspective—political

Politically, Tanzania is a one-party state. It is made up of two sovereign states—Mainland Tanzania (Tanganyika) and Zanzibar. After a bloody revolution in 1964, Zanzibar gained her true independence and opted to unite with Tanganyika, which had peacefully gained hers in 1961 from the British colonial masters.

The moving spirit towards independence in both states was the concern about man. Man is central. This belief in the worth of man was embodied in the creed of the AFRO-SHIRAZI Party in Zanzibar, and in Tanganyika in the creed of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Because of the common ideological stand, the two sovereign states were able to merge in 1964; and after thirteen years of growth, maturity and self-criticism, the two political parties fused together to form Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) on 5th February, 1977.

The new political party has inherited all the strong points of the two former parties and is intent on reinforcing its commitment to serve man for a better life. In a nutshell, the Party ideology is summarized in two Kiswahili words—'Ujamaa na Kujitegemea'—loosely translated as 'Socialism and Self-Reliance'. The Party Constitution states that the Party believes:

1. That all human beings are equal.
2. That every individual has a right to dignity and respect as a human being.
3. That 'Socialism and Self-Reliance' is the only way to build a society of free and equal citizens.[1]

Any casual reader can sense that the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Constitution is to all intents and purposes man-centred (anthropocentric). The justification of our national institutions or actions must be to create a free and self-reliant citizenry, enjoying equal opportunities to develop themselves for their benefit and the society that ensures their rights and security.

The man-centred philosophy can also be clearly seen in all Party papers and documents. The Party guidelines like 'MWONGOZO', of 1971, and the major works of the

Party Chairman, Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere, attest to the same concern. One has only to read *Man and Development* to see how ujamaa greatly respects man—the common man—as Obote would call him, the raison d'être of the state and its institutions.

At the level of the State, the Constitution of Tanzania establishes the necessary public institutions to realize the man-centred ideology. Hence, structures of ministries and public institutions ensure the participation of the workers and peasants in affairs that affect their lives. Public institutions are meant to help man develop himself. Of necessity, such a concept of development calls for a comprehensive education policy—which reaches all citizens, excluding none—and which deals comprehensively with human resources development in an integrated way and views education as a life-long process.

Universal basic education is a must

The national education policy is a logical derivation from the national man-centred policy. The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance attest to this:

1. Human resources are the deciding factor in development.
2. People ought to be properly prepared to participate in their development. Development is defined as any act that gives man more control over his affairs. In fact, any free decision-making is an act of development, and hence an act of liberation.
3. Human resources are properly prepared through a systematic exploitation of their total potential through a comprehensive learning system of education.

It is no wonder, then, that the Party and Government have always seen education as a key to true fruition of the benefits of independence. It is the tool that can liberate the 'domesticated', colonized people from slavish mentality into the freedom of respectable human beings. It is the tool that can initiate, generate and establish social values which govern the security of the life and property of individuals as well as the public. It is the tool which gives man the techniques to transform and control nature to serve him economically and aesthetically.

Tanzania, therefore, views education at the basic level as a human right to which each citizen is entitled. It is a two-way obligation. The Party and Government must provide educational facilities, and the people are duty-bound to make use of the opportunities offered. It is in the light of these national perspectives on education and society that Tanzania has taken some of the most daring decisions in history:

1. People have settled in villages to make mobilization for basic social services possible.
2. Adult education has become a national activity.
3. Universal primary education has become compulsory.
4. Higher education is geared towards national manpower requirement.

Let us now look more closely at these points, in order to see the lessons we can learn from the Tanzanian experience.

People move into villages: 1976

Africa has been described by historians, sociologists and politicians as a continent of instability. Its people have been forced to wander about or even flee in the face of adverse physical and human forces. Tribes, clans and families found it difficult to settle together, so many took to nomadic life and isolation. Tanzania has not been an exception. Its popu-

lation of over ten million at Independence was scattered over remote areas, some of which were almost inaccessible. Pastoralist tribes such as the Masai and the Wagogo are typical of several who used to move about with their herds of cattle in search of grazing grounds. The peasant tribes, which make up the majority, were compelled to be migratory farmers due to the low level of agricultural technology.

Obviously, this mode of life was not conducive to fostering national unity, particularly after independence. Communication was difficult both ways—among the people themselves and between the leaders (Party and Government) and the people. The Tanzanian leadership realized that this was a big bottleneck to mobilizing the people to nationhood and socio-economic development. Already, in 1964, the Party had pointed this out and was urging people to settle in planned villages.

In 1971, it was decided that by 1976 all the people should have moved into planned villages. Today, that is in 1978, more than thirteen million peasants have moved into more than 8,000 villages. This is one of the achievements that the Party and the Government can be proud of. It is a historic revolution which has transformed rural Tanzania beyond anyone's expectation.

The sheer physical difficulties that the revolution faced, let alone the arduous psychological pilgrimage which the migrant rural population had to make as they changed from wanderers to settled communities, would have frightened most governments from daring to dare. But Tanzania has made it, and we do not regret.

As we analyse this milestone in our history, we can see that a revolution of such magnitude could only be achieved because of the political will of the people, expressed in the Party Conference. The decision to move into villages was the will of the majority of the people—it was not a one-man decision or the desire of a few influential Party members. The issue was debated and the resolution passed in the Party Conference, with representatives from the villages and ten-cell units. Basically, then, it was the political will of the people to charter anew their lives in planned villages.

Since the early 1960s, the Party and Government organs had attempted to prepare the people for the implementation of their decision. Living together, and working together for the common good of the community, became the theme of the leaders and educators in Tanzania. Conferences, seminars and meetings were organized to orient the nation towards the importance of setting up planned villages, so that the people could be given basic social services for a decent human life.

The importance of educating the masses, so as to understand and adopt decisions taken at high levels, is a factor worth noting. Decisions made by people's representatives ought to be communicated to the grassroots level to be understood and translated into programmes of action. How was this done in Tanzania *vis-à-vis* the villagization programme?

In most cases, the movement of people into planned villages was effected with little inconvenience. The local people discussed the following points:

1. The need to move to a new habitation.
2. Reasons why they should or should not move.
3. If they had to move, where they should move to and why.
4. When would be the best time to move.
5. What extra help they would need from the government to facilitate their movement (e.g. transport).

Some guidelines were given to facilitate the peoples' discussions. For example, they were

advised that a village should not have less than 250 or more than 600 families. Its location should be near some existing transport route (road, railway), on fertile land where water is available. Households were to be given enough land for farming and/or grazing.

Grassroots decisions on these items were normally respected by higher authorities, and all possible assistance was given to see that the will of the peasants was respected. Thus many of the 8,000 villages formed and registered are a result of a democratic and grassroots revolution. One has only to visit and live with these peasants to see how proud they are now of the agonizing decision which they made when they had to leave behind their old homes.

Womenfolk see in the new village life possibilities they had never dreamt of in those days of isolation. Children who used to walk miles to school now travel only short distances. Meetings and communication can take place at short notice. In other words, the potential for community action and development has been increased many times.

The movement of thirteen million people into villages is no mean work. It is quite natural to expect some mistakes in the implementation. Most mistakes were made by zealots who wanted to outdo their colleagues in quickly mobilizing the peasants without proper preparation. As a result, there were cases of people being forced to leave their homes and move to unsuitable sites. There were isolated cases of peasants being moved about several times, and their homes being destroyed. There were also isolated cases of people being overcrowded along some highways, without adequate land for agriculture. These were the mistakes of some of our Government and Party leaders—mistakes committed mostly out of ignorance, resulting from incorrect translation of the Party decision into a programme of action. It is consoling, however, to see that where injustice was done, or the people's right to democratic life was downtrodden, people resorted to democratic institutions to claim for their rights: they appealed to Party meetings, to the Permanent Commission of Inquiry and even to the President himself—and were redressed.

It is important to mention here that hostile foreign governments were quick to grab any opportunity and blow up this flaw. However, their propaganda against Tanzania has proved futile. The move into planned villages has continued, although we still have to make some reorganization in a few of the established villages.

Perhaps no issue has touched the lives of so many millions of people in Tanzania, directly or indirectly, as the transformation of the rural areas into planned villages. Certainly no issue has made such a permanent impact on Tanzanians. It is a milestone in our history; and its acceptance was effected so quickly because the masses were involved in the process. It has proved to us that, with the political will of the people, a poor nation can implement projects which otherwise would need huge sums of money spread over long periods. What one needs is a planned mass mobilization through mass political education—involving all media, and coordinated vertically as well as horizontally.

The movement of the people into planned villages was only a means towards the intended goal of giving them basic social services. We all know that developing countries are characterized by the prevalence of apathy to development, ignorance, diseases and poverty. The root cause of all these evils is ignorance. The creation of an educated and wellinformed people is basic to liberating a nation from the other evils enumerated above. We

decided to settle in villages so that we could organize a comprehensive education system. This would lead to mobilization of the people into participation in their own development—to improve their world outlook and to develop their technical skills for better production of wealth, and better living conditions and health.

Socialist education is the national goal

Tanzania inherited all the evils of the colonial education system. It was élitist, designed to inculcate slavish mentality to serve the colonial masters. Independence meant the recasting of the whole system, in order to meet the new national goals—the fulfilment of the Tanzanian Personality. The curriculum, methods and evaluation had to reflect the ideals and spirit of the Party ideology, as later articulated in the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance.

This new concept of socialist education had to be understood and accepted by the people, especially the 'educated' Tanzanians, a product of the colonial system. Socialist education meant that education was a social service designed for all. None should be excluded by virtue of age, sex or belief. Socialism is a set of values meant to organize people into certain life patterns. Commitment to the system postulates free and intelligent choice. Hence, to establish a socialist society, mass education was a necessary condition. How could the masses be involved in improved production, in planning their projects, without at least basic educational inputs on the subject?

Tanzania, then, was committed to both universal adult and child education. This was already clear in the early years of our independence. It was only a question of strategy, of where and when to start, for we would need teachers, equipment and materials, proper curricula, and funds. The early 1960s, however, were mainly spent in expanding secondary education, which was meant to provide the nation with middle-level manpower and to start our own University for Self-Reliance in high-level manpower requirements.

Our experience with the first Five-Year Development Plan, which ended in 1969, taught us a number of lessons. Among these was the fact that the adult population would not effectively contribute to nation-building unless their education was an integral part of the National Education System.

Universal adult education: 1971

This led the nation to adopt a series of resolutions which culminated in declaring 1970 an Adult Education Year in Tanzania. Encouraged by the literacy results in 1971, the nation declared adult education a permanent and integral part of our educational planning. Thus, although adult education is not statutory, its social acceptance through political mobilization is so effective that it is more or less part and parcel of the Tanzanian way of life.

The adult education movement was really a Party tool to mobilize the people into adopting the Party ideology and its social and economic conclusions. It was aimed at equipping peasants and workers with the necessary political awareness to shoulder personal and social responsibility, to secure necessary skills, to improve productivity, and to transform their living conditions into better lives. The content had to be functionally oriented by combining theory with practice. Literacy at the initial stage was not to be an end in itself. Rather, it was to be the means to improve the occupational knowledge and skills of the peasants and workers.

To support the adult education movement, permanent structures were set up. The Directorate of Adult Education was established within the Ministry of National Education. Adult education officers were appointed to supervise programmes at various levels down to the villages, and adult education committees were organized to advise administrators on adult education programmes. These committees were made up of representatives of the people, Party and Government. This composition was deliberately designed to secure the people's participation, and technical and executive support for the resulting programme.

The Institute of Adult Education was gradually oriented from an extra-mural department of the University to an Institute charged with the responsibility for promoting adult education on a scientific basis. Other institutions in the country and all the people were called upon to participate in adult education as learners and as teachers. Education became compulsory at places of work, where every worker was entitled to one hour a day for instruction relevant to his occupation.

The National Literacy Campaign started in 1971, with the objective of wiping out illiteracy (then affecting 70 per cent of the adult population) in a four-year period. There were more than five million illiterate people scattered all over the country. This was without doubt an ambitious programme, for there were shortages of literacy teachers, reading materials, classrooms, transport for the distribution of materials, and so on. But, again, it was the political will of the people which made us dare to dare. No sooner was the resolution passed —thanks to the cooperation of Party and Government institutions and generous financial support from friendly nations—than the Ministry of National Education was able to organize adult classes, provide teachers, supervisory machinery and reading materials, and organize mass media programmes in all regions of the country. By 1974, adults going to attend literacy classes in classrooms or pubs, under trees or in godowns, became a common feature, and by 1975 more than five million adults had been enrolled. Those who sat for the National Literacy Examination in 1975 and 1976 raised the literacy rate in Tanzania from the initial 30 per cent to about 80 per cent. This is a tremendous achievement by any standard.

In spite of post-literacy problems, Tanzania is determined to continue the struggle to expand and maintain literacy. Adult education study groups are being strengthened; the curriculum is being improved; literacy teachers/tutors receive upgrading seminars and Adult Education Association branches are being founded in the regions. Meanwhile, the Institute of Adult Education is extending its services into the villages. Through educational projects, seminars, correspondence education and especially mass campaigns such as Mtu ni Afya (Man is Health) and Chakula ni Uhai (Food is Life), the Institute of Adult Education is reinforcing non-formal education as an integral part of our education system.

However, one should not overlook the fact that adult education in Tanzania is a socialist movement. It is meant to mobilize the people into active participation in programmes that concern their lives. The people have realized the benefit of adult education and they have therefore made it their movement. Obviously, Tanzania has learnt a good deal in the process of implementing universal adult education. Education is a very expensive social service. But much of the expense can be cut down when a serious effort is applied to exploitation of available local resources and coordination of the programmes.

On the other hand, research and evaluation are necessary components of the programme. Both should be tools to facilitate rather than impede the achievement of the goal. All in all, the people themselves are the greatest asset we can always count on in the process of research and evaluation.

The settling of the people in planned villages greatly facilitated our programme. It may not be mere coincidence that the literacy campaign reached its highest peak when the resettlement movement was almost over. Basic to all this is the driving spirit of the Party—which gives direction and meaning to the whole process.

Universal primary education: 1977

The adult education movement would have been incomplete without a parallel policy of universal primary education. Up to 1974, Tanzania was accommodating a little more than 50 per cent of its school-age children in the primary education system of seven grades. Almost half of our children would grow up to swell the ranks of the illiterate adults. At the same time, one should not forget that an incomplete primary education system is also the reason for an increased number of illiterate people.

So, to complete our education revolution, it was again resolved in 1974 through the political machinery that universal primary education be effected by November 1977.

We were faced with four major problems: shortage of classrooms, school materials, teachers, and time for preparation.

In this venture, the Party has played the essential role of mobilizing the people to accept the revolution and urging parents (adults) to support its implementation by building classrooms and teachers' houses in order to ensure that all children of school age go to school and, once enrolled, attend classes regularly. This mobilization has resulted in the construction of many classrooms and teachers' houses in the different regions of the country. If the momentum is sustained at the same level, we should be able to achieve our target of securing classroom space for every child and teachers' houses for all our primary school teachers by 1981.

The Ministry of National Education has set aside enough funds for the purchase and production of basic school materials and their distribution to all parts of the country, and will ensure that they reach those for whom they are intended.

Meanwhile the Institute of Adult Education, in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education and Regional Administration, has designed a programme for the training on the job of at least 40,000 primary school teachers at minimal cost for three years, in order to solve the problem of shortage of teachers. The training technique is a combination of several educational approaches to distance and face-to-face teaching.

The teacher trainees are carefully selected by local committees from competent primary school leavers. They are split up into study groups of seven to twenty students under the tuition of a ward education coordinator, who has had an induction course on the programme content and methodology. (A ward coordinator is appointed after approved long experience as a teacher or tutor. He is in charge of education matters at the ward level. It is a full-time post.)

The study groups receive correspondence education materials from the Institute of Adult Education, which deal with three key subjects:

1. Principles of education.
2. How to teach reading and writing.

3. How to teach arithmetic.

The correspondence answers are corrected locally by the ward coordinators.

The teacher trainees also have face-to-face sessions with their tutors, when finer points are elaborated upon and problems are discussed in detail. The programme is also supported by radio programmes. Sessions are strengthened by discussion among the trainees and then actual teaching in the local classroom gives the whole course a truly functional flavour, with constant immediate evaluation in real situations with the help of an experienced teacher appointed for this purpose.

So far the wastage rate is very small, about 10 per cent. If it remains constant, we shall be able to get the 40,000 extra teachers needed for the implementation of universal primary education. The first intake, in 1976, was 15,000 and in 1977 the intake was 12,000. This year, 1978, will witness the last intake. Experience has shown that it is less costly to run such teacher-training courses for two main reasons. First, they are non-residential and are heavily based on self-reliance and the utilization of local human and material resources. Second, they are productive and practical.

As far as the quality of the teacher is concerned, the wide range of learning situations provided in teacher-training colleges is being opened to these trainees through short programmed courses in the colleges during vacations. Correspondence courses in additional academic subjects are also offered to them. The strongest point about the course is its direct and practical applicability, which highly motivates these young teachers in their jobs.

The first national examination conducted last year yielded encouraging results, and the course is gaining credibility among our people and international opinion.

This new technique of training teachers has made it possible for Tanzania to implement the UPE policy and by December 1977 the enrolment in primary schools had gone up to 93 per cent. It seems again, that the political will of the people is going to succeed. Its secret is the involvement of the people through mass education and their commitment to it. It is our experience in Tanzania that external donors come to your aid if you convince them of the justification of your decision.

The innovative ideas to revolutionize national institutions designed for basic education were not limited to setting up structures that would reach all Tanzanians, but perhaps more importantly went into reforming our curricula and methods. In curriculum development, emphasis was laid on relating the content of education to the need of the learner. Both primary and adult education should reflect the desire of Tanzanians to understand themselves and their environment, and how to control or use it to improve their rural life through raising industrial and agricultural productivity.

Education for Self-Reliance relies heavily on the exploitation of local resources, both human and material. 'Education is Work' has thus become the catchword since 1974. Primers in adult education classes discuss social and economic issues which concern the adult learner, so that the study sessions give him an opportunity to analyse the challenges and acquire possible solutions. In this way, study and life become integrated and meaningful. This factor may also explain why the National Literacy Campaign has been so popular, though there is no law compelling adults to attend classes. The relevance of the curriculum is a strong motivational force for attendance.

Primary school curricula and syllabuses have been modified to suit Tanzanian rural needs. We have not completely overcome the coloni-

'Education should reflect the desire of Tanzanians ... to improve their rural life through raising industrial and agricultural productivity'

al hangover that education means a passport to white-collar jobs, a passport from village to town life.

What we are trying to do in Tanzania is to make primary education serve the majority of the Tanzanians in the rural areas. This is the stark reality of our social and economic life. We shall not be able to give secondary education to most of our primary school leavers for many years. The situation will be even more critical by 1982, when the first intake of universal primary education students graduate.

Primary school education and its evaluation should seek to give the youth knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that will make them settle usefully in the rural areas. Hand in hand with such a curriculum drive goes the determination of the Party and Government to make rural life gainful and attractive. Hence, community education and involvement of the villagers in the education of their youth has secured a very prominent role in our educational planning. Our President has summarized the idea very well:

> Education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an inquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do and to reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others as he is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.[2]

Higher education and manpower requirement

Tanzania was also determined to look critically at her secondary and university education policy and practice. Since independence, Tan-

zania has been very conscious about the need for an orderly manpower development plan for the nation. Manpower for middle and high-level posts in all sectors of the nation's economy and social services called for a planned policy of manpower coming out of secondary, vocational and university institutions. Thus the educational sub-systems concerned had been planned in 1964 to ensure national self-sufficiency in manpower by the year 1980.

The nation was, however, very particular about the attitude of students towards higher education. It was to be understood that higher education is a service which at this stage of our development can be given to only a few Tanzanians. It is, therefore, a socialist duty to view higher education as a privilege which carries with it a heavy responsibility of service to the nation and not intellectual arrogance and personal, selfish aggrandisement. Hence, those who secure places in institutions of higher learning must be proven sons and daughters of the nation, committed to offer leadership to the nation through their academic and character excellence. The Musoma Directive of 1974 requires that candidates for entry to the University of Dar es Salaam be recommended by their employers and by the local Party Branches over and above the normal academic recommendations.

Another important aspect of the Musoma Directive is that the three levels of our school system are self-contained. One does not necessarily lead to the other. Each level should be terminal, serving a complete set of goals. The evaluation of each level should be a combination of continuous assessment of the candidate's academic achievements, combined with his effectiveness as a producer and his general attitudes towards his social responsibility. The final examinations as well as the weight attached to paper qualifications are de-emphasized; they form only 50 per cent of the final assessment.

The Musoma Directive has given new dimensions to the development of our secondary education. Each secondary school has its own bias. It may be an agricultural, technical or science secondary school.

This diversified secondary programme provides specific lines of development for our youth. The development, however, is directly linked with concrete economic projects from which the schools are expected to realize at least 25 per cent of their maintenance costs. As a result of the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance and Education is Work, our student are beginning to develop knowledge and skills that are directly linked with earning their living, so that at the end of their secondary education they can suitably fit in the socio-economic system of the nation.

The implementation of the Musoma Directive at the University opened a new page in our history. It offered new possibilities to adults who had never dreamt of entering the University. Tutorials and seminars would be enriched by the practical experiences of the students. Education really became an enrichment of life, rather than a 'banking' activity by the lecturers. The University has become a place where adults go to seek answers to actual life problems.

Problems of implementation

The national perspective on education and society in Tanzania sounds very clear and logical at the policy level. Its implementation, however, is not that easy. There is the problem of the so-called 'international standards' in education, whereby developing countries are supposed to ape the educational yardstick of the colonizers. We have to liberate our people

from this colonial misconception of 'standard' by projecting our own goals and standards.

Furthermore, there are problems of how to communicate with the masses through the Party, whose membership may be quite limited. For example, in Tanzania the latest statistics show that there are only 1.5 million CCM members amongst a population of sixteen million people.

These 1.5 million people, through Party organs, decide the policy for the 14.5 million people. It is, however, in the interest of the Party that the ideology be based on the masses. The people ought to accept it. Socialism is a way of life, it cannot be forced physically on the people. Its value ought to be intelligently accepted and responsibly adopted by the masses, whether they are Party members or not. Some forum for a dialogue with the masses under the umbrella of the Party has to be devised. Breakdown of communication between the political leadership and the masses may bring ruin to the nation. How, then, does Tanzania attempt to solve this problem of communication between the Party and the masses at large? Members of the Party hold forums at various levels, down to the villages. The sessions are solely for the Party members. Under Chama cha Mapinduzi, the membership code has been tightened to secure better quality among its members. This may increase the drop-out rate, yet the Party still needs to establish a dialogue with Tanzanians who are not members of the Party.

The Party Constitution, therefore, has given room for the formation of national mass organizations: the Tanzania Parents' Organization; the Tanzania Workers' Organization; the Youth Mass Organization; the Tanzania Women's Organization, and so forth. Membership of these organizations is open to any Tanzanian, although members aspiring for leadership in them must be CCM members. Through these mass organizations, under the auspices of the Party, Tanzanians have a forum to air their views, and the Party has a direct feedback from forums other than those of its own members. At the village level, the main forum of the people is the Village Assembly, which is attended by all adult residents. Such mass organization meetings become the recruitment ground of Party members. They also become a forum for the Party leadership to justify its policies to the masses.

Mass communication is also effected through social services given by the Party to all citizens—irrespective of their affiliation to the Party. Services such as health, education, communication and transport are Party services to the masses, but they are a silent education as to what the Party's ideology really means in practical life. The smooth running of all the service institutions is of a crucial concern to the Party, because this is the only life-school of the Chama cha Mapinduzi.

Education and liberation

Tanzania is painfully conscious of the denial of basic human rights in those parts of Africa which are still colonized. Colonialism can never give man-centred education. It tends to distort man's nature and its natural operations. We strongly believe that one of the first goals in the process of liberation is the correct mental orientation towards the goal of human freedom. All else will follow, given proper motivation. It is our sincere belief that education of the masses must form an essential and integral element in the liberation of the African.

Viewing liberation as the struggle to open development opportunities to man, by removing constraints, education for liberation from colonialism lays the foundation for the life-

long struggle of humanity for self-perfection at all levels of human life. We believe that the experiences of liberation through education will reinforce the will of our colonized brothers for a more determined struggle towards Education for Self-Reliance.

Notes

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Education and Production in Guinea-Bissau

The need for combining education and production was given particularly strong emphasis in the paper prepared for the seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa' by Guinea-Bissau and presented in Maputo by Carlos Dias, a Head of Department in the Ministry of Education. In summing up the experience of Guinea-Bissau it was stated that 'the main lesson to be drawn from the four years of work in education since the total liberation of the country is that basic education for the people in a country like Guinea-Bissau—with a majority of the population practising subsistence level agriculture, backward, little diversified, living in precarious conditions of hygiene and with a high infant mortality rate—must be based on productive activity as the priority giving to the population the knowledge which permits them to increase and improve it.'

Education, when understood as the acquisition of a certain number of norms and a certain amount of knowledge according to a determined social structure, is one of the components of the ideologico-political superstructure and, as such, is fundamentally intended to transmit the essential ideological principles which govern a given society so as to guarantee its harmonious development and continuous reproduction.

Thus it is understandable that one of the principal preoccupations of the PAIGC, as soon as it began to liberate parts of our country, was to introduce a system of education which would guarantee the learning by the popular masses of new forms of knowledge appropriate to the new society that we wanted to build, and which would serve the general objectives of national liberation for which the PAIGC was fighting on the political, economic, cultural and military fronts.

In the pre-colonial era, education was not a specialized field separated from other activities of our people. They learned what was useful for life through work, through the example of the adults' behaviour, through the 'great men', through the community. The school was life.

With colonial penetration and the objectives of domination that accompanied it, a break occurred in the equilibrium of the traditional education system (in the good sense of the term). Through their barracks, their churches and the few mission schools which they opened to civilize and convert the African, the colonialists had only one goal—to strip him of all his African personality so as to serve better their objectives of domination and exploitation.

In this way all the values, traditions and culture of our people were spurned in favour of foreign values, traditions and culture which were held up as the ideal to be attained.

The colonial school, in the last analysis, had as its main objective the uprooting in the African of all the values which were an essential

part of his culture, thus provoking the breakdown of his own personality to create a man who, well briefed in European learning, was unaware of or totally looked down on the basic elements of his own cultural identity. Those who managed to pass out of this school were chosen to serve the colonial system. But, in general, the desire for liberty among our people opposed this domination, and the colonialists were not able to infiltrate into all the corners of our country. In fact, they were unable to establish themselves very far from the few urban areas which they built because of the resistance, albeit scattered, of our people.

After five hundred years of domination, the PAIGC appeared as the organized expression of this resistance, as the guardian of the desires of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde for liberation.

Thus, with the outbreak of the armed struggle for national liberation conducted by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, the first liberated zones of our country emerged, and with them a new reality.

Educational theory and practice in the struggle for national liberation

A year after the start of our armed struggle for national liberation, the first congress of our Party was held at Cassacà, one of the liberated zones in the south of our country. From this congress emerged the basic watchword for all the subsequent developments in education: *All those who know should teach those who don't.* From that moment, a new battle broke out—the cultural front—and the PAIGC established schools in the liberated areas. A system was formed whose elements were the armed militant, the population and the school, and whose solidarity in the same goal was the strongest expression of their common polarization towards the national cause.

It was not only the school which educated; the whole system was a mobilizer, organizer and educator. The wish-to-learn and the wish-to-teach circulated in all directions between the three poles—that is, between the militants, the peasants and the young students.

Immediately after the liberation of a zone occupied by the enemy, the combatants for national liberation created the minimum conditions necessary for a school to be set up in the area. Here students and teachers, children and adults, combatants and peasants could come together in the common struggle, overcoming the obstacles of ignorance and poverty, relying on their own efforts.

To serve the new objectives of liberation, pedagogical experiments were carried out. The schools were encouraged to become more open and more involved with their social environment; self-managed and self-sufficient schools were created and developed; and experiments in collective productive work (school-community) were successfully carried out, experiments where students and teachers participated in the productive life of the village and in this way encouraged the participation of the community in the learning process. To accomplish the same objectives, the first experiments in literacy campaigns amongst Party militants and peasants were carried out. This programme not only introduced the learner to reading and writing, but also permitted him, through preliminary discussions on aspects of the reality which surrounded him, to have a critical consciousness of this reality so as to transform it in a positive manner.

The school of the struggle, thus, besides being a response to the problems posed by the colonial school, was the pathway towards the objective of the true elevation of the African

man and woman. Effectively, at this unique moment of our life, the programmes, teaching content, methodology, etc. reflected the educative action related to the social plan that the PAIGC was gradually creating. Thus, the school—truly situated in its social and physical environment—was no longer 'the place where one learns', but was becoming increasingly the place where experiences in all spheres were exchanged on both the practical and theoretical level.

This collective effort, whose motivating force could be found in the leaders of the Party themselves, permitted the emergence of a New Man and a New Woman, capable not only of studying and knowing their reality, but above all capable of dominating it, of being conscious of their dignity, their culture and their capacity to participate in the construction of the new society. This, then, is one of the examples testifying to the exemplary nature of our armed struggle for national liberation.

Educational theory and practice after national liberation

Formal education

After the complete takeover of power in our country in 1974, there existed two educational systems that were completely antagonistic, namely the colonial system, totally divorced from the process of the development of our productive forces and the system practised in the former liberated zones, which was oriented towards our reality and the objectives of national liberation.

Today we are working to devise an educational model which, inspired by the socio-pedagogic practice of the former liberated zones, would nevertheless also take into account the present situation and the tasks imposed by national reconstruction.

The principal objectives of our new education system are totally directed towards the interests of the working masses through the rehabilitation of manual work, the closer linking of theory and practice, the progressive introduction of productive work in the school curriculum, the search for interdisciplinarity and closer relations between the school and the community.

Productive work

The introduction of productive work into the curriculum of our schools is designed to accomplish the following objectives:

1. *Economic*. The necessity of breaking the cycle of underdevelopment created by forced integration into the capitalist market during the colonial period obliges us to make the fullest rational use of all our human and natural resources. It is obvious that an economic plan is needed to meet this imperative, which considers the fundamental national reality and which can be applied on a practical level in the various regions.

Productive work should be included in this plan and should support in its locality or region the work which is undertaken by the community. In our specific case, the economic priority is placed on agriculture so productive work is mainly directed towards this area.

The rational use of the great vital force represented by the youth in our schools is a guarantee of an increase in national output. In the interior of our country the students, together with their teachers, have organized collective vegetable gardens, agricultural collectives, etc. with increasingly impressive results.

2. *Pedagogic*. The introduction of productive work in the school curriculum creates, progressively, a new attitude in the student to-

'The introduction of productive work in the school curriculum creates, progressively, a new attitude in the students towards work, we could even say a new ethic'

wards work, we could even say a new ethic. A revaluation of manual labour takes place and its link with intellectual work is reinforced. The contradiction between knowledge and know-how tends to disappear, given that the theoretical knowledge of the student will be tried out in practice; and, on the other hand, his work will reveal a whole set of problems which he will have to study in order to find their solution. There is, therefore, a permanent overlap between theory and practice, which broadens the pedagogic horizons of the new school.

On the other hand, productive work permits us to solve one of the serious problems of education, that is the question of interdisciplinarity. It offers a large field of action where the students can acquire scientific methods of intellectual work, on the basis of observation and experimentation.

In this way, the theoretical contents of all the disciplines are linked together amongst themselves, as well as with practice, social life and production.

3. *Socio-cultural.* The great separation between manual and intellectual work is produced by exploitative societies. Our objective is to abolish this contradiction and make the school contribute decisively towards the union of these two coordinates. Productive work, in permitting the student a direct contact with labour, accelerates his approximation to the workers and his comprehension of the fundamental political role of this class.

The political conscientization of the students is accompanied by productive work, thus making clear the political objectives we want to achieve.

The community which benefits from this work assists the school in carrying it out. This school/community fusion through work makes possible the cultural enrichment of the students, who, in this way, do not become alienated from the cultural and social reality of their country.

The experience of the integrated Popular Education Centre, currently functioning at Cufar, has demonstrated that the school can complete and correct the education already offered by the community, in such a way that education becomes a response to the needs of the community itself. Thus, the school becomes a place where the youth can increase their cultural and scientific knowledge and base their work on the observation of and experiments upon their own environment.

In the objectives of productive work, we have formulated a new concept of education. The objectives underline that there should be

no contradiction between theory and practice, or between manual and intellectual work. Above all, they demonstrate that only he who works and produces is able to understand the wealth of people and the value of human labour.

Non-formal education

With respect to non-formal education we received nothing from the colonial structures, which scorned any kind of basic education for the oppressed majority of our people.

To come to grips with the innumerable difficulties of this heritage and the attendant obstacles to our own socio-economic development, the State Commissariat for National Education launched some pilot projects in the field of adult education. The initial results of these were later to help in making a programme of basic popular education, in accordance with our realities and the exigencies called for in the development model proposed by the PAIGC.

Thus, since 1975 the Adult Education Department has been trying to carry out a scheme in basic popular education, mainly in the field of literacy teaching. Several attempts have been made to launch literacy campaigns in the suburbs and in some work centres of the capital, but we have met with great difficulties, above all with respect to human and material resources. This resulted in a fragmented set of experiences, most of which have since disappeared.

