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AGRICULTURAL REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE PERSPECTIVE AND TEN THEMES

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# AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A GENERAL THEORY AND TEN THESES

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## 1. Introduction

1. Man lives by bread, it is often the countryside, by means of agriculture that bread comes to him and keeps him alive. In a just society the peasants who bring life to man should be the objects of gratitude, of prestige, perhaps even the subjects of power and privilege - yet, it is in the countryside of certain countries most of the extreme misery, even starvation is found.<sup>(1)</sup> Historically it certainly was not always like that. But today "agrarian reform and rural development" is discussed by city-based people as a problem that have to solve for "them": whereas an expedient for urban reform and development, run by country-based people, actually might take more care, given the primary role played by what is, simply, referred to as the primary sector.<sup>(2)</sup> How would urban people react if peasants started "reforming" them?

2. But man does not live by bread alone, man has other needs, and one reason for the disaster of the cities is rooted in their inability to produce for, and meet, some of these other needs. Thus, the most basic need of man is simply to keep alive and as a minimum not to die as the victim of direct violence.<sup>(3)</sup> The basic formula behind feudalism, protection in return for taxation, was taken over by the modern state with its center in one city, the capital - whether one would agree that the system produces security or not. Further, Stadtluft macht frei, the old slogan of the Middle Ages: in the cities individual freedom could be obtained. For the cities produced certain types of culture, first for the bourgeoisie, later for the masses, in quantities and varieties that had some relevance for the identity of the citizens, whether they were citizens in the sense of living in the city, or of belonging to the nation as a whole. Above all, the cities became the sites for industrial production and for trade on a scale unknown before; a place where bureaucrats were building the state as an organization, capitalists their corporations and intellectuals/researchers produced knowledge and culture.<sup>(4)</sup>

## 11. Basic human needs and rural development

3. To explore this further from a development, and not only general historical, point of view some idea of basic needs is indispensable: provided one agrees that development is development of human beings,<sup>(5)</sup> which in turn means meeting, and developing further, human needs. In other words, rural development is something that happens in the countryside so that human beings develop. It should never be identified with such factors as agricultural output (production), output:input ratios ("efficiency", eg. per unit of land, capital, fertilizer, research - or "productivity", ie. per unit of labor), employment ratios, volume traded, market shares, profit on national and international markets. Rising and high values of these indicators may be signs that things are moving in the right direction, but <sup>(6)</sup> may also be the opposite - that depends on the structure and distribution formulas. At most these are the means, the instruments productive of development - although they also can be counter-productive. For they do not stand for basic human needs as such. At best they represent satisfiers-such as grain- of such needs, and the question is whether they reach the human beings most in need. But they may also represent rather irrelevant entities such as cereals, grown on good farmland, not good for meeting any basic human need.<sup>(7)</sup> At worst agricultural production may be directly anti-human (not only indirectly in the sense of opportunity costs, of basic needs units lost): habit-forming drugs, cancer-producing tobacco etc. are also parts of agricultural production. Hence, we reject all these economic indicators.

4. We shall mean by a basic human need something human beings cannot do without, in their own judgment.<sup>(8)</sup> without suffering basic degradation as human beings. Meeting these needs are necessary conditions for unfolding as human beings. The needs vary from one social formation to another, in time and space, with age, sex and social position. The need universals are probably few and trivial, and even there it is only the need-dimension, not the quantity of need-satisfier that might be said to be universal. Needs can to some extent be classified as material or non-material, depending on the nature of the need-satisfier or whether they affect more the human body or the human mind, -- needless to say, such distinctions should never be drawn sharply and one might often better talk about material and

non-material components. But given this distinction it may be fruitful to subdivide the material needs further into needs for security and for welfare, the latter comprising such well-known needs as the needs for food and water (and air), for clothing and shelter, for medical services and schooling, for transport and communication, and for a minimum of comfort (eg labor-saving devices as a protection against dirty, heavy, degrading, boring and dangerous work). And the non-material needs may be subdivided into needs for identity and for freedom. (For a general list of suggestions about what this may imply, see Appendix 1). From that list some non-material needs are of particular significance for any discussion of rural development:

- for self-expression, creativity, praxis, work (as distinct from job)
- for being active and subject, not passive, client, object
- for challenge and new experience
- for togetherness with friends, groups, offspring
- for partnership with nature, including aesthetic experience
- for a sense of purpose, of meaning with life

5. In a narrow and shallow approach to needs-based theory and practice of development, food experts would tend to define a distinct need for food as separate from other needs. The task of the medie rural <sup>(9)</sup> would be to produce sufficient quantities for everybody including themselves; while doing so sufficient surplus should be generated to provide for the other basic material needs (as listed under welfare in the preceding paragraph). The goal is relatively well-defined, precise: it can be administered from above, at governmental and inter-governmental levels - in some countries it can even be implemented. The procedure is protected by a convenient theory of a "hierarchy of needs", <sup>(10)</sup> indicating that material needs should be provided for first, then time comes for non-material needs - in spite of all the evidence to the effect that human beings are willing to lay down their lives for freedom, and that they become caricatures of humans when alienated, deprived of identity. What this hierarchy thesis does is, in fact, to disguise a class structure of needs.

6. The critique of the narrow approach to food and rural development defined in the preceding section is not exhausted, however, by calling attention to other than material/somatic needs, pointing out how they are left unattended, even counter-acted through managerial approaches to development, not unlike the way animals are attended to in a good

(11)

zoological garden. An equally basic point lies in the integration of needs-satisfaction. There is a segmented mode of needs-satisfaction, perhaps particularly widespread in Northern Europe and North America, which would define a separate context - a place in space, an interval in time, a group of people - for the satisfaction of each need. (12) Thus, a person may have his need for food satisfied at well defined meal times; for creativity in his hobby club; for autonomy and challenge on a Sunday outing if he manages to lose his way just a bit, in a forest; for togetherness in a meeting with friends; for partnership with nature in that Sunday outing; and for a sense of purpose with life in his church or political party. Need-satisfaction is distributed in a thin layer over space, time and social space, one need at the time, reflecting the division of human beings into need-compartments, even having one ministry (department) for each compartment, and well-planned space and time budgets. (13)

7. But this is not the only mode of needs-satisfaction; there is also an integrated mode of needs-satisfaction: known in the West but perhaps even more in the non-West. In this mode several needs are satisfied together in the same context, meaning within a narrow interval of space and time, and together with the same people. Thus, compare "meeting the need for food" by means of an intransigent insistence with the scientifically correct quantities of calories, proteins, vitamins, minerals etc... with a meal produced and consumed in togetherness, with creativity, using own products, with an element of artifice in the presentation and in the setting. Compare both to a quick intake - in solitude - of a hamburger in a diner, "washed down" with a cup of coffee (which, in turn, will have to be washed down with something else) to make it clear that "fast food" is closer to the former than to the latter. We shall not identify the dimension "segmented-integrated" with "quality of life" for it does not take into consideration the degree of satisfaction along each need-dimension; but it obviously has something to do with it. The integration gives a more total experience, and for that reason is not only compatible with meaningfulness: it is the meaning of life - work and love, leisure and sweat, production and consumption, all wrapped into one.

8. Hence, there is more to food than just food. To say that "this is an elitist perspective" is the ultimate in elitist perspectives, for elites more than others are precisely those who are able to satisfy their needs in a more integrated manner, eat creative food, enjoy it in an aesthetic setting, produce or acquire exotic food-stuffs, etc. In fact, it should

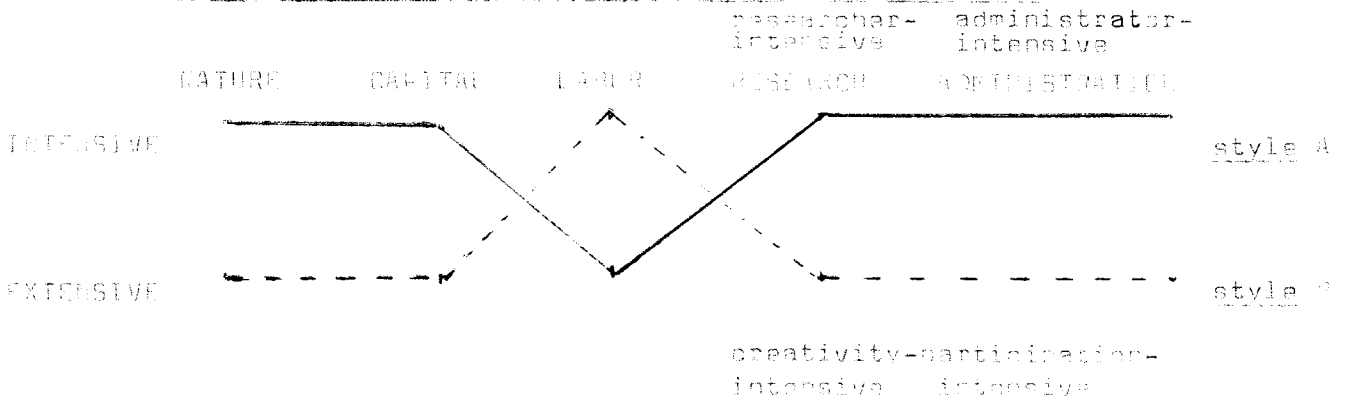
be assumed that this is the normal way in which humankind has produced and consumed its food, whether of plant or animal origin - which means that some distortion is needed for another mode of consumption to develop. Two such distortions or distorting mechanisms are obvious: the economistic view of "food-stuffs" (the word itself is indicative) as a commodity that can be traded, and the scientistic view of food as something that can be reduced to a very low number of dimensions, such as calories and proteins etc. The point here is not to argue against these views: for all other views there are pros and cons. The point to be made is only that there is an intimate connection between these two views on the one hand and the segmented mode of need-satisfaction on the other - a compatibility or the point of mutual reinforcement.

