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Drawing: from 'La Ciudad Promitida', Alejandro Salazar

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## Editorial

Together with agrobusiness, warfare, transport, and many other 'achievements' of human civilization, the growth of cities has contributed to the ecological desalter we are currently facing. But more than in the other fields, the results of ecological maldevelopment are immediately observable in the big cities. Unlike in the case of the destruction of the rain forest, in the metropolis the ecological gap between cause and effect has narrowed in time and space. Here the problem manifests itself in a number of issues. But air and water pollution, traffic digestion, waste of non-renewable energy, the garbage explosion, and food shortages (which often turn into 'bread revolutions') are the effects that immediately come to one's mind. The most horrifying examples include Mexico City with its 20 million inhabitants, where water supply is at the edge of being exhausted and the intended solution of pumping fresh water from 250 km distant Tecoluitla will require a yearly energy input of 125 billion kilojoule. In the Kairo neighbourhoods population densities reach up to 140,000 people per square kilometer. In Jakarta lead concentration in the air exceed WHO accepted thresholds 17 times, in Calcutta 60% of the population suffer from respiratory diseases due to smog, lung cancer in China's big cities is several higher than in the countryside. Statistics tell that carbon monoxide intoxication are the most common reason for road accidents in Sao Paulo, where smog alarm would should have been necessary on 226 days in 1987, according to WHO norms (all dates from *Der Spiegel* 33/1989:135). Most sewage remains untreated in many megacities, and cause extreme health risks as the current cholera epidemic in Lima sadly demonstrates.

Urban ecology raises from these concerns, and attempts to reduce environmental hazards generated in and by the cities. Examples of proposed measure include waste recycling, opening up of sealed surfaces, energy conservation, waste recycling and the like. But urban problems cannot be treated in isolation, since part of the accelerated urbanization typical for the Developing World itself is a consequence of rural dilemmas which cause migration. There is a direct relationship between the extent of urban poverty (or crime) and imbalanced income distribution on the national and global scale. Therefore, ultimately rural and urban (eco-) development are two sides of the same coin to be dealt with simultaneously. Therefore, though concentrating on urban issues, in this edition of TRIALOG we consciously include rural development.

A documentation of current urbanization trends and its impact on human life and environment is provided by **Jürgen Oestereich** in this volume's first contribution.

**Eckhart Hahn** and **Udo Ernst Simonis** demonstrate the multiplicity of disciplines which are required to tackle a comprehensive program of 'ecological urban repair' which is currently under way in Berlin, and which considers ethnological, psychological, sociological, engineering and urban design deeds - just to name a few.

**Ignacy Sachs**, known as a promotor for ecodevelopment for many years, emphasizes the economic and ecological preconditions for the adequate availability of

energy and food for the urban poor in the South. Urban farming, waste recycling, energy conservation, labour intensive technologies, the use of local resources are among the most important demands.

Of a similar direction but more practically oriented are the proposals forwarded by **Richard L. Meier** and **Quing Shen**, who make direct reference to the concrete needs of the Shanghai conglomeration. They visualize low-energy houses built by their users, fuel-saving transport alternatives in form of bicycles or intelligent logistic for mass transport, optimization in supply and disposal of water heated – where necessary – by solar power and combined with fish ponds to raise food supply. Following these principles the Shanghai region would be able to support five times its present population.

**Christine Furedy** elaborates on the aspect of ecological sewage treatment as it is traditional in the case Calcutta. There the organic wastes are fed into a complex system of fish farming, vegetable production and composting. The system could be further improved with an integrated waste management policy including controlled disaggregation of refuse and protection of urban agricultural land.

The cultural aspects of urban ecology are raised by **Dogan Kuban**, which he considers hardly respected by the present ruling elites in the turkish and other islamic states. He calls for a more sovereign control over modern technology to avoid negative consequences.

Also a rather political tone sounds in the contribution by **Maria Clara Echeverria** in her essay 'Building an Irremediable Planet?'. At the example of her home city Medellin she demonstrates that many progressive and beneficial legal provisions remain ineffective where the majority of the people have no effective influence in governing the city. This could be achieved only when local communities recover control over their immediate environment.

**David Barkin** leaves the urban context and shows how North Corea has achieved economic decentralization and food self-sufficiency, though the price was political isolation in the international, and strong central control on the national scale.