However, some results have been partially achieved, Let us consider, for example, the 'Tabanca' of Sedengal, a small community in the north of the country, where a group was sent to organize a literacy programme. Without any significant results in written learning, they are instead promoting cultural revitalization around a collective vegetable garden (the idea for which came out of the cultural circle). The garden is already of considerable size, and other groups of the population have been coming to join it in large numbers. The importance of this experience only became apparent to us over some time, and it has been helpful in redesigning the whole scheme of literacy teaching. In the countryside, programmes now concentrate more on cultural activity than linguistic learning. The aim is to mobilize our peasants politically with a view to solving their concrete problems, such as production or health.

Literacy teaching within the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (PRAF) was launched on the more solid base of greater political consciousness and discipline, and consequently has had better results. By now, almost all the PRAF are literate.

In 1977, after an intense study of all the accumulated experience, several lessons were learned which enabled the Adult Education Department to outline new directives for its work and to put into practice those most likely to have a certain continuity. Thus, towards the end of that year activities were restarted in Bissau, but this time in firms and services of national importance. The short experience on this new front has shown that we are on the right road, and considerable results have already been achieved.

The Maxim Gorky Centre in Có in the north of the country was created to train and upgrade teachers for the schools in the old liberated areas. It has, however, taken on a special importance with respect to the link between educational theory and practice. Here the trainees (who are resident students and teachers in the surrounding villages) encourage cultural circles, not as isolated elements, but as members of an organized collective, which is the actual residence.

Even if the work of literacy teaching has not achieved very significant results due to certain inadequacies—language, methodology, motivation—it can still be said that this Centre increasingly tends to function as a political dynamization centre for the adjoining communities. It plays the role of dynamizing and sustaining, politically and culturally, within the framework of people's education at various levels.

As well as literacy teaching, the student teachers of Có do historical research into the Mancanha ethnic group which makes up the majority of the local population. The method followed here has a special importance for us, because it is the concretization of our basic principle—the linking of theory and practice, school and community. The trainees carry out their studies with the help of the local population—above all with the elders—gathering data about history by way of discussions, meetings and informal conversations, aided by a questionnaire previously worked out. The facts gathered—using tape recorders—are afterwards studied at the Centre, linked together and reformulated, raised to the level of an explanatory hypothesis, and later returned to the population for checking and ratifying.

The Integrated Popular Education Centre (CEPI), founded recently in Cufar in the south of the country, is inspired mainly by the socio-pedagogical practice experienced in the old liberated zones of our country, which is being adapted to the new context of national reconstruction. We hope that this teaching institution will root itself very deeply in the life of the rural population so that the 'school' can be simultaneously a motivator and an expression of the increasing level of the productive forces of the country. In its efforts to create a school in the countryside, where the community participates in the actual content of the education system through the rural environment, CEPI takes as fundamental in its methods of interaction the theme of participation. Systematic contact with the local villagers, organized and controlled, is part of the actual method of teaching.

The students are also in the midst of a historical-social survey of the Balante tribe (which forms the majority of the local population), following the same method as the Maxim Gorky Centre.

With a view to the technical and professional upgrading of our workers, we are now in the process of creating an Institute of Technical Training which will organize programmes of technical-professional training for them in their actual workplaces, whether in the city or the countryside. The Institute will have to define a methodology for upgrading the workers and for the coordination of human and material resources available for this training or upgrading. It will also be charged with coordination and methodological assistance for all of these activities at a national level.

Perspectives

The critical analysis that we can make of our experiences in the field of adult education leads us to state that there are various problems which impede the realization, in the short or the medium term, of a programme of basic adult education which embraces the whole population. We will cite only some of them:

1. Lack of coordinated planning with other State Commissariats in a manner that can guarantee to the end the necessary support for the integrated development of the people.
2. Lack throughout most of the country of basic infrastructure, such as means of communication, transport, electricity, etc.

3. Lack of national cadres and the deficient technical-pedagogical training of those that do exist.
4. Lack of equipment.
5. Adoption of a foreign language for teaching (Portuguese) which has nothing to do with the daily life of our population.

All these problems, together with those experienced by the Department of Education and Culture, lead us to a point where we have no illusions about a massive literacy campaign among the popular masses.

The main lesson to be drawn from the four years of work in education since the total liberation of our country is that basic education for the people in a country like ours—with the majority of the population practising subsistence level agriculture, backward, little diversified, living in precarious conditions of hygiene and with a high infant mortality rate—must be based on productive activity as the priority, giving to the population the knowledge which permits them to increase and improve it.

Within this perspective, and to complement the technical scientific training, it has become necessary to give our people some basic notions of science related to agriculture, ideas of sanitation both at preventive and curative levels, principles of nutrition, and methods of counting and administration.*

* In order to accomplish such directives, it is essential to establish a project of integrated development, which counts on the active participation (in the actual conception of the project as well as in its execution) of the departments of the state with similar objectives.

It is within this context, then, that we must locate the possibilities and necessity of learning to read and write, and of mastering numerical symbols and operations. Only in this form can we make a linguistic literacy that guarantees the real acquisition of literacy, because it is based on concrete daily affairs and is linked to solutions of problems presented by daily life. Only in this way it is possible to avoid a regression in learning, because we can apply the learning acquired to real situations and feel its benefits. So, in this manner, it becomes possible to make firm our basic principle of educative action, which is: starting from practice, coordinate and systematize the learnings drawn from practice and develop them again into practice, but with a qualitatively superior dimension, which is given to them by scientific refinement.

On the other hand, we consider that adult education has a character that is eminently political—to increase the critical capacity of the population *vis-à-vis* the transformation of reality, to develop its capacities for production and self-management, working as a factor for the gradual transfer of political power to the people. Thus basic popular education, as we conceive it, implies of necessity political training, which is our political strengthening in the face of reality, and its transformation, within the political-ideological line of our party.

This, then, is our vision of the road to follow in adult education in our country, a vision that has already been put to the test and refined through the practice in which we have been engaged.

Education and Social Transformation in Zimbabwe

The educational problems facing Zimbabwe are different, both in terms of infrastructure and educational resources, from those that occupied countries such as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in their struggle for freedom and independent development. In this ZANU case study, presented in the name of the Patriotic Front to the seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa' by Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, a broad survey is given of the educational situation in Zimbabwe beginning with the role of the missionaries in the early days of colonialism and leading up to the new strategies for educational development in an independent Zimbabwe. 'In that context, the main elements of ZANU's education policy, which has developed over the last fifteen years, but more rapidly in the last five years of intensive armed struggle, is to transform the thinking of Zimbabweans as quickly as possible through a vigorous education policy, aimed at producing a New Man, who is productive, skilled, self-reliant, cooperative, and a confident participant in all aspects of national life.'

For the 'free trade' school of thought in Britain, led by Cecil John Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, colonialism was simply good, profitable business; the 'humanitarian' school justified it on the grounds of the so-called 'civilizing mission'. One of the leading humanitarians, Lord Buxton, British High Commissioner in South Africa in 1909, defined a civilized and responsible African as follows:

> One who lives in a brick house, not a hut; habitually goes to work; wears European Clothes using a clean pair of handkerchiefs; goes to Church regularly and has severed connection with ancestral spirits and beliefs; his wife carries her baby in a pram, educates them, and generally raises them along European lines; speaks and writes English fluently; commands an annual income of not less than one hundred pounds sterling [a lot of money at the time]; owns immovable property valued at no less than one thousand pounds sterling; generally uses the wheel for his transport [either a car or at least a bicycle]; and can be recommended by two Europeans who know him well as having abandoned native habits of living.

This statement represents the European colonialist view of what education and culture should mean to the African—one who is like them. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), a component of the Patriotic Front—the liberation movement for Zimbabwe—holds a different view, which is stated as follows in a basic policy document:

> The imperialists have diluted our rich cultural heritage by way of films, literature, mass media, schools and Church and doctrinaire. These have

plunged our people into a morass of emotional and spiritual confusion. Most of our people are now at a crossroads. They believe the Western culture is right and that ours is wrong and uncivilised. This is a mental process that has taken years of intense cultural aggression, and which has resulted in the loss of our cultural heritage. In an independent Zimbabwe strenuous efforts will be made to restore the nation to its noble self once more. People will be assisted in building a new Zimbabwe culture derived from the best of what our heritage and history have offered to us. Zimbabweans will also take from foreign culture that which is good and transfuse it with the indigenous culture, and then develop it to meet the needs of the socialist state of Zimbabwe. Our country will need mental decolonisation just as much as it needs political and economic independence.

These two contrasting views will be discussed and elaborated upon in this paper. The first part of the paper assesses the impact of Western education on African society in Zimbabwe. The second part discusses the alternatives and the direction of change and social transformation as seen and practised by ZANU in particular and the Patriotic Front as a whole.

A political system is determined by its economic base or sub-structure. The pattern of producing, distributing and consuming goods internally or for export in exchange for other goods or hard currency determines the character of the system and the society. The superstructure—the administration, the parliament, judiciary, religion, educational and cultural institutions—provides a framework for rationalizing and justifying the system. Education is the most important element in the superstructure in that it creates national consciousness and culture, and shapes the minds of young boys and girls at an impressionable age. In the last eighty-eight years, the economic base of Zimbabwe has been colonial capitalism. It produced minerals, agricultural goods and manufactured products which were sold mainly to South Africa, Britain and the USA, in exchange for capital goods and services that benefited the 270,000 ruling European settlers, and the profits which went to foreign investors. Imperialism, represented by the corporate interests of Britain, America and South Africa which dominate the mining and manufacturing industries, is the main motive force of the colonial economy of Zimbabwe. In political terms it remains the permanent enemy of the African people and their aspirations. But, in the peculiar historical circumstances of Zimbabwe, the seven million Africans have also been subjected to direct domination and exploitation by the 270,000 white settlers acting as agents of imperialism, but in some significant ways projecting their own interests as a sub-imperial power in conjunction with South African settlers. While foreign investments were concentrated in mining and manufacturing, the local settlers grabbed the land and took effective control of the governmental apparatus in 1923. They used their political power to extract further surpluses from the Africans in the form of labour, produce and cattle, and gave their own farm crops preferential treatment on the market. After building up their army and air force in the two world wars, they used these instruments of coercion in the domestic scene to impose an exploitative and oppressive system of government. This system is the immediate enemy of the African people. It is the avowed intention of the Patriotic Front to change this system and to destroy all the socio-economic and political structures that have supported it for so long. As the ZANU statement says, it will be necessary to decolonize the minds of our people as well. This is the role and place of a new and dynamic education system and programme.

Missionary attack on African culture

In Zimbabwe's colonial situation, African education was made the responsibility of the missionaries representing various Christian denominations. They ran 90 per cent of the schools and educated most of the African political leaders. These schools have a history going back to the occupation, when missionaries were used by Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of the colonial state, for contacting, pacifying and misleading the African Chiefs. On education, T. O. Ranger reports that:

> After the suppression of the risings (in 1898) there has been something of a rush to the Missions. No detailed study has been made of these early shona converts and schoolboys.... In the 1930s the products of this Christian education emerged to take over the leadership of African political movements in Rhodesia ...[1]

Indeed, the first President of the Native Congress of Southern Rhodesia formed in 1934 was Aaron Jacha, a product of one of these mission schools who eventually became a member of the white-dominated Parliament of the Central African Federation. His successor as President of Congress in 1946 was the Rev. T. D. Samkange, who was also President of the Native Missionary Conference. This conference had broken away from the white-dominated Missionary Conference which was recognized by the settler Government as the mouthpiece of the grievances of the African people. These missionaries were an integral part of the colonizing settlers, more so as they depended on the latter for funding and land on which to build the mission stations. As one speaker told the inaugural meeting of the African National Congress in September 1957:

> When the missionaries came we had the land and they had the Bible. They asked us to pray for peace. When we opened our eyes they had the land and we had the Bible.

Both missionaries and the settler Government combined in undermining and destroying the basis of African culture and traditional institutions. The Government killed or deposed the authentic Chiefs of the Shonas and Ndebeles, while the missionaries destroyed the system of non-formal education that had been practised for generations and instituted their own colonial system of education. The merits of the non-formal education that prepared Shona and Ndebele youths for their role in society are being recognized by eminent educationalists. The child learnt through his relationship with parents and other people in his community. Much of the child's education was concerned with the acquisition of productive skills.

In both Shona and Ndebele society, as well as passing on skills, non-formal education transmitted values of loyalty, unity and respect for elders or those put above one in an organization. From an early age the child was taught to maintain the correct relationship with others, the dead as well as the living. The unity and interest of the society as a whole was central to Shona and Ndebele philosophy. Land ownership was communal, although land use and grazing were practised individually. Only family labour could be used on herding cattle or agriculture; and there was insistence on sharing what was available as widely as possible.

As indicated in the ZANU statement quoted on page 58, our new education policy would not return to the non-formal education as practised in feudal Shona and Ndebele society; rather it will endeavour to fuse the good features of the system with the good features of foreign educational systems, and produce a policy that will prepare citizens for life in a

socialist Zimbabwe. For example, we could not perpetuate the subservient role of our women in traditional Shona or Ndebele society. The women of the new Zimbabwe society must work and produce in their own right and be as liberated as the men are. Zimbabwe women have earned their rights as equal and free citizens of Zimbabwe, as combatants and comrades in armed struggles against the enemies of the nation.

Cheap labour-power for plantations

The central objective of colonial education was to produce adequate and cheap labour-power for the plantations, the mines and the growing manufacturing industries. Plantation economy requires large quantities of cheap labour, especially at peak planting and reaping seasons of the year. Generally, Zimbabwe mines required large quantities of manual labour too, because the mines are small in comparison with South African mines, and the ore content is also comparatively low. Because of the presence of cheap labour, manufacturing industries have tended to concentrate on labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive industries. Consequently, the policies and programmes of the settler Government in the field of education were fashioned to provide the cheap labour needed in these sectors of the economy, including the lower ranks of the civil service.

The education system was harnessed to produce this cheap labour by providing quite substantial primary school education. The settler Government's Department of African Education claims that four out of every five children of school-going age are in school. That may be true, because the level of literacy is as high as 40 per cent in the vernaculars and 20 per cent in English. The manufacturing industries that grew and expanded in the post-world war period require workers who can read and write simple English in order to perform the mechanical tasks that are necessary for production. But, secondary education has been deliberately and persistently suppressed for political and economic reasons. The diagram produced by the eminent Zimbabwe scholar Bernard T. G. Chidzero, which appears on the following page, shows quite clearly how primary education was expanded while secondary schooling was suppressed. The comparison with the pyramid of European education in the diagram is striking. Only one African child out of every thousand who enter the first year of school hopes to enter a secondary school.

The primary school syllabus put a lot of emphasis on industrial education rather than literary education. This policy and the expansion of industry in the post-war period has created a large labour force in the country. There are 955,000 workers who depend on wages for their livelihood. That means one-seventh of the population, or one-third of the adult population, is at work in the cities or in the farms. It is estimated that one-third of the population is urbanized. But, although there has been this degree of urbanization and proletarianization of the African population, facilities for their advancement have been severely limited by discriminatory government measures and practices. Some jobs which could be performed by primary school leavers, such as serving food and drinks on trains, or handsetting in a printing shop, are permanently reserved for Europeans. No African apprentices could be trained until 1962, and no Africans could enter the civil service until 1961. Since then, a very small number of Africans have been absorbed into skilled trades or the higher echelons of the civil service. Trade union activity is highly restricted by registration and by

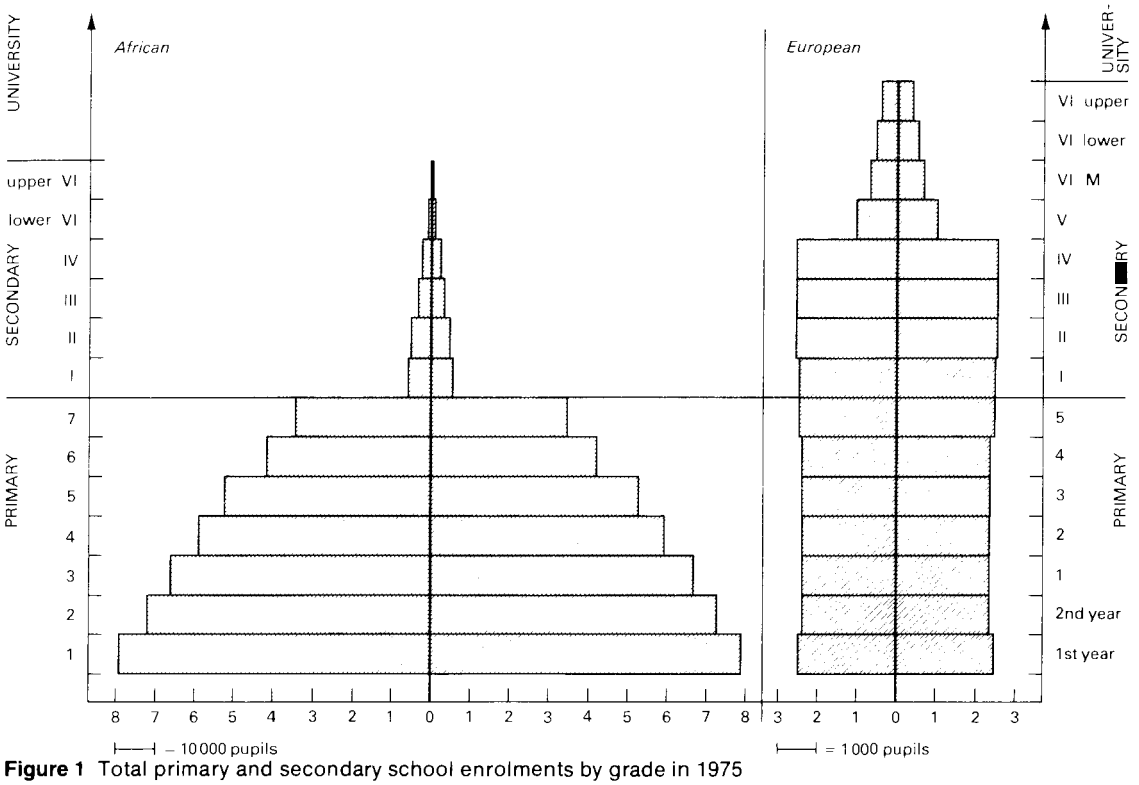

Figure 1 Total primary and secondary school enrolments by grade in 1975
(Source: *Education and the Challenge of Independence* by B. T. G. Chidzero, IUEF, Geneva, 1977)

industry. It is impossible to set up popular trade unions that could mobilize, politicize and educate the workers about their rights, and also raise their level of consciousness. Literacy campaigns and programmes of mass education were suppressed for the same fears, although high percentages of literacy have been achieved because of the accumulation of primary school leavers. The problem of unemployment has now reached serious and gigantic proportions, especially among school leavers. Of the 68,614 primary school leavers in 1975, only 7,831 were admitted to academic secondary schools and another 5,337 to vocational schools. Of the remaining 55,446 it is not known how many found jobs, but it could not be many because the total number of employed Africans fell by nearly 7,000 jobs in that year. A survey of the few Africans who got through secondary school education in 1975 showed that only 11.6 per cent had secured jobs six months after they left school, 50 per cent were unemployed, and 25.6 per cent were attempting to continue their education through correspondence courses. Seeing the hopelessness of continuing in an education system that is so discriminatory and offers no opportunity for gainful employment, and because of the heightened consciousness among students, several thousands have left schools to join the

ZIPA forces fighting for independence.

In 1977, the Secretary for African Education in the Smith regime said 398 primary schools with a total of 74,000 pupils and fourteen secondary schools with 3,685 pupils had been closed as a result of guerrilla activity.[2] He said a significant number of European primary and secondary schools had been closed down in 1977 due primarily to a reduction in the European school-age population following the emigration of parents, but he did not give any figures. The large numbers of primary, secondary, and university students who left Zimbabwe to swell the ranks of the ZIPA forces turned the tide of the national liberation war decisively in favour of the struggling masses and their movements. A large contingent of them from one school arrived at a ZANU reception centre in Mozambique singing a song composed by one of them on the way which summarized their level of consciousness and determination:

Remain well, father and mother
Gone to the war
The war to liberate Zimbabwe
Vowed to die for Zimbabwe
To die for the masses
Find my blood under there
There under the Zimbabwe flag.

(Translated from a Shona song by Thendi Ndhlovu)

Imperialism and education

The monopolies that control the Rhodesian economy have shown a keen interest in education. The farmers open farm schools to attract and keep labour on their farms, but the 105 multinational companies that have invested in the manufacturing industry want a higher level of skill from their labour force. The multinational companies increased their stake in the Rhodesian economy after the Second World War. The shortages of raw materials in Europe and Britain's need to conserve dollar earnings created continuing demand for Rhodesian commodities. A rapid influx of immigrants (a net inflow of 47,187 between 1946 and 1951) stimulated internal demand that had been stimulated by the vast Commonwealth Air Training Scheme and ancillary industries during the war. The booming economy attracted foreign capital from South Africa after the Nationalist Party's victory in 1948, and from Britain after the establishment of the Federation in 1951. Foreign investment in Rhodesia increased from 13.5 million in 1947 to 50.7 million in 1951. The bulk of this foreign capital went into the manufacturing industries and not to the traditional sectors of mining and agriculture. In the 1950s manufacturing emerged as the fastest growing sector of the economy. That development increased the power of the manufacturing interests inside the country, and the leverage of imperialism with local settlers. Garfield Todd, a missionary, became Prime Minister in 1954 and formed a cabinet with two powerful ministers from Bulawayo who had large interests in the manufacturing industry in that city. Todd's Government was responsive to the pressures of manufacturing interests in Bulawayo, and multinational companies. In 1955, it approved a five-year education plan for Africans intended to provide a minimum of five years of primary schooling for all African children; to increase the number of primary school teachers with two years training from one-quarter to two-thirds of the teaching force; to increase the number of secondary schools providing two to four years of technical and commercial education; to establish a technical college for the preparation of technical teachers; and to establish one more academic secondary school. Todd tried to open opportunities for Africans to train as appren-

tices, but was strongly opposed by white trade unionists. He also tried to broaden the franchise. Imperialism supported these reforms with enthusiasm, but they were rejected by the settler electorate, especially the agrarian-worker alliance which finally brought the Rhodesian Front to power in 1962.

In 1966, the Rhodesian Front reversed the programme of the Todd plan and returned to the old philosophy of laying stress on industrial training. They introduced a new education plan which shifted the burden of financing African education from the Government to the poor parents through the introduction of registration fees, and making local government councils responsible for primary education. Of those children who completed primary schooling, one-third would go into a local vocational Junior Certificate; and only 12.5 per cent would be admitted into the secondary schools stream. This limited number would provide manpower for the administrative, welfare and development bureaucracies. The bulk of educational resources under the plan would be spent for preparation of labourers for low-level occupations in farms, mines and factories bordering Tribal Trust Lands where most Africans live. Apprenticeship schools started under the Todd plan were closed down at Luveve and Mzingware.

Neither the Todd nor the Smith plan would ever meet the requirements of a good education system for Zimbabwe, but we should point out again that imperialism preferred the Todd plan because it wanted high-level and skilled labour power to utilize the technology of the new machinery, and even to manage local branches of multinational corporations. The willingness of imperialism to work with the local Africans, and even to give them a semblance of control in the local factories, was clear in the 1950s. Because of the growing threat from the liberation movements, imperialism is now producing new strategies and tactics to try and hoodwink the leaders of the liberation movements, but the aim is unchanged.

Alternatives and future perspectives

How is education being orientated towards satisfying the needs and demands of the struggle, as well as the demands of the independence that will follow? The key paragraph in ZANU's basic statement of policy on education says:

> ZANU will introduce compulsory education to all school eligible age groups. It will also introduce adult education and open up technical and vocational centres. Certain education standards which hitherto had been open only to exclusive social strata which reek with wealth, will then be open to everybody. This will open up new prospects to students of our beloved country. Theoretical education received at schools, technical colleges, and university will be made to conform with practice and will be directed to serve the broad masses. Workers and peasants will be provided with elementary education to help them to improve their skills and opportunities and to erase illiteracy.

From the analysis in the first section of this paper, and the policy statement quoted above, it is clear that Zimbabwe will be rid of all racially discriminatory practices of the colonial era in all fields of our activity including education. Separate schools, Bills of Rights and the kinds of safeguards for minorities announced in the agreement of 3rd March, 1978, between the Smith regime and three puppet leaders and organizations inside the country, will be abolished in a truly free and independent Zimbabwe. The white settlers will have a right to live in a free Zimbabwe like every other individual Zimbabwe citizen, without

any claim to special privileges or protection as a racial minority. They will be free and welcomed to contribute their skills and knowledge to the development of the country and increasing the wealth of the nation, and will be paid for such work like everyone else according to its worth. Their children will be free to attend schools, colleges and universities, as all other Zimbabwean children, again as long as those children make no claim whatsoever to any special privilege not available to other Zimbabwe children of whatever colour, or race.

ZANU will separate the functions of the Church and the State in the field of education. The management and the teaching in all schools, colleges and universities will be run by a centralized ministry which will give fair opportunity to all citizens to receive the education they are capable of. Denominationalism in schools will be abolished. The Churches will be permitted to preach their gospels and converts can hold whatever beliefs they have, provided they do not interfere with the rights of other people, or cut clean across the doctrine and ideology of the State. Existing teachers will become State employees without any loss of seniority or benefits, and schools will become the property of the State. Expenditure and investment in education will be given a very high priority in order to increase school facilities for all Zimbabweans, especially at secondary school and technical college level. Adult education and literacy campaigns will be launched in order to wipe out illiteracy in all parts of the country, especially the rural areas. A great deal of emphasis will be put on science education and mathematics, which are underscored in African schools at present. There are two very good technical colleges in existence—the Salisbury and Bulawayo Polytechnics—to which African admissions have been severely restricted for purely political and racial reasons. Such schools, owned by firms, and the European-only secondary and primary schools owned by private foundations, Churches or parent associations, will be taken over by the the State and opened to all Zimbabweans. In brief, education will be 'directed to serve the broad masses' of the people of Zimbabwe, especially the workers and peasants who should improve their skills on the job so that they can produce more, and they can lead a fuller life by learning to read, write and communicate with others. The goals stated briefly above should not be difficult to attain once power has been transferred to the liberation movements which are the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, and they have the will and the capacity to use education at the superstructural level as an instrument for social transformation and liberation, and not for the domination of other social groups or races. Of course, the social transformation will correspond with the fundamental changes of the socio-economic system which will be undertaken after careful and systematic planning. But, it is not enough to state what we plan to do when our movement assumes power. We now wish to describe briefly what we are doing to try to meet the demands of the present struggle.

The liberation war as a vast school

The principal objective of the current war of national liberation is to smash all the institutions and structures of colonial society and replace them with the forms and structures that represent the new era of liberation. Naturally, the education system described only briefly above which prepared Africans for positions of service and subservience to their settler rulers and colonial masters must be uprooted and destroyed, root and branch. But,

the process of destroying an education process that has conditioned peoples' minds and attitudes for many years is slow and difficult. It started on 29th April, 1966, when the first shots were fired at Sinoia in the national liberation war that is continuing and deepening. The war itself has become a vast school for the re-education and reorientation of Zimbabweans.

While the Sinoia battle of April 1966 and subsequent battles over the next three years were a significant beginning, one of their limitations was that the freedom-fighters confronted the enemy in a vacuum. As Josiah Tongogara, ZANU's Chief of Defence, has stated clearly in a recent interview published in the 1978 March-April issue of *Zimbabwe News*, the information organ of ZANU, we carefully analysed these battles and reassessed the situation. We then (in 1969) adopted a new strategy that required a longer period of preparation and political education. In the historic battle in north-eastern Rhodesia in 1972 which started the unquenchable fires of revolution that have now engulfed the whole country, the freedom-fighters worked for a whole year among the peasants and workers in the rich settler farming area of Centenary before the first shot was fired on 25th December, 1971. Strong army and police reinforcements which were sent there failed to dislodge the freedom-fighters, and have since abandoned and vacated this area. The settler leader Ian Smith told his Parliament in July 1972 that they were now facing a new and dangerous kind of guerrilla who does not want to fight the security forces, but who masquerades as a peasant while bent on subverting the minds of the innocent peasant. He said the peasants were being told stories about their past history which do not correspond with the known facts. He repeated that it would take the security forces a very long time to put the situation that has been created by the new guerrillas under control. That remark summarized the impact and importance of *political education* in the war of national liberation. It is the substance that galvanizes and increases the motivation of the oppressed people in their struggle against the forces that seek to oppress them.

Chairman Mao Tse-Tung said freedom-fighters must move among peasants like fish move in water. In order to reach that stage, the peasants have first to acquire a very high level of national and political consciousness. They should know their enemy as the source of their oppression and exploitation, and they should accept the fact that the liberation movement is working for their true liberation. In addition to that consciousness, they should be willing to commit their own resources and energy, and their own lives, to the task of achieving that liberation and overthrowing the enemy whom they have identified as the cause of their oppression.

The understanding by the peasant of his/her own role in the liberation processes, a proper conception of the enemy and the establishment of working relationships with others in the liberation movement require a thorough-going process of education. The ZANU cadres who entered the Centenary area in 1971 armed with ideas alone found that it took many long nights and months to tap the enthusiasm of the peasants in the area for the armed struggle. They knew the enemy and they had experienced exploitation and oppression for decades. Their suffering was written on every one of their faces. What they did not know was the immediate solution to their problem. They had supported many nationalist organizations before, attended meetings, contributed funds and bought membership cards, but change had not taken place. If anything, their oppression had

increased. It was here that the freedom-fighters could provide the answer of armed struggle in dialogue with the peasants. In many respects, the answers were provided by the peasants themselves in dialogical action and debate with freedom-fighters.

In recent years, dialogue with Zimbabweans who live in rural areas—peasants, migrant workers, farm workers and secondary school students—has continued at mass meetings called in the villages and discussions in small groups. Of the many points that have emerged in this dialogue with the rural population, the first has been their craving for the ideas of scientific socialism, especially among the students from secondary schools and universities. These ideas seem to explain the colonial reality to them and to provide the kind of solutions they have been searching for but without being able to put them so clearly. The provision, therefore, of literature and under-the-tree schools to discuss these ideas in greater detail, in order to illuminate the reality in Rhodesian colonial society, has become a major activity of the Commissariat of the Party. The second fact that emerged in dialogue with the peasantry is their confirmed view that the enemy would not be defeated by means other than the return to the armed struggle and resistance of our forefathers in the 1890s, and the related accent on our culture and historical past. Old people stood up and expressed their delight that their own sons had seen the light at last, abandoned European ways, and returned to the road of their forefathers—the road of genuine nationhood, and independence. The liberation movement is now running several schools inside Zimbabwe with the twin-objectives of sharpening the ideological debate and raising national consciousness.

The education programme of the Commissariat is aimed not only at reaching the oppressed classes in Zimbabwe, but also at deepening the understanding of the cadres within the liberation movement itself. Robert G. Mugabe, President of ZANU, told Tanzanian university students in October 1977 that freedom-fighters were political-military cadres fighting for clearly defined political objectives. He stressed that ZANU was not a militarist organization but a movement in which politics determined what the gun did. Consequently, the Commissariat has established a wide network of training programmes of instruction for all cadres, culminating in the Chitepo College for ideological training. The lectures given at the College and in the training camps inside and outside the country lay stress on the twin-objectives stated above.

The liberation war is an important school for scientific and technical knowledge. In the very first place, the cadres learn how to assemble and use a gun or several guns, and how to use chemicals and explosives. This type of education is denied to Africans in Rhodesia, but is given to European children, in addition to compulsory military service when they reach the age of sixteen. Freedom-fighters receive practical technical training in the use of equipment ranging from the camera, typewriter, duplicator and radio to the most complicated communications equipment and sophisticated weapons. Zimbabweans with limited academic training are handling and using equipment of this kind. Of course, the 11,500 children we have in primary schools, and in one secondary school we have established in Mozambique, do receive technical training as part of their course-work. They already receive the kind of exposure to simple military hardware that would be available to a white settler child in colonial Rhodesia. The new syllabuses in subjects like history, geography and social studies lay stress on the rich culture

and history of the Shona and Ndebele peoples of Zimbabwe, and their contribution to their own development. Very soon, we are going to establish a Zimbabwe Institute in Mozambique which will provide technical and vocational education to Zimbabweans engaged in the expanding war inside Zimbabwe.

The purpose of the liberation war itself is to crush and remove the entire colonial capitalist system, and to replace it with a new, socialist system. In other words, the economic base or the sub-structure must be changed from the present system of private and individual ownership of the major means of production to one that is owned jointly and collectively by the workers and peasants, through the popularly elected political and economic institutions which they will control. In this situation, the function of education is to act as an instrument of change and transformation of the attitudes and values of the mass of Zimbabweans so that they correspond to the socialist transformation of the economy. In our view, the purpose of education and educational institutions is to play this crucial, supportive role. It is not an easy task because the superstructure to be left behind by colonialism will remain deeply ingrained in the minds and attitudes of our people, long after colonialism and racism have been removed and a popular government of the Zimbabwe people installed in power.

Unlike FRELIMO, we have not had the opportunity and the necessary cohesiveness over a long period of time in our movement to be able to deal with all these problems during the liberation phase of the struggle.

New Zimbabwe education policy

A new education policy for Zimbabwe will be spelt out by the leaders of the Patriotic Front when we assume power in Zimbabwe. At the present time we can only make broad generalizations based on the policy and programmes of the liberation movements, the Constitution, the Patriotic Front, ZANU and ZAPU. The first obvious objective common to programmes of both movements is the complete removal and destruction of the present colonial system of education with all its dire consequences like élitism, false consciousness, mass labour and class formation. Of course, the destruction of the present system will still leave behind the legacy of the values and attitudes ingrained in the minds of the present generation educated in the colonial ways. It is the declared intention of the leaders of the Patriotic Front to abolish the colonial capitalism and to replace it with a socialist system of government.