9. If the problem of hunger is approached merely as a problem of having more "food-stuffs" reach hungry mouths there will be no barrier against the final incorporation of agricultural production in the industrial mode of production. Food processing will increasingly mediate between nature and the consumer: the farmer will produce agricultural raw materials as a part of agro-industry, it will be processed and then distributed by agri-business, and he will buy it back preserved and packaged from the super-market - as he already does in many countries: like the miner excavating iron ore (then buying it back as a car) and the fisherman (buying it back as frozen fish). His own part in the operation will be more and more routinized, his age-old skills will not be called for, mechanized production of raw material will impede togetherness, he will be a part of an enormous economic cycle which will offer wages against loss of autonomy. In short; for good and for bad he will be like the masses in the developed countries. However, the argument will certainly be that this is a minor price to pay: that the loss in non-material goods would be worth the gain in material goods - in casu food. If this is the way to abolish hunger, then it is worth it. The problem, of course, is that the approach has not shown itself capable of abolishing hunger either, only of impoverishing the existence of the rural poor even further. In short, while not disagreeing there are urgent problems of hunger and starvation to overcome we shall not fall into the trap of economistic reasoning. If not even our thinking and theories are geared to broader, more human, perspectives practice will certainly not take care of itself but continue in the direction described above. So, in what direction an alternative theory?

III. Structure and process of rural production

10. Rural development is related to needs, but also to rural production. In order to analyze rural production, or any type of production, a schema with five factors of production, nature, capital, labor, research and administration may be used.<sup>(14)</sup> Any technology used will then induce certain constraints on the proportions of the factors, conventionally reflected in the distribution of the term 'intensive' and 'extensive'.<sup>(15)</sup> With five factors this gives us, in principle, 32 styles of rural production and we shall start by characterizing the two best known (1 and 2 in Table 1) and then look at some of the others, bearing in mind that all 32 may contain elements of real progress, particularly in combination with others :

Table 1. Factor proportions and styles of rural production.



The two factors added are indispensable for any analysis today with the dominant roles given to science and management, to research and administration. It is precisely because these two are excluded from conventional thinking in terms of economic factors that so many of the problems of rural development escape the attention they merit.<sup>(16)</sup>

11. According to style A, which is the dominant approach today to rural development, nature is used uneconomically (mono-cropping being one example of intensive, wasteful use - the concept implies the use of extensive areas - precisely because soil is used intensively the areas have to be extensive)? much capital is also required; labor is saved; there is a high input of research and of administration. Another way of phrasing the last two would be to say the style is both researcher- and administrator-intensive; the latter being a term that may stand for the owners of nature, of capital, of labor - slavery that is - or simply the management in

any form of private or state organized style of rural production by anything except the peasants themselves. Assuming good soil and enough sunshine, capital used for irrigation, seeds of special varieties, fertilizer and machinery, research used to create the efficiency/productivity per unit input of the sub-factors (just mentioned (labor productivity by definition being high), and administrators employed to put all of this together the approach works, at least in an economic sense, like in North America. The problem is that these conditions usually do not obtain.

12. It is probable but not certain that style A, under the conditions prevailing in most Third World countries, is compatible with a good production volume (whether it really is efficient is another matter); but it also seems to produce considerable poverty to the point of misery, even famine. The reason for the former seems clear: where soil is good and the capital exists to acquire water, good seeds, fertilizers and machinery production should be high. <sup>(17)</sup> At the same time style A will produce both landless labor (because the value of land increases and soil will be used for style A type production) and laborless landless (because they will be displaced by machines). The output may also compete with the products of older methods of production for foreign markets and domestic city markets, and reduce the shares others have in those markets. At the same time the unit price will make the products inaccessible to all the new rural poor, neither in a position themselves to produce, nor participate in the production of, nor consume, food-stuffs. <sup>(18)</sup> Under adverse external conditions the implication is starvation if the city places do not provide any opportunity; <sup>(19)</sup> or efforts to get rid of their offspring through birth control.

13. According to style B, the opposite approach on all factors. <sup>(20)</sup> not that much nature is needed because it is made so well use of <sup>(21)</sup> (multi-cropping, extremely good care and attention to details). the other inputs in terms of water, seeds, fertilizer and tools are inexpensive and based on local production, labor is made very much use of but not so much "modern" science and management; the reliance is more on people's own creativity and people's participation in all kinds of decision-making. <sup>(22)</sup> The latter is here understood to be the essence of agrarian reform: the essence not being land distribution, but decision-distribution (about what to produce, how to produce it, how to use surplus, etc.) - land distribution being one approach among many. It should be pointed out that according to this expropriation of land from private ownership



and transfer to state planning organizations with little or no people participation in decision-making concerning their own work and life situation does not constitute agrarian reform. It is merely a change of land-lords - for better, for worse or for more of the same.

14. It is well documented today that style A, under the conditions prevailing in the People's Republic of China,<sup>(23)</sup> is compatible with a steady if not spectacular growth in production volume, and also with the abolition (or near-abolition) of famine, reduction of misery and even of poverty. The reason for both seems relatively clear: the means of production, and above all soil, is controlled by those who till the soil, or at least largely so. If we now assume, and the history of China during the last century will not contradict this, that most of the starvation was in the countryside, then to give rural people in need command over the antidote for starvation, food, would both increase the production and take care of the distribution to those most in need. What remains is the problem of feeding the cities: under this model it can be done from surplus from the countryside, from a "special relation" to the countryside surrounding the cities, and by the cities growing food themselves.<sup>(24)</sup>

15. Given this analysis it is quite clear who will, when given a choice, in general vote for either of the two styles:

for style A : nature-owners (landlords), capital-owners (capitalists, researchers and administrators

for style B : rural labor, peasants, small farmers

The votes in favor of style A would be few relative to the votes in favor of style B, given that choice. However, in favor of style B would also vote two other groups of people - rather big groups, especially the latter of the two - not mentioned so far because the focus has been on rural production, not on distribution and consumption. As long as style A produces primarily for market demand, and even for a world market and not necessarily to feed adequately those who do the production, and style B produces primarily for consumption by the producers, the distributors - the food traders from the big transnational agri-conglomerates down to the smallest little merchant - and the consumers in the cities and overseas will vote in favor of style A. Style B will instill in them one very basic fear: that the peasants might stop delivering food to the cities, that they themselves would have to start growing it, that "history would turn backwards" (and they downwards). Since in intergovernmental organizations rural labor is practically speaking unrepresented in any

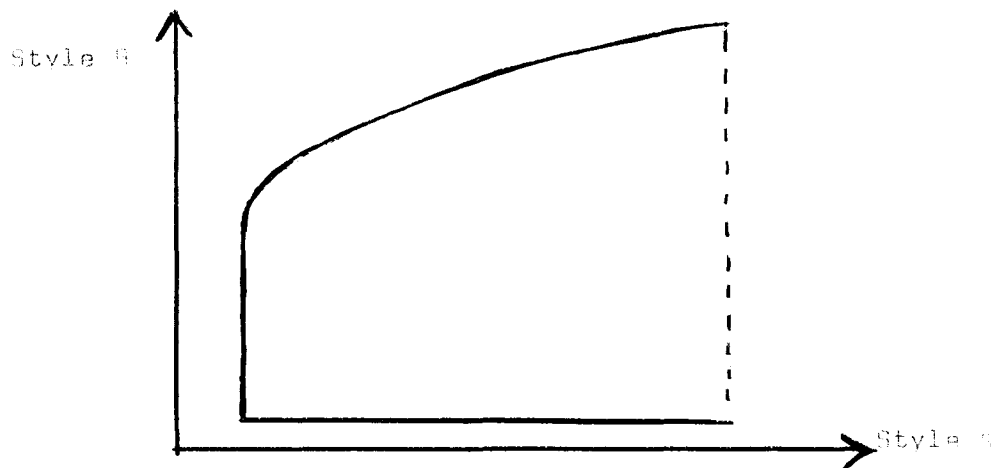
direct manner whereas elites (landlords, capitalists, researchers, administrators, traders) and the average consumer, particularly the consumer in the cities, are very well represented,<sup>(25)</sup> it is a foregone conclusion that intergovernmental organizations will tend to favor style A.