Cuba, on the other hand, is at the same time trying to advance in political decentralization and to increase economic self-sufficiency – though the latter is largely being imposed by the international political development in Eastern Europe – as the actual political report by **Kosta Mathéy** illustrates.

The selection of articles shows the many facets of eco-development – and is in this sense complementary to others already published in our previous TRIALOG issues – like those dedicated to participation (15), co-operatives (16), ecology (17), self-help housing (18), NGOs & CBOs (22), public-private initiatives (23/24), and urban systems (26).

*Kosta Mathéy and Jürgen Oestereich*

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# Welt-Urbanisierung

## Eine Ursache des ökologischen Zusammenbruchs?

Jürgen Oestereich

Heute von "Stadt" im allgemeinen Sinne zu sprechen, heißt, den Hintergrund der weltweiten Urbanisierung im Blick zu behalten. Auf der nördlichen Hemisphäre versteht man unter "Urbanisierung" den in den Industriegesellschaften erreichten Zustand. Auf der Südhalbkugel meint "Urbanisierung" den Prozeß, in welchem sich weitaus größere, schwach oder nicht industrialisierte Ballungsräume bilden. Daß diese jemals den Zustand nördlicher Agglomerationen erreichen, ist eine Illusion, von der wir, ob wir wollen oder nicht, Abschied nehmen müssen. Im übrigen scheint die Reihenfolge, in welcher die Urbanisierung stattfindet, entscheidenden Einfluß auf die jeweiligen Ausprägungen zu haben.

### Indikatoren der Verstädterung

Die Zahlen, die zur Beschreibung dieses Phänomens genannt werden, mögen umstritten und korrekturbedürftig sein. Sie sind in jedem Falle Indikatoren für die großmaßstäblichen qualitativen Veränderungen. Nicht auf ein paar Millionen mehr oder weniger, sondern auf die großen Linien kommt es uns bei den Zahlen der Tabelle 1 an.

Nach diesen Prognosen erreichen die Länder Lateinamerikas als erste den Sättigungsgrad der Urbanisierung. Um 2020 werden etwa 80% der Bevölkerung in Städten wohnen. Soweit es noch Landflucht geben wird, tritt sie notwendigerweise zahlenmäßig zurück. Entscheidend ist, daß sich die Bevölkerungsverteilung, ähnlich wie bereits in Europa, im großen Rahmen stabilisieren wird. Schon heute zeichnet sich ab, daß die städtische Bevölkerung dann weniger industrialisiert und weniger produktiv im Sinne unserer Statistik sein wird, als die der Industrieländer.

In Asien strebt die Verstädterungsrate und damit die Bevölkerungsverteilung mit unterschiedlicher Geschwindigkeit dauerhaften Siedlungsmustern zu, die aber trotz einer gewaltigen Zunahme der Stadtbevölkerung 2020 noch nicht erreicht sein werden. Nicht nur die Länder insgesamt, selbst die Städte werden den Charakter landwirtschaftlicher Subsistenz beibehalten.

In Afrika wird die Urbanisierung, die in der Periode 1960-1990 zwar absolut geringer, aber relativ stärker war, als auf den anderen Kontinenten, in der folgenden Tridekade noch einmal relativ zu-

nehmen und dann auch absolut die Zahlen Lateinamerikas übertreffen. Bei gegenüber Asien oft geringeren natürlichen Ressourcen und als Nachzügler im internationalen Vergleich wird Afrika beim Kampf um Lebensqualität - auf dem Lande, vor allem aber in den Städten und Agglomerationen - am meisten benachteiligt sein.

### Lebensqualität der Ballungsräume

In Hinsicht auf die allgemeine Lebensqualität dürften die großen Städte auf allen Kontinenten ein besonderes Problem darstellen. Wenn wir den Bezug zu den heutigen Zuständen herstellen, können uns auch hier einige Zahlen aus Tabelle 2 als Indikatoren für qualitative Aussagen dienen.

In einer solchen Übersicht nehmen die höheren Größenklassen gegen über den niedrigeren durch den Aufstieg einzelner Einheiten überproportional zu. Andererseits wird verdeckt, wenn die größten Ballungsräume stagnieren, weil sie zunehmend ungesund und unsicher werden. Insgesamt stehen die Zahlen für eine komplexe Wirklichkeit, die hier nur in Stichworten angedeutet werden kann.