In that context, the main element of ZANU's education policy which has developed over the last fifteen years, but more rapidly in the last five years of intensive armed struggle, is to transform the thinking of Zimbabweans as quickly as possible through a vigorous education policy aimed at producing a New Man who is productive, skilled, self-reliant, cooperative, and a confident participant in all aspects of the national life.

The first task is to teach and train people to be producers of commodities that are necessary for their own needs and for the needs of society as a whole. White-collar workers and exploiters who lived on the rents, dues and salaries of others in colonial capitalist societies will cease to exist as a class, or sub-class. New emphasis will be put on hard work for producing food and commodities for Zimbabwe's needs. This production will take place in the context of a socialist system which will have socio-economic institutions owned and run by the people themselves. To be specific in one instance, the estate system in which our

people were labourers for foreign managers and owners will be replaced by producer cooperatives and people's communes. The school system will teach, train and produce cadres for this new system of production.

The second task is to train our people to live in a society of complete social equality. Elitism and social differentiation will be replaced by a system in which all Zimbabweans have equal opportunity to education, work and salaries commensurate to the goods they produce. It will be a society of workers in the factories or in the farms, and peasants in agriculture, who are equal before the law and the State. The education system will inculcate those ideas of equality and social justice.

The third task is to ensure that all citizens participate with confidence and self-respect in the new educational institutions to be established. The school boards and the local government authorities which will run the schools must be elected and controlled by the parents, and heavily influenced by the students themselves. A participatory democratic system will release the energy and ideas of all our people and bring them to bear on the education system so that it produces the best cadres.

In order for the new ideas of productive work, equality and meaningful participation to strike root and flower, the people must be able to mobilize themselves without any hindrance from imperialism—the permanent enemy of the African people in this epoch. The forces of oppression and suppression emanating from imperialism will be lurking in the foreground of the new state of Zimbabwe. In that context, the final and most important task of the education system is continually to check and counteract these forces wherever they emerge. This will not be an easy task in the new state of Zimbabwe. Already the colonial university in Salisbury has produced over 1,000 graduates, and another 6,000 Zimbabweans have acquired a wide variety of degrees mainly in America and Britain.

The tasks outlined briefly above have been started in the liberation war and the movement has encouraged the production of food and has implemented a wide variety of self-reliant projects in the refugee settlements and, wherever possible, in the military and political base areas. In the severe bombing of our camps near Chimoio in November 1977, you may have heard that a large number of self-reliant projects were destroyed by enemy aircraft, including a piggery, a large number of cattle, tractors, waterpumps and engineering workshops, and several thousand acres of crops were sprayed with defoliants.

In the schools, colleges and institutes being established, education will be given to all the 65,000 Zimbabweans resident in Mozambique at present. Young boys and girls go to primary and secondary schools provided by the Party with the assistance of the United Nations relief agencies and the government of Mozambique. Parents attend adult education classes which are being set up and receive political education. Political-military cadres and Party members participate in a wide network of committees and institutions that run these educational institutions. Although we are educating 11,500 school children, and several thousand adults, there are no elaborate structures. If and when it is decided to provide a particular educational service to a particular group of people, the work gets started with the minimum of equipment and time.

Education in the transitional period

The discussion above shows the kind of education system a Patriotic Front Government

The aim of ZANU's education policy is to produce 'a New Man who is productive, skilled, self-reliant and co-operative . . .'

would introduce in Zimbabwe. Education would be available to the broad masses of Zimbabwe and directed at serving their best interests. All citizens would be entitled to education as a right and not a privilege given by a Church or by a part of the ruling bourgeoisie. Certainly all discriminatory practices would be abolished, as well as the legacies of colonial education discussed above. A popular culture would also be developed without any reference to religious sects, races, or colours; and it would mirror the history and arts of the people, and their experiences in the anti-colonial struggle.

However, given the crucial position that Zimbabwe's liberation has assumed in international politics, we expect a difficult transition to independence, and we do not expect that a truly people's government and genuine independence will be achieved much before 1980. An analysis of the so-called settlement of Detente No. 3 reached in Salisbury on 3rd March 1978 shows that what is being offered on 31st December, 1978 is no independence. The enemy forces have simply adopted the strategy of pre-empting our victory by purporting to be 'granting' independence a year or so before our forces would have achieved total control of the country through armed struggle. In Detente No. 2 the purpose was to introduce an 'international peace-keeping force' under British control; and in Detente No. 1, in 1974, the short-term aim was simply to cause confusion and infiltrate our ranks. The common feature of the three phases of detente is to undermine our military struggle and defeat us by political, legal and diplomatic means.

The enemy forces have realized that they cannot defeat the growing strength of ZIPA, enjoying as it does the support of the masses of the people—in addition to our advantages of higher morale and motivation, a just cause and a surplus of manpower. Whereas we are proving our superior strength on the military front, we are not as strong on other fronts. The enemy may concentrate on possible areas of our weakness; and, after the inevitable failure of the present effort to 'grant' independence to a transitional regime dominated by the illegal and racist Smith regime, they will resort to 'scorched earth' policies and continued military attacks on border states and refugee camps. In any event, a people's government in Zimbabwe must brace itself for the more fierce struggle now developing inside the Republic of South Africa. It will inevitably become a target of military attacks, economic sabotage and political destabilization.

ZANU has analysed the problems of the difficult transitional period ahead, and the problems that must continue to be faced after this period. In the counter-strategy against the machinations of imperialism and its agents there is an extensive programme of adult education, and an institute for vocational and secondary school education.

All the Zimbabweans engaged directly in the liberation struggle take part in organized adult and political education classes of differing varieties. But this programme has had to be stepped up because of the anticipated problems of transition and the first few years of genuine independence. The clarion call for increased political education and the training of cadres in skilled technical fields was made in a policy paper entitled 'Adult Education Programme' of 4th August, 1977, which said in part:

> ... We should begin our counter-strategy immediately especially in the field of education and vocational training as it is essential that we have trained cadres in every field (this is an indispensable precondition for the total liberation of Zimbabwe)... It is to be remembered that our enemy Smith has trained a civil service of 90,000. It is quite unnecessary for us to try and compete with such a number, most of whom are only necessary because of the oppressive nature of the illegal fascist regime. However, we should not underestimate the fundamental necessity for us to have trained cadres in every field, and that these cadres should gain immediate and concrete experience in these fields both in the camps now, and in the operational and liberated zones inside Zimbabwe.

Drawing upon the experiences of Angola and Mozambique during their transitional periods and the amount of economic sabotage these states have experienced, and military attacks across their frontiers, the paper elaborated a counter-strategy of producing cadres in economic and industrial fields vulnerable to economic sabotage, a scorched earth policy, and attacks directed at vital installations. The counter-strategy takes into account the fact that Zimbabwe is essentially an industrialized economy, and a landlocked country, although a Patriotic Front government would have friendly borders all around it except for the 125-mile border with South Africa.

In 1977, ZANU also decided to establish a Zimbabwe Institute which would back up the adult, secondary and political education programme that is in progress in the camps, inside Zimbabwe and elsewhere. The Institute will be a vital element in the counter-strategy discussed above. It has been charged with the task of training the middle-level manpower required for the essential services of the Party, and it is to begin laying down the administrative, political, economic and social structures in the widening areas where Zimbabweans are being liberated from colonial rule. As stated in its brochure, the purpose of the Institute is threefold:

(a) To provide *appropriate education* for Zimbabweans engaged in the historic process of establishing the free, independent, socialist, and democratic state of Zimbabwe;
(b) To engage in *fundamental research* in order to gather basic facts, statistics, and scientific data that will be used by policy-makers as a basis for planning;
(c) To initiate a *planning process* for the development of a self-reliant economy and the transformation of our society from the present colonial capitalism to a socialist socio-economic system.

The lifespan of the Institute is an initial period of five years. Of these, we expect the first two to three years to be on Mozambican soil and

the remaining two to three to be in Zimbabwe. ZAPU has established a similar institution in Zambia. In Zimbabwe, we will put the two institutes under one roof and establish and develop one centralized institution for directing the educational programme. While we have started crash programmes now of short duration to meet the manpower needs of the difficult period we have entered, our basic counter-strategy is a long-term one in order to prepare our people for the struggle ahead, even and especially after genuine independence has been attained. No one should be naive enough to think that the dismantling of the entrenched structures of white rule in Southern Africa, and the corpus of political, juridical, military and economic structures that support them, will be an easy task or a short one. It will be a long and arduous task.

Conclusion

We have observed again and again in this paper the importance of placing educational programmes within the context of a viable political struggle. In Zimbabwe, ZANU places great value in consolidating its unity with ZAPU in the Patriotic Front. The achievement of that unity in 1976 was a milestone in our struggle. Our leaders also place great value in the solidarity between the Patriotic Front and progressive governments and movements among the front-line states, the OAU, socialist countries and the Scandinavian countries. Support from these countries and movements has made it possible for us to sustain the struggle at a level we could not have managed on our own. While our struggle has its own distinct features, it is however a part—a very small part—of the global struggle of millions of people against the permanent enemy of all free men in this epoch—imperialism!

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Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa

Summary Conclusions

Introduction

An international seminar on the theme 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa' took place in Maputo, capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique, from 17th to 28th April, 1978. The Seminar was jointly organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation of Sweden. Fourteen countries and liberation movements participated.

The work took place in an atmosphere of frank cooperation, with a thorough study and analysis of the experiences reported by the various countries present, not only in plenary sessions but also in working groups.

Study visits to four provinces of Mozambique completed the Seminar. These visits gave the delegates the opportunity of becoming familiar with the experiences of the three years of independence and the collective effort for national reconstruction made by all the Mozambican people, led by their revolutionary vanguard FRELIMO.

The Seminar was opened by Her Excellency the Minister of Education and Culture, Graça Machel, whose opening address was unanimously adopted as a basic document of the Seminar. She began by stating that education has a class character, dependent on the interests of the ruling class. Education is used as one of the fundamental instruments in the transformation of society. It must be an instrument for liberation, not only of man as an individual, but of the whole society. It has to be part of a global process for liberating man from political, social, economic and cultural domination.

All the countries participating in the Seminar had been, or were still, subjected to colonial and capitalist domination and had inherited an educational system which separated man from his community, depersonalizing him and developing in him a contempt for manual labour. The organization of education for liberation demands a total split with the colonial-capitalist system and imperialism. This implies breaking with colonial education and the negative aspects of traditional education.

Education has to be oriented by a revolutionary ideology which guarantees the application of the following principles:

1. Educational planning by the State, within the socio-economic development of the country.
2. The democratization of education, which implies access for the broad masses to education and the participation of the local population, including parents, mass organizations and the political structures.

The aim of the education system is the creation of the New Man, free from exploitation and oppression, identified with the producing classes, holding new moral values, and employing science and technology to transform nature and build a new society—a socialist society. This system creates a man conscious of his internationalist duty towards the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples and all those who are fighting against the exploitation of man by man.

It is the duty of the State to promote education for all. This means the creation of programmes of mass education and formal education, whose fundamental aim is to develop personal-

ity in all its aspects and create a new attitude towards the world. It is necessary for the two systems to be complementary and closely linked to each other, through the whole development process of society.

Productive activities in the educational system and the community

Considering the socio-economic conditions of Southern Africa and developing countries in general, the Seminar concluded that, under conditions of colonial domination, education is one of the most important tools of exploitation and oppression. The aim is to prepare the children of colonial settlers to continue with colonial domination and to ensure the transition to neo-colonialism through the preparation of cadres in the national bourgeoisie.

The content of this education does not correspond to the realities of the colonized country but, on the contrary, reproduces the model of the colonial metropolis.

Schools are mainly located in the cities, and almost the whole population is thus denied access to education. The system causes the division between those who produce the material goods through manual work, and those who appropriate and administer these goods. This minority acquires merely theoretical training, and becomes an élite separated from the life of the working classes.

The break with colonialism and the creation of an educational system to serve the interests of the people, until then under domination, must enable man to rediscover his historico-cultural past, assuming it within a revolutionary perspective. It must make him capable of linking himself to the struggle of his people, and this will lead him to respect work and its social usefulness, developing a collective spirit and a sense of organization. The Seminar participants thought that only through the integration of productive activities and education could such a man be created, and education be liberated from the vestiges of colonialism.

Production placed within the educational context seeks to identify the student with the producing classes and integrate the school with the life of the community. In this way he participates in the new orientation of the school and acquires the scientific knowledge which he will apply in the development of production.

Productive work aims at the integration of the school with the process of diversified economic development in our countries, in accordance with the goals and objectives of national planning. This leads the students to produce with the objective of achieving self-reliance, reducing the burdens on the State in relation to education, and feeling that their work is useful to society. The practice of productive activities also permits the application and verification of theoretical knowledge acquired, in such a way that the student can participate in the transformation of nature and society.

With regard to the integration of productive activities at the various levels of the educational system, the Seminar concluded that this must be scaled according to the age of the students and their scientific grounding. The community in which the school is located must

be intimately linked with the production plan elaborated by the school, since it is only within this context that the proposed objectives can be achieved.

The children in primary schools must develop tasks appropriate to their age. These productive tasks will be integrated with the school timetable, taking into consideration a balance between time allocated to theoretical lessons and productive activities.

Through theoretical subjects, the child must learn about the environment in which he lives, the organization of the political and social structure of which he is a part, the pattern of local production, etc. On the productive side, the child will develop such interests as gardening, vegetable-growing, raising of small animals, brick-making, etc. These activities must be planned and programmed by teachers and parents, always with a concrete objective in view. The local population will be requested to assist, guiding the students as they learn the necessary techniques.

The teachers must use their subjects to explain phenomena observed during productive activities. Thus a teacher of natural science can explain during his classes the process of growth of a plant which the students are growing in the garden.

Young people and adolescents in the secondary schools can, together with their teachers, apply themselves to more complex activities, in keeping with their age and the more advanced scientific knowledge that they possess. At this level, therefore, the students will be involved in woodwork, metalwork, agricultural production, animal-raising, production of teaching material, small construction projects, etc.

As in the primary school, the theoretical knowledge presented in the teaching programmes should contribute towards explaining the productive activities developed by the students. In this process, it is fundamental that the students also gain some knowledge of planning and learn to establish targets, organize control mechanisms for the established plan, and keep account of production, so that they themselves are able to organize and manage the productive activities in the schools.

In order to create a deeper knowledge of the community's problems, the students must have frequent contact with the organized centres of production, such as factories or cooperatives, participating in their activities. The workers, in turn, will participate in the productive activities of the schools, supporting their initiatives and guiding the students in the tasks they are carrying out.

Local structures, when they have the capacity, may be asked to support production in the schools, sending their technicians to explain the correct ways for production activities to be organized.

Higher education must respond to the demands of economic development and try to keep up with the rapid scientific and technical advances made in the world, so that these do not become systematic instruments of domination of our countries. Our universities must be neither instruments of class selection nor privileged places of learning, and students must be channelled, in a planned way, into courses related to the needs of the country. Priority must be given to the admission of workers and their children and the reformulation of courses and programmes in keeping with concrete realities.

Contrary to the objectives of the colonial system, and in order to contribute towards balanced development in the whole country and to link correctly theory and practice, some of the participants in the Seminar advised the decentralization of courses in the different regions.

Imparting high-level knowledge through the university means training cadres, ideologically and scientifically, to participate in the reconstruction of the country and raise levels of national production. Integrated with productive activities, the university must involve the students and teachers in the work of the community; they must live with the people and for the people, teach them what they know and learn from them, in the factories and in the countryside.

The research which is carried out, whether in the exact sciences or the human sciences, must not serve to entertain researchers through endless experiments nor lead to the publication of beautiful reports with no practical application. It must serve the real interests of our countries. It must be integrated into large national projects and must help to increase theoretical knowledge.

With regard to the evaluation of productive activities, the participants in the Seminar unanimously felt that there was a need for this to be studied more deeply. It was recommended that the evaluation not only be considered as a criterion for selection, but that it also cover the progress observed in practical activities as an application of theoretical learning, and that it contribute to the identification of capacities, with a view to professional orientation.

Mass Education in socio-economic development

Entering into the problem of mass education, the participants in the Seminar considered that mass education is only possible when an ideology exists which mobilizes the people in correlation with the development strategy of society. This ideology establishes the objectives which guide the effective participation of the people in social and economic transformation.

Mobilization depends on the concrete situations and the phases of struggle, aimed at destroying the system of exploitation, in each of our countries. It was therefore considered fundamental to give priority to production centres and organized population centres which place mass education at the service of the country's development plan, with the support of all social, economic and political structures which promote mass education—the Party, the Government and the democratic mass organizations. The targets and the strategy to be followed are defined in each phase. The use of radio, newspapers and cultural activities (dances, songs, theatre, posters, films, etc.) to achieve mass education was considered important.

Mass education must be linked to the development of the community, which will furnish the content of the programmes and the curricula of education. These must correspond to the experiences of the struggle, to the needs and conditions of production of this society. Those being educated must be involved in identifying

their needs, resources, potential, objectives and the means by which they can achieve them. Participation in these programmes will create confidence and make self-reliance possible. The curricula, therefore, must be continually brought up to date.

In their content and essence, appropriate programmes for mass education must reflect the specific needs of different groups both inside and outside school. These groups all have different needs, whether in terms of continuing their studies or in terms of transferring, improving or spreading their productive skills or learning new skills.

Consequently, the delegations considered that the methodology in mass education must have as its starting point the observation of reality, followed by the development of a coherent theory consistent with the observed reality. The theory must be tested in the process of transforming the reality. This methodology implies that different disciplines become more closely linked.

Contrary to the formal education system, where evaluation is conducted principally by means of examinations, mass education is also evaluated through, among other things, its productivity and the way in which correct attitudes are shown towards society.

The diverse experiences of our countries in this field open up new perspectives about which there are still different conceptions. It is a field that offers our countries a multitude of possibilities for research and cooperation.

Training of educators

In order to liberate our countries from colonial domination and consolidate our independence, it is essential to concentrate our main attention on training educators, as ill-prepared personnel delay the victory over ignorance, and prolong our peoples' situation of dependency.

All the participants in the Seminar saw the need to plan the training of educators, and in this way fight against improvization. They must have an ideological, scientific and pedagogic preparation that guarantees an education valid for adults and young people.

Courses to train educators in depth must be organized. These courses should furnish them with a political understanding of their country and scientific knowledge, as well as the cultural background, methodology and educational techniques necessary to carry out their tasks.

Within our countries, there are usually two kinds of training. One is detailed and long, designed for people with a certain level of knowledge. The other is more rapid and is aimed at members of the coummunity, who can receive the basic training necessary to carry out their functions in the environment in which they live, thus responding to the dramatic increase in the school-going population brought about by the democratization of education. As well as the training programmes of normal length, crash training programmes take place in educational centres, often using radio or correspondence courses, for example.

Analysing the unanimously accepted principle of depending on one's own efforts in the face of difficulties and shortages, the Seminar recommended using secondary and higher education students for teaching. They should receive pedagogic training in order to integrate them with practical professional life.

Teachers must systematically be given refresher courses in order to increase their knowledge and impart a new attitude towards work. In the teacher-training and refresher courses, study must be combined with productive work, and subjects such as political education, cultural activities, sport, scientific subjects and pedagogy should be included. Incentive must be given to initiative to produce teaching materials based on existing resources.

In the Seminar, the importance of special education (blind, deaf and dumb) was underlined. The potential of all members of society should be drawn on and appropriate teacher-training institutes should be established.

The shortage of teachers for secondary schools and higher education demands that, in the present historic phase, we must have recourse to expatriate teachers from other countries. In the light of this, the Seminar considered it necessary to plan effectively, and in an organized way, the national teaching staff. The Seminar also reaffirmed the need to select expatriate teachers with a spirit of true international solidarity, so that they may be integrated with the national reality and their tasks may be defined and controlled.

Liberation movements

The Seminar applauded the presence and active participation of the liberation movements of Southern Africa. The victory of these peoples also depends on the work to be done on the education front. None of our countries can feel truly independent while there are other countries still under colonial domination. All participants declared their unconditional support for our comrades in struggle. For this reason, the following ways of showing solidarity were studied and suggested by the Seminar:

1. The creation of education institutes in the liberated zones.
2. The creation of education centres in friendly countries.
3. The admission of students from liberation movements to schools in friendly countries.
4. Support in preparing programmes, books and other school material.
5. An exchange of experiences with teachers, specialists and others responsible for education.

Possible areas of cooperation

In the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism, cooperation is a weapon which enables us to reinforce the solidarity between our countries and exchange experiences aimed at consolidating the conquests made and overcoming the difficulties encountered.
In this context, more frequent contact in the education field was considered important. In addition to initiatives already taken, it was felt that there was a need to enlarge the scope of cooperation in order to broaden some of the experiences presented during the Seminar.
Cooperation, according to the participants, could include the following areas:

1. Mutual visits by specialist teachers in order to go more deeply into the experiences which interest them in a particular sector and identify the documentation and educational material that might be exchanged.
2. Exchange of programmes, supporting texts and books.
3. Exchange of information on projects and education experiences of each country, which will permit countries to request participation in seminars and other meetings in which they are interested.
4. Exchange of students in order to reinforce understanding and to permit access to courses which cannot be given in some countries.
5. Cultural exchange in order to spread the cultural heritage of our countries and for mutual enrichment.
6. Sporting exchanges to develop and consolidate the coming together of peoples.
7. Participation in training courses or refresher courses for teachers and students.
8. Collaboration on common research plans in the educational field or evaluation.

The Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa reinforced a common will to struggle against the vestiges of colonial domination which still exist in the education systems of our countries.

During the Seminar, we came to know each other better, strengthened our unity and enriched our experiences. We evaluated the scope of the work still to be done and showed our determination to struggle for the creation of the New Man, the building of a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man.

With the experience we have gained, we will transform education into a weapon for the development of our peoples.

The Struggle Continues!
Long Live International Solidarity!

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Another Development: Approaches and Strategies, edited by Marc Nerfin and containing a selection of the papers prepared in the context of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project on Development and International Cooperation is now available in Spanish. (Copies of the English edition may be ordered from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Övre Slottsgatan 2, 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden).

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La mayoría de los trabajos de este volumen fueron preparados originalmente en el marco del Proyecto Dag Hammarskjöld sobre desarrollo y cooperación internacional y constituyeron aportes al Informe Qué Hacer: Otro Desarrollo. Ampliados aquí, arrojan más luz sobre la sustancia de Hacia Otro Desarrollo y elaboran más ampliamente sobre distintos conceptos que sólo se podían bosquejar en una publicación destinada a una distribución immediata. Aportan elementos para discusiones futuras y para una estrategia sobre la investigación orientada hacia la acción. El volumen ha sido concebido como una contribución a la actual evolución del pensamiento sobre el cambio.

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SIGLO VEINTIUNO EDITORES

Education and Production as a Lever for Another Development

By Patrick van Rensburg

In this article, Patrick van Rensburg pursues some of the main lines of argument advanced during the seminar on 'Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa'. Against the background of the material published in the preceding section and, in addition, drawing on experience gained in Zambia and Botswana, van Rensburg concludes that the combination of education and production can be one of the most potent levers for the initiation of Another Development. But even if the prospects for the implementation of this idea are favourable in Southern Africa today, its success depends on finding the necessary cadres to organize, manage, teach and train, on a massive scale. Thus, van Rensburg argues, 'an international organization to promote education and production is needed to undertake these various functions'. It should preferably be a non-governmental organization and it should be able to give assistance to organizations, individuals and countries of different political persuasions. It should furthermore be independent of the rules, inhibitions and wage structures of the established international organizations.

Patrick van Rensburg, who served as co-director of the Maputo seminar, is Secretary to the Serowe Brigades Development Trust, a private body, at Serowe, Botswana, concerned with the promotion of non-formal education and training for young people.

In Zambia, in 1979, there will be 100,000 young people leaving primary schools unable to find further opportunities for education or training. In Tanzania, only 6 per cent leaving primary school will find places in the secondary system. In Botswana, 75 per cent or 15,000 children are to be forced out of education at the divide between the primary and secondary levels. Elsewhere, the picture may be marginally better or worse—but what it signifies is the massive failure in quantitative terms of formal education.

There is also a qualitative failure, which with the quantitative failure must be analysed in the broader social, economic and political context. As in other parts of the Third World, African countries were linked into an international economic order which brought them one-sided development aimed at exploiting a limited range of exportable primary products and creating markets for the surplus industrial produce of the metropole. Enclaves—economic, social, political and cultural—which are more an extension of the industrialized world set on top of predominantly rural and traditional societies than an outgrowth of those societies came into existence to facilitate the process of extracting wealth from each, and

resulted in the decline of indigenous production.

Such education as was provided for the indigenous people was geared to the dependency structures and systems, selecting and channelling a minority into the enclaves while rejecting, frustrating, alienating or neglecting most, leaving them disgruntled and ill-equipped to live and earn in the urban slums and rural stagnation to which they were relegated.

The struggle for independence in most countries did not signify a demand for the breakdown of inherited patterns, structures and systems, but rather a demand for the increased access of the locals to participation in and control of them. Thus, new classes emerged in the independent states which acquired a vested interest in maintaining the existing order.

This has brought an increased awareness of the inadequacy of all mimetic systems and models transferred from the industrialized former colonial powers. The assumptions underlying their development are not valid for the development needs of these poorer, exploited countries. The dependency structures block self-reliant, collective, popular participation and mobilization which could rapidly transform the physical and social environment, starting with the satisfaction of basic needs. These—food, health, habitat and education—are within the reach of all and the provision of one contributes to the provision of the next. Better health depends on improved food and habitat, and healthy people are better able to provide these. Education must gather up, guide and inform all the strands of human action in a transformation process in which mass education and mass mobilization guide and sustain each other.

The 1978 Maputo Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa had before it four different types of experience in reacting to colonialism, and to the failure of neo-colonialism and its mimetic systems, and in the search for alternatives. The revolutionary experience was exemplified by Mozambique—a beacon to the liberation movements—where the old bureaucracy had been largely dismantled and where the old systems were being confronted by new systems forged and practised in the course of a protracted armed struggle. There was the experience of Tanzania, which by peaceful means is seeking to create the material and social base from which it can better disengage from the international economic system which still holds it captive. There was the experience of Zambia, which is seeking to overhaul its education system without embarking on a thoroughgoing social transformation. And there was the experience of the Serowe Brigades, in Botswana, where an attempt is being made to create a microcosm through the peaceful, participatory and mobilizing action of ordinary people to improve their lives, resisting and challenging the influences of the society and its mimetic systems. The one common link in all these experiences was the recognition of the need to combine education and production.

The experiences of Mozambique and Tanzania suggest that any attempt to provide education for all in their conditions must be based on having a formal system closely linked to a complementary system of mass education, with the common aim of developing in the individual a new attitude towards the world, and enabling him to participate fully in the total life of the community.

The formal system is necessary to provide the manpower to decolonize and develop the commanding heights of the economy and the superstructure, and to provide cadres to release the creative energy of the people.

Whether or not it is desirable to do so, for the time being there are simply not the resources to provide formal education for all beyond the primary level.

In both Mozambique and Tanzania, the programme of mass education in the rural areas is linked to the establishment of communal villages and socialized production in them, and in urban areas it consists of worker education, more especially in evening classes. The declared aim is that this mass education be linked to the all-round development of the community; that it be a process of political, social, economic and cultural action and participation.

The Mozambicans, especially, strongly hold the view (and this is demonstrated in their practice) that the formal school must be closely linked to the community in which it is located and involved in its political, social, economic and cultural activities. Production must be 'placed within the educational context' to integrate the school in the life of the community. This means productive activities in the schools—planned, programmed and assisted by parents and teachers—and the involvement of students and teachers in the organized productive activities of the community.

By such means, the formal system and the mass system of education are made complementary and closely linked to each other through the whole development process of society. The students learn to identify with the producing classes and develop collective attitudes and a sense of organization. During their education, they learn to serve the people, and are afterwards prepared to work wherever assigned.

The Mozambican and Tanzanian approach depends absolutely on the mass mobilization of people into communal villages and on cooperative and collective production in these, as well as on increased worker participation in the management of industry.

Zambia has not chosen this course. It is opting for a nine-year basic education to be made available, in time, to most of its young people. Productive activities will be included in the curriculum of every school, and a start has already been made by establishing production units in many of them. The view is that production activities in schools and colleges 'will lead to the creation of desirable attitudes in students towards manual work', that such activities 'are conducive to the development of self-discipline, self-reliance and leadership qualities'. They should also 'make it possible for the students to contribute to the economic well-being of the school'.[1] And it is hoped that the productive activities will lay the basis for skills which can subsequently be used for gainful work.

Whilst Zambia's approach falls far short of that of both Tanzania and Mozambique, it can have far-reaching implications. 'The early combination of education and production is one of the most potent means for the transformation of society',[2] wrote Karl Marx. He saw this combination, together with 'physical culture, not only as a means for increasing social production, but as the only way of producing fully developed human beings'.[3] It was necessary for workers to be educated as workers, and to remain workers, not to become alienated intellectuals or élites, who ceased to be workers. And that could be achieved best by combining manual labour with education, and 'technological instruction, both theoretical and practical'.[4] Ultimately, it was the educated worker, understanding the laws of nature and capable of analysing society, who would transform both. It is socialized productive work, informed by knowledge and understand-

ing, that transforms the physical environment; and it is collective social action, likewise informed by knowledge and understanding, that transforms society.

The introduction of productive work into the entire educational system—which is Zambia's declared intention—should prevent a recurrence of the fate of Gandhian Basic Education in India. This programme integrated work and study, but increasingly it became the system for the poor, whilst conventional formal education was retained for the rich. Basic Education—with its work component—was thus regarded as inferior and became increasingly unpopular, until finally it all but collapsed.[5] Certainly, the insertion of productive work into the entire system gives an opportunity to dedicated and committed teachers within the schools to increase the social awareness of their students, by making the maximum use of the opportunities that the combination of education and production offers in its linking of theory and practice—and without the students resenting the work, as they did at Swaneng Hill School in Botswana, because they had to do it in isolation.[6]

The importance of work combined with education in 'increasing social production' is well understood in the theory and practice of Cuba, where it has played a vital role in facilitating the quantitative and qualitative growth of education. Fidel Castro sees it as an economic necessity:

> There is no poor country that can set itself the objective of giving all the children and all the young people the opportunity to study, because such a possibility is, in the old conception of education, beyond the reach of its economy. A poor country following the old concept would have to adopt the principle that only part of the population can study and would condemn the majority of the population to not studying. For us, apart from the moral principle and the theoretical principle at stake, it is an over-riding national necessity.

Zambia, faced with 100,000 young people unable to continue in secondary education each year, proposes to extend the primary system, for all, by two years. This is an economic problem and it will take time to find the resources to achieve the expansion. The solution is to hand, in the incorporation of production into the educational system, but is not yet fully accepted:

> What is recognized as crucial in dealing with production activities is that these activities take place in *educational* institutions and therefore the central purpose of production activities is that they be *educational*. There may be *economic* benefits accruing from production activities, but these must be considered peripheral rather than central to the value of productive activities. In this sense, it is thought that during the production activities, there should be a conscious relationship developed between what is learnt theoretically in the classroom and what is physically or practically done. In this way production activities should provide the students with the opportunity of applying the theories, skills and knowledge they have acquired in the classroom.[7]

This was the subject of some discussion at the Maputo Seminar. In Tanzania, schools are expected to realize 25 per cent of their maintenance costs with concrete economic projects. In the Serowe Brigades, in 1977, 420 young people and their teachers and instructors produced to the value of nearly US $1 million, with a value added covering 75 per cent of all costs relating to education and training. The extent to which young people finance their education and see their contribution to the expansion of education is important for their motivation and social commitment.

The experience of the Serowe Brigades—an autonomous, non-governmental, community project—suggests that there need be no fundamental conflict between the educational benefits and the economic benefits of combining production and education. The Serowe Brigades provide training at various levels in some twenty different skills, in a very distinctive manner. Brigades act as both productive enterprises and centres of skill training and education. These twin functions are of equal importance and each is programmed to serve the other. Skill training is provided on the job, and the Brigade managers and work supervisors are also instructors and teachers. The production programme is geared to skill training, but it is also aimed at the maximum recovery of all the costs of the training and education. The bulk of the training takes place on the factory floor, on the building site, on the farm or in the printshop, and trainees are released for periods of theoretical learning and lessons in Languages, Development Studies, Science, Mathematics and Cultural Studies. The Brigade trainee is also a worker whose production pays for his training; it is in learning to produce, to be productive, that he acquires his skill. As his skill and knowledge increase, so he becomes more productive.[8]

If production work is to have a real educational benefit, it should be serious, intensive, continuous and economically rewarding. Young people must learn that production is the source of the means of life and of wealth. They will properly identify with producers only if themselves seriously engaging in production. To produce a few vegetables in a school plot, or make a few odds and ends in a workshop, is to take a rather light view of production, to learn a hobby and perhaps, ultimately, to learn only to rely on the real work of others for one's well-being.

The Serowe experience suggests that there are very considerable educational benefits in linking production to education and skill training, provided that there is an adequate measure of academic and theory teaching in all cases. Everyone becomes engaged as a worker in the use of technologies and tools. The manipulation, even of simple technologies and tools, maximizes the opportunities for developing mental skills in the course of production. It provides a practical basis for concept-formation, especially in rural societies where the concepts of an industrial culture may be unfamiliar. The use of scientific principles in production provides a real base for their fuller assimilation in theory lessons. Schools function largely through verbalization and abstraction. It is not verbalization that can really impart an understanding of the internal combustion engine, but the handling of one. It is wrong to think that the development of mental skills is a process confined to verbalization and the teaching of sequentially ordered syllabuses in classrooms. The production process can also be used for promoting cognitive skills.