16. However, they who do so are not unaware of the problem of misery-production; the data are by now too overwhelming, perhaps particularly after the "green revolution", on which some staked some hopes.<sup>(26)</sup> Hence, style A will have to be accompanied by strategies for dealing with the rural poor: the question is how. One can no longer pretend the problem does not exist: informed people no longer believe in the "natural calamity" theory. By and large, there are three possibilities, barring the use of starvation as a "population control mechanism":<sup>(27)</sup> differential family planning with an over-targeting on the rural poor to diminish their numbers in the next generation;<sup>(28)</sup> food aid;<sup>(29)</sup> including the processing of inferior types of food from waste products generated by style A processes;<sup>(30)</sup> and absorption in secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy.<sup>(31)</sup> For those who still have a little land left there is also the fourth possibility-injecting some capital, research and administration factors into their holdings - but their lands are likely to be of relatively poor quality and already very much exploited.<sup>(32)</sup> Moreover, if the lands are capable of yielding (much) more, any weakness in the legally defined right to hold the land will be made use of by those (even only a little bit) better off than they themselves are: which brings us back to the other three possibilities.<sup>(33)</sup> These three, consequently, should be seen as measures taken to facilitate the continued exercise of style A as the dominant style, however humanitarian and honest the motivation behind such efforts may be.<sup>(34)</sup>

17. So far, this analysis has been in bipolar terms: style A versus its opposite, style B, with an effort to point to the powerful alliance, mostly tacit, against style B exercised in general, and against the rural poor in particular - an alliance not only of feudal landlords, but all kinds of city people. This analysis will now be made less bipolar, (1) by introducing time order as an important parameter, (2) by exploring the possibility of co-existence between the two and (3) by exploring some of the other 30 factor combinations. A more complete analysis would also include styles or modes of distribution, the influence of storage techniques and refrigerated distribution cycles being considerable, as causes and consequences of style A modes of production.

18. As to time order: the argument may be made that one could start with one and then proceed with the other style. In fact, something like that may be a relatively good model of what is or will be happening: if style A leads to glaring inequities, and the three measures indicated above to alleviate the potential political pressure ("rural unrest") from the landless and/or laborless and the peasants with the smallest holdings do not work, then there may be a social explosion. A revolution ushering in style B may be the result.<sup>(35)</sup> Or: the opposite reasoning: style B is put into operation for one reason or the other, it works very well to start with, the scourges of famine and misery are abolished, but then the process runs out of steam. Without substantial markets to draw upon there is not sufficient capital accumulation for acquisition of capital goods, people's creativity and participation work lessens up to a certain point because it was such a totally utilized force, but beyond that point scientific style A research and administration are called for. With a style B created infrastructure as a basis, capital -, research- and administration-intensities are then increased - a turn towards style A.<sup>(36)</sup>

19. In other words, an hypothesis could be put as follows: from style A (as we know it today) a discontinuous transition to style B is possible and likely; from style B (as we know it today) a continuous transition towards style A is possible, likely. Diagrammatically it would look like this :



We have made the two trajectories meet in the same point. Both trajectories, however, are rather unrealistic the way they are drawn: they presuppose that the level attained along one axis is maintained after the dynamism is carried by the other style. A jump to people-run agriculture would in our present world lead to a withdrawal of capital, research and administrative inputs; a gradual increase in these inputs would inevitably erode the creativity and participation levels - people would yield to technocracy.<sup>(37)</sup> To believe that it can take place gradually is over-optimistic; the system will fight that with all means at its disposal.

style B for structural change and better distribution, 20. More politically expressed: style A stands for growth in output without structural change or improved distribution; but not necessarily for growth in output. What should come first, growth or structural change/distribution? The position taken here is certainly structural change and distribution first, growth later. (38) In that case the fruits of the growth will reach those most in need - if the growth takes place first we know both that the buying power of those most in need will diminish at the same time as the products become either more expensive or non-food products. (39) Hence, to refer to style A as "realistic"-in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the effect that it will not work for the world's large periphery- a cynicism which means that it is the approach that will be favored by the elites indispensable for style A to operate, those dependent on them and the vast array of consumers sufficiently politically unconscious not to know the forces they support. (40) If the goal is to abolish hunger and satisfy basic human needs, and not only the material ones, style B is obviously the more realistic one. For people in power, today, the goal seems to be in another direction, however.

21. As to co-existence: could one have a country with both styles co-existing, without style A accompanying or style B through investment and style B decreasing the efficiency of style A by imposing its patterns? The answer is probably yes, but the conditions would have to be a relatively strong government, capable of defining and enforcing the rules of the game between them, allocating to A what A's is and to B what B's is. More precisely, a country might use style A for plantation type production of a product for export because of obvious comparative advantages, and style B as the normal way of operating agriculture. It could also have style A as the predominant form and style B as a residual option. (41) In either case, however, the government should be able to lay down conditions so as to decrease any discrepancies in material benefits between the participants in the two styles, even to the point of encouraging two-way rotation between them. In doing so those coming from B to A might gain in social and human terms: those coming from A to B might pick up something from research and administration: either might then try to apply it where he or she comes from. Needless to say, this does not work if A is styled "modern" and B "traditional" - or "exploitative" and B "progressive" - they must enter into some kind of symbiosis.

22. As to other styles: this has already been touched upon in the preceding points, here it will be done more explicitly. Thus, departing from the two styles we have used as anchoring points for the whole exercise

the easiest might be to change one factor only. For instance, given style 1, under what condition would it be possible to make it more participation-intensive? Several models are possible, spanning from cooperatives (for production, distribution and/or consumption) among individual farms to industrial farming run according to all the rules of cooptation/Mitbestimmung/co-management or even autogestation/Selbstbestimmung/self-management. But the condition would be that it does encompass the whole medio rural, not only a style 1 enclave for which it would be relatively easy to set up such organizations. The most unfortunate way of interpreting that type of condition would be by pushing the land/labor-less periphery outside one's own country through "international division of labor", thereby making one's own country ready for a more participatory style 2 approach - at the expense of other countries.<sup>(42)</sup>

23. Given style 1 it is probably more easy to observe, for instance, increased research and capital inputs - provided research findings are made comprehensible and open to dialogue and criticism, and provided capital inputs are distributed so as at least not to increase gaps between people with good seeds, fertilizer and machinery and those with more inferior varieties. The obvious answer to this problem is collectively run agriculture, although the aphorism "one will use the new tractor" is already a classic in such settings.<sup>(43)</sup> Humankind is still in an experimental stage.

24. Thus, there are many possibilities: even within this very simple scheme of analysis. One type of process may be followed by the other, as a reaction or as a deepening; they may to some extent co-exist in space, within the same country; and all kinds of in-between styles of rural production processes can be imagined, many of them also practised. However, the basic polarity between one style that is labor-intensive and economic on other factors, and on the other hand a style that is labor-extensive but compensates for this by requiring much in terms of all other factors remains and should not be lost sight of. There are basic choices to be made, and this is seen even more clearly when the analysis is extended to comprise other parts of the economic cycle: distribution, consumption, waste production. Style A is (world) market-oriented, style B is subsistence-oriented ("exchange-oriented" and "use-oriented" would be another word pair). But these terms cut the pie too sharply: there is production for use in style B as there is production for exchange in style A - only the priorities and the proportions may differ. For in style A necessarily

capitalist and style B socialist; "socialist" regimes may run style A, but under state rather than peasant ownership, and "capitalist" regimes may run style B, but as some kind of micro-capitalism. And then they may both do both. The word-pair "capitalist/socialist" is too crude to be sufficient for analysis.

25. The real difference would be that under the present state of history in many, perhaps most, Third World countries style A will continue to fail to meet basic material needs for those most in need, leave alone the basic non-material needs: whereas style B may meet a broad range of needs. Thus, even under adverse natural conditions, given total participation by those in need, people's creativity can make all the difference.<sup>(44)</sup> In this task the non-material needs are almost automatically satisfied: for creativity, challenge, togetherness in production and consumption, for partnership with nature and for a sense of purpose. Later on there may be phases of stagnation where new elements have to be brought in, factor proportions changed etc. But by and large the conclusion is inescapable: start with style B!

IV. Ten Theses About Rural Development.

THESES 1: The best the outsider can do is not to stand in the way.

2a. There has always been something frightening about peasant revolts: precisely because they are rare (compared to industrial strikes, for instance) there is a feeling that there must be very good reasons behind them. Armed with such reasons the peasants might march on the cities and they could even do something worse: the total delivery strike. In that case the state machinery allied with the rural upper classes would turn against the peasants and force them to deliver, if necessary through military occupation of the countryside. It is this potential power, rarely unleashed, that probably goes a far way to explain why peasants are not exploited even further. It is hard to believe that much can be obtained in terms of true rural development without consciousness that this type of power can still be mobilized and used in confrontation. Precisely for that reason style A of rural production is also the process that will tend to polarize the countryside into a part whose interest will be with the city-based elites and consumers, and a vast array of dispossessed, "the wretched of the earth", whose remaining power is drastically curtailed because they no longer are really needed in the production process. Of course, their nuisance power may still be considerable, but it is easier to mobilize repression forces against them as <sup>(45)</sup> they are no longer productive.

2b. If what is wanted is rural development there will both more development and less violence if these forces are made use of. The only astounding thing about peasants is not that they want a change but that they are so incredibly patient. A basic task of the outsider is not to "aid", but to be sure not to stand in the way. <sup>(46)</sup> not to impede basic social processes; and to help convince those who oppose them that a change may also be in their interest. A slight decrease in material living standard might be a low price for no longer having to fear a basic change: the change would already have taken place.

THESES 2: The "coming agricultural revolution" may change power relations

2c. By "the coming agricultural revolution" is meant the present unurge of innovations, technical and social, that may restore the self-reliant, even self-sufficient farm. If the first agricultural revolution established sedentary styles of production, as opposed to the hunter-gatherer

and nomadic modes and the second revolution was the set of innovations (again technical and social) that brought to the countryside industrially produced fertilizers and agri-machinery. (47) then this would be the third revolution. It is based on such technical innovations as solar energy converters (and other "new" forms of energy, or utilizations of old ones in new ways), biogas conversion, algae ponds etc. (48) that in principle could be coupled together in cycles (49) within a limited area and yield much of what modern humans are said to need. It is also based on such social innovations as the many forms of communal living with co-production, commensalism and convivialism by some seen as more or as important as consanguinity. The new style is both research - and intensive participation, and could make the country-side less dependent on city-produced inputs.