	1960	Zunahme	1990	Zunahme	2020
<i>Bevölkerung, insgesamt</i>					
Welt	3012	2234	5246	2576	7822
davon in EL	2072	1966	4038	2412	6450
davon Lateinamerika	220	220	440	310	740
davon Südasien *)	370	720	1600	1100	2700
davon Afrika	280	320	600	870	1470
<i>Städtische Bevölkerung, insgesamt</i>					
Welt	1032	1202	2234	2254	4488
davon in EL	460	894	1354	2071	3425
davon in Lateinamerika	110	200	310	300	610
davon in Südasien	160	330	490	890	1380
davon in Afrika	53	147	200	570	770

\*) d.h. Asien außer SU, China, Korea und Japan  
Quelle: UNCHS (1987): Tabellen 3,1 und 5.1, z.T. interpoliert und gerundet

	1960	Zunahme	1990	Zunahme	2020
<i>Städtische Bevölkerung in Millionenstädten</i>					
Lateinamerika	39	91	130	155	285
Südasien	42	134	176	424	600
Afrika	10	58	68	302	370
<i>Städtische Bevölkerung in Agglomerationen über 4 Mio Einwohner</i>					
Lateinamerika	22	52	74	106	180
Südasien	19	79	98	282	380
Afrika	5	5	20	220	240

Quelle: nach UNCHS (1987): Tabelle 5.12

Mexiko-Stadt zählt heute gegen 20 Millionen Einwohner. Da die Wasserreserven des Ballungsraumes wegen des dysfunktionalen Verteilungs- und Entsorgungssystems überausgebeutet werden, hat der sinkende Grundwasserspiegel, verstärkt durch extrem hohe Verschmutzungen in Luft und Wasser, den Teufelskreis abnehmender Regenerationsfähigkeit in der gesamten Stadtregion in Gang gesetzt. Dennoch wird bis 2020 ein Bevölkerungszuwachs auf ca. 30 Mio E. erwartet. Niemand kann voraussagen, ob es gelingen wird, die Ressourcen besser zu nutzen und die Emissionen einzuschränken, so daß die Lebensqualität für diese größere Bevölkerungszahl wenigstens auf dem heutigen Niveau gehalten werden kann.

Ein aktuelles Beispiel für den Zusammenbruch der Gesundheitsversorgung ist Lima. Die gegenwärtig tobende Cholera hat unmittelbar mit dem Bevölkerungswachstum zu tun, das unter den gegebenen Rahmenbedingungen nicht anders als in Form der Elendsquartiere stattfinden kann. Dennoch wird sich die Einwohnerzahl, die sich von 1960 bis heute auf über 8 Mio. etwa vervierfacht hat, von jetzt bis 2020 mindestens noch einmal verdoppeln. Wie werden Wasser und Nahrung dann verteilt, inwieweit Seuchen und Kriminalität eingedämmt sein?

Für Lateinamerika insgesamt gilt, daß allein der Zuwachs der Bevölkerung der letzten Tridekade von 52 Millionen in den großen Agglomerationen, der dort zu den heutigen Zuständen geführt hat (vgl. auch den Aufsatz von Maria Clara Echeverria in diesem Heft), sich in der folgenden Generation noch einmal verdoppeln wird.

Asien ist insgesamt heterogener. Hier finden sich Ballungsräume wie Kalkutta, Bombay und Delhi, die insgesamt langsamer wachsen und in diesem Prozeß die Mehrheit, oder sogar die Gesamtheit der Bevölkerung kontinuierlich an eine niedrigere Lebensqualität gewöhnen. Mit dem weiteren Wachstum (von 16 bzw. 12 Mio auf 18 bzw. 16 Mio E.) wird sie, falls Gegenstrategien nicht greifen, noch weiter sinken. Wann ist in diesen Städten die endgültige Bruchstelle für die ökologische Regenerationsfähigkeit erreicht und wo liegt sie?

Andere Agglomerationen in Asien werden dagegen noch explosionsartig wachsen. Als herausragendes Beispiel läßt sich Dhaka anführen, das sich von '60 bis '90 auf 3 Mio E. vervierfacht hat

und seinen Multiplikator bis 2020 noch steigern dürfte. Dabei liegt die Stadt in einer zunehmend von Überschwemmungen heimgesuchten Region und leidet wie so viele andere an Bodensenkungen durch Grundwasser-Übernutzung.