Training in the Serowe Brigades is provided along the lines of apprenticeship, but with a very different approach from that of capitalist and commercial enterprises. The production is organized *not for profitability*, but to serve as a vehicle for training and *cost-recovery*. The trainee learns his skills in a modular system that involves first of all demonstration and then practice of a particular operation in a non-productive setting, such as a theory workshop, and subsequently the gradual mastery of the routine in production alongside more advanced learners. Learning a skill in this way facilitates not only skill acquisition itself, but correct attitudes to work, productivity, improved quality and the careful use of tools and materials.

The organization of production is such that participation in it by the students is a source of learning, education and enlightenment. This means their involvement in aspects of management, their mastery of technology and theoretical and academic education. The academic component is necessary to understand fully their production activities and the theory of their trade, to develop fully their mental and cognitive skills, and to increase their understanding of society and the world. There is close cooperation between the teacher and the technical instructor, so that the instructor can reinforce the academic lessons in a variety of ways during the contact he has with trainees in the course of production. This means regarding the technical instructor as a complementary teacher and training him for this specialized task. It means the elaboration of new methods and teaching aids, so that constant use can be made of practical and production situations to relate them to theory.

Much of the training in the Serowe Brigades is in skills for which there is a demand in the 'modern sector' and many trainees find paid employment there. The need is to develop alternative employment opportunities outside the dependency structures. The Serowe Brigades respond to this by providing training in agriculture, textiles, tanning and leatherwork, food processing, thatching and stonemasonry, for which there are no wage employment opportunities. Having provided this training, the Brigades are concerned to find ways in which those trained can subsequently produce for a livelihood. Because Botswana does not have a socio-economic system like that of Mozambique or Tanzania, in which people can be mobilized in communal villages, the Brigades see the solution to the problem partly in terms of a shorter production and economic cycle, a diversified complex of small production units in which one producer becomes a buyer for some of the produce of another, in an expanding chain. Inevitably, some produce is sold in the urban areas, but employment creation in such a setting requires the establishment of local markets and not dependence on the purchasing power of a salaried élite in the towns and cities. This is especially so because the products of the South African industrial complex can enter Botswana freely. Inevitably, the produce of highly capitalized industry will be cheaper than that of petty, labour-intensive production.

The Serowe Brigades set out purposely to provide replicable models in education, training and employment. To remain replicable, they cannot be capital intensive and large scale, because this would merely reproduce in Serowe another appendage of the 'modern sector' enclave.

Over the years, the model has been under criticism, pressure and attack from many within it and more outside it. Students and trainees have resented the workload associated with the production. Staff have demanded higher salaries. Those in the employment models, envying the wage structures of their counterparts in the civil service and transnational companies, have been disgruntled. Part of the educational programme has been to analyse the socio-economic set-up, to demonstrate how the formal system of education and the enclave society are exploitative. The need has been to create understanding of the instrumentalities of creating mass-based education, training and development reliant on the productivity and effort of people themselves. Through such understanding, they might defend what they have. Efforts have also been made to involve those in the programme, through their own cooperative effort and work, in their own time, to build themselves

houses and crèches for their children, to improve their conditions of work and of living. The total aim, therefore, is to build a microcosm which would defend itself and train cadres who could expand and replicate the model. The official reaction has been to attack this as subversion and the model is under threat of expropriation or closure, the same fate that befell Swaneng Hill School.[9]

The location of the Serowe Brigades in Botswana, one of South Africa's border states, gives this model a greater significance. Botswana offers to the apartheid regime export markets, and a field for investments, and it provides South Africa with raw materials and migrant labour. It is locked into a historical dependency from which it can disengage only at its own economic and social peril. Yet, as the liberation struggle intensifies in Southern Africa, it is in Botswana's own interests and in the interest of freedom in the region to develop and strengthen models of education, training, job-creation and rural development based on self-reliance and not on dependence. In this way, Botswana can reduce its imports from South Africa and create work for those who now migrate into apartheid as economic refugees. This would enable the country to strike a blow at apartheid which would serve the interests of its own people.

The major countries of Southern Africa have acknowledged the need to place production within the educational context, in some form or other. Learning from Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the liberation movements accept that their struggle is not only a battle of arms, but involves social, political, economic and cultural action; it entails a 'fight for mentalities' which requires, in the words of FRELIMO, 'a new battlefront within the general combat ... to find the best forms to "educate man in order to win the war, create a new society and develop the country" '.[10] The importance of combining education was learned in the armed struggle. 'Production in the schools was also a contribution to the collective effort to overcome existing difficulties.'[11]

Quoting approvingly the life work of Robert Owen, Karl Marx argued that 'the germs of the education of the future are to be found in the factory system',[12] and that it would be an education superior to that of the bourgeois and middle classes, combining productive labour with instruction and physical culture. For Marx, this was a universal principle.

Yet, the combination of education and production, however valid and universal a principle it may be and however much the need for it is endorsed in Southern Africa, remains a tender plant, insecure and in need of nurture. It is threatened in Serowe and it is still experimental in Zambia. In Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, its success depends on finding the necessary cadres to organize, manage, teach and train, on a massive scale. The liberation movements, too, as they establish education institutes in friendly countries to train cadres for the pursuance of their struggles and in preparation for independence, will find themselves in need of large numbers of competent and committed personnel. Relevant technologies and tools must be identified for use in the different situations. Appropriate curricula need to be established at all levels of education in which productive activities are to be inserted. Teachers trained in the conventional system need reorientation. New methods of evaluation need to be developed. The concept of education and production itself needs to be publicized, explained, defended and promoted; to do this, and to exchange information on practical attempts to implement the concept, historically and at the present time, an authori-

tative publication is required. And funds and technical assistance from industrialized as well as Third World countries are needed to support and promote production and education programmes.

An international organization to promote education and production is needed to undertake these various functions. It should itself undertake training, using production for maximum cost-recovery. It should preferably be a non-governmental organization, if it is to have the necessary independence and flexibility. It should be able to find assistance from and give assistance to organizations, individuals and countries of different political persuasions. It must be independent of the rules, inhibitions and wage structures of the established international organizations in the UN system, whilst nevertheless seeking observer status with these.

Education and production is not a new idea. It is not exclusively a Marxist idea. It was inherent in the education system of the traditional pre-capitalist societies of most countries. It was embodied in apprenticeship, in the work of Robert Owen, in the British Factory Acts, in the work of Rew Alley in China and Gandhi in India. It is in a great tradition. But advanced capitalism has made education a sub-system—specialized, professionalized and merchandized—and has destroyed the fullness, the participation, the vitality, the dynamism, the potential for liberation and the self-reliance of education and production. We have to rediscover it and assume it in a new and revolutionary perspective. This requires a vanguard organization.

Notes

1. Quotations from *Zambia Case Study, The Evolution of Educational Theory and Practice in the Light of the Post Colonial Development Experience in Zambia*, presented by the Zambian delegation to the Seminar on Educational Alternatives for Southern Africa, Maputo, 1978. The Zambian delegation acknowledge in the case study that 'the next impetus for reform' was from the 1974 Dar es Salaam IDS/DHF Seminar on Educational Alternatives.
2. Critique of the Programme of Gotha.
3. *Capital*, Everyman edition, p.522.
4. Ibid., p.527.
5. Naik, J. P., *Elementary Education in India. A Promise to Keep*, Indian Council for Social Science Research, New Delhi, 1975.
6. See van Rensburg, Patrick, *Report from Swaneng Hill*, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1974.
7. From *Zambia Case Study*, op. cit.
8. See van Rensburg, Patrick, *The Serowe Brigades: Alternative Education in Botswana*, Macmillan Education for the Bernard van Leer Foundation, 1978.
9. See *Report from Swaneng Hill*, op. cit.
10. See *Mozambique Case Study, The Revolutionary Experience*, presented by the Mozambican delegation to the Seminar on Alternatives in Education for Southern Africa, Maputo, 1978. Printed here pp. 25–36.
12. *Capital*, op. cit., p. 522.

Global Education for Another Development: Lessons from Tvind

By Miguel Darcy de Oliveira

The Tvind schools are located in a sparsely populated part of northwestern Jutland in Denmark. Utilizing the flexibility allowed to the Danish folk high school, an alternative type of education has been developed. It is represented by The Travelling Folk High School, The Necessary Teacher Training College and The Continuation School. The basic pedagogical principles at Tvind, which are similar to those discussed at the Maputo seminar, are that you learn by doing and that you grow by experience. In order to do so, it is essential that the students assume responsibility, together with the teachers, for their own learning experience, that everybody is at the same time a teacher, a learner and a worker. But the Tvind schools should not be looked upon as an experiment in alternative education, incapsulated in itself and separated from the surrounding social reality. 'The Tvind people see themselves as being very much within society and involved in its transformation. Knowledge is always shared with and communicated to others. Although no verbal rhetorical statements or political slogans are heard, people at Tvind do take political stands and explain their choices to large audiences.'

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Using ships and buses as class-rooms. Visiting peasant communities in wind-swept, arid villages in eastern Turkey or sharing the living conditions of families in Calcutta's dreary slums as learning experiences. Obtaining first-hand knowledge of working conditions in Danish industrial towns as part of the teacher-training process. Teachers and students working together to grow vegetables, print books or repair tractors as part of their daily life in school. And, last but not least, building a solar collector and a computer-operated windmill to ensure that the school shall be self-sufficient as regards energy. All these odd and apparently disconnected activities are in fact part and parcel of a most amazing educational experiment, which is taking place at Tvind, a hard-to-locate spot in the middle of the flat, open country of north-western Jutland in Denmark.

Tvind was founded eight years ago with the goal, as stated in deceptively simple-sounding words by its initiators, of demonstrating that it is possible to learn many things at a school, as long as the content of the teaching is related to reality and the pupils are given a chance to come to grips with their subject-matter in theoretical work as well as in practical activities of social relevance. The basic pedagogical

principles at Tvind are that you learn by doing and that you grow by experience. In order to do either, it is essential that the students assume responsibility, together with their teachers, for their own learning experience.

In order to see how these basic principles work out in practice and how, slowly but surely, they have led to the wide variety of educational projects that can be seen today at Tvind, the best way is to retrace, step by step, the development of the work from its starting-point.

The Travelling Folk High School

The oldest and the most famous of the Tvind schools is the Travelling Folk High School, started in 1970 by a group of young people, most of them teachers, who had travelled together extensively in the Third World. Feeling the need to communicate to others in Denmark what they had experienced, they soon realized that simply talking about it would not do. People had to experience travel themselves in order to see, feel and understand what it was all about. This gave birth to the project of the Travelling Folk High School. A young woman who was a member of the founding group put it in this way: 'We wanted to create a school where students could study international subjects in theory and practice. They should learn about basic social quesions both at home and abroad and, as far as possible, come to an understanding of the political and economic developments in the world.'

Taking advantage of the flexibility of the Danish educational system, which allows it to finance residential schools without demanding that they train their students for specific vocations or prepare them for specific examinations, the Travelling Folk High School gained official support for its course on international studies and societal questions. The school was initially located in an old beach hotel on the island of Fanø, west of Jutland, From there, five old buses, inexpensively purchased and rebuilt by students, left for a study-tour in India twice a year, each with eight to ten students and one teacher. Four months later, they came back, summed up their experiences and shared their knowledge with people in Denmark.

The main purpose of the course—if one may still use such a word—was to study the living conditions of people in Third World countries and to link this with studies of Danish society. All this, as the people at Tvind say, was in order to learn more about the forces at work in the world and their effect on us. The most original feature was the learning process adopted—to get as close as possible to the subject-matter, since the closer you get, the more you learn. Accordingly, to really know something about development questions, people must be plunged into the world beyond the class-room; they must leave the security of the school buildings and risk going out among other people, in order to experience working life.

On the basis of the experience accumulated through the years from a number of expeditions, the Travelling Folk High School arrived at its present scheme for a course lasting 17 months, divided into five periods.

1. The courses at Tvind start with two months of explorations, studies and preparations for the study tour. First of all, the group of teachers and students is confronted with the problem of organizing their daily life at the school. Having neither cook, laundry maid or office staff at their disposal, they have to learn how to function collectively as a group since, if they do not perform these basic tasks, nobody will do them for them. This initial stage is

also the time for reading and gathering information about the country to be visited and for planning together every detail of the trip.

Since four months are to be spent on the road in old buses which are bought cheaply a good deal of work lies ahead, not only in repairing the mechanical parts but also in converting the buses so that people can live, work and cook in them. Only through cooperative work can this task be performed quickly. In the words of one of the participants: 'We ourselves went out to buy the buses we were going to use on the tour. They had to be repaired and fitted out with sleeping accommodations, kitchen, mess table, shelves, etc., so that each group of ten participants and one teacher would be able to live, work and travel in them for four months. None of us were skilled mechanics, so real cooperation and combined common sense were called for when we picked up tools and went to work on the big bus —an entirely new experience for most of us'.

2. The second period consists of a 4-month study tour, in which the group tries to learn about social conditions in Third World countries by living as closely as possible to the people of the areas they visit. In order to facilitate these contacts, each bus group decides separately which route to take and where to stop, although they agree to meet together at a certain time to share and evaluate their experiences.

Usually, the students are, at first, afraid of direct encounters with the local people. But once they take the initiative in getting out of the buses and exploring the neighbourhood, contact is quickly established. Working together in small villages with the peasants and sharing their food then lead to friendship, open discussions and mutual knowledge. Little by little, different experiences and explorations give rise to impressions and questions, which are systematically discussed in the buses and which may call for further explorations and studies. Learning is based on on-the-spot observations and common discussions. 'We learned about the world by looking at a slice of it with our own eyes, avidly searching for on-the-spot facts—and doing this together, so that we might argue and exchange experiences, prodding each other on'.

3. The third period is spent at Tvind, lasting for three months. Back from the study-tour, it is time to work up material and experiences from the travel period and to communicate them to others.

This requires further systematic study, aimed at clarifying questions or observations. This stage of theoretical elaboration should lead to a product—a book, a film, or a radio-play—that tells other people about the lessons learned in the travel experience. This effort to communicate with people in Denmark about Third World problems generates almost inevitably a need to know more about conditions in Denmark itself. 'Having studied other countries, we discovered how little we knew about our own. We had also come to realize that it was possible to set out to gain knowledge more thoroughly and more instructively than by merely reading books. So we went out here, too, to observe and experience and talk with people who were in the middle of the conditions we wanted to explore.'

With this series of studies on Danish social conditions, the initial nine months of the course are over. It is now up to each student to decide whether he or she wants to go on to the last two optional stages, lasting eight months.

4. The fourth period is the time for deepening understanding of social conditions in Denmark, especially in its working-class areas. Once more, direct, lived experience is the source of knowledge and the basis for further

study. For five months, students and teachers, divided into small groups, leave the school to find lodgings in small industrial towns, where they take full-time jobs, usually on the factory floor or on the production line.

Sharing the monotonous and arduous routine of factory life, many learned for the first time about the everyday life of vast numbers of people in industrial societies.

5. The final stage, lasting 3 months, takes place back at the school again. It is now time to sum up the experience accumulated from the months of working and living together in the Third World, at the school and in working life. It is also the time to make a global evaluation of the whole experience and to look to the future. In fact, it is not unusual for some of the students to decide to do something together in terms of work or study, after they have left the school.

The 'Necessary' Teacher Training College

In 1972, a second school started functioning at Tvind, the 'Necessary' Teacher Training College, which offers a four-year course approved on an experimental basis by the Danish Ministry of Education.

When questioned about the intriguing adjective 'necessary' used to qualify this school, teachers at Tvind reply that the Teacher Training College derives from their need and wish to influence the training of the teachers of the future in the whole country. They add, however, that, instead of contributing one more theoretical statement about education, they see the college as a forum in which to put into practice their ideas or, as they say, 'to translate words into difficulties, since the translation of theories into practice is their sole justification and their sole measure'.

The teacher training course is based on the idea that a teacher must not only be proficient in the specific subjects that he or she is expected to teach but must also understand the child's world in the school and at home, must be capable of real and inspiring comradeship, must be familiar with social and world issues and be capable of working together with pupils, parents and other teachers. Faithful to the principle of always learning by doing, they think that, in order to learn something about all this, they must make it part of the teacher training itself.

The point of departure in the learning process is not text-books but the concrete realities of society and the life experience of the students themselves. Accordingly, the four-year course is organized around three central areas of concern, known as fields of practice—international understanding, national understanding and school practice.

The first two periods, dealing with the international and national fields of practice, cover 21 months and follow the same basic lines as have been described for the Travelling Folk High School. The first year centres around a study-tour to a number of Third World countries, so that students can grasp the complexity and relevancy of international questions. The focus in the second year switches from the international to the national scene. Students go to live in five small, Danish, industrial towns, in order to learn about the country's social realities by sharing the daily life of the working-class.

A key element at this stage is the interaction with local people at the neighbourhood level. The students' quarters become a sort of cultural centre, where discussions, parties or film-showings create a close relationship with the community to which they will be returning in a few months' time to practice the teacher's work as students.

At the end of this second year, students have a three-month period in which they can decide freely to do what they find most relevant.

The third field of practice is devoted to school and classroom work for a period of two years. Students divide their time between working as trainee teachers in schools located in those towns in which they worked the year before and studying the subjects for the examination required to qualify as teachers. There is, therefore, a dialectical interplay between theoretical studies and the experience of a working school-day, in which subjects and educational principles are translated into lessons.

In 1976, the first intake of the Necessary Teacher Training College completed their four-year course, passed successfully the State examination and started working in different Danish schools. A second group of 90 students is undergoing training from 1976 to 1980. But the future of the college is still in doubt. After a debate in Parliament and in the face of some opposition, official recognition was renewed once more but on an experimental basis only. Therefore, a crucial, final decision remains to be taken before 1980.

The Continuation School

It has become a commonplace to state that the formal school of today is in deep trouble. The inescapable fact is that more and more students reject—and even feel disgusted with—the selective, individualistic and irrelevant teaching that compulsory education imposes on them.

Tvind's educational principles were evolved by young adults. But it was quite natural that sooner or later the experience should be extended to the teaching of younger pupils.

In fact, the Tvind Continuation School, started in 1974, is another example of the 'Tvind theory' being put into practice. It receives about 120 students, drawn essentially from children of low-income families. Actually, 70 % of the places are reserved for pupils with underprivileged social backgrounds. Care is also taken to have the same numbers of boys and girls.

In the Danish school system, a continuation school is a residential school open to pupils in the age-group 14–18. It enjoys the same flexibility as the folk high schools in terms of programmes and structures. Its courses are the equivalent of the last two or three years of compulsory education in the ordinary schools.

The learning process at the continuation school is an attempt to answer these very simple and essential questions: 'Why do things always have to be taken care of for you, just because you are young or at school? Why is there always "someone" who does our cooking, repairs our cars, grows our vegetables, answers our telephones, does our accounts? This work is a necessary and useful part of daily life at school. Why, then, shouldn't we who live and work at the school assume responsibility for it? We can learn a lot this way, and all of it is work, the mastering of which will be useful in the long run'.

Half the time at school is reserved for practical work in a number of occupations covering different daily activities. The other half is spent on theoretical work connected as much as possible with the practical activities.

Practical work in the occupational groups

At the beginning of each year, the students are divided at random into different occupational groups. The groups assume responsibility for all the practical activities essential to the school's functioning: office work, cooking,

agriculture, construction, mechanics, information, etc. The participants in each of these occupational groups call themselves office-workers, nutritionists, farmers, carpenters, auto mechanics, journalists, printers, energy technicians, artists, etc.

It may be of interest to describe briefly the activities developed by some of the groups. The office-workers, for instance, receive the school mail, answer it, pay bills and answer the telephone. They are economic administrators as well: they keep the school's accounts and regularly inform all the pupils of the financial situation. The farmers alone cannot assume responsibility for cultivating all the land attached to the school (about 30 hectares), but they participate in the daily farm work, grow vegetables, keep the farm machinery running and make up their work sheets. The auto mechanics are responsible for the adequate maintenance and running condition of the school's cars and buses. The day we visited them, another group was busy repairing some Landrovers and converting them into ambulances to be sent to Zimbabwe refugee camps in Mozambique.

All the occupational groups are composed of boys and girls. All of them prepare budgets and keep accounts of their respective activities. It must also be stressed that the practical tasks performed by each group are directly useful either for the school as a whole or for people in the Third World.

Theoretical work

It is as far as possible in relation to the practical activities that students try to build up their theoretical knowledge and skills. In what people at Tvind call 'documentation and visits', pupils study and investigate the technical and social aspects of their field of practical work. These explorations may take different forms—discussions with people who have direct experience in the field of study, visits to factories or other places linked to the occupational subject, reading literature on the subject, etc.

The team of energy technicians, for instance, have studied the historical development of energy uses from the beginning of the petroleum era to the nuclear-energy age. They have discussed these uses with old people and visited factories that have used various sources of energy, an oil refinery and a nuclear laboratory. The journalists have monitored the news at home and abroad and talked and written about it. They have also tried to find out why the opinions of young people on vital questions are seldom heard or read about. They have visited a TV studio, a major newspaper and the College of Journalism. The auto mechanics have studied the wiring systems of cars and have investigated why cars break down earlier these days than previously. They have visited a Volvo plant in Sweden and they have worked for two days in nearby auto-repair shops.

There are instances in which explorations in the course of a group's occupational work have led to unexpected and far-reaching developments. The fishermen's group, for instance, had become aware that a growing number of the fish they caught in a nearby fjord were diseased and therefore unfit to eat. The group took some samples of the diseased fish to a laboratory in Copenhagen and learned that they had been poisoned by some chemical substance. Further investigation in the area led them to suspect a pesticide-producing chemical factory. The students then explored the factory itself and its surroundings and confirmed that it was actually discharging a lethal quantity of mercury into the fishing waters. On further investigation, they discovered that this

factory had become the property of the University of Århus. The group then put all these facts into a play, which was shown to the University students at Århus, asking for their support in forcing the factory to put an end to its polluting practices.

Besides 'documentation', the other dimension of theoretical work at the continuation school is the more formal teaching of a number of subjects, namely mathematics, languages, history, chemistry and physics, required for the final exmainations which pupils should be able to pass at the end of their second or third year at school. Of course, it is hard to connect the teaching of these specific subjects with practical experience. But efforts are made to link at least reading, writing and arithmetic with the occupational work, whereas language-learning is linked with visists and explorations in Germany and England.

Students at the Continuation School learn to live together, to work together and to take decisions in common. Teachers act as mediators in this learning process by setting up an appropriate learning context. The group of teachers also determins the 'frames' that all pupils must explicitly accept on signing on at the school. The frames are few but inflexible: everyone must take part in the daily work, alcoholic beverages and drugs are forbidden, girls and boys may not share a room or sleep together at the school, and all pupils must be on the school premises after 10 p.m.

One student summarized school life at Tvind in these very simple words: 'We work at our occupations in practice as well as in theory. In the course of our practical work, questions arise for which we find answers in theoretical work; the knowledge thus gained we can apply in our practical work'. It looks, in fact, all very simple. However, a good deal of imagination and creativity is required to put into practice these very reasonable ideas, which are, nonetheless, the very negation of traditional school practice in industrial societies.

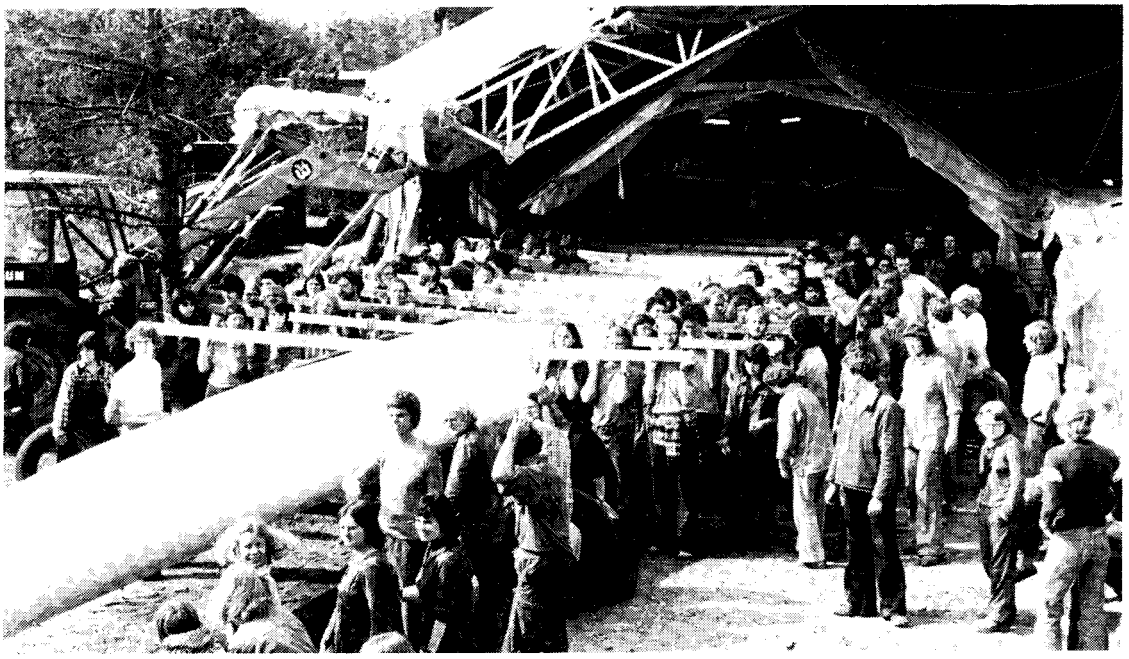
Education for social responsibility

It is hardly possible to understand the development of the Tvind schools without referring to their historical background and institutional framework. Actually, the relative freedom enjoyed by both the Travelling Folk High School and the Continuation School has its historical roots in what is known in Denmark as 'the free-school movement'.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, the emerging peasantry formed an alliance with the middle-class and the intellectual social reformers in their struggle for political and economic rights against the landlords. Inspired in Denmark by the progressive educational and political ideas of Grundtvig, this struggle led to the creation of the folk high schools as a kind of popular cultural alternative to the verbal and academic culture diffused by the élitist grammar schools. On the basis of local traditions and popular values, stressing oral knowledge rather than written skills, the folk high schools contributed to the strengthening of peasant culture as a tool in their struggle for democratic rights.

In the early part of the present century, with industrialization and the gradual integration of the peasants into the political and economic power structures, the folk high schools lost much of their importance as instruments which the oppressed could use for their conscientization. But they retained their institutional flexibility, remaining as a sort of liberal alternative to the more rigidly structured, ordinary schools.

Both the folk high schools and the continu-



'Group cooperation and collective action replace as far as possible dependence on the specialist or the expert'

ation schools are State-supported, self-governing institutions. Up to 85 % of their expenses are covered by the Government and they enjoy great freedom as regards programmes and structures. At Tvind, for instance, a sizable part of the permanent teaching group is composed of people with no formal teacher training or academic degrees.

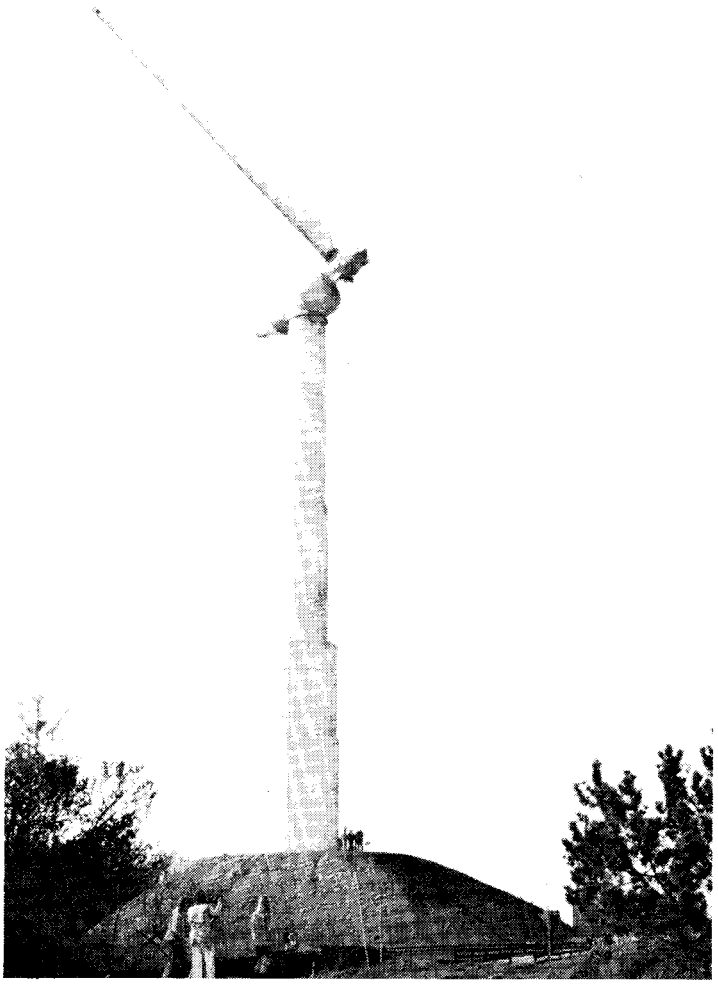
However, it is clear that historical tradition and institutional flexibility alone cannot explain the Tvind achievements. A far more decisive factor has been the key role played from the very beginning by a closely-knit core group of people convinced of the need and the possibility of a radical alternative to the type of school in which students experience social inequality and learn to be dependent. 'We thought it was necessary. We fought for it. Together we built it, and we continue to build it.'

Although the visitor may find it extremely difficult to differentiate the students from the teachers and although emphasis is placed on the democratic, decentralized, decision-making system, it is perceptible that the group of teachers is the driving-force behind the project. It is they who define the overall objectives and the practical frames in which the schools are to function. The purpose of the different periods of work in the Travelling Folk High School and the frames of the Continuation School, for instance, cannot be changed by the students and must be accepted on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. Tvind functions, therefore, by striking a clear-cut balance between the basic frames and guidelines established by the teachers and the appeal to the students' self-determination within the space defined by the frames.

Besides this very explicit set of principles, life and work at Tvind are guided by a number of implicit options which are systematically applied at all levels. The visitor is immediately impressed by the rejection of the logic of consumerism and by their efforts to reduce dependence on external resources.

Teachers and students have built most of the Tvind school buildings and facilities from scratch. They have worked on the foundations, the drains and the central heating of a growing number of buildings. They have planted trees, laid roads, and put on roofs. This certainly gives them a great sense of identity with the school.

Group cooperation and collective action replace as far as possible dependence on the specialist or the expert. This is partly for financial reasons, but it also has a pedagogical, not to say, political value. Participation in all



'It is the quest for autonomy and self-reliance that underlies the planning and building of the largest windmill in the world'

the different forms of group work leads each student to acquire a wide set of qualifications, both at the level of specific skills and at the more general level of learning how to explore and work together, how to assume responsibility and to take a stand. Students learn from each other, from their teachers and from people without academic qualifications. They learn from their own experience and from that of the groups who were at the school before them. By developing their individual and collective capacity for autonomous action, they enhance the school's self-reliance.

It is this quest for autonomy and self-reliance, both as an economic imperative and as a pedagogical and political option, that underlies the most spectacular of the recent achievements, at Tvind, namely, the planning and building of the largest windmill in the world.

From the economic point of view, the rising costs of energy, after the oil crisis, were seen as a threat to the schools' future. From the pedagogical and political point of view, the building of the windmill was seen as another practical demonstration that people can find alternative solutions to technological problems based on the use of available resources such as the sun or the wind, instead of relying on expensive, sophisticated and monopoly-controlled resources like oil or nuclear power.

As Amdi Petersen, one of the founders of the Tvind schools, puts it, 'Nobody can monopolize the wind. It blows for the rich and the poor. Let therefore a hundred windmills turn everywhere, of all sizes and sorts.'

The windmill was actually built between 1975 and 1978 without heavy machinery or modern automation. The Government and the

large private funds refused to invest any money in it. Teachers at the school contributed most of the funds (about 6 million kroner or about US$ 1.1 million) and a tremendous amount of unpaid labour was donated to the project by volunteers from all over Denmark, including some specialist technicians.

The Tvind windmill stands today as a first-class technological achievement in the field of renewable energy generation, as a permanent solution to the schools' energy supply and as a convincing demonstration that common people can play a significant role in directing their own development.

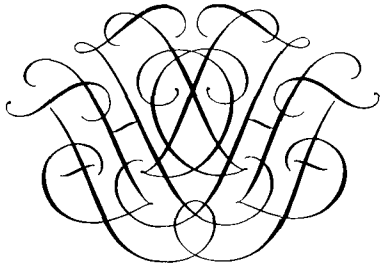
Teachers at the different schools functioning at Tvind—and also at a small but growing number of schools associated with them in other parts of Denmark, that is to say, 200 people altogether—have agreed to pool all their salaries in a common fund, which serves to finance the expansion of these different schools. Each teacher draws from a common bank account the money needed to satisfy his or her basic personal needs. These needs seem really to have been reduced to the strict minimum. This means that the lifestyle is simple and austere. When questioned about this, the teachers reply that their relative poverty should not be understood as any sort of moral lesson, but rather as the only way to lower costs and save money to ensure the school's survival and development.

It is certain, however, that the austere lifestyle, the sharing of money and the sheer volume of daily work required from each teacher make school life a demanding experience. And only those who have a deep commitment to the whole project are ready to accept it.