29. In a sense it is a paradox of history that this takes place at the same time as there is an escape from the countryside, a migration to the towns and cities all over the world in the search for wage labor: for participation in money economies, social security and paid vacations (away from animals and plants !); for more comfort and closeness to the cities where things happen - in rich countries, and in poor countries a desperate struggle for survival down to the scavenging of the garbage heaps, held to be more promising in cities. But at the same time there is an opposite trend, so far a trickle in comparison, mainly of young people, educated but not rich, in search of another way of life - more like that has been called style D above. (50) Many of them move into farmhouses now empty by the dominant trend but in order to run agriculture a different way, not to be incorporated into the social structures they are escaping from. Our thesis is that in so doing they are making experiments on behalf of humanity, experiments that should be supported and from which there may be much to learn in the years to come in terms of making the countryside less dependent, especially in energy, (51) and hence more autonomous and powerful.

THESIS 4: Rural development is also needed in rich countries

30. With the predominance of style A type agriculture in rich countries, partly as a cause and partly as a consequence of their being rich and having somebody at whose expense they could develop, there are problems of development in the countryside of the rich countries as well. Of course, these are different types of problems. The output is high, efficiency and productivity impressive, displacing people towards the cities. There may be marketing problems and profitability problems, but this is generally placed on international economics. Grosso modo, the problem



may perhaps be defined as follows: they are materially secured, but caught in the same alienating structure that industrial society tends to create without benefiting from all the privileges of city life. Self-reliance is out, there is total dependence on capital goods from the outside and external markets: yet the goods of city life such as paid vacation and "comfort" are not available. They feel short-changed by history. The malaise of "developed" societies is well reflected in the two-way mobility.

31. It may well be that the trend alluded to under Thesis 3 holds some of the key here: a gradual replacement of the family farm by the communal farm - perhaps also with style A farms run as firms or factories. (52) Under such formulas togetherness would be provided at the same time as vacation could be possible on a rotation basis, with whole families leaving together, and the others, on paid replacements, running the farms. (53) Animals and plants still require some human presence, (54) a farm cannot be closed down like a factory can. Experience gained in developing countries, such as the sarvedaya villages in India and Sri Lanka, the agrotowns in Bulgaria, the people's communes in China, the ujmas villages in Tanzania might be of relevance to richer countries, and it could be a natural task for international organizations to facilitate the transfer of such experience, as for governments to help enrich cultural life and services.

THESIS 4: There can be no rural development without some urban change

32. Historically the urban-rural axis has always been a source of tension; an axis for the organization of class and structural conflict. The terms of exchange between goods and services produced in the cities and towns, and the agricultural products, tend to work in favor of cities, as can be seen clearly from the difference in living standard, and perhaps particularly from the fact that peacetime starvation seems to be a rural phenomenon. (55) The location of most national (and international) elites in the cities, such as bureaucrats, capitalists and intellectuals / researchers; the location of secondary and tertiary sectors of economic activity - or at least their platforms of command - in the cities, not to mention the location of the instruments of ultimate power - police and the military - make for an urban-rural center-periphery gradient. As long as this gradient is so steep as it is today almost any amount of agrarian reform and urban development will prove unsuccessful in keeping people in the countryside. People will move along the gradients, and

not only for money, unless the cities prove increasingly unliveable.<sup>(56)</sup>

33. It may be objected that to keep people in the countryside is no goal: that urbanization is not only a trend but also a goal. Maybe in the future both maybe equally attractive, giving people a real choice. Today rich cities in rich countries also rural, in spite of being centers, making them look unattractive as habitats for human beings, although for different reasons. But a much more positive goal would be to strive for a range of urban/rural mixtures, bringing some agricultural production to the cities and more urban activities - and not only medical services and schooling and third rate services - to the countryside - including centers of creativity and power.<sup>(57)</sup> With the facilities of transport and communication existing today a more fair distribution of center and periphery elements over the urban-rural axis should be possible.<sup>(58)</sup> In countries with overdeveloped capitals this will probably entail a phase where a brake, even a lid, is put on the growth of the capital city till the countryside has come further in catching up.<sup>(59)</sup> Ideally this may be more feasible than integratively, as we know.<sup>(60)</sup>

THESES 5: The unit of rural politics is not farms, but economic cycles

34. An economic cycle has three key nodes: nature, production and consumption.<sup>(61)</sup> Something is extracted from nature in return for waste products, it is then processed in production. Distributed for consumption in return for money or labor, and what from the consumption process goes back to nature in return for some direct consumption (air, water - so far still unmediated by production). In style 3 agriculture most of this can take place within the farm where what is produced is divided into four: for needs, for consumption, for reserves, and for some exchange; the latter being a minor part.<sup>(62)</sup> Because of the control over the economic cycle negative ecological effects - not only depletion and pollution but also deeper disturbance of ecological equilibria - can by and large be controlled at the farm level. In style 4 agriculture all of this is different: the same four parts exist but the part for exchange is a major one, and the part for consumption may be negligible or nil (the system may favor buying potatoes at the supermarket rather than eating own potatoes).<sup>(63)</sup> The control over the economic cycle from the farm is insignificant, the control by agro-industry and agri-business dominant. The ecologically negative effects are likely to be considerable, and to be compounded further by recycling and cleaning-up efforts. Even nature may be far away: seedlings grown elsewhere may be flown in and replanted in a chain of "farms" located on the economic cycle.

16. To try to master these forces by some small changes in the countryside is as realistic as to try to control train schedules by raising the salaries of the village station master. People in the countryside has a choice between two strategies here: either to contract the economic cycles towards style 4 agriculture, or to gain direct (or indirect, through parties more sympathetic to them) control over the entire cycle - farmers' cooperatives being the classical solution. This control may not solve ecological problems, however, and may also lead to exploitation of the small by the big farmers, peasants by farmers, the landlords by the peasants, and all of them by the bosses in the organization.

THESES 4: The Unit of rural development is not farms, but households

17. Agricultural activities follow the cycles of nature in general, and animals and plants in particular: they have to be cycle (season) sensitive, and may also be vulnerable to the variations in nature. They differ from industrial and tertiary sector activities that unfold in an artificial, man-made environment, sensitive to cycles in that environment,<sup>(64)</sup> but not to natural cycles except to the extent that agricultural cycles are involved. These people in cycles and the other sectors do essentially the same type of work all year round, avoiding geographical and social mobility as the only way of changing the work they do, people in agriculture do very different types of work depending on where they are on various cycles; on the other hand, the two types of mobility are usually blocked as long as they do farm work. Even the poorest in the countryside may have a good crop and a harvest time (because he has work) and rich after harvest (because food is cheap and abundant); in other periods they may starve.

18. Consequently, the farm as such may be insufficient to keep a household alive, leading to the need for counter-cyclical economic activities.<sup>(65)</sup> There are many types: construction work, factory jobs, all kinds of low level tertiary sector jobs, and on a farmland or farms big enough to absorb some of the impact of the cycles. And that, of course, is the point of departure for a basic pattern in the reconstruction of the countryside: the commune where these ancillary activities are built into the economic activity as parts of a total, not as something on the side.<sup>(66)</sup> In fact, the commune could also institutionalize rotation into higher level tertiary sector activities, medical services and schooling, and consequently offer a greater repertory of alternatives to conventional agricultural work. In doing so the household could have

meaningful activity the whole year round, and since the household is the unit in which most basic needs, material and non-material receive their satisfaction this is rather significant.<sup>(57)</sup> The point is to make the household viable - to make the farm viable may be a necessary, but not a sufficient condition.

THEIR 7: The insight of people, particularly women, is indispensable

38. Traditionally women were not merely experts on the food processing, distribution and consumption, but also on production of the raw materials, often running the subsistence sector. In style A agriculture women are by and large relegated to very inferior positions unless they manage to reappear as agronomists and nutritionists, or in positions in the food distribution business. But this is a recent phenomenon, a process that has come far in some countries but not yet come off the ground in others, which means that women still are almost inexhaustible reservoirs of insight about how to produce, store, process and consume food, how to handle waste products etc. The argument is not that all traditional knowledge is necessarily good and valid, only that much or most of it is, and that a system that reduces production to agri-technology as if animals and plants can be handled the same way as the inanimate matter processed by industry, and reduces consumption to the handful of variables handled by nutritionists, is also wasting its own sources of insight. So-called modern scientific insight has a tendency to be based on very few variables that can be handled; traditional insight is much richer, but also less codified. It cannot afford to lose the insights accumulated, particularly by women about how to keep a family alive under very adverse conditions, how to communicate feelings of love and solidarity through food; in fact, the whole use of food as a means of communication.