Zusammenfassend für Asien mag an dieser Stelle der Schluß genügen, daß die Tendenz der letzten Jahrzehnte fortsetzen und folglich das Elend der heutigen Slums sich vervielfachen und - je nach örtlichen Verhältnissen - vertiefen wird.

In Afrika, wo die Verstädterungsrate immer noch auf einem vergleichbar niedrigen Niveau liegt, ist das Wachstum der Städte in allen Größenklassen weltweit am höchsten. Einzig Kairo, das bereits 1960 5 Mio Einwohner zählte, kann der Klasse der langsam wachsenden Agglomerationen zugerechnet werden. Zwar konnten bisher, während sich angesichts der stagnierenden Ressourcen und zunehmenden siedlungsbedingten Schadstoffemissionen die allgemeine Lebensqualität verminderte, die Stadtfunktionen insgesamt aufrechterhalten werden, wann werden Cholera oder Kriminalität überhandnehmen?

Die Mehrzahl der afrikanischen Ballungsräume wie Kinshasa, Addis Abeba, Abidjan oder Nairobi dürften der Klasse der schnellwachsenden Zentren nach dem Vorbild Lagos zuzurechnen sein. Diese Stadt versechsfachte sich in der zurückliegenden Tridekade und handelte sich damit Gefahren für Gesundheit und Sicherheit ein, welche ihr Lebensniveau auf indisches Niveau drückte. Für Nigeria insgesamt mag ungewiß sein, ob Lagos ins Ungewisse weiter wächst oder sich bei ca.5 Mio einpendelt während die Urbanisierung in anderen Städten wie Ibadan, Kano, vielleicht gar die neue Hauptstadt Abuja weiter wuchert.

Angesichts der Bevölkerungszahl werden für Afrika trotz des geringeren Anteils der städtischen Bevölkerung die absoluten Zahlen in allen Größenklassen der Ballungsräume diejenigen Lateinamerikas überholen. Die abnehmende Lebensqualität praktisch aller afrikanischen Metropolen schon heute läßt für deren Zukunft Schlimmes erwarten, kommt doch allenthalben zu der Ressourcenknappheit noch die gewalttätige Kriminalität hinzu.

**Literatur:** UNCHS / HABITAT (1987) Global report on human settlement; Oxford

## EINLADUNG

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# Ecological Urban Restructuring

Ekhart Hahn and Udo E. Simonis

The greenhouse effect, the damage to the ozone layer, the decrease in biodiversity, and the increase of hazardous wastes and other global environmental problems are directly related to the development of industrial society and modern urban structures. Cities are notorious for their careless treatment of scarce and sensitive environmental goods. The process of transforming raw materials into waste and pollutants has become autonomous, while urban planning ignores significant elements of human behavior, giving rise to grave socio-psychological problems. Cities have thus become a symbol for the neglect of organic, cultural traditions and the destruction of the identity of places.

The prevalent type of industrial urban development is a dead-end street. This is demonstrated by the highly urbanized industrial countries of today. With less than a quarter of the world's population, they consume more than 70% of the world's primary energy and almost 80% of the raw materials. Above all this is due to the development of urban technology, of infrastructures, and forms of consumption, characterized by a linear optimization of individual systems and the separation of correlated urban functions, i. e. working, living, and leisure are increasingly separated, as are the patterns of production and consumption.

Together with the spread of global markets for raw materials, the production and the consumption of products have also become further apart so that the economy concentrates less and

less on local factors. A gigantic rise in transport requirements and traffic capacity is associated with this process, as is a rise in emissions. Presently, traffic accounts for approximately 20% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, about 48% of NO<sub>x</sub> emissions and about 75% of carbon monoxide emissions.

Almost half of most industrial countries' end energy consumption goes to heating. This is predominantly due to modern building methods which ignore findings on heat conservation and energy efficiency. In the hitherto socialist countries of Eastern Europe the squandering of energy is even more spectacular. For decades the societal framework for dealing with energy and heating has systematically worked against environmentally conscious attitudes. The example of the „Sears Towers" in Chicago, for many still a shining symbol of modern city planning demonstrates that aberrations of this sort of technical development can take on broad dimensions; this urban monster uses more energy in 24 hours than an average American city of 150,000 inhabitants or an Indian city of more than 1 million inhabitants.