But it would be a mistake to regard Tvind as an alternative experience, incapsulated in itself and separated from the surrounding social reality. The teachers see themselves as being very much within society and involved in its transformation. Knowledge is always shared with and communicated to others. Although no verbal, rhetorical statements or political slogans are heard, people at Tvind do take political stands and explain their choices to large audiences. Through what they do in their schools, they seek to influence the whole educational system. In their publications, they try to tell how and why they are sending repaired ambulances to the Zimbabwe liberation movements or helping exploited peasants in Afghanistan to improve their farming, techniques. In Denmark itself, their investigations of the workers' everyday life and their actions on ecological issues necessarily have a political impact.

In fact, all this fits into the basic idea at Tvind—that students and other people should be aware of outstanding social questions, that they must assume responsibility in the processes of social change and that this implies siding with the oppressed in the quest for a more human society.

Further information on the activities at the Tvind Schools may be obtained from: The Tvind Schools, 6990 ULFBORG, Denmark.



The Treaty Maker's Handbook

Edited by Hans Blix and Jirina H. Emerson

Treaties are made for a great variety of purposes, but the answers to some questions enter into nearly all of them: When is the treaty to enter into force? By what method—signature, ratification or other? What is to be its duration? Are reservations permitted? If so, what? How are disputes to be settled? And so on.

A major part of international cooperation is embodied in durable form by treaties, and government legislators, civil servants, administrators and international officials are constantly involved in work on treaties and similar instruments, in the whole gamut of activity that ranges from the identification of a need for a treaty to their negotiation, drafting, bringing into force, revision, renewal, suspension, termination and interpretation. Yet apart from a very small number of officials in the legal bureaux of foreign offices or international organisations there is no readily identifiable corps of experts on treaties.

How are treaties made in the absence of treaty-making specialists? Their substance comes, of course, from experts on the various components of the treaty in question. On the important questions of form, a variety of legal advice is given by treaty-makers or legal advisers, often following precedents set by existing treaty models.

The Treaty Maker's Handbook is meant to be a practical tool for those concerned in this work—whether they are experts or not. The contents provide an easily consulted compilation of a great variety of material drawn from existing treaties. The treaty-maker will find a much richer and more convenient source of models than would be given by the perusal of individual treaties or even volumes of treaties. In addition, the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties is reproduced in its entirety.

This work, which is the fruit of two seminars on the law of treaties organized by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation for African lawyers and civil servants, is the only work of its kind in existence.

Hans Blix is Legal Adviser to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Head of the Swedish Delegation to the Vienna Conference on the Law of Treaties, he was a member of the Drafting Committee of the conference. Author of *Treaty-Making Power* (doctoral dissertation).

Jirina Emerson, who is engaged in research on the law of treaties at Columbia University, was co-director (with Hans Blix) of the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on the Law of Treaties.

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Challenging the Formal Schooling Systems

Book Review

By Keith Buchanan

Patrick van Rensburg, *The Serowe Brigades: Alternative Education in Botswana*, Macmillan Education Ltd., London 1978, £2.50; Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, Seabury Press, New York, 1978, US $8.95.

Some years ago, the distinguished economist Mahbub ul Haq commented on the weariness and disillusionment of many Third World countries which had sought—and signally failed—to achieve some measure of economic progress by following the blueprints for economic development so eagerly preferred by the developed nations of the White North. 'It is time', he said, 'that we take a fresh look at the entire theory and practice of development.'[1]

Such a fresh look has long been needed in the field of education. The attempts of the Third World countries to achieve a workable and sustainable education system by importing alien models have ended in failure and their educationalists, no less than their economists, are being forced to re-examine the whole development process. That the policies of both economists and educationalists should have run into the same impasse may at first sight appear a remarkable coincidence. Yet it can be argued that this was inevitable, given the nature of the colonial situation and the colonial legacy. For both economic development and educational development have taken place within a context of dependency. Neither was designed primarily to meet the needs of the majority of people in the dependent societies of the Periphery; rather, they were designed to meet the needs of the metropolitan countries and of the small but influential groups of collaborating élites which served as cogs in the whole colonial system of control and exploitation. And that the problems should have taken so long to surface is an indication of the strength of the 'new and subtler nets' within which the old metropolitan powers successfully enmeshed many of the emerging societies of the Third World.

One of the basic questions to be confronted in all educational planning is: 'What are the ends of education?' It can be argued that even in colonial days this question was not overlooked; educational policy in most colonial dependencies had very clear objectives even though, very evidently, these were rarely spelled out. And indeed, if the objectives of colonial educational policy included the fabrication of an intellectual and privileged élite imbued with the values of the metropolis and a considerable army of clerks and lower level bureaucrats needed for the smooth—and inexpensive—functioning of the colonial administrative machine, the policy was by no means unsuccessful from the metropolitan viewpoint. And, even if it was unable to meet more than a fraction of the aspirations to which even the most limited access to education gave rise, the very size of the population group caught up in this 'revolution of rising expectations' gave it, over the short term, considerable scope for a policy of manipulation.

With a few notable exceptions, the granting (or the winning) of formal independence brought no major change in this situation. Power—and decision-making in the field of educational planning—passed to élite groups who were themselves the product of metropolitan education systems. The majority of Third World populations found themselves endowed with educational systems modelled on those of the North, systems geared to the needs of an extroverted economy, systems in which they were mere Objects to be manipulated, rather than Subjects consciously shaping their own destiny.

Viewed from the Periphery, viewed from the perspectives of the untold millions relega-

ted to the margins of history in the countrysides of the Third World, the defects of these imported educational programmes were evident enough. They were, like most imports, costly and capital-intensive; countries with per caput incomes one-twentieth of those of the industrialized nations could scarcely sustain educational systems whose costs were beginning to present major problems even to the most affluent nations. And in many Third World countries the diversion of perhaps one-fifth or more of their total budgetary expenditure to provide costly education for, at the best, a small proportion of their population deflected scarce resources away from other sectors where the need for investment was greater or the returns to the community might be very much higher. Imported schooling systems, with their emphasis on higher education, become thus an *anti-developmental* force. In the words of Ivan Illich:

> Each dollar spent on schooling means more privileges for the few at the cost of the many; at best it increases the number of those who, before dropping out, have been taught that those who stay longer have earned the right to more power, wealth, and prestige.[2]

The dimensions of this problem are indicated by Rémi van Waeyenberghe's estimate that 'only 15 per cent [of those entering school] complete their Second Degree education, of whom only 4 per cent complete the first Cycle and 3 per cent the second Cycle'. And, it may be stressed, both those who measure up to the demands of the system and those who fail have been uprooted by studies which 'do not prepare them for active life or offer any openings'.[3]

We come here to the second major weakness of imported education systems—their irrelevance to the needs of most Third World populations. For the Third World is a rural world and a peasant world in terms of population distribution and occupational structure—and it is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. Its outstanding need is for development in the rural sector, for it is on this that the whole economic structure, and the possibilities for future development, rest. But imported systems of education are urban-biased, geared to the needs of administration and commerce, and little concerned with the problems of the countryside. They inculcate a contempt for manual work and this has been reinforced by wage structures, by what René Dumont has termed 'the enormous differential between the incomes of those who wield the hoe and those who push the pen'.[4] Given these pressures, the able and the ambitious quit the countryside and make for the city, only to discover that the opportunities for employment in the modern sector of the economy (what Patrick van Rensburg terms the 'formal sector') are severely restricted by the skewed nature of development in this sector, and above all by the limited development of secondary industry. They go to swell the numbers of the unemployed and the underemployed in the shanty-towns of the great cities—and the rural areas experience a constant leaching-away of much of their human potential.

The third major weakness of what we may term 'orthodox' systems of education is that they reject the past and ignore the future. We do not have to idealize traditional societies, for they had many defects—but they also possess very considerable strengths, especially in the field of community organization and welfare, and these, as the development programmes of some African and Asian countries show, can provide an important element in the development process. Imported education systems not

only ignore the very considerable body of practical knowledge possessed by most traditional societies, but they also, by their emphasis on competition and individual achievement, undermine these communal and collective structures. And, as traditional value systems are increasingly undermined, the gap created is filled by the values of the Society of Consumption which imported schooling systems invariably purvey. The consumption level of the college graduate, Illich observes, 'sets the standard for all other'—and in countries where the long upward climb towards a decent society demands a new ethos of austerity, this consumerism blocks any advance towards a meaningful future.

A final major criticism arises from the use of schooling as a control mechanism. One of the main functions of the education systems of the White North is, various writers have pointed out, to socialize those being schooled. Schooling becomes 'an important allocator of socio-economic roles' and the classroom environment in which the establishment ideals of order and discipline are inculcated. Harmful in the industrialized societies, such a process is immeasurably more destructive when imported into societies striving to break out of poverty and underdevelopment. For in societies whose most urgent need is 'a remaking of structures' an education system which conditions people into submission, and into passive acceptance of the world as it is, simply prolongs and deepens underdevelopment. Rather is the need for a system of education through which those who have for so long been the passive victims of historical processes are, in Richard Hensman's words, 'transformed into confident and revolutionary creators of a new material environment, learning more about themselves and the earth in the course of practical struggle'.[5]

At the beginning of this essay we emphasized the relationship between dependent status (whether colonial or neo-colonial) and backwardness. This relationship is today given increasing weight as a major factor in the process of economic underdevelopment—and it is also of major importance if we wish to understand the reasons for the warped and patchy development of education in the Third World. Indeed, it can be argued that educational backwardness and economic backwardness are interrelated for, as Martin Carnoy observes:

> The kind of economic structure able to absorb all the educated is not possible under the conditions of the dependent situation. Thus, a system of schooling that complements all people's social utility is also not possible.[6]

Under these circumstances meaningful development, in the sense of 'development of all men and of the whole man', is possible only if the societies of the Third World break the dominating hold of what Paulo Freire describes as 'the director societies' of the White North. And to do this they have to carry through a social revolution which will break the political power of their élite groups. These groups play a major role in maintaining the structure of dependence; 'silent in the face of the metropolis, (they) silence their own people in turn.' Educational development, indeed, can be defined as the liberation of that two-thirds of humanity who are imprisoned in this 'culture of silence'.[7] The problems involved in this liberation process are nowhere better illustrated than in Africa, a continent of great cultural richness and diversity, a continent which has experienced every form of colonialism and which is now the victim of both open and concealed neo-colonial policies, a conti-

nent where liberation shows its many faces: still inchoate and emerging in the southernmost territories; conceded—and compromised—in much of what was formerly French and British Africa; complete and triumphant in the former Portuguese territories ...

Colonial governments and some of their successors undertook surveys and analyses of 'the educational problem' in Africa. These were permeated by a philosophy of paternalism and were concerned with the problem of transplanting into African society the educational systems of the White North. Many were prepared by experts whose first-hand experience of Africa was brief and superficial; few conceded the need for African educational systems to be rooted in, and relevant to, African realities; fewer still recognized that the African masses might be the agents of their own development and that the struggle to bring about the transformation of the continent's social and physical environments could itself be a powerful, even decisive, educational experience. (The Chinese People's Republic did not exist—officially—so the lessons of China's development programme could be ignored.)

It is against this background—and the broader background sketched in earlier—that the latest works by Patrick van Rensburg and Paulo Freire* are to be evaluated. Both of the authors have long personal experience of Third World conditions and both have devoted themselves to the search for viable alternatives to orthodox systems which they see prolonging dependence and poverty. Their studies focus on the problem in countries which, even by African standards, are impoverished. But there the resemblance ends. For in Botswana independence was conceded and many of the old socio-political structures persisted; the introduction of a system of alternative education inevitably comes up against pressures and resistances from a power structure whose values are felt to be challenged. In Guinea-Bissau the liberation struggle against the Portuguese shattered the old society; struggle was, moreover, a crucible in which a new society and a new concept of education were formed. The two volumes thus complement one another admirably.

Patrick van Rensburg's volume grows out of fifteen years of work as a teacher, a thinker and a doer in the tiny country of Botswana. Botswana has an estimated population of 700,000 (mid-1975) and a per caput GNP estimated at some US $240; 90 per cent of the population live in rural areas where the average income is less than one-half the national average. Poverty is extreme—yet so are the attractions of consumerism, especially among the young. The country became independent in 1966 with the main lines of development already laid down; for every problem the approaches currently in vogue in the metropolis would provide a solution. Or so it was assumed. Urbanization was under way, salary levels in the tertiary sector were already established and there was strong pressure to expand the existing system of formal education.

Exiled from South Africa in 1960, Patrick van Rensburg started to develop the Swaneng Hill secondary school at Serowe, Botswana in 1963. He very soon became aware that the secondary school system 'was clearly—and purposely—creating an élite'. Efforts to involve the students—the emerging élite—in the maintenance and running of the school met with increasing resistances and these strengthened his growing conviction that formal schooling was not only 'wholly resistant to change and reform' but was irrelevant to the needs of the great majority of the population. In his own words:

> Schooling could not possibly respond to the needs of the population as a whole, neither in terms of absorbing everyone, nor in terms of creating a dedicated leadership able to make the sacrifices that were required for total national development. (p.15)

The established system of formal schooling meant that scarce resources, instead of being deployed in the interests of the great mass of the population, were being devoted to providing a high level of education for the minority. And all the time, as his experience showed, 'there was escalating pressure from the minority that yet more resources be lavished on them. In terms of my own objectives,' van Rensburg comments (p.17), 'the formal school system was a *cul-de-sac*.'

It is one of the great strengths of van Rensburg's analysis that it sets the problems of educational development firmly in their socio-economic context. Botswana's economy, like that of most Third World countries, is a disarticulated one, consisting of a traditional sector, largely rural, and an enclave sector (or formal sector) which 'is more an extension of the industrialized world than an integral part of the local society'. Given limited resources, development in the formal sector is inevitably at the expense of the rest of the country. Moreover, given that under existing conditions of development the size and employment capacity of the enclave sector is limited, it becomes essential to regulate access to the sector. This is one of the major functions of the formal schooling system and, with increasing public perception of this, 'the pressure for more schools, for widening access to the enclave', is inevitable. That the system, as presently constituted, can never produce sufficient goods and services to meet the aspirations of the people is self-evident but rarely discussed. Any such discussion would 'tear apart the fabric of society' and call into question 'the whole process of development itself, on which the well-being of a powerful minority depends'. The propagation of the myth of equality of opportunity, the acceptance of the idea that while some will succeed, the majority must fail—this becomes another important function of the formal schooling system (p.8).

That 'an alternative development ... is technically feasible' is clearly recognized by van Rensburg. Such a development would mean the full utilization of all those energies and skills which are currently underutilized and 'a thinner spreading of skills and resources'; it implies also an emphasis on meeting the basic needs of all and a downgrading of monetary incentives. However, such an alternative development 'would require new and different attitudes and relationships within the society and a totally different approach to the use, control, allocation and distribution of resources', (p11).

That changes of this sort are at the present time unlikely is accepted by the writer; consequently, he has, as he says, 'to work with realities, within an existing socio-economic system in which certain attitudes prevail' (p.18).

It is against this background that we have to see the development of the brigade system. It is similar to the apprentice system, though in an African context it was the similarity to the traditional system of tribal regiments which helped it to gain acceptance, and it is reminiscent of the part-work, part-study system which has played an important role in Chinese development. It aims to cope with the problem of lack of resources which keeps young people out of school by an integration of study and productive work, which makes it possible for the student to create new resources whilst training. In the 'bridging course' (catering for

those in the twelve to sixteen age group) students are introduced to new skills; their time is evenly divided between work and study. The brigades proper provide three years of training for the seventeen to twenty age group; four days are spent in productive work and one day in study and theory, and a score of different skills are included in the curriculum. Finally, for those who have completed the brigade training, the advanced brigades offer two years of on-the-job training, backed up by a strong element of theory.

The advantages of this alternative education are clear. The system makes it possible for many denied entry to the formal system to gain skills and knowledge of a type desperately needed in a developing society; concurrently, their production helps pay for their education. Moreover, since educational advance depends not only on schooling but also on the influence of the environment, the brigades' workshops can, very clearly, play an important role in creating an environment receptive to new ideas and favourable to future educational progress. And the academic component of the courses can encourage students to confront their own reality and 'to analyse the character of the present process of development and to look at its consequences, as well as to discuss other options in development and their implications' (p.24).

The vision of Patrick van Rensburg and his co-workers is a bold one and the achievements described in *The Serowe Brigades* are a tribute not only to the dedication of those involved, but also to the careful analysis and continuous reappraisal which have characterized the experiment from its inception. The brigades, says van Rensburg ...

> ... can justifiably claim to be a comprehensive tool of development. They provide training and education whilst drawing minimally on the scarce resources of a poor country ... They are instruments of innovation. They also offer a more relevant and dynamic system of education and training than the formal system ... (p.38)

All this is true and is convincingly documented by the author. And yet ...

And yet the author himself admits that he is 'not personally optimistic that Botswana will readily or quickly opt for an alternative development' (p.73)—and certainly the difficulties in the field of education are very great. There is a deep-seated spirit of fatalism to overcome. There is, among students, the problem of low morale, since many are the frustrated rejects of the formal system, who regard the brigade system not as an entry into working life but rather as an alternative means of entry to the formal sector. And many are inclined to contrast unfavourably the austerity of their own training with the much easier life of students in the formal system. Above all, there are 'the contradictory messages of the environment', an environment strongly permeated by the values of the Society of Consumption; only the most exceptional of the trainees can be persuaded 'either to renounce or lower their aspirations, or to forgo whatever opportunities may arise ... in the formal sector' (p.53).

Patrick van Rensburg has a very clear awareness of these problems—and with this an awareness of the importance of keeping alive 'some elements of an alternative development and an alternative system of education' for the day when the present structures collapse under the weight of their accumulating contradictions. For, as another distinguished worker in the field of Third World education reminds us, 'The best way to accomplish those things that are impossible today is to do today whatever *is* possible.'[8]

Paulo Freire, says Jonathan Kozol in his introduction to *Pedagogy in Process*, is 'the man who has made "dialogue" almost a synonym for "education",' and in the letters to Guinea-Bissau which make up almost one-half of the volume we can, as it were, listen in on the dialogue between Freire and his colleagues in the World Council of Churches in Geneva and those in Guinea-Bissau who were engaged in building a new society in this former Portuguese territory. He speaks, as he puts it, 'as a man from the Third World and as an educator completely committed to this world' (p.71).

He speaks as one whose belief is that 'those who are called to teach must first learn how to continue learning when they begin to teach' (p.9).

And, as in his earlier works, he is emphatic that 'pedagogical problems are, first of all, political and ideological' (p.147) and that literacy education is 'a political act, directly related to production, to health, to the regular system of instruction, to the overall plan for the society still to be realized'.

This view was shared by those with whom Freire and his team worked in Guinea-Bissau, the Armed Forces of the People and the Commission on Education. It was inevitable, therefore, that what began as a grassroots campaign to extend literacy should become a programme for the reshaping of the Guinea-Bissau future.

Pedagogy in Process falls into three main sections: a long introduction in which Freire analyses the Guinean background, re-emphasizes the basic concepts in his approach and relates this to the realities of Guinea-Bissau; the series of seventeen letters to Mario Cabral (Commissioner of State for Education and Culture) and his colleagues in which we can listen as the writer talks of the problems of development and the role of education in an emerging society; and a long postscript which updates some of the material in the introduction.

If education is seen as 'an act of knowing' the basic problems to be confronted are, Freire insists, theoretical-practical rather than intellectual: 'What to know? How to know? Why to know? In benefit of what and of whom to know? Moreover, against what and whom to know?' And the answer to these questions is 'intimately related to the overall plan for the society, to the priorities this plan requires and to the concrete conditions for its realization' (pp.100 and 101).

The vision of the new society had begun to emerge in the course of the long struggle against Portuguese colonialism, a struggle in which the people of Guinea-Bissau began, as Freire puts it, 'to conquer THEIR WORD' [emphasis in original]. It was a society which showed many points of similarity with the society which, in 1949, emerged from the long years of war and civil war in China: a society whose members were becoming Subjects of their own history rather than passive Objects of the process of history; a society based on a continuous dialogue between summit and base; a society firmly rooted in the realities of a dominantly rural and peasant world; a society whose members saw that real progress was possible only if the dichotomy between theory and practice, intellectual and worker, leader and led could be resolved. And, in this context, it is noteworthy that Freire draws the attention of his colleagues in Guinea-Bissau to the lessons of the Tachai Brigade in China.

In the letters, with their sharply focussed analysis of the realities of Guinea-Bissau and their wide-ranging reflections on the whole issue of education and development, we can participate in the charting of the next stage of the Guinean future. This future, indeed, unfolds logically from the shared themes of the

Geneva and Guinea-Bissau teams: that literacy is 'a political act, directly related to production'; that 'the learning of reading and writing involves also learning to "read" reality by means of the correct analysis of social practice' (p.89); that once having 'taken part in something concrete that they understand, the people can make the leap to regional or national issues' (p.137). Learning and living become synonymous for, as Freire observes:

> To the degree that the population begins to take its own daily experience—its own spontaneous way of being in the world—as the object of critical reflection, the programmatic content of education emerges in some of its most basic elements. The programmatic content structures itself around different interrelated aspects that make up that spontaneous way of being in the world. (p.135)

The process of development thus acquires a dynamism which is rooted in the expanding awareness of people at the grassroots level, a dynamism which can never be attained by orthodox development strategies. And what this means in the Guinean context is illustrated by Freire's earlier reflections on the Maxim Gorky Centre at Có:

> I am absolutely convinced that if the school at Có continues its practice of organizing with the people the systematic knowledge derived from their own daily experience, it can contribute to the formation of the new intellectual and become the university centre of which I spoke earlier. Activity in response both to the growing curiosity of the people and to local, regional and national needs perceived by them will make it possible for the school to develop community nurses, agricultural specialists, mechanics, electricians and persons knowledgeable in raising poultry. Ongoing evaluation of practice will increase the skills and overall ability of the people in specific fields. These future specialists will be educated in a school that is as broad as life itself ... (p.57)

Pedagogy in Process is true to its title. It does not replace Freire's earlier works and we shall still turn to these—and especially to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*—for many details of Freire's thinking on education. What Freire does in this latest volume is to 'reflect critically' on the realities of a Third World nation and on the relevance of his thought-and-work to the transforming of this reality. He does this not as some 'outside expert'—such a stance is ruled out by his philosophy—but as a man of the Third World deeply and passionately committed to ending the dehumanization of his fellow men. Ivan Illich has said that creative education 'requires peers currently puzzled about the same terms or problems';[9] *Pedagogy in Process*—whose authors are not only Paulo Freire and his team but also Freire's colleagues in Guinea-Bissau and their fellow citizens—is a brilliant demonstration of this truth ...

The two volumes reviewed demonstrate that there *is* an alternative to the systems of formal education which are reaching breakdown point. This alternative is self-sustaining financially, is relevant to the needs of a world in transition and, above all, by its emphasis on 'the development of all men and of the whole man', is a powerful weapon in the struggle for liberation. Yet, as van Rensburg's experience shows, existing structures can limit the extension of alternative systems of education which are perceived by those in power—and correctly—as a threat to their position. In Guinea-Bissau the old political and economic structures were shattered; even so, Freire is emphatic that literacy and post-literacy campaigns must be introduced initially in those areas where the social relations of production have begun to change. This 'does not negate the national

character of the campaign; it assures its results' (pp.113–14).

That 'some kind of radical experience' is necessary to create the climate for social and educational change is demonstrated by the experience of other Third World countries, such as China, Vietnam or Cuba. And, confronted with the experience of these countries and of Guinea-Bissau, the question inevitably poses itself: can a radical transformation of structures be achieved except by armed struggle? The need for 'Another Development' is increasingly recognized and we would argue that the confrontation of the moral problems by the intolerable global inequities in resource distribution, by the mounting ecological crisis and by the disintegration of socio-economic structures in both Third World and industrialized societies will, in fact, constitute a 'radicalizing experience' as intense as any armed liberation struggle. And in this perspective the works of Patric van Rensburg and Paulo Freire assumes critical importance, not as providing some sort of blueprint for progress (for 'experiments cannot be transplanted; they must be reinvented'), but because it challenges all people in all societies to reflect critically on their own reality and the reality of their wider world and join together in 'the creation of a more human world'.

Notes

1. ul Haq, Mahbub, 'Employment in the 1970s: A New Perspective' in *International Development Review*, 13, No. 4, 1971.
2. Illich, Ivan, 'Planned Poverty: The End Result of Technical Assistance' in *Celebration of Awareness*, London, 1971, p.163.
3. van Waeyenberghe, Rémi, 'L'école et l'enfance dans les pays du Tiers Monde' in *Les Carnets de l'Enfance/Assignment Children*, UNICEF, Paris, January 1968.
4. A theme developed at length in various of his studies and especially in *L'Afrique noire est mal partie*, Paris, 1962.
5. Hensman, Richard, *Rich against Poor: The Reality of Aid*, London, 1971, p.78.
6. Carnoy, Martin, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York, 1974, p.57.
7. The phrase is Paulo Freire's. See e.g. his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York, 1970.
8. Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, New York, 1978, p.64.
9. Illich, Ivan, 'Why We Must Disestablish School' in *Deschooling Society*, London, 1971, p.19.

Law and Another Development

By Yash Ghai

Noting the absence of discussions on Law in Another Development, Yash Ghai seeks to open up a debate on the subject by examining the experiences of Papua New Guinea where policies of self-reliance, ecological balance, and participatory democracy with a wide decentralization of governmental powers have official support. Given their tendencies towards centralization of power, sanctioning of inequalities, the market orientation in the provision of legal services, the specialization of legal functions and the complexity of procedures, modern law and legal systems are, Ghai argues, antithetical to many of the postulates of Another Development. In many states in the Third World, the links of the law to the law in the former colonial countries hinders its autochthonous development and reinforces the dependence of the new states on the old metropolitan powers. The bureaucratic orientation of much modern law also makes the participation of local level leaders and the public in policy-making and administration difficult. In concluding, Ghai raises certain questions about the possibility of bringing about Another Development through law.

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Since the Dag Hammarskjöld Report, *What Now: Another Development* (1975), there has not only been considerable support for its basic principles, but also useful elaboration of its themes and recommendations. Thus the implications for health, education, rural development and ecology of Another Development have been canvassed at some length.

These efforts have helped towards operationalizing concepts and programmes necessary to bring about Another Development. Little systematic attempt has so far been made, however, to examine the past and potential future role of law in relation to Another Development. This omission is both surprising and serious.

What Now recognized that the changes it proposed would require structural transformations both in the system of international economic and political relations and in domestic systems. Its recommendations cannot be implemented without a major redistribution of political power, both nationally and internationally. Present international relations are mediated to a significant degree through the law, while the law plays both an operational and hegemonic role in the maintenance of political and economic regimes in the Third World as well as in the industrialized countries. Ultimately, law is about power. *What Now* is also about power. An examination of the role of law is therefore important in further elaboration of the ideas of Another Development and in particular to arrive at an assessment of the possibilities of achieving the changes which underlie it.

This article aims to repair the omission by initiating a discussion on law. It does not pretend to be a systematic discussion of the role of law and legal systems in the maintenance of the existing patterns of development and international relationships, or of their potential to facilitate a different kind of development and mode of relationships. The intention is to examine the role of law and the legal system in the context of one country where there has been considerable official and popular support for the postulates of Another Development. While Papua New Guinea may be a special case in some respects, its legal system shares certain characteristics with the legal systems of many Third World countries, and what we learn from its experience may have relevance elsewhere. The basic contention of this paper is that the legal systems which these countries have inherited from their colonial masters or which they have developed in response to pressures from Western countries are antagonistic to the postulates of Another Development.

Another Development

The starting point of Another Development, as indeed of many other searches for a new order, is disillusionment with the strategies of development pursued in the last two decades. Its recommendations are in large measure a reaction to the aims and methods of these strategies. Five basic features of Another Development are outlined. The first is that development must be need-oriented; it must meet the basic needs—such as education, health, food and shelter—of man, especially the vast depressed, dominated and exploited majority of mankind. Development, secondly, must be endogenous, stemming from the heart of each society, which defines independently its values and the vision of its future. It must also be self-reliant, so that each society relies primarily on its own strengths and resources in terms of its members' energies and its natural and cultural environment. It is recognized that self-reliance needs to be exercised at national and international levels, but that it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at local level, in the praxis of each community. Development must also be ecologically sound, utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and local outer limits imposed on present and future generations,

which in turn means equitable access to resources by all as well as careful, socially relevant technologies.

The achievement of these goals requires structural transformation of international economic and political relations and of domestic national systems. The present system, internationally and nationally, shows at least two contradictions: that between the privileged of the rich and the poor countries, and more important, that between the exploited and the exploiters of each society.

Difficult though they may be to tackle, these contradiction have to be resolved. Reform of socio-economic and political structures is essential. At the economic level, this means that ownership and control over the means of production must belong to the producers, so that a minority does not appropriate the surplus. At the political level, this means a wide-scale democratization of power. Human rights have to be established and guaranteed, and power must be shared, through a thoroughgoing decentralization, aiming at allowing all those concerned, at every level of society, to exercise all the power of which they are capable. There should emerge local self-governing and self-reliant communities, the role of the central authorities being to protect the weakest communities and individuals against oppression and exploitation. Public and private bureaucracies should be subjected to social control.

These points are seen as organically linked. Taken in isolation from each other, they would not bring about the desired result. 'For development is seen as a whole, as an integral, cultural process, as the development of every man and woman and the whole of man and woman. Another Development means liberation.' The agenda of Another Development is therefore large and ambitious. It has many implications for policy and action, and calls for a massive programme of implementation. It flies in the face of vested interests and established élites and bureaucracies. How then can it be operationalized? What reliance can it place on State institutions or the processes of the law to bring about the changes? If those who are to be attacked have already acquired a monopoly of these institutions and processes, how realistic is that strategy? What are the alternatives?

Papua New Guinea: candidate for Another Development

Papua New Guinea occupies the eastern half of the land mass known as the island of New Guinea and numerous other islands in the Pacific Ocean. A country of about 3 million people with nearly seven hundred linguistic groups, it is the largest of the island states in the Pacific, with an area of 474,000 square kilometres. Potentially rich in minerals, the bulk of its economy is still in the subsistence sector; its important exports are copper, fish, coffee, cocoa and timber. It became an independent state on September 1975, after decades of German, British and Australian colonial rule. The successive colonial powers had undertaken only a relatively limited development of the economy of the country. Among the local population, there were few differences of wealth and status which could be ascribed to penetration of colonialism, and many parts of the country had been little affected by colonialism, modern economy and technology. The result was that at the time of Independence many of the indigenous social and economic norms and institutions were alive and intact, although the apparatus of a modern state, including a Western type legal system, was imposed upon the country. Papua

New Guinean leaders had seen the failure of development efforts in Asia and Africa, the increasing social stratification in these countries, the distortion of traditional values and institutions by alien values and institutions, the despoliation of the environment, the emergence of new forms of imperial control and the negative influences of transnational corporations. At the same time, they were well aware of the backwardness of their own economy and of how little their own people controlled or participated in it.

While the prospects of independence produced fear of the future in some leaders and sections of the people, others saw in independence a chance to build society according to their own vision. An intensive discussion of development strategies, land and constitutional matters produced a strong consensus on development aims. This was first reflected in the goals of economic development known as the Eight Points, which were unanimously adopted by the House of Assembly in 1972:

1. A rapid increase in the proportion of the economy under the control of Papua New Guinean individuals and groups and in the proportion of personal and property income that goes to Papua New Guineans.
2. More equal distribution of economic benefits, including movement towards equalization of incomes among people and towards equalization of services among different areas of the country.
3. Decentralization of economic activity, planning and government spending, with emphasis on agricultural development, village industry, better internal trade, and more resources channelled to local and area bodies.
4. An emphasis on small-scale artisan, service and business activity, relying on typically Papua New Guinean forms.
5. A more self-reliant economy, less dependent on imported goods and services and better able to meet the needs of its people through local production.
6. An increasing capacity for meeting government spending needs from locally raised revenue.
7. A rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity.
8. Government control and involvement in those sectors of the economy where control is necessary to achieve the desired kind of development.

The Report of the Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) was, however, the first attempt at a comprehensive delineation of a national policy of development. Published in 1974, now enshrined in the Constitution as the National Goals and Directive Principles, it is the nearest thing the country has to a political manifesto. It argued that the aim of society must be the integral development of man and the realization of his full potential as a human being. Development must bring about his true liberation. National sovereignty must be safeguarded, and the CPC proposed that the Constitution should include a section on foreign investment and transnational corporations in order to protect national sovereignty and the domestic political process from invidious foreign influences. As a counterpart to national sovereignty, great emphasis was placed on self-reliance, which meant among other things that economic development was to take place primarily by the use of skills and resources available within the country, either from citizens or the State, and not by dependence on imported skills and resources.

As far as possible, there should be an equal opportunity for every citizen to take part in

political, economic, social, religious and cultural life, and an equitable distribution of incomes and other benefits of development among individuals and throughout the various parts of the country.

The counterpart of equality is participation. Every citizen must therefore be enabled to participate, either in a direct way or through a representative, in the consideration of any matter affecting his interests or the interests of his community. Political structures must be such as 'will enable effective, meaningful participation by our people in that life, and in view of the rich cultural and ethnic diversity of our people for those structures to provide for substantial decentralization of all forms of government activity'. Papua New Guinea's natural resources and environment were to be conserved and used for the collective benefit of all, and should be replenished for the benefit of future generations.