39. This, of course, holds for people in general, not only to use the knowledge they already possess, but also to design rural development processes in such a way that people's creativity is called for.<sup>(58)</sup> The conditions for people to be innovative may not be well known but they would certainly include such factors as challenge, the knowledge that the insight will be made use of if it is valuable, that it will make a difference to somebody, preferably including somebody of one's own kind. This is no plea for lay, non-scientific knowledge to dominate the scene alone, but for its position together with modern research - among other reasons because the former has been tested by experience, the latter not - however spectacular it may be.<sup>(59)</sup>

THESES B: Redistributing before growth as basic development strategy

40. As pointed out in the general part of this paper the time order of distributing production factors and increasing rural output (or production) is crucial.<sup>(71)</sup> The specter of the big bang revolution to affect this reversal of the time order should not be permitted to serve neither as a pretext not to do anything, nor as a motivation to do something - in either case it will probably turn out contrary to expectation. If agrarian reform is not engaged in for fear of a domino effect that some of it will lead to the big bang revolution, the suffering in terms of structural violence today and direct violence tomorrow will only increase. If agrarian reform is engaged in to avoid that revolution, as a palliative measure, chances are it will be too half-hearted, giving the peasants inferior soil, standing in the way when growth is supposed to start, blocking adequate credit facilities and access to markets. The only thing that can be obtained in either case is a postponement of what is going to happen one way or the other, even combined with mass starvation. Style A agriculture will always lead to a sizeable residual of land- and laborless people in some countries,<sup>(72)</sup> outcompeted by those fortunate enough to have land before growth started.

41. One point that could be made in this connection is that this is not merely a political and a humanitarian issue; it is also a question of what makes economic sense.<sup>(73)</sup> Countries that have really been through a process of this kind seem also to be capable of considerable growth, especially if forces of crafting style B elements into a style B infrastructure are found. But nothing can conceal the essentially political nature of this point: it is a question of who has power, a small class of land-owners and their associates, or the people and their representatives.<sup>(73)</sup> In any case it should be emphasized that distribution is not merely a question of land; it also covers the other four production factors. It is a question of distributing credit facilities (or their equivalents in kind); of distributing better the quality of labour through adequate health care and schooling in the countryside; of distributing research by making both the production and use of research results more accessible to the rural population and of more participatory institutions. Emphasis on one factor alone is unlikely to produce good results; emphasis on all may bring about a variety of new styles of production, not only styles A and B mentioned above.

THESES 9: Lower to those most in need will trigger initial dynamism.

42. The basic force motrice behind style A agriculture is the search for profit, expansion, market share etc.: the force motrice behind style B is the search for food, to satisfy needs. Ceteris paribus, one would assume that style A is run best by those most in search of profit, style B by those most in search of food - keeping the other factors constant, particularly the level of technical competence. Thus, one style is propelled by greed, the other by need. But the greed may taper off and the need may be satisfied - those motivated by greed may find that this (non-basic) human need has been satisfied, those motivated by need may no longer be hungry. Of course there is a difference: the absorption capacity of the human body sets a ceiling on the consumption of food: there seems to be no corresponding mechanism for capital accumulation - except by laws and force imposed by others, or by culture. (74)

43. What this means is that there is a potential for tremendous dynamism for growth in the most needy: an economic (in addition to the obvious political and humanitarian) reason why they should have much more power. A condition, of course, is that they are given good material with which to work, not made cynically use of to till very inferior soil, motivated by their own hunger and that of their children. However, as indicated above the motivation may peter out as needs not satisfied. At this point the pressure will be on them to produce more, because their task, given the national and international division of labor is not only to produce food for themselves, but for all those not growing their own food - including bureaucrats, capitalists and intellectuals/researchers (including those who write papers about agrarian reform and rural development). (75) Why should they? They might produce that extra food, but in doing so they will inevitably "peripherize" themselves - as pointed out under Thesis 4 above. Hence, the real difficulty for the future - if the problem of redistribution and then growth has been solved, and rural uplift has taken place - would be to strike new urban-rural balances. Once more: all of this hangs together. Only a holistic approach is realistic; sectional "solutions" referring to "agriculture" alone or "rural development" alone will backfire. The problems discussed under such headings are of such magnitudes that they administratively fall under the Prime Minister's Office rather than the Ministry of Agriculture, under the UN General Assembly rather than FAO. Above all it belongs to people themselves - and they will find other ways and means, sooner or later. It is an uphill fight - as we know.

THESE 10: Only a broad approach to basic needs is realistic.

44. This brings us back to the point of departure: the basic needs approach to development, and the idea that development is development of human beings. The argument has been in favor of not only including a broad range of basic needs — examples have been indicated, of both the material and the non-material varieties — but also to work for an integrated mode of their satisfaction, or at least make structures that do not invade this approach. What will be added here are only some reflections indicating that this is not merely a philosophical stand or a declaration of political ideology. The point is simply that the narrow economic and "nutritionistic" approach does not work, if one is willing to include symptoms of alienation to the point of mental break-down among the indicators that things do not work.

45. Of course, one cannot claim today that there is evidence for a clear relation between being a dependent element of a man-made structure, with no autonomy of decision-making, and mental break-down and suffering — but many data from overdeveloped countries seem to point in that direction.<sup>171</sup> The economic approach may or may not work, but in addition to not solving problems of hunger may also induce large-scale and deep alienation to a point that makes human existence much less than it could be — even with a full belly. And what about the "nutritionistic" approach: what happened to quality of food? To food as a powerful means of communication, as an expression of love — the difference between Christmas cakes made by mothers in modern families (it could be by the family together) and those bought at the supermarket? Where do such factors enter the economic/nutritionistic paradigms and the planners, the warnings that will force the planner/decision-maker to take all such factors into account in launching policies, not escaping into hierarchy-or-needs ideologies? The answer is nowhere — except in the anger and more or less vague dissatisfaction of vast masses of people, who have a right to better theory and practice in these fields. People in general, all over, have been short-changed by these approaches, not only those starving, either in the countryside or as refugees from the countryside. That they deserve first priority in action should not serve as an excuse not to develop theories, and practice, also relevant for victims in overdeveloped countries. And at this point there is the danger that basic needs approaches make us too modest, not sufficiently tuned to food as a source of delight and enrichment and to the entire human habitat as an integrated whole.

#### 4. Conclusion.

During the struggle in Norway 1972 in connection with the referendum about membership in the European Community, Norwegian farmers formulated a slogan: "Agriculture is not merely a way of making a living, it is a style of life". For many it is neither one nor the other - and yet they are somehow rooted in the countryside. For some it is both. And for most - for most of the world population do not live in the countryside - it is a convenient something ~~the~~ task of which is to guarantee a steady supply of food, yet seen as somewhat archaic, left behind, as a place modern people do not live. The risk that the situation will deteriorate further is therefore considerable. Moreover, it is difficult to see that the new International Economic Order, with its heavy emphasis on terms of trade (in this case for agricultural products) will help in this connection.<sup>(77)</sup> On the contrary, the risk is there that it will give further legitimacy to style A agricultural production of cash crops rather than staple foods, with well-known consequences.

If the goal is to satisfy basic needs of people, with particular emphasis on those that in poor, self-reliance strategies, will have to become a much more important part of the bill package.<sup>(78)</sup> This means a three-tiered approach: at the regional level, the national level and the local level, all the time making better use of own factors for own needs and exchanging with other units at the same level. It does not mean autarchy but a redirection of trade, and when it comes to agricultural production a redirection of the food cycles that guarantees that real food reaches those who need it and that food is neither used for black-mail, nor as something elites can use to balance city-oriented and industry-oriented national development. Food relates to such a basic need of man that it is not only immoral but in all regards counter-productive to treat it as a commodity before needs are met.<sup>(79)</sup> It is no longer a question of action before it is too late: for most of those concerned action is long since overdue.<sup>(80)</sup> They are not only starving; they are dead. It takes much cynicism to refer to the primitive accumulation of surplus from the work of exploited rural people - directly by using the surplus for export, indirectly, by using the surplus to feed workers cheaply so that what they produce can be exported competitively - as "development", even as a way of building "civilization". Almost any step to counteract this tendency is bound to be progressive; harboring no illusion that it will continue to be, very much, an uphill fight.



paper prepared at the request of Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz, Special Representative of the FAO Director General for the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD) to be held in Rome, 11-21 July 1977. The main objectives of the conference are broadly defined: "to eradicate poverty, improve quality of life, increase production, promote employment and increase effective demand; Rural people's participation for self-reliant development and satisfaction of basic needs, with special reference to small farmers, landless labourers and other rural poor; The place of agrarian reform and rural development in national development policies; Alternative strategies for agrarian reform and rural development, as suit the socio-economic realities of the different countries and regions; Measures to overcome obstacles in effective implementation: institutional, administrative and financial aspects" (from Draft Annex to Agenda, prepared 1978). There is a need to be explicit on "integration of agrarian development, and the need for establishing fair terms of trade in agricultural produce as one of the most relevant elements of the new international economic order, so as to benefit the implementation of agrarian reform and rural development programmes". The terms 'agrarian' and 'agricultural' are also to be understood broadly so as to include fisheries, forestry, etc. Opinions expressed are those of the author and not necessary of the institutions with which he is affiliated. I am indebted to Susan George, Pierre Spitz and Ernst Feder for useful comments.