Grave ecological consequences result from a decade-long, irresponsible approach to land use in modern city planning. For instance, in the large cities of Europe the settlement surface per inhabitant has increased 10 times in the last 100 years. This staggering surface corrosion is due above all to the idea of the „car-oriented city", the development of surface-extensive facilities and the separation of urban functions.

The deterioration in the urban quality of life concerns not only bad quality of air and drinking water, or the increase in poisons used for interior finishing, but also the impoverishment of sensual perceptions and the loss of orientation and identification on the part of the inhabitants. Doctors and psychologists speak of our cities as the „expression of a sick landscape of the soul", in which the atrophy of the inner world takes place parallel to the destruction of the outer environment.

From an economic point of view, this type of urban and settlement structures also turns out to be a dead-end. According to studies of the Federal Environmental Agency, the costs of

## Zusammenfassung

Die Autoren kritisieren das Muster der gegenwärtigen Urbanisierung, da es wegen seiner Ausrichtung am Konsum angesichts der Endlichkeit der Weltressourcen global notwendig in eine ökologische Sackgasse führt. Sie skizzieren den Rahmen für die unerläßlichen, grundsätzlichen Verhaltensänderungen - als Ergebnis einer interdisziplinären Studie des Wissenschaftszentrums Berlin, des Politechnikums Krakau und des URBION-Institutes Brünn - in Form von „Orientierungspunkten", „Aktionsfeldern" und „Strategieblöcken".

In den Orientierungspunkten werden Wissensbereiche wie Anthropologie im Sinne von Ethnologie, Psychologie und Kleingruppensoziologie (Partizipation), Siedlungstechnik (zur qualifizierten Verdichtung urbaner Funktionen), Umwelttechnologie (zur Optimierung der Stoffkreisläufe), eine ökologisch ausgerichtete Wirtschaft und schließlich ein internationaler Informationsaustausch für wesentlich bezeichnet. Als Aktionsfelder werden ökologisch ausgerichtete Stadttechnik und Stadtgestaltung, Basisdemokratie und der Aufbau örtlicher Wirtschaftskreisläufe, als Strategieblock z.B. die Einführung weitgehender Selbstbestimmung in ökologischen Wohnquartieren bezeichnet. Abschließend weisen die Autoren auf aktuelle Forschungs- und Fördermaßnahmen internationaler Entwicklungs- und Finanzierungsinstitutionen in diesem Forschungsbereich hin.

Dr. Ekhart Hahn, City Planner, Research Fellow, Science Center Berlin  
Dr. Udo E. Simonis, Professor of Environmental Policy, Science Center Berlin

environmental destruction (= calculable damages) in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1986 amounted to over DM 103 billion or 6% of the GNP, and what is more, these costs are increasing exponentially.

### Modern Urban Lifestyles

In spite of these imbalances and alarming trends, the attractiveness of cities has further increased. It is therefore necessary to clarify the question of what constitutes this attractiveness of cities.

City life means concentration and variety, the co-existence of people of different descent and lifestyles. The fascination consists in heterogeneity and diversity, in strangeness and familiarity, in problems and opportunities.

Cities have always been an expression of the „triumph of man over nature“, of the felt need for liberation from the tight bonds and commitments to nature and the environment. Industrial modes of production proffer totally novel and enticing possibilities. The desire for independence and freedom from commitment and personal responsibility for nature and the environment materializes in modern construction and urban planning. To a degree hitherto unknown the individual is independent from daylight and weather, from seasons and local raw materials, as well as from the natural cycles of regeneration.

For the individual this means, not having to worry about many routines. The electricity comes from a plug. The water comes from the water pipes and disappears down the drain. The waste goes into a garbage container and one hasn't to bother what happens before or after that. Milk and bread are to be bought at the supermarket. Children are brought to nursery schools, sick people to hospitals, older people to homes for the elderly. We need not care for the buildings and neighbourhoods, housekeepers, building societies and public institutions are responsible for that. The increase in free time leads to the „flight into remoteness“, to modern mass tourism and other forms of leisure consumption. Only now people realize that these developments have also lead to a loss of functionality and attractiveness of intimate urban space, to a functionally divided, car-oriented, instead of a man-oriented city.

Hence, the ecological challenge to industrial society above all is a question of changing lifestyles and societal value systems. In this respect we need innovations and ecologically sound solutions to problems in civilization. History has shown that such solutions may be found, given the will to survive, just because of the innovative power of cities. In this sense, there is a legitimate chance that the topic of ecological adaptation of industrial urban culture will be incorporated into this historical chain.