Particular emphasis was placed on the fact that development should be achieved primarily through the use of Papua New Guinean forms of social, political and economic organization. The Report called for a 'fundamental reorientation of our attitudes and institutions of government, commerce, education, and religion towards Papua New Guinean forms of participation, consultation and consensus and a continuous renewal of the responsiveness of these institutions to the needs and attitudes of the People'. It called for traditional villages and communities to remain as viable units of Papua New Guinean society, and for active steps to be taken to improve their cultural, social, economic and ethical quality. Thus, in its general thrust as well as the details, the Report of the CPC, which won the general endorsement of the House of Assembly, was a clear enunciation of the set of policies that is now subsumed under Another Development.

Role of Law

One difficulty in examining the role of law in Another Development is that we know remarkably little about the role of law in change, generally. There is little significant theoretical work in this area and only a few empirical studies, often not informed by any clear theoretical perspectives. Two presuppositions have dominated the approach to the study of the problem. One regards law not only as an effective way of bringing about change, but also as the preferred way. The other regards law as a secondary phenomenon, incapable by itself of bringing about changes in society; social and economic developments have their own dynamics, and the role of law is to facilitate these developments and then confer an aura of legitimacy on the new relationships that result from them.

Many of the assumptions about the nature and role of law are implicit rather than explicit. This makes it difficult to join issue and to explore the relationship between law and society. Law is perceived as some kind of autonomous activity, separate and distinct from the State. It establishes and affirms goals, and provides rules and institutions to achieve the goals. The assumption is that these goals, rules and institutions have been based on consensus, through a legislative process. The law then takes its own course and delivers the goods.

These assumptions about law have underlain much official policy. Just as the educational, medical and economic systems of the Third World countries have had to be 'modernized' in order to achieve rapid change, their legal systems have had to be modernized too. Thus the transformation of the indigenous legal institutions of these countries into modern legal systems has been carried out as part of

and as a prerequisite for modernization in other areas of national life. The attempt to transmit Western values and institutions in the area of law to the poor countries is thus part and parcel of the general process which has been under way for some time, and which has been called 'development', 'modernization', etc.

Until recently, there has been remarkably little criticism or questioning of the assumptions behind these legal developments. But now it is argued that notions of the 'neutrality' of law have obscured the real function of law: that law is an essential part of the mechanism of the State and that the State is controlled by particular groups or classes. In the present international system, law has been part of the structure that need to be dismantled; it has been a cause of underdevelopment.

The law in Papua New Guinea

The law and the State in modern history are closely interwined. Their close relationship and mutual interdependence are often obscured by the separation of some key institutions of the law from other agencies of the State, as well as by the ideology about the impartiality and neutrality of law. In an ex-colonial country like Papua New Guinea, there is no such obfuscation. Law there has clearly been a coercive force which was used to establish colonical rule, deprive its inhabitants of their basic rights and establish a regime of privilege for, and exploitation by, the white immigrant community.

Before the colonialists came, Papua New Guinea was a constellation of numerous self-reliant and independent communities. Each had its own mode of social organization and control, in which power was widely dispersed, and there was a large element of popular participation in dispute resolution and decision-making. These features of social organization were contained in and expressed through what may be called the customary law of the communities. The establishment of the colonial State meant an attack on the self-sufficiency of these communities and a disruption of their institutions.

The official, colonial law displaced the communal law in many sectors of social and economic life, and State institutions were created to displace communal institutions for making policy and resolving disputes. While the legal system of Papua New Guinea is too complex to allow of any simple characterization, it is true to say that the dominant element in it today is the ethos and institutions of foreign-imposed law.

The displacement of indigenous laws and institutions by the incoming colonial powers is a general phenomenon, and by no means confined to Papua New Guine. However, the indigenous laws and institutions do not disappear overnight; they linger on, operating in the interstices of the offical law, existing in twilight zones between the modern and traditional sectors of the colonial society and economy. Thus, when we talk of the law in Papua New Guinea we mean primarily the State or official law, with significant elements of customary law, sometimes sanctioned by the official law and sometimes not.

It is necessary to examine the characteristica of State law in order to explore whether its inherent tendency is to promote or frustrate the basic postulates of Another Development. The first characteristic of State law is its tendency to spread throughout the country and to promote the centralization of power. Modern European states emerged with the triumph of State laws over local fiefdoms; the centralization of power was achieved through the exten-

sion of the jurisdiction of State courts and the creation and consolidation of a national law by these courts. In Papua New Guinea this process was telescoped in a brief space of time, and carried out more directly through legislative and administrative means rather than through the exercise of judicial powers.

The tendency of the law towards centralization of power has not always led to the destruction of democratic procedures and practices of local communities. In Europe, local interests were often strong enough to present some resistance and compel a bargain which enabled them to preserve a degree of autonomy. Over a period of time, the centralized State was itself subjected to democratic processes and promoted limited devolution of power to geographic and group entities. In Papua New Guinea the process of centralization encountered little effective opposition, and the State was undemocratic and authoritarian. Those features of the imposed legal system which ameliorated the potential of authoritarianism in the country of origin—the franchise, jury service, consultative mechanisms—were not received in Papua New Guinea with the rest of the system.

In the modern State, the centralization of power effected by law is closely associated with the exercise of that power by State bureaucracies. These bureaucracies are attached to and dependent upon the centralized State, with the result that over the years the law undermines self-government in local communities, absorbing them in, and controlling them by, the emerging State system. At the same time the autonomy or self-governance they might enjoy ceases to be inherent, and becomes a conditional grant from a remote, central authority. The law was used to create not only a central political authority, but also a new centre of economic power, both prerequisites of a colonial economy. Public and commercial bureaucracies emerged to exercise the new political and economic power, over which the law provided little supervision or redress for its abuse, and thus their accountability was weak.

Another characteristic of the modern law is its degree of specialization. Distinctive legal institutions and personnel are two products of the increasing division of labour in society. The modern legal system has its own mode of discourse, argumentation and interpretation, with complex and specialized procedures. The effect of this specialization is to transfer to a particular body of officers functions which were previously carried out by the community collectively. Traditionally there was wide community participation in dispute settlement, and while legal disputation and rhetoric may have been an advanced art, they were not esoteric skills which served to shut out most of the community from participation in the administration of justice. The special procedures and technicalities give the world of modern law a Kafkaesque character, which makes it largely incomprehensible to the people and gives the individual a feeling of total powerlessness.

The remoteness from the legal system felt by the ordinary people characterizes the Western states as well, but it is particularly acute in a country like Papua New Guinea, for the system is both technical and foreign. The language, procedure, law and often even the personnel of the system are foreign. And it is not only those who are caught up in the court processes who experience this alienation; whole sections of the population are cut off from access to the system of justice and distribution. The marginality of the urban squatters in Papua New Guinea and their sense of helplessness is in part the result of their inability to

cope with the complexities of the legal and bureaucratic systems that dispense and distribute resources, licences and permits.

The professionalization of the legal system thus produces additional problems of access: justice becomes a commodity obtainable only if one has resources to deploy skills and influence. The legal profession identifies itself with the wealthier sections of the population. Its services are available for a fee; it is based in the urban centres. The legal system has often sanctioned and then defended the unequal appropriation of communal resources. It thus becomes an instrument whereby the essentially egalitarian communities are set on the road towards growing disparities of social and economic power. The goal of the satisfaction of basic needs is pushed further beyond reach.

The State legal system has also sapped the potential of self-reliance, both at the national level and individual or communal level. It carries with it standards that in practice prohibit activities in the 'informal sector'. These standards, combined with bureaucratic ineptness, frustrate initiatives by the small man.

At the communal level, the non-recognition by the law of indigenous clan or village groups as legal entities precluded their participation in the modern economy. The law made it difficult for the members of such groups to pool their resources and labour, thus rendering impossible the only challenge that the indigenous people could mount to the expatriate plantation or factory owner—the challenge of collective self-reliance. The barriers against individual and group initiatives can no doubt be removed through legislative amendments, and progress has already been made in this regard. Much more persistent is the obstruction of self-reliance at the national level.

The legal system in Papua New Guinea is a permanent carrier of foreign ideas and culture, since it is tied to the English and Australian legal systems, the latest decisions of which are in practice binding on Papua New Guinean courts. The basic rules of interpretation and the presumptions of the law find their source in alien systems, whose hold continues even after independence. The crises of legal doctrine in England are all too readily assumed to be the crises of law in Papua New Guinea, and the latest law reforms in England and Australia are seen by many as setting the pace for Papua New Guinea. The development of the law based on indigenous concepts and contemporary problems is stultified because of the force of foreign imitation. Foreign decisions are cited and applied as if they had some intrinsic merit and foreign textbooks are consulted as if they represented the authoritative law of the land.

The foreign influence is extended also through the continuous recourse to foreign personnel. Key policy decisions are made by outsiders under the guise of technical determinations. When independence is sought from foreign personnel, the system is difficult to operate since the basic concepts and techniques are foreign, not only to the people to whom it applies, but also in most cases to those who administer it.

Administrators, lawyers and magistrates do not feel at home with the system, and therefore cannot act with confidence. This has a debilitating effect: it makes them overcautious or overbearing, and results in delays and uncertainty. Surely little could so imbue in a people a sense of helplessness and dependence as the inability to comprehend, let alone operate, the system which constitutes their form of government, regulates their economy and determines their rights and liabilities. This is not a setting in which self-reliant development can begin.

Another law for Another Development?

Not all the problems we have discussed subsist in a modern legal system. They arose in an acute form in Papua New Guinea at least in part because the system is foreign and runs counter to the traditions and organization of the people, and because its economic orientation is capitalist. They arise in part also because the system was used by an alien power for its own purposes and its coercive aspects were deployed more frequently and more extensively than its facilitative or conciliatory aspects. However, now that independence has been won and the political leaders have declared their commitment to indigenous values and organizations, and to Another Development, how strong will the hold of the system remain? How will it affect the development of different values and institutions?

The discontent with the imposed legal system runs deep. There exist many local resources on which to build a new and more appropriate system. Many of the traditional values and concepts have survived the colonial period. The National Goals and Directives of the Constitution provide the guidelines for the future development of the legal system. A blueprint for a new system, relying on local resources of concepts and institutions, guided by the goals of participation, accountability, decentralization and equity, was in fact drawn up at the 1976 Seminar on Law and Self-Reliance, organized by the Law Reform Commission in cooperation with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. The seminar recommended a major transformation of the legal system by providing a greater role for customary law; it urged increased use of mediation and conciliation, some form of nationalisation of the legal profession, and the establishment of 'barefoot' lawyers.

The Law Reform Commission in Papua New Guinea

The Law Reform Commission was set up in 1975. Unlike many other law commissions, Papua New Guinea's was intended to tackle some of the fundamental problems of the legal system, an obligation imposed on it by the Constitution. Before the preparation of its reports, it engages in discussions with the public on the needs and priorities of law reform. It was in order to discuss these with the leading Papua New Guinean lawyers and politicians that the Commission, in association with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, sponsored two workshops in 1976 and 1977. The first was intended to explore the concept of self-reliance in the law and to discuss ways of changing the legal system to give better effect to the National Goals and Directive Principles. One of its recommendations was that the basic law should be the customary law of the people instead of the imposed common law of England and that the communal and egalitarian orientation of customary law should be strengthened. At the second workshop the Commission's proposals to implement that recommendation were discussed. The Commission, thereafter, prepared its final report on the Role of Customary Law in the Legal System, which has now been presented to the Government.

Apart from the recommendations on customary law, the participants in the 1976 workshop urged that the procedures in and aims of litigation should be altered to allow for greater informality and popular participation and that mediation and conciliation should be emphasized at the expense of litigation. Justice should be made more accessible and quick, and various proposals were made for the deprofessionalization of legal institutions and for better provision of legal services. The participants criticized the market orientation of the legal profession and recommended the nationalization of the profession. The training of 'barefoot' lawyers was advocated, especially to meet the needs of the rural communities.

The Commission has followed up the Seminar with various specific recommendations and proposals. Its proposals for the Fairness of Transactions Act are in many ways typical of the Commission's approach. The aim is to ensure that each party to a contract is dealt with fairly by the other party. It moves away from the common law rule that a contract once made by the giving of a concession however inadequate, is binding for all time on the parties, except in narrowly defined circumstances. It also gives the courts power to reconstruct such transactions, basing itself on the notion of what is fair and just—an instance of the Commission's desire to deal with disputes on the basis of standards rather than firm rules.

The Commission seeks to encourage a mediatory role for the courts; they must first try to mediate in a dispute, and only if that fails should they move to adjudication. Both in order to enhance the prospects of mediation and to ensure that the unequal financial positions of the parties to a dispute do not unduly influence the outcome, by the employment of lawyers by one party alone, it is provided that lawyers should only be allowed to appear with the permission of the court.

The report of the Commission, with the draft of the necessary legislation, was presented to the government in 1977. It is obvious that the established businesses as well as the private legal profession would strongly oppose the proposals, and would argue that they remove protection from the transaction-making and undermines commercial business practices. The proposals, if enacted, would provide some protection to the uneducated and unsophisticated from exploitation by traders and business firms. The move would also signal that the government is less committed to the pattern of commerce and business which has grown up under colonially protected capitalism than to control over the excesses of private and public commercial bureaucracies.

An even more siginificant proposal of the Commission is on the place of customary law in the national legal system. The colonial legal system was able to find only a marginal role for customary law or institutions, and indeed in the early 1960s a deliberate decision was made by the Australian authorities to steer Papua New Guinea away from the remaining traces of customary institutions towards a westernized system of justice. The Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) was anxious to reverse this trend, and while it did not have the time to work out its detailed proposals in this regard, it was able to achieve the incorporation of a broad commitment and mandate in the Constitution to change the laws and the legal system in the direction of a more indigenous jurisprudence in which customary beliefs and practices would have a greater role. In persuance of this aim, the Commission has produced its proposals on what is known as the underlying law. The proposals are far-reaching and if implemented would overthrow the common law from its seat of honour in the legal system in favour of customary law. It could set the courts on a new creative path of law-making. It would require them to be guided more by the communalistic and participatory spirit of the customary law than the individualistic, commercially oriented and authoritarian ethos of the common law. The proposals have encountered fierce opposition from the judges and the lawyers.

These and other proposals of the Commission do not emanate from any explicit concern with the specifics of Another Development (even though the thrust of many of them would be in the direction of changes implicit in Another Development). For our purposes, the

relevance of these proposals lies in the willingness of the Commission to examine real (as opposed to cosmetic) alternatives to the present legal system. Its assault on the common law and the central concept of contract springs from its conviction that piecemeal changes are unlikely to achieve much; they would merely be incorporated in the system which has to be overthrown. It is important to depart radically from that system and not merely to compromise. The Commission is unimpressed by the arguments that its proposals for a new system would be unworkable, not merely because of their very novelty, but also because they run counter to established business and ethical practices. The Commission seeks to apply in the legal field the principle of fundamental restructuring which Another Development propagates as essential across the spectrum of social and political institutions.

Also relevant to our purposes is the opposition drawn by many of the proposals of the Commission from established élites and vested interests. Because specific proposals for radical change of law deal directly with the distribution of power and the pattern of economic relationships, the response to them is instructive and tells us much about the difficulties of restructuring society. In that sense alone, proponents of Another Development would benefit from studies of the role of law, for an examination of the difficulties of implementation, both fundamental in terms of class interest and technical in the sense of mechanics, would enrich our understanding of the prospects and problems. While these proposals have not so far been implemented, some important laws, more in keeping with the tenets of Another Development, have, and it is to these we now turn.

The Constitution

We look briefly first at the Constitution itself. It was not only in the National Goals that the CPC's recommendations were reflected; most of them were accepted and incorporated into the Constitution. The CPC placed strong emphasis on a democratic, participatory system, and recommended a strong and elaborate system of committees for Parliament, so that the backbenchers and members of the opposition would be actively involved in policy formulation. The committee system was also intended to enhance Parliament's capacity to exact accountability from the Executive. As well as the wide-ranging jurisdiction of courts to review administrative decisions, the CPC proposed the establishment of an Ombudsman with broad competence. Provisions for a tough leadership code were also put forward, so that politicians and public servants would not be able to use their public offices for private gain. And it was proposed that an office of Public Solicitor, to provide legal services in criminal and civil cases for persons who could not afford a private lawyer, be constitutionally guaranteed.

It has helped to promote a political system which is open and competitive; and in which there is a vigorous Parliament. But not all the constitutional aspirations have been achieved. The Constitution has sometimes emasculated the political process, for contrary to the intentions of the CPC, the Constitution is a highly legalistic document and vests important supervisory powers over the political process in the courts. A tendency has emerged to refer obviously political questions to an alien judiciary for resolution. While in many cases this may represent a wish on the part of the political leaders to pass on the responsibility to judges, the elaborately complex and legalistic

nature of the Constitution has not merely facilitated that, but has often compelled reference to courts to sort out genuine ambiguities. The Constitution also failed in its aspirations because it failed to curb the dominance of the bureaucracy. While the correct perception of the CPC that the hold of the bureaucracy must be broken was clearly articulated, it failed to keep out of the Constitution provisions which entrenched the strong position of the bureaucracy.

An important cause of the relative failure of the Constitution lies in the fact that it has been treated primarily as a legal, rather than a political, document, due at least in part to the style of drafting which largely precluded the latter. It has become an instrument more at the service of public servants and lawyers than of politicians.

The village courts

The village courts were first established in 1974 under legislation passed in 1973. They were the first official legal institutions to operate at the village level in recent times. The Australians had preferred to rule directly through their own administrative institutions and not, as the British in Africa, through indirect rule. So there was no place for the use of indigenous institutions, and justice was to be meted out through state courts. State courts, however, were not easily accessible, used alien procedures and applied foreign laws, and did not permit any participation by the people themselves in the decision-making. Thus, although these courts were not entirely unused, the majority of the disputes were taken by the people to their local leaders who tried to mediate or adjudicate, applying norms that were indigenous to the disputants, and allowed for public participation in the proceedings.

The proposals for village courts had emanated from different groups for different reasons, but an important recurrent reason was the desire to establish institutions which would place judicial power in the hands of the local leaders, who would emphasize conciliation between the disputants and would apply locally acceptable norms. Thus these courts were seen both as departing from the technical and procedure-ridden systems of dispensing justice and as giving power to laymen and local communities to decide their disputes. There were, therefore, elements of both deprofessionalization and decentralization.

There are several characteristics of village courts which tend to distinguish them from the professional and formal courts, and which would make them an acceptable and integral part of the local community. First, a village court is set up only if the people of the community, acting through their local government council, opt to have it. The village courts are therefore not imposed on the people. Secondly, the magistrates of the village courts are in practice elected by the people from the members of the local community. They do not need any professional training and are very much part of the community. The courts are to apply the customs of the community rather than a remote alien law. Their basic aim is to ensure 'peace and harmony in the area for which [they are] established by mediating in and endeavouring to obtain just and amicable settlements of disputes'. Though they can fine, they cannot as a rule imprison people, and are expected in any case to solve disputes through mediation by promoting amicable settlements rather than through adjudication when they can make binding orders. Even if they have to adjudicate, they are expected to order compensation for the injured party or the performance of some task for the community, such as

service in the local school or clinic. This approach is intended to be facilitated by the provision that the village courts shall not make any procedural distinction between civil and criminal cases. No representation by lawyers is allowed, and the courts are not bound by technical rules of evidence but hear whatever information is available. There was intended to be a minimum of formality.

The village courts represented a return of dispute settlement power to the people in the rural areas, and in rural areas, as we know, this is the key to much other power in the community. Most communities have opted for the establishment of village courts and the magistrates whom they have elected are genuinely members of the community. The presence and work of the village courts have tended to reduce fights and dissension in the community and have helped to promote a greater sense of cohesion.

It would be fair to say that the village courts have enhanced a community's sense of its own identity and power. The courts have won popular support and are extensively used. But the way the courts have operated has not always promoted values espoused by those who pushed for their establishment or the values and expectations that were implicit in the legislation. The village courts have made little use of their powers to mediate between disputing parties, preferring to adjudicate. They have tended not to use customary sanctions, such as work orders, but are all-too ready to impose fines. They have asked for the trappings of formal and distant courts, such as special dresses, 'proper court buildings' and handcuffs for the accused, and have discouraged the participation of the people in the proceedings. In short, they want to make their courts more like the Australian courts. Since they live with the people as full members of the community, they have not distanced themselves from the people, but they do feel increasingly that their status and power come from the State and not the people.

These are merely trends, and it is easy to exaggerate them, but it is perhaps not surprising that they should have developed. First, because the formal types of court have been associated with superior State power, it is tempting for village courts to imitate their procedures, etc., in an attempt to win additional legitimacy and authority among the people. Furthermore, the village courts are tied to the formal system, for they are supervised by district court magistrates, to whom appeals against their decisions can be made, and so there is the natural desire for the lower courts to imitate the superior courts. Secondly, the State has the overall responsibility for the establishment and operation of village courts, and State officials are still concerned with the observance by the village courts of certain 'proprieties' which are associated with the Western formal system, tending to push the village courts in that direction, through training and socialization courses. Thirdly, the magistrates themselves feel that their power comes from national legislation and, unlike the old traditional system, is not dependent on the acceptability of their decisions in the community; thus they tend to become careless of local sensitivities.

While these courts may in some ways be an improvement on the formal courts, they serve the community less well than the traditional dispute settlers, who allowed a wide measure of public participation in settlement procedures and were at pains to reach decisions which would have the backing of the community. The establishment of the formal Australian type court did not lead to the disappearance of the traditional system and it has continued to

operate, sometimes in opposition to and sometimes in collaboration with the new system.

But the establishment of the village courts has led to some reduction in the informal traditional settlements. The formal or State law, by institutionalizing traditional practice, has brought the original system under its surveillance, modified its character and reduced the scope for the genuinely traditional type of dispute settlements.

Provincial government

The CPC strongly criticized the system of administration in the country before Independence. This was highly centralized in Port Moresby and, in effect, for purposes of policy, in Canberra. There were hardly any institutions at the local level, and decisions to spend even small sums of money in a district had to be referred to Port Moresby. This meant in practice that there was little understanding of the problems of local communities, and there were long delays in getting replies to inquiries and requests. The system did not permit any meaningful initiatives to be taken at the local level.

As well as being highly centralized, the system was extremely bureaucratized. While with the move towards independence the system at the national level had begun to be politicized, no parallel developments had taken place at the district level, where there were no representative institutions. The system was run by public servants, who were not responsible to any local level political body. Frustration with this system had led to various attempts by the people to organize their own separate systems of government, which the administration frequently labelled as 'cargo cult' movements and repressed. The CPC considered that it was necessary to make radical changes to this system in order to ensure that there was greater public participation in decision-making, that districts should get autonomy over a wide range of matters of immediate concern to them, and that the decision-making process should be politicized, curtailing the overwhelmingly dominant position of the public servants. It called, therefore, both for decentralization of power and for its politicization.

After initial opposition from some politicians and bureaucrats, the proposals were enacted. In that the decentralization was more than an exercise in administrative devolution, what happened in Papua New Guinea was unique—a deliberate handing of power to subnational level institutions and the subjecting of the bureaucracy to local level leaders, and in both ways this was a radical reversal of the centralizing and bureaucratizing trend of the previous hundred years.

How have these changes operated in practice? It is clearly too early to give a final answer. The establishment of provincial government has promoted political activity at the provincial level; it has given people a sense of their own power, and with that a sense of responsibility for their own destiny; it has encouraged them to determine planning priorities for the provinces; and it has served to reassert the principle that, in a democratic system, the bureaucracy must be responsible to the political authorities. However, not all the developments have been positive. As we have indicated, the ideology behind decentralization was strongly populist, emphasizing public participation in decision-making, autonomy, self-reliance and local initiatives, subjecting the administrative system to popular direction and control. What appears to have happened is that the bureaucracy, at first strongly opposed to the idea, has effectively taken over its implementation, and makes the important deci-

sions about the scope and pace of the transfer of powers. Ironically, the process of reducing the power of the bureaucrats has itself become bureaucratized and thus has frustrated the aim of curbing the power of the bureaucracy. The style of policy and administration associated with the centralized bureaucratic State continues to operate, with its emphasis on the 'rational' criteria of planning and resource allocation, standards and discipline, feasibility studies, etc.—in short, the mechanism by which the bureaucracy keeps its hold on power.

Why has the political momentum of decentralization been so neutralized? The answer is complex, but one of the key factors has been the nature of the constitutional and legal arrangements for decentralization. These arrangements are, to begin with, highly complicated and detailed. Grafted as they are upon an already complex, verbose and lengthy constitution drawn up on the premise of a unitary, centralized State, the questions of their precise scope and the procedures for the transfer and exercise of power become intricate matters of interpretation, administered by lawyers and other bureaucrats. The initiative thus passes out of the hands of the politicians into those of the bureaucrats. Secondly, since decentralization as provided must necessarily imply the modification rather than the replacement of the centralized and bureaucratic administrative structure, the very complexity of the process requires the services of those working in the present system. The difficulties which the outsiders, and this includes many ministers and most politicians, have in coming to grips with the system means that the actions of the bureaucracy in the implementation of decentralization go largely unchecked and unsupervised. The lack of such expertise in the politicians might have been compensated for by a strong ideological understanding and commitment to the goals of decentralization. It would be true to say that many politicians at the provincial level who have formally acceded to office lack that commitment. That power at the provincial level may be seized by a coalition of an emerging petty-bourgeoisie and a petty kulak class is a high probability. Already there is evidence that power is beginning to crystallize at the provincial headquarters rather than being decentralized further down to the village.

Despite its strongly populist flavour, decentralization is a neutral device, to be seized by the right or the left wing. The objectives of decentralization, as set out by the CPC, could hardly be achieved without the mobilization of the people around the themes of participation, self-reliance and accountability. Decentralization is a device which makes these goals possible, but does not by itself bring them about. Law here, as in so many other instances, is not self-executing; it may open up possibilities, it may facilitate certain changes and trends, but it is an instrument strongly susceptible to manipulation and neutralization by other forces. To consider that the mere passage of a law has achieved its objectives is seriously to misunderstand the nature of law.

Conclusions

These three case studies illustrate a number of themes which are relevant to understanding the role of law in Another Development. Specific changes in the law can be made in order to try to achieve specific aspects of Another Development. But just as Another Development is a system, not isolated changes, so is law, and piecemeal changes in the system of law will fail to achieve their objective. The village courts and provincial government in

that sense were both piecemeal. The village courts are part of a formal, hierarchical, professional system of courts, whatever their own characteristics. The environment of the larger system and the procedures and pretensions of the superior courts inevitably contaminated them. Provincial governments were set up in the context of a bureaucratic system with pervasive legalism. Although it was hoped that provincial government would show the way out of bureaucraticism and legalism, in the absence of its own resources, with the need for dispensations from the central State system and the lack of political mobilization, it was captured by the system which it sought to change. The constitutional system, which had the greatest promise by virtue of its comprehensiveness and superiority in the hierarchy of legal norms, seems to have become a victim of its own weightiness and of the strongly entrenched bureaucratic system that it was meant to politicize and democratize.

All three instances show the extreme importance of bureaucracy. The law for Another Development, which must in various forms be formulations of public power, even if only to restrict an existing public power, will need to rely for implementation and enforcement on the bureaucrats. This is especially important in developing countries where there are few organized centres of power which do not in some sense emanate from the State, and where the politicians by and large lack the experience or skills to master the State machinery.

This analysis may well suggest that the strategy of achieving Another Development through law is seriously flawed. If the analysis of the development of law and State sketched out in the early part of this paper is valid, the implication may be that we have to find new weapons to fight the existing system. Indeed, we may well have to fight law and legalism. It is clear from the case studies discussed here that the very 'legalizing' of institutions and movements has vitiated their dynamics. As long as the informal settlements of disputes operated outside the official legal system, they manifested many of the attributes of 'popular justice'. As long as the strivings for local autonomy, self-reliance and self-management found expression outside the forms provided by the law, they enjoyed a certain vitality and mobilized popular enthusiasm. Once encapsulated in lawful authority, as either local or provincial government, they appear unable to retain the enthusiasm of the earlier period. It is not merely that by legalizing them we facilitate their capture by the larger system with its anti-Another Development biases; it is also that by requiring the exercise of power through 'legal' and bureaucratic means, we help to vitiate the political process and thus undermine the basis of public participation and accountability.

Indeed, some countries have found that for the effective mobilization of the people, which is almost a precondition of Another Development, law may have to be disregarded and law forms ignored or played down. China has shown considerable ambiguity towards the law, and has usually preferred to operate through more direct forms than the law. Tanzania has achieved many of its basic changes of orientation through wide-scale, one might almost say deliberate, disregard of the law. And one might say that Allende threw away the chance of a socialist revolution when he opted for the 'legal way'. Although to put it like this is to simplify a very complex situation, there is little doubt that a heavy, and in the end, perhaps, fatal price was paid for the commitment to bring about change through the law.

We must be careful not to suggest that law is

the death of Another Development, nor to overgeneralize from the Papua New Guinean experience. As to the latter, Papua New Guinea has inherited an excessively legalistic administration, and the political leaders, lacking in experience of administration, have so far been unable to master the mechanism of the State. Moreover, despite the coherence of the CPC, the official policies have lacked a clear orientation and petty economic nationalism has been confused with an egalitarian and self-reliant society, and the potential of customary law, which can neatly blend in with capitalism, has been exaggerated. A great deal of the legislative concern has been with matters, which, important though they may be in themselves, are peripheral to the polity and economy, and Papua New Guinea's continued reliance on foreign aid and investment produces contradictions between professed beliefs and emerging practice. So long as economic policy gives primacy as it does to large-scale commercial and industrial activities, the foreign-based formal legal system will continue to dominate, despite its incongruence with the sentiments of the bulk of the population and with local level enterprises.

As to the former, some success has been achieved through law, and the establishment of progressive standards through the law has legitimated policies. As both Nyerere and Allende have recognized, certain aspects of both substantive and procedural law represent the achievement of human society in reducing the arbitrary exercise of power and the securing of such human rights as we have. Law can be an important instrument at the service of governments committed to Another Development. If their leaders could get a mastery of the legal system and suffuse it with the new values, there is little reason why the law should not become a useful ally. But the difficulty is that it is hard to suffuse the existing legal systems with new values or to obtain mastery over them. Experiences in Sukarno's Indonesia, attempts to introduce indigenous and participatory forms of justice in India and Sri Lanka, and the work of the Law Reform Commission in Papua New Guinea show how difficult it is to change an existing system by altering parts of it.

A vast number of the old norms are embedded in the detailed rules and procedures of the law, and the legal system has developed its own ideology and rationalization that is resistant to new values. The strategy of altering rather than confronting the old system means inevitably that much of the task must be left to the old professionals, who both as a class and as technicians are likely to be opposed to the changes. Both the nature and organization of the economy help to underpin the legal system, for the dominant economic groups find the old system congenial to their interests. The international linkages of a country serve to reinforce its old legal system, and the institutions of higher education continue their role in the reproduction of the legal system. There are, therefore, many factors which reinforce the system for *status quo*. A concerted attack on the laws and the legal system is necessary to break their conservative hold, and that means changing not merely the law but also the economy and the political system.

Meanwhile, scholars should subject the existing legal systems to searching scrutiny and expose their inherent anti-Another Development biases and tendencies. They should develop models of the law and the legal system appropriate for Another Development. They should analyse experiences of decentralization, the legal framework for communal activities, dispute-settlement procedures and popular participation in the legal system, and re-

form of administrative procedures to provide for the participation of citizens in decision-making, for making mandatory reasoned decisions, and for greater access to government information.

When the political circumstances are propitious, this knowledge could be pressed into service, for there is little doubt that, unless some legal models and ideas are at hand, the momentum for progressive change may be channelled into and thwarted by old legal forms.

Law Reform and Law Development in Papua New Guinea

By Bernard M. Narakobi

Bernard Narakobi argues that the law in Papua New Guinea, based on foreign concepts and serviced to some extent by foreign personnel, has to be radically changed if it is to be responsive to the present day needs and realities of the country. The law must give expression to the values and ideals of the people, and in the context of Papua New Guinea this must inevitably mean that the programme of law reform must be broad and comprehensive. The official law must draw upon customary law for its concepts and procedures while being open at the same time to the advancements in technology. He also discusses some specific changes that are necessary to a just and egalitarian society.

Bernard Narakobi, one of the first Papua New Guineans to be trained as a lawyer, worked as a consultant to the Constitutional Planning Committee and was the first chairman of the Law Reform Commission. He comments extensively on public affairs and policy in Papua New Guinea, has written plays and is active in promoting Papua New Guinean culture. He now practises law in Wewak in East Sepik, servicing the needs of the villagers.

The home-grown Constitution of Papua New Guinea has detailed provisions about the necessity to develop a legal system particularly suited to the needs and circumstances of the country. The Constitution provides for a Law Reform Commission whose task it is to review systematically the laws of Papua New Guinea and recommend changes to the Government. Both the national and the supreme courts of Papua New Guinea have wide law development powers.

The need to develop a Melanesian legal system based on Melanesian values and institutions is well acknowledged by political leaders. But it has not always been accepted by former administrators. And even though political leaders have agreed that the Papua New Guinea legal system must be authentic and natural, they have in fact been very slow to make radical departures from the well-travelled paths of the Anglo-Australian legal presumptions, prejudices and presuppositions. The existence of an all-expatriate judiciary in the national and supreme courts is a notable obstacle to coherent and systematic changes to the Anglo-Australian legal tradition.

Even if national judges were to come to the judicial scene, it would require men of intellectual and moral integrity of a very high quality to depart from the usual judicial meanderings of Australian lawyers. It is unlikely that a Papua New Guinean judge, new as he would be to the legal maze, would make dramatic departures from the tradition. Nevertheless, it can be expected that in the next two decades citizen judges will emerge, who will accept the challenge

to develop laws suitable to Papua New Guinea.