1. See the article by Pierre Spitz, Silent Violence: Famine and Inequality, Journal of Peasant Studies, 4/c.7, prepared for ICAEW, Violence and Its Causes, Collection Actual 1979. Spitz quotes, among numerous sources, a statement of the great famine in India in 1943 which, according to various estimates killed from one and a half to three and a half million people - the migration towards Calcutta consisted of the best of individual movements and did not degenerate into a numerous form of group behaviour. There were very few riots and hardly any looting of shops. Jobs and food supplies were reserved for the inhabitants of Calcutta and consequently, as is noted by the official report on the famine in Bengal, "the ranks of dead bodies strewn in the streets of Calcutta had all come from rural areas. Not a single inhabitant of Greater Calcutta died of hunger, while millions of people were suffering and dying in the country" (p.2)

2. Sooner or later a conference like that will come about - for the same reasons as the series of conferences for non-aligned/Third world countries started in Bandung, Indonesia, 1955, and the World Conference of the United Nations Decade Year, Mexico 1975. It is a question of consciousness and political will: as it has been for ethnic minorities.

3. The argument is simply that direct violence kills more quickly than the "silent violence" of which Spitzer writes: in a second as opposed to days, even weeks of starvation.

4. These four classes of needs, security, freedom, identity - and then the economic well-being, the welfare needs are explored in some detail in Johan Galtung, The Basic Needs Approach, 1974 (see project meeting on needs, Berlin-West, May 1974, to be published in the proceedings of the meeting. Many other classifications are possible and - indeed - exist. This one has the advantage of highlighting the non-material needs - for freedom and identity.

5. The Cooyee Declaration, Mexico 1974

6. Indications of alternative indicators are given in Appendix 2.

7. For a very well documented study of this type of "development" see Ernest Feder, Straphary Imperialism: An Inquiry into the Mechanisms of Dependency in Mexican Agriculture, Editorial Composita, Mexico City, 1973; distributed by America Latina, London.

8. They may be wrong, of course, experience may prove that they can do without it. Those who starve have proved that they cannot do without food; those who overindulge in food may still think they cannot do without overindulgence. Experience later in this century may tell them/us that they can, if, for instance, those who go hungry today gain control over the food production process in their countries. An optimistic assumption is that less dramatic proofs would be needed, the informed debate and dialogue about the search.

9. This Spanish expression does not translate well into English, and conveys something very important: the "countryside" as a medium through which food is produced, needs can be satisfied, etc. It connotes more than merely a geographically defined area.

10. The best known is that of A.H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation", Psychological Review, 1943, pp. 370-96. At the bottom are hunger thirst, oxygen, recovery from fatigue; then freedom from pain protection of psychological goals; then friendship, love and tender affection; then prestige, achievement, status and dominance and at the top the need for self-actualization: expression of capacities and talents. The problem with such hierarchies is that they tend to be used far beyond what they can reasonably stand for: as an indication of the needs that are more animal-like versus truly human needs, as a legitimation of a division of society

into lower classes even with the first two layers, middle classes engaged in friendships, love and tender care, and upper classes devoting their time to the top two layers. Hierarchies also tend to justify separation or segmentation of need-satisfaction. While not denying that in any concrete situation people have priorities no universal dogma should be based on that.

11. This is explored in some detail in Johan Galtung and Torens Hirsak 'Human Needs, Human Rights and the Theory of Development', 1987, Peace in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, 1975; also published by UNICEF, Department of Social Sciences.

12. For a further theoretical explication of this, see Johan Galtung, 'The Dynamics of Lack Conflict', Space and Social Structures, Essays in Peace Research, Vol. III, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1976, pp. 182-96.

13. Even the terms "time budget" and "space budget" are indicative of this mentality: minute subdivisions of space and time on the one hand, human activities and concerns on the other, and then a mapping of the latter on the former, called "planning". Conventional architecture is done this way, separating people away from a common space, where all kinds of things took place, into functionally specific compartments.

14. For a further development of this, see Johan Galtung, Environment and Technology, 1979, Geneva, 1979, chapter 1.

15. For "intensive" read: absorbing, requiring; for "extensive", read: saving, economic.

16. This, of course, applies not only to rural technologies, but to technologies in general: economic theory has largely been based on the "linear three", thus closing for reflection on research vs. popular creativity and administration vs. popular participation.

17. See Keith Griffin and Leizer Sabman Khan, Rural Poverty: Trends and Explanations, ILO, World Development Programme, Working Papers, Geneva 1977; Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity, Doubleday, Garden City, 1977, particularly parts VIII and IX, very richly documented; Susan George, How the Other Half Dies, Panquin Books, London, 1976, particularly part III and Susan George, Feeding the Few, 1979. Gerald Leach in Energy and Food Production, Guildford 1976, shows it is not efficient in terms of energy use.

18. The report from the World Bank: Prospects for Fisheries Development for 1980-85 Report from the World Bank, 1980, p. 14: "15 years ago (1965) the report from the World Bank formulated the need for (p. 14): '15 years ago

there was ample fish in the markets: today with 400 trawlers operating, why is there scarcity of fish and high price? That there is scarcity of fish may not be so strange given the efficiency of the trawler and its ecological impact: "This process of dragging at a speed has a scouring effect in which the fish eggs and larvae breeding in the soft sediments are brutally killed." (p.7) But why should the unit price go up? Possibly not because increased costs with capital intensive technologies for production catch may increase even more than the catch compared to traditional methods. But what definitely goes up is the price that can be asked because of the willingness of people in the rich countries to pay. How may then argue that the owners of the means of food production could have a two-tier or multi-tier price structure - but why should they? It could be much more rational from their point of view to throw the fish overboard, keeping the prawns, for as the Sea Director of Fisheries concludes (in the Annual Report 1977 of Sea Fisheries Federations): "The processing industry is of unvarying quality, having a ready foreign market, with easy money advances and high yearly profits -" (Ibid., p5). Or, as Leppard and Collins put it (Ibid., p.254): "It takes a lot of freight to fill a DC-10 cargo jet. Yet three times a week from early December until May a DC-10 takes off from Senegal loaded with green beans, melons, tomatoes, eggplants, strawberries and paprika. Its destination? Amsterdam or Paris or Stockholm. Ironically such airlift began just as the drought in Senegal was beginning and they dramatically increased even as it was getting worse". 18: "The poor must associate with the rich at every stage of the process for land, for inputs, for services, and, finally, for the food itself on the basis of their monopolistic power and/or political power" - Food Systems and Society: A Report, prepared by UNCTAD/FAO/WHO, 1974, p.17.

19. "In their mass migrations from the countryside, the peasants take their poverty with them and, far from remedying it, sometimes aggravate it. They create serious problems of employment, pollution, overcrowding, lack of public services, and other kinds of environmental damage in the urban areas"- from The Historical Context of the North-South Relationship and the Role of the United Nations in the Evolution of this Relationship, Centre International pour le Développement, Paris, 1977 (also presented at the North-South Roundtable, Rome, Society for International Development, May 19-20 1978), p.70. So, if most of the causes of the negative development in the countryside are located in the city, the sins of the fathers are visited upon their sons and daughters, creating a poorly understood interdependence to the benefit of very few.

20. It should be noted that the arguments do not make use of the two real extremes, "intensive on all five factors", or "extensive on all five factors". Theoretically possible they are probably economically relatively meaningless, for where would the saving that could make for some comparative advantage be on the first, and where would one input be on the second? The first is too brutal, the second too gentle to make sense.

21. Leach and Collins (loc.cit. pp.194-5) quote a number of studies to the effect that "the small farmer in most cases produces more per unit of land than the large farmer" (studies from India, Thailand, Taiwan) and the World Bank study, Imp. result on World Poverty - Implications of Rural Development, Education and Health - Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1975 (for Latin America: adding small farms to twelve to fourteen times more productive per acre than large farms). On the other hand, "based on a study of 21 countries, Slichter more than 3 percent of all landholders, those with .04 acres or more, control almost 80 percent of all farmland" (Leach and Collins, loc.cit) One of the explanations is that the small farmers have in another that they produce in an ecologically more sound manner by rotating and mixing complementary crops. They are not victims of "the planting single commercial crops over large areas depletes the soil, leading to a heavy dependence on costly chemical fertilizers" (ibid: 194). They are also in need of less capital.

22. See Learning from China, FAO Regional Office for Asia and the Far East, Bangkok 1972 - a report on Agriculture and the Chinese People's Communes (by an FAO Study Mission Fall 1975), particularly chapter 5, "People's Organization: Transferring a 'Secret of Success' and". The authors say: "The Chinese also regard the people's commune as the basic organization of social order. In the direct process of the small farmer, self reliance must necessarily be perceived in community or organizational terms. Individually, the small farmer is to work to respond to the increasingly urgent calls for self-reliance and participation. The small farmer needs solidarity and strength, through organization in a peer group. Only through organization can the small farmer acquire both responsibility and power" (p.93.)

23. This type of documentation is now accumulating within FAO. See "Summary Review of FAO Activities in Cooperation with the People's Republic of China", OFF Working Paper, 20 June 1973. Of course, it may still be objected that there is more knowledge of how the People's Communes work when they work than of the extent to which the system really works all over China.

24. In the case of China all three methods are used, see Johan Galtung and Fumiko Mishimura, Learning From the Chinese People, Oslo, 1975 in Nordic and German languages) Chapter 5, Production and Consumption. But then a totally different view of the rural has been involved, and a firm decision to get rid of famines and to let the 80% of the population, the farmers, have much more power in the development process.