### Ecological Urban Restructuring

The role of ecological urban restructuring in mitigating and/or solving the environmental crisis is based on the fact that cities represent the most materialized form of a society's interaction with the natural environment. The city is „built thought“; it is both a product and a producing, resp. reproducing modality in the metabolic process between society and nature. Thus the city is the central point of departure as well as the central place of further development of society's appropriation of natural resources, of the transformation of technology, of societal innovations and cultural change. Urbanization will continue on a global scale. Decisive impulses to mitigate or to solve the concomitant environmental crisis therefore must come from the city.

It is not wise to carry the theoretical elaboration of ecological urban restructuring too far. Any promising solution needs a close connection between theory and practice, as well as the cooperation of various disciplines, of major agents and the general public. New planning procedures and new technologies must be developed and tested in real urban situations and gradually made operational in order to achieve a new context step by step.

Already with presently available technology and organizational measures, it is possible to drastically reduce emissions, save resources and ease the burden on the environment. Experts commissioned by the Berlin Minister for Urban Development and Environment Protection discovered for instance, that 50% to 60% of current space heating energy could be saved in less than 30 years. The related reduction of harmful emissions would be about 70%. As for the measures to be implemented, the following sug-

gestions were made: application of passive thermic protection in buildings, extensive conversion to gas, using heating from power-heat co-generation. Energy consumption and harmful emissions could be reduced further by measures such as thermic recovery, temporary thermic protection, introducing buffer zones and active use of solar energy.

Regarding water it was demonstrated that more than 20% of drinking water could be economized with an investment in water-saving technology, with a pay-off period of only a year. By introducing technology for re-using grey water for toilet flushing and by decentralized utilization of rain water, savings of up to 50% are possible. Pre-cleaned rainwater (or even grey water) could be used for the irrigation of roofs and facades, and thereby for improving the urban micro-climate. It was found that such concepts can alleviate the problems of supply and pollution of surface water and partly also of groundwater.

Moreover, evidence was established that by covering unused surfaces such as courtyards, roofs and facades with vegetation, the ecologically active, „green“ surfaces in cities can be increased 10 times. Considerable amounts of dust and pollutants could thus be absorbed by plants. Local temperatures in built-up areas could be significantly lowered, and the oxygen and humidity content of the air be increased. Noise emissions could partly be absorbed by soft, porous facades and greened roofs. The urban population could even become partly self-sufficient with herbs, lettuce and vegetables from rooftop greenhouses. A further significant effect of the „greening“ of houses and courtyards could be a change in the inhabitants' behaviour in their free time and the corresponding reduction of traffic.

As a last example, let us turn to garbage. Already in the late 70's it was shown that the so-called „waste“ actually is „valuable material“. In the average Berlin three-person household some 810 kilograms of „waste“ are produced per year. About 615 kilograms of this could be re-used in principal. Even if only 50% were re-used, the reduction of waste for a city like Berlin with about 3 million inhabitants would be in the range of 1,2 million tons per year. The following reduction measures were suggested:

avoidance of waste, separate collection of materials and waste (glass, paper, organic and chemical substances, metal, residues), compost piles for organic waste, establishing recycling stations.

There have been a number of reports documenting that ecologically motivated transformation is possible in all branches and sectors of the economy. Unfortunately, very little of this knowledge has been disseminated and put into practice. „Environmental relief” provided by the introduction of catalytic converters into the cars has been more than compensated by the extension of the street system and the use of larger cars with additional horsepower. Rather than a reduction of waste, a quantitative rise can be noted in most cities, as well as an increase in polluting substances. Even the perfectly plausible concepts of water saving and urban greening were rarely put into practice.

### Elements of a Strategy for Ecological Urban Restructuring

As a reaction to the failures of urban environmental management, a close linking of inter-disciplinary and cross-referenced theory and implementation of pilot projects seems to be a prerequisite. Also it seems necessary to foster the understanding of ecological urban restructuring as an international task. The following proposals are the outcome of such a inter-disciplinary, empirically and internationally oriented project undertaken at the Science Center Berlin, with financial support by the Volkswagen Foundation. The partners were the URBION Institute in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia), and the Polytechnicum in Cracow (Poland). The aim of the project was to compare the environmental situation and the strategies of action for urban ecology, depending on the specific socio-political frameworks. In addition, the research project was supposed to suggest political strategies and planning concepts for a better understanding of the urban environment. One of the results of the project was the concept of „ecological urban restructuring”. It is composed of three essential elements (see Illustration 1):

(1.) The „Eight Points of Orientation” which serve as a guideline and as a basis for discussion on specific projects as well as suitable political strategies and individual measures.