Because the Australian judges admire the common law and see no alternatives, and because they adjudicate under a common illusion that they only declare and do not make the law, the scope offered to judges in the Constitution for the development of an indigenous jurisprudence will never be taken up by expatriates. And as practising lawyers function primarily to realize the interests of their clients, and only secondarily to assist in law development, they will consequently lend no assistance to the judges in law development.

Since the judiciary is incapacitated, there is all the more need for the legislature to take a leading law-creating role. The Law Reform Commission can in fact, as it has in the past, play a significant supportive role—through detailed research, analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing system and recommendations for specific developments in the law.

In Papua New Guinea, the potential role of the Law Reform Commission in the development of new rules or jural postulates, and in offering attainable social alternatives through the agency of the law, is well recognized.

The Commission is indeed a vocal and dynamic force for change. Unfortunately, the usefulness of the Commission has not always been appreciated. With increasing pressure on government politicians to stay in office, the work of scientific reform of the law and the systematic transformation of society from colonial legacies to sovereign independence assumes a poor last priority. While this is a characteristic of liberal democracies the world over, it is an inevitable manifestation of the uselessness of the entire system of which the legal system is an inseparable part.

There are, of course, many ways of nurturing a previous colony from the death pangs and historical abyss of colonial humbug to a mature, self-respecting national autonomy in every respect. One obvious way is through bloody and traumatic revolutions. This is an option that is clearly not available to Papua New Guinea. If it was available, it was not chosen as a road to independence. Another way is to let time cure all ills. 'Rome', it would be argued, 'was not built in a day', so why should Papua New Guinea hasten change? In any case, the argument would go, the Anglo-Australian legal tradition is the best, so why all the fuss about change?

The realistic approach which Papua New Guinea has adopted, at least at the formal legal level, is to transform society through the use of the agency of the Law Reform Commission. This option can be effective and less traumatic if it is supported politically. Draft bills must be made available to Members of Parliament, who must take the time and trouble to discuss them with their constituencies and debate them. Members of Parliament should also take initiative in introducing reform legislation.

At the centre of law development in Papua New Guinea lies the customary law. Europeans from large, organized nation states have a tendency to look for courts, constables and codes when they first come into contact with the people of another race, culture and civilization. When they cannot find uniformed constables guarding the gates of inns of courts and holding holy books of law, they conclude that the subject races have no laws or legal institutions. In the case of Papua New Guinea, it was readily assumed that the people were so low down in the social scale of civilized peoples that anything 'native' or customary was the devil's own creation and ought to be eliminated through the preached word, the might of the law and sheer naked force.

Thus in Papua New Guinea, from the

earliest colonial days, statutes were enacted to apply imperial or colonial laws. The Criminal Code of Queensland was re-enacted by the Australian administrators and applied with rigour and enthusiasm. Various commercial codes or acts were also adopted without changes. The vast field of the judge-made Common Law in England was also enforced as part of the law of this country.

With the attitudes of a master race, the colonizers were arrogant, ignorant and unmerciful. They expected to find tangible and precise definitions and descriptions of an indigenous legal system in their master language. When they did not find anything tangible, they covered their inadequacies and ignorance in a language of pomp and ceremony that overwhelmed rather than enlightened Papua New Guineans. This prevented them from seeking often legitimate ends of justice and truth based on their own social reality. This master mentality has not helped Papua New Guineans to develop the independent intellectual power that is demanded of the new challenges. On the contrary, it tends to subjugate independent thought into inferiority complexes and reflexes.

The insistence on the development of an indigenous legal system, contrary to Eurocentric thinking, is neither racist nor political propaganda. It is an authentic response to the greatest yearning of a people determined and destined to forge a unique national identity amidst the collapsing walls of ancient cultures and the emergence of a universal and soul-less legal culture. To develop a legal system based on ancient cultural heritage is a genuine effort to become legally self-sufficient.

The opponents of this school of thought will argue that this approach is nonsense, because traditional societies are disappearing. They argue that, given time, English legal culture will become accepted as the legal culture of Papua New Guinea. It is true that societies do change. A largely agrarian people, for instance, do change to industrial people when new sciences and technology are introduced. And the legal needs of a largely subsistence people do change when the same people become commercial entrepreneurs.

Having said this, I think the need still exists for the development of a legal system that will in effect sustain the moral and social fabric of the people. Law emerges from the social, economic and political reality. It should be relevant to the times. No law in Papua New Guinea would be legitimate unless it drew its well-being from the springs and fountains of wisdom, good sense and equity embodied in the hearts and the souls of our people from time immemorial.

Legitimate law must give effect to the values and ideals which any given people express and uphold. But there is little sharing of values between Melanesians who are largely communally oriented and Englishmen or Australians who are very individualistic. There is a great difference between an Australian or an Englishman who has two children, lives away from his father and grandfather, goes to work in a factory, and is guaranteed worker's compensation, life insurance and medical care, and a Melanesian who has a large extended family, lives in a large village and has to work with his clan on the village ground, subjected to the attitudes and beliefs of the group.

The task of law reform in Papua New Guinea is thus a unique one. The challenge is to build from the rich past and at the same time remain open to changes necessitated by technological innovations. Law reform, therefore, involves a change of attitudes and the reconstruction of society. In some places, of course, it will be necessary to depart from ancient tradition. But that departure must be con-

scious and it must be made by the people themselves. It must not be imposed by foreign judges or by foreign legislation which has been adopted without thorough—or indeed any—debate by the local legislature.

In a country like Papua New Guinea, the programme for law reform must in essence be broad and comprehensive. Where the company law and the commercial codes tend to promote private capital acquisition and the exploitation of man by man, the new commercial codes must promote group, collective and communal ownership. Competition must be placed beneath the all-embracing banner of cooperation and sharing. Profit motive—as the all-supreme law of commerce, trade and industry—must be placed beneath the need to uplift humanity, i.e. caring for those in need and deriving satisfaction through helping others.

In practice, it means that the law of contract which is based on free, consensual and equal bargaining power needs thorough overhaul. Against that theory of the law is the glaring practice of a small and helpless individual who buys an airline ticket and finds all the conditions of carriage predetermined. Against the notion of free bargaining power are poor and wretched workers in factories who, but for trade unionism, would be exploited body and soul. Governments are so powerful these days that, unless legal services are accessible to the people at little or no cost, they themselves would lead the list of domestic oppressors. Public and statutory bodies like the National Air Line, the Banking Corporation, the Electricity Commission and the Housing Commission are all part of the massive governmental structure which actually dictates the terms that small people have to take or leave. There is no room for negotiation or dialogue.

It is the function of law reform in a liberal democracy like Papua New Guinea to lay the legal foundations and framework for accountability to the people, through the highest possible ethical values, of those in government and positions of trust and influence.

In this regard, the work of the Ombudsman's Commission has to be strengthened. The press has to be more probing and must be willing to expose corruption, maladministration and mismanagement. Laws of defamation, libel and slander have to be reformed so that truth is not hidden behind the curtains of narrow legalism. Administrative tribunals with inquisitorial, mediatory and arbitration powers need to be developed to make government power accountable. The private sector has to be brought within the framework of national priorities, resources and capabilities.

In the criminal justice system, very basic and fundamental questions need to be asked. Is the present and governing Criminal Code, written for Queenslanders of Australia 200 years ago, such a sacred law that it cannot be abolished? Could we not operate a more just criminal justice system without a detailed and comprehensive code which delineates the scope and ambit of human conduct? Could we not, by relying on customary law and the notion of *mens rea*, achieve better results than the present system, where the judicial creative ingenuity is confined to the meanings prescribed to words centuries ago by people of a quite alien cultural environment?

The philosophical conceptual creature called the average or the ordinary reasonable man was conceived to be an Englishman of middle-class social standing. He enjoyed his glass of wine, liked watching cricket and caught a bus home, dressed in a grey or black suit, a hat, holding an umbrella and smoking a cigar. That reasonable man is entirely out of place in the jungles and the seas of Melanesia. Both the courts and the legislature, with the help of the

Law Reform Commission, should develop appropriate jurisprudential concepts for the needs of our times.

It is a unique achievement of English law that the alleged offender receives more attention than the victim of any crime. The attention given to the offender is disproportionate to the needs of victims of crimes of violence. While the State will spend time, money and trained personnel to care for the needs, welfare and security of the criminal, the needs of the victims are ignored. The suffering experienced by near and dependent relatives of wrongdoers often far exceeds the punishment imposed upon the wrongdoers.

At the very least, it can be argued that the days when all breaches of the law have to be directed to courts often managed by old, middle-class, moralistic and dogmatic legalists are gone. Not only are judges unqualified but they are often, by their training, unsympathetic to the inner dimensions of man which propel him to the action or inaction which lead him to the courts. In this context, the courts must take in people of other disciplines to sit with them in adjudicating disputes. Certainly, in imposing sentences, the community at large is far more qualified to determine the length of sentences than most judges.

The scope for punishing offenders in Papua New Guinea is extremely limited, in the same tradition as Britain and Australia. Imprisonment and fines just about exhaust the scope. Community work orders, reparation, shaming, caution, restitution, forgiveness, substitution, parole, probation and many other possibilities are more or less out of judicial adjudicatory vocabulary in this jurisdiction. And yet, it is very clear that if our legal system is to attain its legitimate maturity, extensive innovations will need to be made.

The entire notion of property in the English law must be examined critically. Great political and ideological values of equality and participation, national sovereignty and self-reliance, total human development, maximum use of Papua New Guinean ways and the conservation and wise use of natural resources will remain empty slogans unless they are translated into legal norms and institutions.

This necessitates a total restructuring of the society. Old assumptions must be broken down. Myth must be differentiated from reality. Political institutions based on the British model must give way to a more indigenous type of government. In particular, the existence of an English monarch as the Sovereign Head of State, represented by a citizen Governor General, should be replaced by a constitutional Executive Head of State, such as a president.

The method of survival in government through political patronage and manipulation must give way to survival or failure on merit. In this respect, non-sensitive public service appointments should be based on merit, rather than on political sympathy. Institutions like parliamentary under-secretaries, which are not specifically provided for under the Constitution, should be abolished. Much more parliamentary time should be given to back-benchers and those in opposition to question the Executive and to take initiative in legislation. The Executive must become truly accountable to the people, directly or through the elected representatives.

In the unique history of Papua New Guinea, the role of religious organizations must be clearly understood. To the extent that religious organizations are violating clear national ideology, they must be pulled into line. Similarly, the private commercial sector must be directed in its use of resources and in the promotion of values that will best enhance the

type of society envisaged by the Constitution.

In order to avoid arbitrary exercise of arbitrary power, the law emerges as a significant instrument for delineating the scope and extent of power, its use and the accountability of those who do use or exercise it. Law can be an effective instrument for mobilizing people and resources. It has been used throughout colonial history to maintain élitism and class societies, and to propagate mass poverty, insecurity and injustice. It has been used by newly independent states in Africa, Asia and the Americas to impose the will, the ambitions and the legal institutions of those in power upon the general population. The exploitation of man by man in industry, government and religion, in circumstances where the law is either powerless or ineffective because of fear of intimidation, is too visible for anyone to ignore.

The law has to emerge as an important medium for achieving constant change and maintaining a stable equilibrium between the extreme poles of bloody revolution necessitated by intolerable human suffering on the one hand, and stagnation brought about by uninspired and moribund people in positions of authority on the other. Instead of using law as an independent arm of distributive justice, the history of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere shows that law has been used to protect the positions and privileges of those in power.

This poisonous trend is still prevailing in Papua New Guinea, where foreigners who live a life style of foreigners see privileges and economic benefits in becoming Papua New Guinea citizens. They become citizens through liberal laws in citizenship and exploit the people. Some of these 'foreign' citizens permit their spouses to maintain their citizenships elsewhere, thus enabling their nuclear family to benefit doubly while the general population has only one country to look to for privileges and hopes.

Of course, if all these ambitions are to be achieved, the use of law as a secure and open means of transforming society must be acknowledged. Having done that, maximum parliamentary and executive time must be given to the proposals initiated by the Law Reform Commission. Far greater commitment by the Government than is currently manifest must be made to the ideals and the strategies of law reform. Without constant review and change, men and women become static. When they become static, they perish. But change should come only if it understands constraining and oppressive forces, whether they are customary or externally imposed. Legitimate change should occur only with full regard for the social and cultural context of Melanesians. The authentic starting point of reform is customary law. Customary law is not a constant, it is value oriented and it is also a change agent. Thus, having used custom as a springboard for the new legal system, it must remain open-ended for further developments.

There are vast fields of law in which custom or customary law is directly relevant. In the field of interpersonal obligations that give rise to contracts and in the field of family law, divorce, maintenance, adoptions, custody and marriage, customary law is still a predominant force. In the ownership of property through collective family or individual personal units, the laws of succession of property and inheritance are significant. The laws governing the use of natural resources, the religious symbols which represent themselves in social reality and the communal structure of the village can all have a profound and positive impact on the planning, growth and construction of new towns and cities, roads and buildings.

Crime is, of course, the visible sign of a sick

and static society. Crime exists in the so-called civilized societies like Papua New Guinea. The total structure of the society, the use of the law to regulate or direct human relations, has a profound impact on the crime rate. In a society where the law encourages and protects greed, selfishness and the survival of the fittest, crimes of violence and crimes against property will almost certainly increase. Many societies exist through the maintenance of a balance between what is normally a state of tension between the collective interests and the interests of individuals. The law can indeed be a useful fulcrum to direct change and control tension.

In conclusion, therefore, I see a very significant role—a clear revolutionary role—assigned to the Law Reform Commission in Papua New Guinea. The constant probing and searching for the ideal and just society must not be overshadowed by the interference of political compromises necessary for personal survival in a numbers game. The ideals of a new, just and egalitarian society must never be lost sight of, even when the natural inclination is to compromise or take the line of least resistance and avoid having to face reality. The constant urge to take the least troublesome, least expensive and politically convenient paths to reform will do no more than manufacture misery, oppression and injustice for the succeeding generations.

Today's leaders in government, religion, industry, universities and elsewhere have one fundamental obligation. They are obliged to do the best they can, so that the succeeding generations can take up the torch of love and liberty and move further than we have been able to do. The task for succeeding generations will be much harder if we fail to do our part.

Research Priorities for Another Development in Law

In this article, which has been prepared for DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE *by the International Center for Law in Development (ICLD), it is argued that increasing attention should be given to the legal implications of Another Development and that new research priorities have to be set in this field. The ICLD is a small international working group of Third World and Third World-oriented lawyers and social scientists who work in collaboration with institutions, scholars and officials in different parts of the Third World to encourage the comparative and international study of the legal aspects of shared problems of development. The group consists at present of Jorge Avendaño V., Upendra Baxi, S. Kofi Date-Bah, Clarence J. Dias, Yash Ghai, Reginald H. Green, John B. Howard, Tommy T. B. Koh, Howard Larsen, Zaki Mustafa, James C. N. Paul and Neelan Tiruchelvam.*

Law and development in the Development Decade of the '60s

The zeal and aspirations which heralded the initiation of the 'development decade' of the '60s challenged many different kinds of professionals to enhance the contribution of their disciplines to the processes of social change then envisioned in the countries of the Third World. Each profession tended to generate its own development-oriented literature. Economists wrote about strategies to produce growth; educationists wrote about 'manpower' and human resources for 'development'; management specialists wrote about 'development administration'. But writers in most disciplines drew from a common core of assumptions and theory.

Paradigms now discredited were then conventional wisdom. Development meant 'modernization'—which often resembled the 'westernization' of social structures and modes of behaviour, an evolution sometimes assumed to be inevitable. Development was produced by economic growth, integration into the world system and diffusion of the wealth and benefits thus produced by well organized state structures—modelled on the 'more developed' polities—which would direct the production and allocation of essential resources. Development could be planned and engineered by experts and professionals, by 'change agents', by 'institution builders'. Great importance was ascribed to higher education and professional training, to the capacity of specialists, using the power of the state, to design and administer development programmes.

Law, legal institutions and processes (properly designed) and legal specialists (properly trained) could make important instrumental contributions to these tasks. This was the claim of many of those who then wrote about 'law and development' or who initiated various kinds of projects concerned, for example, with the reform, codification and unification of various fields of law or with drafting invest-

ment or tax laws or with developing or reforming legal education. A great deal of attention—if writing, meetings and speech-making are indicia—was centred on the creation of 'development-oriented lawyers'. The model aspired to—the desired end-product of professional training properly conceived—was that of a multi-functional counsellor, drafter, negotiator and spokesman; an interdisciplinary research worker; an expert on 'legal engineering' and the structuring of organizational activity through rules; a person who could translate more abstract statements of social policy into concrete prescriptions embodied in the legislation, which, like blueprints, would structure such projects as an agricultural credit scheme, a land distribution programme or a state corporation to develop a meat industry. In like fashion, development-oriented lawyers (operating in the private sector) would help investors or progressive farmers or cooperatives or trade unions to use the legal system to further their own economic activities, which (it was assumed) were closely linked to the desired social goals of production and diffusion.

These general assumptions and aspirations led other legal specialists, more scholarly inclined, towards development-oriented research. Some of this work was immediately pragmatic and instrumental. Was a particular law being used? Was it properly understood and applied? Where were the ambiguities and lacunae? Other research was of a baseline variety. What were the familial and/or land-tenure customs in a particular community? How did they present social obstacles to the realization of more modern modes of behaviour which might be prescribed by new legal structures? But as the development decade wore on—as there was a waning of faith in developmental aspirations only recently affirmed—more and more law-oriented researchers turned to research which began, in one way or another, to question the basic assumptions which had influenced so much to the earlier, essentially instrumental work of the decade.

Evaluating experience: some lessons learned

Some of this critical scholarship was historical. Just as other social scientists traced continuities between various sectors of the political economy of colonial states and the post-colonial state, so did law-oriented scholars. They showed how western legal structures had been imposed—and used—to further the ends of various colonial policies and how those people and interests who became powerful (or remained so) after independence were able to fashion and use colonial law (like other inherited structures, e.g., in education) as well as other, more recently imported, legal institutions to their own particular advantage but often at some apparent social cost to those less advantaged. Other studies examined particular structures which were supposed to be important vehicles of development.

Three categories of these kinds of sociolegal studies are summarized below:

1. Studies on the significance of law in the organization, management and accountability of public enterprises;
2. Studies on the significance of law in the administration of state-controlled resources; and
3. Studies on lawyers, legal professions and professional legal education in Third World countries.

The approaches used to examine these diverse subjects have varied. Some scholars studied the 'transferability' of western legal structures and investigated 'gaps' between the imported laws as these were expressed in 'the books' (e.g., as statutes) and the laws as they ap-

peared to exist 'in action'. Some studied defects or weaknesses in the structure created by the use of western laws—e.g., recurring, deviant behaviour or organizational defects in bureaucracies which affect their performance. Some studied elements in the social context, e.g., the kinds of classes or groups, and their biases, which tended to control or influence the actual workings (as opposed to the legal projections) of a particular social structure (e.g., a particular developmental agency or a legal profession). Some studied the social impact of particular institutions (such as a public corporation) and sought to determine the influence of legal doctrines and rules and legal actors on the design and management of the institution, the influence of law on decision-making and the effects of these decisions on different segments of society. While the approaches varied, the findings of these different kinds of studies have tended to reinforce each other.

Studies of public enterprises often showed the importance of these institutions as vehicles of economic policy-making and development administration, notably as exploiters, producers or distributors of important resources. The legal instruments (e.g., statutes or charters) used to create these enterprises, to endow their directors and managers with entrepreneurial powers and to provide for governmental regulation of their activities have all too frequently reflected an uncritical adoption of western (e.g., British) legal models of public corporation: they reflect an effort to balance, very subtly, powers akin to the autonomy enjoyed by a private corporation with powers of central (e.g., ministerial) supervision and ultimate accountability to Parliament (where one existed). Whatever the merits of these laws for European countries, their use in many Third World countries has resulted in the creation of critical centres of economic and political power, of semi-autonomous institutions which are subject to little, if any, ultimate popular control or legal accountability through the courts to the many people whom they are created to serve—particularly to the rural or urban poor, who may be very much affected by the choices made by the high level, entrenched bureaucracies which manage these organizations. Thus, public enterprises may formulate or influence the design and implementation of strategies of investment (including foreign investment) or the production or allocation of important goods and services—strategies which emphasize economic growth, commercial agriculture or exploitation of natural resources, strategies which (as other studies of political economy now indicate) produce a skewed distribution of wealth and power and sometimes dissipate environmental heritages. Some public enterprises may enter into agreements for joint enterprise activities with foreign concerns; they make 'private' (often secret) 'contracts', which may have all the effect of legislation in allocating scarce public assets—though they are rarely subject to legislative scrutiny. Similarly, inherited colonial law provides few bases for seeking judicial reviews of enterprise decisions. Thus, irrespective of intention, the laws governing public enterprise in fact work to enhance the uncontrolled, discretionary power of the officials who run them or the ministry which controls them. In a sense, they work to create a new class of power-wielders, insulated from the mass of the people and from regulatory scrutiny, linked to dominant groups in the political economy.

A second category of studies has gone beyond public enterprise to examine other kinds of state structures which also administer resources vital to human well-being and development—e.g., ministries and other bodies

which allocate goods and services essential to food production, health, child care, education and social insurance. The International Center for Law in Development recently sponsored a series of regional and international workshops on this subject. As stated in a report on these meetings:

> In much of the Third World (as elsewhere) state control over production and allocation of resources essential to human well-being is expanding. At the same time, human needs for food, habitat, health care and education are growing, and resources to meet these needs are increasingly allocated inequitably, so that the conditions of life for many—the rural and urban poor—are deteriorating in both relative and absolute terms. Not only the economic gap, but the political gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots' widens—even as public power over the production and distribution of goods and services is theoretically enlarged. The workshops sought explanations for these social trends by devising ways to examine characteristics of the structures through which the state manages resources—the institutions, actors and processes, and the norms which create and guide them—and the social context within which these structures are created and within which they operate.

The report hypothesized various kinds of explanations, e.g., explanations rooted in the political economy of the resource, in the characteristica of the bureaucracy which controlled it and in the 'access relations' between economically and politically disadvantaged groups and the structures of resource administration. But the report also suggested that gaps and failures in the law and legal system might provide explanations:

> 1. *Law and obligations to satisfy human needs.* The legislation, subsidiary rules and other official norms which guide both architects and administrators of these programs fail to emphasize development oriented towards the satisfaction of basic human needs, and this failure affects the way discretionary powers are exercised, the content of allocational decisions and the social impact of the programme.
> 2. *Law and obligations to provide access to and participation in resource administration.* The law fails to provide for (or encourage search for new means of) participation by affected groups in institutions which administer the programme, or for processes to enable and encourage their access to decision-makers; these cumulative failures affect bureaucratic perceptions of 'problems' and issues posed for decision of 'needs' to be satisfied in the exercise of their discretionary powers and their allocational decisions.
> 3. *Creation of structures for review and access to the resource of law.* The law and the administrative system fail to provide institutions and procedures which enable affected persons or groups to use the law to dispute the legitimacy of bureaucratic decisions regarding the allocation of resources. They fail to supply adequate resources (e.g., technical assistance or knowledge) to enable the poor and the disadvantaged in particular to challenge ways in which the programmes are administered; conversely, the system for allocating legal services (through a 'free' unregulated private market) enables the more advantaged groups to secure intermediaries and thus gain superior access to and influence upon those administering the programme.

A third group of sociolegal studies was focussed on lawyers, their recruitment, training and professional organization; their tasks, roles and power in various social sectors; their importance as essential intermediaries for those who seek access to courts or other authorities and the demographic distribution of these services; their significance as guardians of the legal system, protagonists of human rights and the accountability of power-wielders to neutral, just, legal principles; their relationship to other 'élite' groups or the

emerging class structure and centres of power in the political economy; their impact as a distinct group on patterns of access to resources and resource allocation.

The original design of many of these studies was influenced by modernization theory and paradigms, by western (e.g., Parsonian) models of the profession and by assumptions about the special 'roles' of lawyers in the development process as architects of structural change. The claim was frequently made that the traditional skills ascribed to lawyers (analysis, communication, advocacy, counselling, arbitration, mediation and negotiation) could and should be employed, in the public interest, in a wide variety of institutional settings—to help to prepare important social legislation (lawyer as draftsman) or to work for some commission of inquiry (lawyer as investigator) or to structure a joint venture agreement with a foreign investor (lawyer as planner) or to secure the rule of law. It was also often assumed that just as national systems of education could be planned to serve developmental, human resource needs, so could legal education create the competence required.

These assumptions are now challenged. While research on the legal professions in different Third World countries has been differently designed to reflect different approaches and while the professions studied vary widely in terms of size, history and strength, a number of significant themes and perspectives emerge when this work is examined in the aggregate.

It is now possible to think more realistically about lawyers, legal systems, legal education and social change in Third World settings than did those who originally expounded 'law and development' aspirations and assumptions.

The emergence and development of legal professions and the actual roles of lawyers in society can best be understood by studying:

1. The historical development of legal professions in the context of specific political and economic changes such as relationships between the emergence of lawyers as a significant, élite, occupational group and the emergence of other economic and political élite groups; relationships between changes in modes of production and economic structures, on the one hand, and the work of lawyers and their impact on legal development, on the other;
2. The growth of different markets for lawyer services as a result of various economic activities (e.g., the cocoa industry in West Africa, settler, commercial agriculture in East Africa, international investments in all regions) and the gravitation of the most influential lawyers to the most lucrative of these markets;
3. The means by which lawyers—despite their ostensible professional autonomy—have often been controlled, co-opted, manipulated by governments and the continuing influence of these experiences;
4. The employment and tasks of private lawyers, which are largely based on transactions in the 'modern', commercial sector or within affluent families and which tend to serve a narrow range of interests and people;
5. The employment and tasks of public lawyers and the ways in which their services and skills are often used to enhance unregulated, executive and bureaucratic control over public institutions of resource allocation at the cost of developing concepts of social accountability and public participation—particularly in respect of the interests of the poor—in the management of these bodies; and

6. How these and other trends contribute to differential capacity to invoke the law to defend or advance one's interests, hence to broadening social gaps between 'haves' and 'have nots' and to uneven distribution of the benefits of economic growth and to inequitable allocation of important resources.

Redesigning legal orders to reflect human needs strategies of development

Just as many economists discovered flaws in assumptions of the development decade, so did a growing (if still extremely small) number of lawyers interested in the relationship between law and development. And as the other social scientists began to stress concern with basic human needs, self-reliance, and participation, these lawyers began to question the earlier assumptions of the ideology of law and to focus attention on questions like: law for whose benefit, how administered and with what result? Critical evaluations of the present legal systems led to the conclusions that the systems were themselves in important ways the cause of unequal development and distribution. What was needed was a major restructuring of the system so that it would reflect and further the growing concern with the eradication of poverty, satisfaction of basic needs and involvement of the oppressed in programmes for their benefit, so that the law becomes a resource for the benefit of and the use by the disadvantaged. Law must broaden public participation and secure more genuine public controls over processes and institutions which allocate vital resources.

These new orientations were needed if the legal systems were to transcend the biases and limitations of the law as highlighted by the research discussed in the preceding section.

It would be misleading to say that other than a small number of lawyers (and social scientists with interest in law) have analysed law in these terms, or indeed even to suggest that there is coherent movement of any kind. At best there is dissatisfaction with the present system and stirrings towards a new order of legal relations. The International Centre for Law in Development (ICLD) is helping to give greater coherence to the striving for a better order through a series of projects which are concerned with the identification of legal obstacles to the realization of alternative development strategies like Another Development, ways to redesign law and legal systems to promote these goals, and transitional strategies to use existing legal systems to expose contradictions and social injustice in existing development policies. These projects embrace the study of both the domestic and the international legal systems. A brief description of these projects would help to indicate the orientation and the aspirations of the ICLD related group of scholars.

One of the ICLD projects seeks to identify ways by which the poor can use law as their resource to help them identify their needs and ways to secure the satisfaction of those needs. It focusses on participatory, self-help organizations of the rural poor, e.g., organizations of peasants which seek to force officials and powerful private bodies or persons (such as big landholders and employers of agricultural workers) to recognize and satisfy legally established rights of members of the organization. It will seek to examine ways in which law has been, and can be, used to further the objectives of these organizations—e.g., ways in which existing laws, legal knowledge, legal skills and related resources are (or could be) used: (a) to mobilize and further education within groups; (b) to develop the internal

structures and processes within these groups essential to their organization and functioning; (c) to legitimize the demands of these groups for particular resources (e.g., land) to satisfy human needs of their members; and (d) to strengthen group advocacy of these claims and to develop new modes of securing access to legal resources for these purposes.

Two other projects focus on the administration and management of public resources. One of them will focus on the *public control systems* which need to be developed or strengthened if communities are to secure the social accountability (defined not only in terms of answerability but also the commitment to basic needs) of public enterprises. The institutions selected for study are public enterprises which play major roles in providing goods or services directed towards the satisfaction of important human needs of disadvantaged groups. The case studies will examine the social impact of the programmes; the full range of governmental and non-governmental controls established to secure the social accountability of the public enterprise; and the relationships between different kinds of accountability controls.

The second project will go beyond public enterprise to examine other kinds of state structures which also administer resources essential to human well-being and development. This project will undertake case studies on the design and administration of different kinds of programmes of resource administration, e.g., programmes to provide land, housing, health care, and education. The studies will examine how distinctively legal factors (e.g., the content of relevant laws, the activities of legal specialists, and the character of different decision-making processes) influence the creation, design, administration or review of different kinds of programmes designed to bring benefits (e.g., land, housing, education, and health care) to different sectors of a polity.

The underlying assumption of the projects is that lawyers and policy-makers need to review critically the entire corpus of law which bears on public administration as it relates to development strategies. There is a need to examine the way the law is used to create public institutions (such as ministries of health or agricultural banks or cooperatives) and to endow officials in these institutions with powers; the way the law creates and allocates rights and obligations in the exercise of powers which affect the allocation of critical resources; and the extent to which the law establishes (or fails to establish) processes for decision-making, institutions for review and concepts of accountability. The concepts of Another Development provide some new criteria which one can use to criticize existing legal concepts and doctrine which informs this administrative law. In many Third World countries administrative law is neither endogenous nor responsive to the concerns of Another Development. It is, on the contrary, a colonial inheritance; its postulates and doctrines are, in many respects, geared to a different kind of political economy; it fails to recognize and address itself to the essential, interrelated goals of the satisfaction of human needs, self-reliance and participation.

The need for the restructuring of the international legal order has been highlighted by the debates about the New International Economic Order (NIEO) (without which Another Development at national levels is highly problematic). Among other objectives, NIEO calls for greater control by the Third World countries over their own economies as an essential step towards self-reliance, greater participation by them in decision making processes that affect their situation, and for standards of so-

cial accountability (and mechanisms for securing such accountability) which, across national boundaries, will apply to those who control and use resources essential to human well-being.

Even though the present system of international relations is mediated through and buttressed by the law, inadequate attention has been paid to the legal aspects of the achievement and maintenance of the NIEO.

Negotiations between North and South on various aspects of the NIEO programme are being conducted in a variety of international forums. The law has been deployed both in the process of negotiations in international arenas as well as in the structuring of the consensus reached through such negotiations, e.g. draft codes of conduct. However, at domestic/national level there remains considerable scope for the deployment of legal resources in pursuit (through local, national and regional action) of objectives such as the exercise of the right of national economic sovereignty over resources and production, and the ending of the drain of resources from the Third World to the industrialized countries.

Legal forms and institutions provide the framework through which a country can come to own, manage, administer and market its own resources. Law is brought into play not only in the process of transferring foreign ownership of *resources* into national hands but also in fashioning a framework for new forms of ownership, control and rights to the use of such resources—a framework which underscores the duty to take account of the basic needs (including access to supplies) of the people of the country and of other countries.

The transfer of ownership is these days scarcely enough to control the processes of production, for which technology may be said to be equally if not more important. Access to technology and social control over technology are crucial elements of the NIEO programme. Efforts at the international level seek to enhance support for technology development and adaptation in Third World countries. But quite apart from the development of technology, the NIEO programme calls for a fundamental reorientation of values, so that the concept of property in knowledge is changed. Initial steps in this direction seek reform of the world intellectual property system and the adoption of international codes of conduct with regard to knowledge transfers. But negotiations about technological and technical knowledge transfer and use at the global level must be grounded on national and regional programmes of action, if they are to be meaningful.

The objective of ending the drain of resources from the Third World to the industrialized countries can only be achieved if new patterns of trade are secured through North-South negotiations on two fronts—commodities and manufactures. So far as trade in primary commodities is concerned, the existing arrangements affecting the production, marketing and distribution of these commodities and levels and stability of commodity prices and export earnings reproduce the present inequality between the North and South. The changes that the Third World primary producing countries seek focus on control: control of production and processing, control of trading relations, control of prices.

In this area, as in the case of technology, progress must come through a combination of initiatives at the international, regional, and domestic levels. What is necessary is a proper understanding of how the present legal arrangements perpetuate and limit possibilities of autonomous development, so that one is pointed to better national regulations, alternative de-

signs for the international legal order, and better negotiating skills.

The ICLD's projects relating to the NIEO programme have so far been focused on the development, in the countries of the Third World, of legal resources that can contribute to national and regional (rather than international) strategies in pursuit of NIEO objectives. The programme that the ICLD is developing in this field is directed towards the following goals:

1. Reducing the dependency of Third World countries on external legal technocrats and negotiators by encouraging the development in such countries of training programmes that reflect national aspirations and priorities and that draw primarily upon the resources, experiences and expertise of the country itself;
2. Developing (from the experiences of different countries of the Third World) alternative transactional forms and contractual options that can be negotiated by the parties concerned at bilateral level;
3. Providing a means by which regional (e.g., South and Southeast Asian) perspectives on and experiences of collective self-reliance can be articulated in some of the NIEO negotiations being conducted in the international arenas; and
4. Assessing the impact of the policies and practices of international organizations on national policies and programmes of self-reliance and human development.