25. A very interesting experiment in another style for the organization of such meetings took place in the ACFOD/FAO Regional Small Fishermen's Workshop, Bangkok, 22-25 May 1978 (ACFOD stands for the Asian Cultural Forum on Development, an ACFOD with the active encouragement of the Asian Assistant Director-General of FAO, its Regional Fisheries Unit and its Regional (People's) Action for Development Unit. ACFOD proposed the idea with its national ACFOD affiliates in five Asian countries. At their helm, ACFUD brought together two fishermen from the northern tip of Indonesia (Sumatra), two from north-western Peninsular Malaysia two from the northern and eastern shores of the Gulf of Thailand and two from the coast of Honshu Island in Japan. The individual fishermen were representatives elected by their respective communities. Each pair of fishermen was accompanied by a representative of their respective national non-governmental sponsoring agencies (also for interpretation). The basic point, in common, is that these fishermen were not members of their governments delegations, and that the discussion was directly among them, resulted in "a programme of "Aquarian Reform" parallel to Agrarian Reform. The participants drafted this with the help of their ACFOD associates and sought FAO help for its wide dissemination" (from the report with local title, p.2 and 3. It can be seen.

26. See Andrew Hearse, Litter Size: an earlier report, UNRRA, Geneva 1978, and the very well documented chapter 17, "Wasn't the Green Revolution brought to line" ? in Lepodé, Collins, op.cit., pp. 124-34. Looking through the list of factors making the rice so bitter one of the most interesting features is that this was all known in advance. There is nothing new in it except the consequences of the reduction of genetic variety, and if biologists/ecologist could not predict that these disciplines must be in a very poor state. The point is, of course, that these decisions were made on the basis of very well selected research findings, and on the basis of the type of economic theory that sees development in terms of developing countries (eg. through trade) rather than people (eg. through having enough to eat). The whole story is, of course, a special case of the more general theory referred to in para 12, see footnot 17.

27. Which, of course, was one of Malthus's three mechanisms (the other two being war and sexual abstinence).

28. This, of course, is no argument against family planning, only an argument against family planning as a means to avoid or postpone more basic measure. For views of rural women on this subject, very diverse and interesting views indeed, see Cordita Huston, Message From the Village. The Epoch Foundation, New York 1978; produced with the assistance of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. The country with the highest proportion of its development aid dedicated to population activities, incidentally, is Brazil.

29. See International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Food Group, Circular Letter IV 1/1-75, Special Issue: Food Aid, with report from a workshop on Food Aid versus Self-reliance, Amsterdam, January 20-23, 1975 from the report on "U.S. Food Aid and the Guatemalan Earthquake: "Mounting U.S. Farm surpluses traditionally translate into pressures on Congress for stepped-up overseas food aid. - - - The widespread and indiscriminate distribution by USAID and OAS of food from the U.S. depressed prices for locally grown food. Tens of thousands of small farmers lost their source of livelihood just when they most needed it (p. 19, p. 21)". Also see Pierre Spitz, "Les Aides Alimentaires, Techniques et culturelles dans la Politique Agricole des Etats-Unis en Inde depuis la Défaite du Kuomintang", Revue de développement, No 4, 1977.

30. Of course, style A competes under the conditions obtained in most Third world countries very well with style B, which means that style B farming is pushed back, on inferior soil and with less access to inputs. On the other hand style A generates very much waste. The logical conclusion, to deal the waste generated by style B and the waste generated by style A, is almost tautological to contemplate, yet this may well be the way the system will try to protect itself.

31. Although the growth of the slums around major Third World cities is indicative of some kind of absorption capacity, nobody in his right mind would see this as a solution. For an excellent analysis of the urban-rural interface that generated these conditions, see Randolph David, "The sociology of poverty or the poverty of sociology: A brief note on urban poverty research", in Nancy Ching, ed., Questioning Development in Southeast Asia, Select Books, Singapore 1977, pp. 77-84. The book also has other chapters on the urban poor in the area, including a chapter on "The urban environment and mental health", by Riez Hassan.

31. Address to the board of governors of the World Bank, Geneva, 24 September 1971, by the President of the World Bank, Robert Macnamara. also see this address Kanika, 4 October 1971. For a critique see Ernest Feder, Macnamara's Little Green Revolution (The World Bank Scheme for the Self-liquidation of the Third World - summary), Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1975. and Jainer Tetzlaff, "Multinationale Entwicklungspolitik und die Entwicklungspolitik der internationalen Organisationen", Handbuch der Völkerverkehrung, 20, 1973 pp 74-81. The critique, in our terms, is simply that the problems cannot be solved with style A approaches. It is also sobering to be reminded that "focus on the small farmer would need until we recall that in many countries up to 80 percent of the people in the countryside have no land" (Lagué, Pointe p.244).

32. This, in fact, is what seems to happen. See Keith Griffin and Arivur Ranganathan, Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia, World Employment Programme, III, Geneva, 1971. For interesting data on the compatibility between increases in per capita income, per acre yields of grain and/or agricultural production with dramatic decreases in the level of living of the bottom, (Sri Lanka, West Malaysia, Bangladesh, etc. - landlessness). Many people can more easily be exploited by those a little bit better off, eg. small farmers, by buying them off.

34. The lack of transparency is important here. When the green revolution paddy fields are next to the landless and laborless recently evicted it does not take much imagination to see the monopolist who tracks down the hungry on the way to the export harbors. Lack of corporate control positions of style A production in rich countries it is less clear, also because they do not want to see it.

35. But it could, of course, also result in other styles. "Barreca", one of the 450 Soviet-style collectives created three years ago in Cuba's Communist-administered western zone, is dissolving itself. The workers, who enthusiastically welcomed collective control at the time recently wrote the government in despair, asking to have the land broken up and parts given back to the former owner. Lisher promptly accepted the proposal to the relief of the workers? From "Down on the farm", Progress, July 31, 1978, p. 11. This type of agrarian reform, whether it can be termed "Soviet-style" or not, is obviously style A under public rather than private ownership, which is not the same as "collective control" (the journalist authors are probably not familiar with such distinctions).



35. In Food-Systems and Society the "World Bank (officially) ... (p. 19) above) makes a very useful distinction with two broad approaches to the problems discussed in the present paper, the 'neo-orthodoxians', the 'unlettered official' leader and the 'radicals'. Their critique of the 'radicals' is probably justified: 'their analyses and policies are global, not country or locality specific' (p. 7). But when they say 'In addition, the 'radicals' tend to neglect production issues or to blame modern production techniques for many undesirable social trends, without examining carefully the relationships between production technologies and social structures' (p. 8, foot note 16) it soundlessly identifies this relationship as at the core of 'radical', as opposed to marxist, analyses.

37. Diagonally it would show up in the curves folding backwards.

38. See the paper by Irma Adelman, "Redistribution Before Growth - A Strategy for Developing Countries", in Journal of Economic Surveys, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1987, pp. 1-24. (Originally published in Journal of Economic Surveys, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1987, pp. 1-24. The Institute of Social Studies 25th Anniversary December 1987 - The Hague in 1987). Irma Adelman: 'A proposed theory of economic strategy for sustainable economic development in developing countries is quite simple. As indicated earlier, what I would urge is that, at each step in the growth process, the historical time sequence of productivity improvement followed by redistribution be reversed. First, the critical asset whose productivity will subsequently be improved should be redistributed. Then, and only then, its productivity should be improved' (p. 7). And she goes on, p. 11: 'The experiences of the recently developed non-communist developing countries which have successfully combined no-deterioration-in-the-relative-income-of-the-poor with accelerated growth (Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) show that they all have followed a dynamic sequence of strategies similar to the one recommended by me for equitable growth. In addition to the arguments in favor of "distribution first, growth later", there are also the arguments of provoking disequilibrium: see Johan Galtung, "Pain in development: A diachronic analysis of development in Japan", in Nancy Kester, ed., Measuring Development, London, 1972.

39. "The Mexicans are aware that there is little but Mexican land, water and labour involved in the agricultural sector producing strawberries" - "All strawberry plants come from the US; the US detentions which strawberry will be grown in Mexico; US strawberry interests are opposing directly and indirectly that Mexico develop its own adapted varieties" Feyer, op.cit., pp. 47ff. (not only non-food but also minimum utilisations of local factors, and hence: minimum factor development, even factor destruction (e.g. mono-cropping depletion of soil)).

40. Not certainly solving the low prices (with the exception of the Bananafrauen in Switzerland who want to pay more) and the all-year availability of non-basic food.

41. But this could of course also be a trick: 'let these collectivist sarvodaya type people have their little primitive self-reliance, set aside some acreage for them, and let the rest of us do serious business.' On the other hand, in the Soviet Union Style B is carrying a major portion of the food production; style A being unproductive and inefficient - according to reputation (data unavailable).  
42. The Nordic approach?

43. The more literary style kibbutzim literature, and also some of the kolkhoz literature abound with such references.

44. For an example of the opposite of stimulating people's creativity, see the article "Persuading by radio: Indexed Galt, of 'breadfeeding to !'", Health (by the World Bank Group), summer-September 1974, p.1: "Here in 1973 they employed a successful New York advertising firm to see it in their educational program. Ecuador's National Institute of Nutrition was guaranteed an innovative project. Never before had radio advertising techniques been so systematically applied to educational needs in a developing country". The same radio advertising was used in an article on family planning in India in Health, summer-September 1974, p.1: "The process of persuading the impoverished small farmer or landless worker to limit his family is likely to be a protracted one at the best, and the chances of success cannot be rated very high. - - For these and other reasons the main contact with the poor has been in the context of the mass sterilization camps that have taken place for limited periods outside the village setting. There, the camp organizers set out to obtain acceptance under the extraordinary festive atmosphere of the galas and through the use of incentive payments that are very large compared with the budgets of poor households. These high pressure tactics have succeeded in raising the count of sterilizations performed, but, in many cases, the acceptors have regretted their decision after wands - -". Compare this, which taken in the context of general style B sterilization is tantamount to an undeclared war on poor people, with the following: "In the Asian context it concludes, therefore, dictatorship of the elite over the masses, the city over the countryside and of the modern sector over the traditional, and new form of external control which would dilute the process of democracy", from "Participatory Democracy", in Towards a Theory of Rural Development, Development Dialogue, 1977: 2. By Abidul Haque, Vinodjan Mehta, Anisur Rahaman and Lonca Vignaraja.

45. For a very thoughtful analysis of this, see U.K. Arora, "Green Revolution and Agrarian Conflict in India". Delhi University, Delhi, unpublished paper: "It appears to me that the prevalent socio-economic conditions in India is likely to legitimize such attempts/land grab movement/over a period of time, unless the structural reasons for breeding conflicts are located and these conflicts are resolved systematically.

46. Of course, Oscar George is right when she after having considered "the only answer one really wants to offer when asked what they - in position of power in the West - can do to eradicate world poverty is to say nothing, let them alone, stop it!" goes on saying "Life is not like that, neither are MFDS, neither are states. Their methods may change; their basic goals will not" (op.cit., p.271). But the point should nevertheless be made.

47. The high yield varieties, or any others that makes the agriculture dependent in any lasting way on inputs from the outside, most particularly on agricultural universities and colleges, are also in this tradition.

48. See Russel Anderson, Biological Paths to Self-reliance, Stockholm, 1979, which gives a comprehensive theory for trees as well as for their interconnections. The sun is our inexhaustible energy capital, solar energy our income: it should be used much better. According to J.D. Sellers, Physical Climatology, University of Chicago Press, 1965 Northern Europe receives on the average 60 cal/cm<sup>2</sup>/year, North America 120, the tropics 270-230, giving a very favorable ratio for the tropics where most of the Third World is located. The problem is how to use it. Anderson wants to make much more use of geothermics, and argues that the water resources are also sufficient, except for Northern Africa and the Middle East.

49. Russell argues that very much of the "energy needs" of modern society are by-products of excessive centralization. With some conventional agriculture yielding food and waste, the waste (also human waste and animal waste) fed into a biogas digester that may be heated by some solar energy to operate optimally, using the sludge for fertilizer and the gas for heating, cooking and to run some engines (eg. pumps), all of this coupled to an algae pond to feed the digester even more, very many needs should be satisfied within a small area, creating a high level of self-reliance. One could of course also use trickle irrigation to avoid unnecessary waste of water, and inter-cropping, with aquaculture. One problem, however, is

generators and in the latter case they are not separated  
have not separated out of the filter, however, and the  
squares,

56. The number of squares is not a function of the number of  
of the squares is not a function of the number of squares.

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There is also the famous finding (by Leach) that 'ahahari' bushmen need about ten hours per person per day to collect food - for primitive man food cycles were only a few kilometers long! - which is not so different from what a London housewife might need for shopping. Average of travel in a metropolis seems to be down to 7 km/h, which is the same as walking speed - so the difference is mainly that modern life depletes and pollutes, and is bad for somatic and mental health.

57. They have to be organically linked to what takes place in the countryside, though. Success, pp. 111. mentions the following capital goods needs for the cycle mentioned in Paragraph 48: a solar energy converter, anaerobic digester, non-nitrogenous fertilizer (which would still be needed), some machinery, burners for methane. Consequently, these are things that should be made in the countryside rather than mechanically moving some electronics industry into the 'rady' fields.

58. The Italian concept città-arricchita is useful here: a city not as a conglomerate of densely packed houses, but as a network with nodes, stretched out over vast territories, with no clear centre anywhere. Most of Western Europe has this network, but the centers are still much too clearly in the capitals, and some other places. The present author had the occasion to visit a number of small communities in Lombardy on a day 11, the national holiday, communities that used to be centers of local activity to celebrate the day. That year (1976) they were drawn: people were glued to their color TV to watch the parade in Voio, and great parade - "real" - not because the King was there, but because it was real. Without decentralized TV (which is entirely possible, cable-TV) such decentralization would today be impossible - on the other hand, the experiments with decentralized broadcasting in Italy are interesting.

59. This was very deliberate urban policy: in a country that had favored the capital out of proportion, asymmetry is needed to compensate for asymmetry. Obviously, the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia must have had similar perspectives in mind however destructive, even fascist, the implementation.

60. Because there is no world government with a world policy. That world government might have put a lid on the growth of the North Atlantic area till the rest of the world somehow catches up - with some spoiler lids scattered here and there.

on the spot, not to market demands in distant places.  
service activities (including studies), adjusted to the seasonal variations  
55. Thus, the number can range from agriculture to industry to

with employment and income as one approach - comparable with style 3.  
than the system can take. The basic perspective should be on basic needs:  
It may be an attempt to favor style 3 and industrial production  
style 4 concept. To argue in favor of full employment and a satisfactory  
conception to be adopted out that "employment" is essentially a  
the basic needs of the family; however, these are defined (1977). In this  
case, there are not provide either sufficient employment or income to satisfy  
farm, whether it is devoted exclusively to subsistence crops or to cash  
planting is generally an unstable occupation, and the essential  
line representation of this point. "In various countries, as we have seen,  
Kist Development Foundation, Manila, 1977 for an exact-  
55. The Institute of Economics, Trade, Research and the Strategy for

54. Such as Kondratieff cycles.

number, readily expanding in number.  
averaging out more than 100,000, conditions that a country of state to several  
private sector and public sector. The new feature is the shift  
of the system of "control systems", and the shift on, for city  
55. In a country like Italy there is now a clear counter-trend. The

poverty and hunger.

advance, the result may be to have a more or less independent line  
difficult to private and state activities and state activities, even in  
said to be a time period if the government is strong and stable (as  
define what is needed for development/development, the way to  
advance and which is needed as a result. If the government is unstable  
55. In a planned economy the control system is fixed in

fact:

There are half a million fresh soldiers in the world today, each one waiting  
to the total cycle, including the waste-production and waste disposal, etc.  
of "total" and "industrial" cycles. The concept of "total" cycle is expanded  
of "total" cycle and "industrial" cycle. The concept of "total" cycle is expanded  
make a distinction between the "total" cycle and the "industrial" cycle.  
the "total" cycle is a system which is not a system which is not a system, and  
61. In the research project "Social Systems and Society" (see footnote 18)

67. For the individual is not the unit of rural development either: the unit is the group in which she or he lives - the family, the collectivity, here referred to as the household.

68. The United Nations University, Human and Social Development Programme, has two research projects, "Research and Development Systems in Rural Settings" and "Sharing of Traditional Technology", both of them in different ways very much aiming in this direction.

69. In addition, the ecological disturbances, the possible link between pollution and cancer and other pathologies in modern societies would seem to indicate the need not only for less scientific arrogance given this type of record, but for a more diversified approach, having many more approaches, seeing Western science more as exactly that, as Western ethno-science, and not as the science.

70. For a discussion of this as a general research approach, see Johan Galtung, "Divergent Diachronic Analysis", chapter 4 in Disciplinary and Ideology, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1977.

71. Here it is useful to think of the world not as a strict dichotomy between rich and poor, dominant and dominated, and the like, but as a chain with each part trying to push each of the negative externalities and the poverty of various kinds further down, until it ends in the poorest in the poorest countries. Many parts of that chain are in the Third World, which means that a dichotomy First world/Third world may not be analytically- and for that reason not practically either-very fruitful.

72. This is very much emphasized by Irma Isakson, op.cit.

73. As both - one may add - in order not to be split by false dichotomies.

74. There are cultures that instill a sense of restraint, and there are cultures that do not - Buddhaism on the one side and present Western civilization on the other might be good examples. It should be noted that the West also consumes increasingly expensive, in terms of inputs, food.

75. For an analysis in such terms, Johan Galtung, Tore Halsetad, Erik Odberg, "On the Decline and Fall of Empires, the Roman Empire and Western Imperialism Compared", Magnum, Chain in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, 1979.

74. See Johan Galtung and Monica Mervagah, "Overdevelopment and Alternative Styles of Life in Rich Countries, UNCTAD Project, Geneva, 1978.

77. See Johan Galtung, "Poor Countries vs. Rich: Poor People vs. Rich: When will UNCTAD Benefit?" in Towards Self-Reliance and Global Interdependence, OIDA, Ottawa, 1977.

78. See Johan Galtung, Joy Lousisverk. (et al) "Prien eds., Self-Reliance, Geneva, Leuven, 1979.

79. Reflecting on Archives October 1945, establishment 47, there is this passionate plea from Lord Boyd-Orr: "the hungry people of the world wanted bread and they were given statistics - no research was needed to find out that half the people in the world lacked sufficient food for health". Lord Boyd-Orr resigned in 1948; this is from his 1966 autobiography. I am grateful to Pierre Spitz for the reference.

80. Note: "over 40 percent of the population of the most developed world have completely freed themselves from our or through our aid efforts/ the socialist countries". Collins, Lappé, p. 116.