Another law

The redesigning of legal orders to conform to changes desired in the social order is seldom a mere matter of detail, a technical task easily achieved after political battles have been won and new policies introduced. Like systems of education or administration, many elements of a legal system may be deeply rooted in other historical and social phenomena in the same soil which breeds unyielding patterns of economic behaviour, primordial group loyalties and other cultural attitudes which may present obdurate obstacles to the realization of the goals of Another Development. Sociolegal studies, such as those noted above, show how laws and lawyers, legal institutions and processes can be used and manipulated—by those claiming justice—to thwart or deflect well intentioned development programmes intended to redistribute resources or political power. The operationalization of Another Development thus depends, to a considerable extent, on the redesigning of distinctively legal phenomena. The operationalization of Another Development is, to a considerable extent, a process which must be polity-specific and be developed through evolution, experience and the weighing of conflicting interests. While the task has so far been largely neglected, by both non-lawyers and lawyers, the need for new, creative thought and action in pressing for Another Law seems essential to the realization of Another Development.

News and Notes

SIPRI Statement to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament—The Danish Centre for Development Research—The Research Policy Program at Lund University—SAREC's Latin American Programme—Reforming UN Public Information

SIPRI Statement to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) was founded in 1966 by the Swedish Parliament to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace. Its funds are provided by the Swedish Parliament. SIPRI is an independent institute, its operations being the responsibility of an international Governing Board. The staff is also international and includes researchers from different social and political backgrounds. Both natural and social sciences are represented.

The Institute's policy is to study problems of peace and conflict pragmatically, selecting topics important to decision-makers in current international politics. To date, SIPRI has concentrated mainly on the problems of armaments and disarmament. This has entailed major studies on such topics as the resources spent for military activities, arms production, arms trade and new military technologies, chemical and biological warfare, regional conflict areas, the impact of the military on the environment, the nuclear arms race and nuclear proliferation. International efforts to bring about disarmament in these fields have been followed and analysed.

The full text of SIPRI's Statement to the Special Session on Disarmament is reprinted here as a follow-up to the section on 'Disarmament and Development' in DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE *(1977:1). It is also available in French, Spanish, Russian and Arabic translation from SIPRI, Sveavägen 166, S-11346 Stockholm, Sweden.*

Global militarization

The conclusion of the Partial Test Ban Treaty on 5 August 1963 can be regarded as a turning-point in post-World War II disarmament negotiations. Although its arms control value is low, the Treaty has been interpreted as the first proof, after years of the Cold War, that restrictions on the military activities of states can be agreed upon. It is fitting, therefore, to match the post-1963 developments in armaments against the hopes held at that time that the arms race would be brought under control. Moreover, by 1963, most of the large colonies had become independent and could themselves decide on their future military activities.

Since 1963 world military expenditures have increased by about 40 per cent, to reach the current figure of about $400 thousand million a year. The Third World share of the total has

increased from about 4 per cent in 1963 to about 15 per cent today.

In the past 15 years the world's armed forces have increased by nearly 30 per cent, to about 26 million persons. An even more serious waste of resources may be the waste of talent. Many of those engaged in military activities are highly skilled technicians and scientists.

Militarization has assumed a global character mainly due to the arms trade. Since 1963, the trade in major weapons—aircraft, missiles, armoured vehicles and ships—has increased more than fivefold. The bulk of these weapons were sold to Third World countries. And, since 1973, the arms trade has escalated, increasing at the unprecedented annual rate of 15 per cent.

More and more countries are producing their own weapons. Fifteen years ago only a handful of industrialized countries were weapon producers. Today about 50 countries —of which about one-half are in the Third World—are producing major weapons. Thus a constantly increasing number of nations are investing large amounts of resources in domestic arms industries at the expense of the civilian sectors of their economies.

Although about 80 per cent of military money is spent on conventional armaments and forces, the greatest single threat to mankind is that of nuclear war. In 1963, the nuclear arsenals contained bout 4 000 relatively primitive warheads. These were enough to destroy our civilization. But today, nuclear arsenals contain tens of thousands of sophisticated nuclear weapons, with a total nuclear explosive power equivalent to that of about one million Hiroshima bombs.

Qualitative improvements in nuclear weapons continue virtually without restraint. Between the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the end of 1977, 629 nuclear explosions were carried out, mainly to improve the efficiency of nuclear weapons. The nuclear-weapon powers party to the Treaty are responsible for 86 per cent of these explosions. The rate of testing has been much higher after the Treaty than before it (45 per year as against 25 per year, on average).

The capability to produce nuclear weapons is spreading world-wide through peaceful nuclear programmes. In 1963 only nine countries had significant peaceful nuclear programmes. Today the number is nearly 30.

Militarization does not stop with the Earth's land mass. The oceans and outer space are becoming increasingly militarized. Since 1963, 1 536 satellites serving military purposes and representing an important part of the qualitative arms race have been launched into space. This number is about 75 per cent of all satellites launched. So far as the marine environment is concerned, in 1963 less than a dozen nuclear-powered submarines, for example, were operated by the world's navies. Today there are more than 250 such submarines.

The adverse effects of warfare and other military activities on the human environment are generally incidental to the many activities associated with maintaining armies. In some wars, however, they can be an intentional and integral component of the military strategy being used. There is a noticeable trend for modern warfare to become increasingly destructive of the environment. Man may soon be able to manipulate certain forces of nature. If these abilities were to be employed for hostile purposes, their environmental impact could be disastrous.

No one can be sure that mankind would, in the long term, survive a general nuclear war.

New approach to disarmament

The arms control treaties now in force have had little or no effect on the military potential of states. The choice of measures adopted has been haphazard. In several cases, the outlawed activities have never even been seriously considered as methods of war. It is now obvious that the method of negotiating small, unrelated steps cannot produce meaningful arms reductions. Insignificant restraints are bound to lag behind the rising levels of armaments and advances in military technology. SIPRI is convinced that a new approach is required.

We have in mind an integrated approach to disarmament, as opposed to piecemeal arms control. Large 'packages' of measures—comprising quantitative reductions and qualitative restrictions to be carried out simultaneously—should be negotiated. This would allow a margin for any trade-offs necessary to take into account the different security needs of states. The wider the range of weapons covered, the greater would be the value of each package. Nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (particularly chemical warfare agents) must obviously have top priority. But it seems important to us that conventional disarmament should proceed in parallel—not only because conventional armaments account for the bulk of world military expenditures, but also because the very possession of nuclear weapons has been justified by a perceived need to deter aggression started with conventional weapons. Indeed, conventional armed conflict might well escalate into a nuclear war.

Quantitative reductions and qualitative limitations should be accompanied by restrictions on the production, deployment and transfer of weapons. The significance of arms control packages would be further enhanced if they provided for prohibitions of certain specific categories of weapons. Undertakings not to use certain means of warfare might also usefully be included since there is less incentive to develop or maintain weapons with an uncertain future. Cuts in military budgets could be linked to cuts in arms manufacture or other military activities.

The integrated approach places the main emphasis on multilateral negotiations involving all militarily important states, and all participants should be prepared to make certain equitably balanced contributions to disarmament. But the integrated approach is not incompatible with bilateral talks dealing with the US-Soviet arms race or with regional disarmament negotiations, which should be encouraged.

The use of force in international relations should be abolished by eliminating the instruments of war. But complete world-wide disarmament would require an adequate international security system—a workable machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective peace-keeping arrangements. Our approach of integrated disarmament measures would facilitate the creation of such a security system.

The Danish Centre for Development Research

The Centre for Development Research in Copenhagen, Denmark is a relatively small research institution, which has over the years specialized in a few areas. As well as participating in research projects, it endeavours to cooperate with all development research in Denmark in the social sciences. This is done through the formation of study circles, working groups, editorial committees for the Danish language quarterly *Den Ny Verden* and by arranging seminars and workshops.

The Centre is working in four programme areas: rural development, the situation of women in Third World countries, technological development in the Third World, and the relations between industrialized and Third World countries. In all of these areas it has entered into close cooperation with research institutes in the Third World, and in some cases with central or regional authorities. Over time, a number of principles for this cooperation have evolved.

First of all, the work of Danish researchers should be fully integrated into the activities of the partner institution. A mutually agreed working plan for the research must be drawn up, specifying the main tasks and the expected outputs and leaving room for the researchers to take part in other activities at the partner institution or authority, e.g. to undertake short-term research assignments.

Cooperative arrangements in rural development research have been entered into with Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique, India and Bangladesh. This rural research has a focus on rural changes in an area perspective and is based on extensive field work by the researchers involved, in some cases leading to the formulation of local development plans.

In the area of relations between industrialized and Third World countries, projects on the UNDP and on the industrial aspects of the cooperation between the EEC and the ACP countries are in process. A new project on the agricultural development of Africa and the EEC will be launched in mid-1979. Finally, a working group with the participation of researchers from a number of Danish research institutes has been formed to support a later project on the regulation of the activities of the transnational corporations in the Third World.

With regard to technological development, the Centre has undertaken research in East Africa and is now seeking cooperation with institutes in India in order to launch joint projects on the technology policy of India.

The position of women in the Third World has been the theme of a number of research projects at the Centre, in particular in relation to Kenya. New projects, e.g. on the effect of drinking water projects on women, will be started in 1979.

The Centre has a well-equipped research library, primarily supporting its own projects, but also extensively used by all development researchers in Denmark. The library publishes a number of bibliographies, and the librarian has embarked on a major bibliographical project on 'Kenya in the Social Sciences' in cooperation with institutes in Kenya.

The provisional results of the research are published in English in cyclostyled reports. A series of books will be started in 1979, published by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala, Sweden.

The address of the Centre for Development Research is 7–9 Ewaldsgade, DK-2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark (phone 01. 39 56 00)

The Research Policy Program at Lund University

There are few areas in the 'science-technology-society' complex that have not been studied by the Research Policy Program (RPP) at the University of Lund in southern Sweden, during its 12 years of existence. Founded largely on the personal initiative of Stevan Dedijer, a Yugoslav-born physicist-cum-social scientist, the Program has attracted researchers from many parts of the world.

Current research is centered around three general themes:

1. Science, technology and society in Sweden and other industrialized countries;
2. Technology and science in Third World countries; and
3. 'Social intelligence', the most recent phase of development in the analysis of the knowledge industry.

The first theme is investigated in a number of different ways. On the one hand, there is a project underway that is attempting to identify the key elements in the technology system, a sociological study of how the technology production system functions in several sectors in society. There are also smaller projects concentrating on the 'politicization' of science and technology in Scandinavia, that try to locate the special conditions of small, industrialized countries.

The second theme, which has, at the present time, become the dominant theme at the program, has three central elements. One comprises comparative studies of science and technology policy in selected Asian countries, which is being carried out by the new Director of the Research Policy Program, Jon Sigurdson. Another project concerns development strategies in Latin America, comparing the role of technology in development strategies in Cuba, Peru and Brazil. The third project is an investigation of the social of the transfer of technology.

Researchers at, and associated with, the Research Policy Program have, as a result of their interest in relations between technology and development, followed closely the preparations for the 1979 United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTED). RPP has held seminars and conferences, bringing together international experts who have also followed UNCSTED preparations, and who share, with the researchers at RPP, the foreboding that the Conference will not get at the real obstacles and constraints to development-oriented science and technology. RPP also publishes the *Lund Letter on Science, Technology and Basic Human Needs* which has attempted to monitor and provide a forum for debate around the preparations for UNCSTED.

The third area of current research interest at RPP concerns social intelligence, a term coined some years ago by Stevan Dedijer to connote a more action-oriented knowledge gathering, which Dedijer sees as characteristic of the most recent period of social development. Theoretical papers and historical case studies have been produced by Dedijer, and others, around this theme, as well as course and seminar acitivity.

The wide range of interests of RPP researchers and affiliated colleagues has contributed to the high quality of the library, which with its more than 10,000 books and an equal number of articles and offprints, is perhaps the leading 'science-technology-society' library in Sweden. In recent years, RPP has had documentation grants from SAREC—the Swedish

Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries—to develop further the library in the area of 'science and technology for development'.

A few years ago a publication programme was initiated to facilitate communication of research results from the RPP. Besides the *RPP Library Acquisitions List* (quarterly) and the earlier mentioned *Lund Letter* (6–7 issues per year) the publication scheme includes three categories: discussion papers, offprints and bibliographies, all three categories reflecting the research interests of the RPP.

As examples of titles the following can be mentioned: *Mini Cement Plants* (J Sigurdson), *La Reforma Agraria en Peru 1969–1975* (T Alberts), *Foreign Investment and Technology: the case of Swedish manufacturing subsidiaries in Brazil* (C Brundenius), and *Social Carriers of Technology for Development* (C Edquist, O Edqvist). All in the Discussion Paper Series.

In the Offprint series the following titles may be mentioned: *The Commune as a Technological System: Notes on Hua-Tung Commune* (W Morehouse), *Research Groups and the Academic Research Organization* (R Stankiewicz), *Knowledge Industry in the Third World* (S Dedijer), *On the Politicization of Energy in Denmark and Sweden* (A Jamison), *Rural Industrialization in China: Approaches and Results* (J Sigurdson), *Industrial Standardization in the People's Republic of China* (E Baark).

Among bibliographies, finally, the following are worth mentioning: *Science and Technology for Development: International Conflict and Co-operation*. Vol. 1–3 (C Morehouse), *India and China: Technology & Science in Development* (A Ahmad, R Hsu).

A complete list of publications is available from the Research Policy Program, University of Lund, Magistratsvägen 55 N, S-222 44 Lund, Sweden.

SAREC's Latin American Programme

SAREC, the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, is a public agency established in 1975. Its principal objective is to advise the Swedish Government and the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA, on assistance to be given to research institutions in Third World countries and research on development problems within international organizations. SAREC is governed by a board composed of ten University and Government representatives. The SAREC secretariat is composed of a General Secretary, 10 research officers and administrative staff. Its overall budget for the fiscal year July 1978–June 1979 amounts to 100 million Swedish kronor, i.e. about 22 million dollars.

SAREC's task in Swedish co-operation for development is to assist countries of the Third World to obtain better access to the results of international research and, above all, to increase their own research capacity. In direct cooperation with some countries receiving Swedish aid—so-called 'programme countries'—SAREC gives support for efforts at promoting a development-oriented research policy and for improving the working conditions for researchers in these countries, e.g. by open-ended support to national research plan-

ning agencies. SAREC is, however, not restricted only to collaboration with Swedish aid programme countries.

Most Swedish development assistance has tended to concentrate on programme countries, most of them being in Africa and Asia. Vietnam, India and Tanzania are among the main recipient countries. The criteria for selecting 'programme countries' is officially, that the country in question should strive for socio-economic development, equalization, independence and democracy.

For both historical, economic and political reasons, little Swedish development aid has been going to Latin American countries. The only notable exceptions have been Chile during the Popular Unity Government and Cuba. However, aid to Chile was interrupted after the military coup in September 1973. Aid to Cuba, according to a parliamentary decision, is to be gradually replaced by new forms of cooperation including commercial, cultural and scientific exchange programme. A programme for research cooperation between Sweden and Cuba has been initiated after discussions between the Cuban National Science Council (CECT) and SAREC. So far, it covers four fields of cooperation: oncology, ecology, informatics and oceanology.

SAREC's principal objective is thus to contribute to *building research capacity* in countries of the Third World. However, under certain circumstances it is at least as important to contribute to a better utilization or maintenance of existing capacity or, still more, to *prevent the destruction* of research capacity. Clearly the latter objective is becoming more important under present cirumstances in some parts of Latin America where the political conditions make the continuation of important development research efforts extremely difficult.

SAREC has argued that Sweden can best contribute to building or preventing the destruction of research capacity by promoting programmes of *regional or sub-regional cooperation* in the field of development research. An example is the support given by SAREC to the Latin American Council for Social Sciences, CLACSO. SAREC does not have the administrative capacity to provide individual scholars with research grants. Some of these are being catered for by CLACSO's scholarship programmes.

Similarly, the Central American University Council, CSUCA, based in Costa Rica, is being supported for its social science research programme. A regional research programme into population problems in Latin America, PISPAL, has been supported by Sweden for some years.

SEPLA, the permanent seminar on Latin America, based in Mexico with a group of prominent researchers in exile also receives a grant from Sweden. The same applies ILET, the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies in Mexico.

Support is furthermore given to researchers who have been forced to emigrate from their countries of origin or work. Some of the research institutions in Mexico supported by Sweden falls into this category.

In addition, although only exceptionally, support has been given to research efforts of exiled Latin American researchers in European countries, who work under very difficult economic circumstances. Latin American researchers in Sweden can compete with Swedish researchers for research grants that are distributed annually among Swedish research institutions.

The *Southern Cone Programme* is part of a recent effort to assist independent national research centres whose traditional academic

freedom is threatened. Thus support is given to research centres that are deemed capable of maintaining and developing their research activities despite adverse political conditions. More often than not such research has to be carried out by research centres outside the traditional university structure.

Among the institutes thus supported by SAREC are CEBRAP, the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning in Sao Paulo, which since 1969 has been undertaking important interdisciplinary research into the functioning of the Brazilian society. Another independent research center is CEDES in Buenos Aires, where an interdisciplinary research group carries out research into problems of economic development and social structure in Argentina. In Argentina, ad-hoc support has also been given to the *Bariloche Foundation* to enable it to finalize reports on ongoing research projects in the natural and social sciences.

In Chile support is given to the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, FLACSO, which being an international organization, has been able to continue its task as an independent research institution in spite of the difficult situation in this country. In Uruguay a research grant has been provided to CINVE, the Centre for Economic Research.

These programmes taken together represent an annual Swedish contribution of about eight million Swedish kronor, i.e. about 2 million dollars or eight per cent of SAREC's annual budget.

SAREC's Latin American programme has now been evaluated. Different ways of continuing the present programmes and introducing new ones are being discussed with representatives of the Latin American research community and a proposal for continued and somewhat increased cooperation is now being put forth by SAREC to the Swedish government.

Claes Croner

Reforming UN Public Information

A seminar on 'The Basic Principles of United Nations Public Information Policy: Proposals for Reform and Problems of Their Implementation' was held at the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre, Uppsala, July 4 to 6, this year. We are printing below the full text of the Summary Conclusions.

Introduction

The seminar was convened by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation at the suggestion of the Information Divisions of the Nordic Development Agencies and the Nordic UN Associations. Its aim was to assist a working group, which was set up in 1976 by the above-mentioned eight Nordic units for the purpose of reviewing the information policies and activities of the United Nations in preparation for the discussion on item 103 of the preliminary List of Items for the 33rd session of the UN General Assembly ('The United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities'). It was also organized with a view to exploring the public information needs and obligations in connection with the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system.

In spite of the great changes in the world political and economic situation and the unforeseen technical developments, e.g. in the field of dissemination of information, that have taken place since the founding of the United Nations Organization, the structures and strategies governing the public information activities of the Organization have remained basically unchanged.

The importance of public information was described by the Secretary-General in 1966 in the following words: '... the ultimate strength of the organization and its capacity to promote and achieve the objectives for which it has been established lie in the degree to which its aims and activities are understood and supported by the peoples of the world. In this sense, a purposeful and universal programme of public information is, in fact, a programme of implementation—an essential part of the substantive activities of the organization.'

This statement by the then Secretary-General is even more valid today, when the Organization is committed to work for the New International Economic Order. If this work—which demands basic changes in the habits and attitudes of the public in member countries—is to achieve its objectives, it needs the support of efficient public information programmes and comprehensive schemes of development education.

This fact was recently recognized also by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in its report on 'Public information activities in the United Nations System' (E/AC. 51/48), which stated that UN organizations are 'now involved in public information functions of two quite distinct kinds,' namely:

1. a first group of functions, which are of a more continuing traditional nature, involving the coverage of activities and events in order to assist the communications media, news agencies, various information outlets and interested groups around the world in their reporting about the work of the United Nations system; and
2. a second group of functions recently entrusted to the public information services of the United Nations system and of immediate and direct concern to both the Member States and their peoples, namely, the information and educational activities stemming from the great issues that have recently become the major pre-occupations of the international community and are increasingly being debated in international forums both inside and outside the United Nations system.

Outside the UN system, the need for a new information and communication structure has been formulated more distinctly. It has been stressed that citizens have a right to inform and be informed—in other words, the right to communicate. This right to communicate includes information about the facts of development, its inherent conflicts and the changes it will bring about locally and internationally. The *widening of the capacity to inform* must be viewed as an essential component of the attempts to create a New International Economic Order.*

Passive and active information

The distinction made between *passive* conference- or event-related information work and the 'second group of functions', the more *active*, dynamic, issue-related style of work, which aims at stimulating and inducing movement in established public opinion, is of fundamental importance for the establishment of a new information order. It involves the abandonment of the authoritarian centre-to-periphery modes of dissemination and the creation of structures that permit the participation and involvement of bodies outside the UN. The stimulus provided by the UN's active information work should provoke an active response. This is particularly important, since passive information work does not induce the constant and critical review of values necessary in order to bring about awareness and to mobilize public opinion.

Active information work means, to take a few examples, more meetings with journalists and other re-disseminators on a regional or sub-regional basis, more cooperaration with international and national NGOs, more personal contacts with local organizations, such as trade unions, religious communities, academic institutions, etc., and more continuous involvement with the existing national media in the different areas of the world, even those areas that suffer from political tension. It does not mean more

* See, for instance, the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report *(What Now: Another Development), Development Dialogue* (1975, 1/2), Uppsala, pp. 17–18, 'Information and the new international order,' *Development Dialogue* (1976:2), Uppsala, pp. 1–76, and *Reshaping the International Order*, New York, 1976, pp. 109–112.

pamphlets posted from the centre to the periphery and other types of one-way information flows.

Thus information would be more frank and open than hitherto, it would be inspiring and provocative rather than apologetic and defensive. The experience of the UN world conferences held in recent years on such global issues as environment, population, the human habitat, the status of women, and employment points the way ahead. The various forums and tribunes for non-governmental organizations and the various evanescent newspapers run at conferences by *ad hoc* coalitions of journalists indicate the effectiveness in information terms of participatory exercises. The way ahead lies in stimulating issue-related participation at all levels and in all parts of the world.

Overall aims and recommendations

Although the information policy laid down in 1946 leaves a wide margin for adaptation to changing needs in the field of public information, the work and structure of the Office of Public Information (OPI) have, with one exception, remained static. The exception is the creation of the Centre for Economic and Social Information (CESI) some ten years ago.

A vast proliferation of the information organs in the UN system, has, however, taken place in the past 30 years, along with the growth and diversification of the system itself. This has led to a situation in which there is no comprehensive policy of public information and in which the various public information operations do not support each other in promoting the common aims of the UN system.

This is particularly noticeable at a time when the UN General Assembly has committed the Organization to bringing about a New International Economic Order and to this end has begun to restructure the UN system so as to make it a more efficient tool in the service of economic and social development.

In order to strengthen UN public information so that it can meet the new requirements, the basic policy must be to encourage the information bodies of the UN system to be more dynamic and active. Thus, the overall aim of the public information activities of the system ought to be to stimulate and provoke people to continually question and review their value systems soas to facilitate the transition to the New International Economic Order and to promote a favourable climate for international co-operation.

The basic policy should distinguish even at the budgetary level between the active information work recommended above and the passive information work represented by, for instance, the press-release service.

The improvement of the UN public information system does not at the present stage depend on additional funds being made available to it. It should, however, be stressed that the *operational* resources allocated for public information are inadequate. As a large part of the OPI budget is used to carry out a number of tasks unconnected with public information,* a distinction should be made in the budget between allocations for public information and tasks undertaken by the OPI outside the field of public information and action taken accordingly.

In order to achieve the improvement needed, the OPI, together with other public information services in the UN system, should re-allocate funds and set new priorities for its work. Particular priority should be given to co-production projects. The concept of co-production illustrates with particular clarity the participatory nature of active information work. Co-production projects involve partnership with professional (publishers, TV- and film producers, free lances etc.) and/or non-governmental organizations. Thus they would (a) liberate the message from the inevitable constraints of an inter-governmental organization and reinforce its credibility; (b) make the message culturally more palatable to the receiver; and (c) improve the way in which it reaches target audiences. In these ways, the information may stimulate and activate the receiver to take greater interest in international co-operation and the work of the UN. This activating

* See the Joint Inspection Unit: 'Note on certain aspects of the work of the Office of Public Information (OPI)', Geneva, June 1975.

effect is particularly important when the receivers are re-disseminators, setting in motion a further participatory process.

The United Nations Information Centers, the only decentralized part of the OPI structure, ought to play a key role in this process. They are unable to do so at the moment, due to the total paucity of *operational* budgets. Funds should be re-allocated for their *operational* activities. These activities ought to be adapted to the needs of the regions and countries where they take place, drawing on the special knowledge of staff members from the area in question. This would also involve a review of the present geographical distribution of the UNICs.

The setting up of the Joint United Nations Information Committee (JUNIC) with the responsibility 'for developing a common United Nations information system covering all aspects of the activities of the organizations with special reference to the mobilization of public opinion in support of economic and social development' has been a step in the right direction. The JUNIC ought to be strengthened by pooling operational funds to enable it to undertake new co-ordinated types of project. An example might be additional, UN-system, joint financing of *Development Forum*.

In the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the UN system which is now under way, the importance of social and economic information has to be emphasized. A centre of social and economic information should be set up under the auspices of the newly established Office of the Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, entrusted with the task of disseminating, organizing and co-ordinating such information in a world-wide basis.

At present, the UN and its member governments lack an instrument that can undertake a continuous performance audit of the information system and report independently to the General Assembly. The establishment of such machinery, functioning somewhat like the institution of the *ombudsman*, should be explored.

The last major review of United Nations public information activities was made in the 1950s by a committee appointed by the Secretary-General. In response to profound world changes since that time and the subsequent need for renewal of the UN system, reviews such as the Jackson Capacity Study and the UN Restructuring Report have been undertaken and have started processes of change. These reviews and studies, however, did not comprise the field of public information. The time has come, therefore, to make a new public information survey, in order to find ways which will enable the UN system to cope with vitally important taks, such as the mobilization of public opinion in support of the New International Economic Order. The survey should be done by a professional, independent body from outside the United Nations in time for its recommendations to be taken into consideration in planning the development strategy for the 80s and beyond. The call for a survey should, however, under no circumstances be allowed to serve as a pretext for delaying immediate and obvious improvements in the existing system.

The role of the 'Third System'

The establishment of the New International Economic Order will not be achieved without the simultaneous evolution of a new world system of communications. This new order presupposes an enrichment of the information flow, reinforcing the horizontal processes and contributing to the democratization of information, i.e. giving a voice, in the international discussion, to those who are never or rarely heard, even when they are primarily affected by decisions taken in their names. In order to comply with its mandate, the United Nations information system should become active in the establishment of this new era of international communications and expand its activities beyond the present framework. It should, as recommended above, give priority to contacts, cooperation and coproduction projects with the 'Third System', a concept launched by the International Foundation of Development Alternatives. (By definition, the Third System in the international arena means popular movements, research institutions and committed individuals, whereas the intergovernmental organizations are called the 'First System' and the transnational corporations the 'Second System.')

In the past, it has been predominantly the industrialized world that has been the target of information material stemming from the UN information system. In the future, the task will be to transform the one-way flow of information into a two-way flow of communication and to help the people's organizations to become not simply recipients of information but, in equal measure, contributors and producers. In connection with the Third World, hitherto comparatively neglected, this will mean, *inter alia*, strengthening the relations of the UN information system with new Third World organizations, national, regional and inter-regional, in the field of communication. This will contribute to the reinforcement of south-south relations, promoting the effort of Third World journalists and institutions to decolonize information and culture and to protect fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The problems of establishing the telecommunications and other infrastructure that would promote the flow of information within the Third World and from the Third World to the industrialized countries —capitalist and socialist—including the financial and technical problems, should be studied and tackled, keeping in mind the primary political objective of democratizing the decision-making processes in the world today.

This would facilitate and help the establishment of a dialogue between the peoples of the world and enable the United Nations to mobilize world public opinion in the furtherance of its objectives of peace, disarmament and development.

List of participants

András Biró *(Mazingira)*, Lars Eriksson (Swedish UN Association), Irene Hirsch Labreveux *(El Sol,* Mexico), Bo Kärre (SIDA), Kika Mølgaard (DANIDA), Hilkka Pietilä (Finnish UN Association), Chakravarti Raghavan (Inter Press Service) and Leif Vetlesen (NORAD). Resource persons: Ernst Michanek (SIDA), Jørgen Milwertz (CESI) and Peter Stone *(Development Forum)*.

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation staff: Sven Hamrell and Olle Nordberg.

Observer: Birger Halldén (United Nations Information Centre for the Nordic Countries).

The participants listed above attended the seminar in their personal capacities. Organizational affiliation is given for identification purposes only.

Report from Swaneng Hill

Education and Employment in an African Country

By Patrick van Rensburg

In this book, Patrick van Rensburg describes his attempt to pioneer in Botswana a programme of secondary education appropriate to an emerging African country with a per capita income of about £35 per year. The search for measures to implement this aim met with some success, but it also revealed that questions which were ostensibly educational had vital social, economic and political dimensions: this realization led the author to doubt whether some of the aims he had set for his school could in fact be achieved by schools. Although he concludes that education cannot by itself bring about social change, and that effective educational reforms require prior changes in the socio-economic system, he nevertheless believes that much can be done to combine programmes of employment/creation and education, and that work in this field can help promote social change. Models of such employment-oriented educational programmes are described and discussed in detail.

Published in 1974 by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala

235 p., appendixes, tables Price: 20 Sw.kr.

Copies may be ordered from Almqvist & Wiksell, P.O. Box 62, S-101 20 Stockholm or from Wildwood House Ltd, 29 King Street, London WC2E 8JD, England (for distribution within UK, Africa and the Commonwealth; price £1.95)

Some publications of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries. Edited by Lars-Olof Edström, Renée Erdos and Roy Prosser. Uppsala, 1970. 379 pp. Price: 68 Sw.kr.

Sovereignty, Aggression and Neutrality. Three lectures by Hans Blix. Uppsala, 1970. 64 pp. Price: 21.25 Sw.kr.

The Image of the Developing Countries: An Inquiry into Swedish Public Opinion. By Stig Lindholm. Uppsala, 1971. 100 pp. Price: 21.25 Sw.kr.

Nutrition: A Priority in African Development. Edited by Bo Vahlquist. Uppsala, 1972. 228 pp. Price: 51 Sw.kr.

Technical Assistance Administration in East Africa. Edited by Yashpal Tandon. Uppsala, 1973. 212 pp. Price: 29.75 Sw.kr.

The Treaty Maker's Handbook. Edited by Hans Blix and Jirina H. Emerson. Uppsala, 1973. 355 pp. Price: 90 Sw.kr.

Appointment with the Third World. Experts and Volunteers in the Field: Their Work, Life and Thoughts. By Stig Lindholm. Uppsala, 1974. 144 pp. Price: 25.50 Sw.kr.

Report from Swaneng Hill: Education and Employment in an African Country. By Patrick van Rensburg. Uppsala, 1974. 235 pp. Price: 20 Sw.kr. (UK and Commonwealth only: Wildwood House Ltd, 29 King Street, London WC2E 8JD. Price: £1.95)

Outer Limits and Human Needs: Resource and Environmental Issues of Development Strategies. Edited by William H. Matthews. Uppsala, 1976. 102 pp. Price: 45 Sw.kr.

The above publications may be ordered from Almqvist & Wiksell, P. O. Box 62, S-101 20 Stockholm. The publications below are available only from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation direct:

The Story of a Seminar in Applied Communication. Edited by Andreas Fuglesang. Uppsala, 1973. 142 pp. Price: air mail 35 Sw.kr., surface mail 25 Sw.kr.

Applied Communication in Developing Countries. By Andreas Fuglesang. Uppsala, 1973. 124 pp. Price: air mail 40 Sw.kr., surface mail 30 Sw.kr.

Action for Children: Towards an Optimum Child Care Package in Africa. Edited by Olle Nordberg, Peter Phillips and Göran Sterky. Uppsala, 1975. 238 pp. Price: air mail 40 Sw.kr., surface mail 30 Sw.kr.

Doing Things Together: Report on an Experience in Communicating Appropriate Technology. By Andreas Fuglesang. Uppsala, 1977. 108 pp. Price: air mail 40 Sw.kr., surface mail 30 Sw.kr.

Film-making in Developing Countries 1: The Uppsala Workshop. Edited by Andreas Fuglesang. Uppsala, 1975. 123 pp. Price: air mail 40 Sw.kr., surface mail 30 Sw.kr.

Film-making in Developing Countries 2: Highlights from a Film Workshop. Executive producer: Bo-Erik Gyberg. 16 mm b&w film, 16 minutes. Price: 500 Sw.kr.

Another Development: Approaches and Strategies. Edited by Marc Nerfin with contributions by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Krishna Ahooja-Patel, Jacques Berthelot, Johan Galtung, Paul Singer and Bolivar Lamounier, Cynthia Hewitt de Alcantara, Rajni Kothari, Sergio Bitar, Ahmed Ben Salah. Uppsala, 1977. 265 pp. Price: air mail 90 Sw.kr., surface mail 80 Sw.kr.