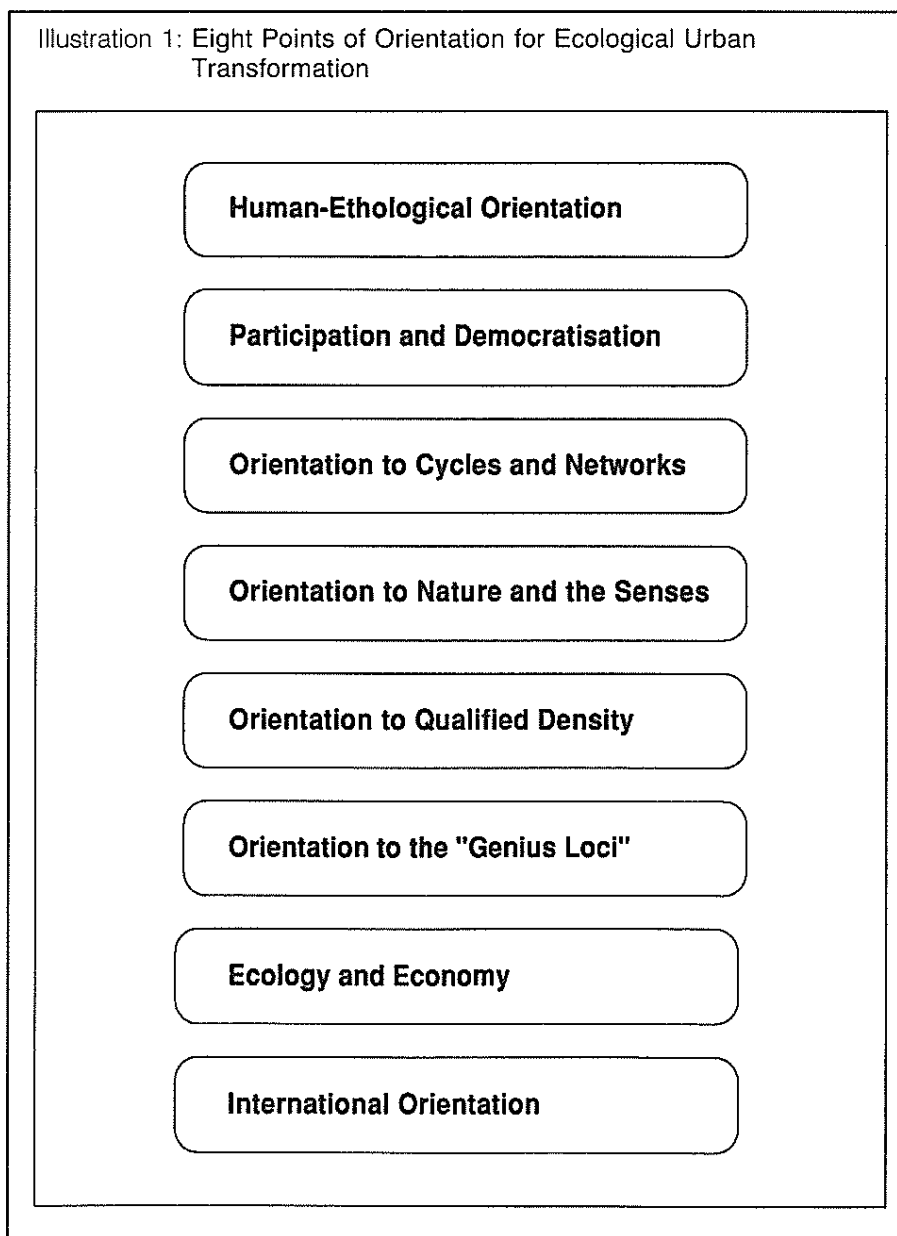
(2.) The „Fields of Action” and „Building Blocks” with which the possibilities of and necessities for ecological urban restructuring are being systematized; they represent an aid for thought and work when dealing with the contradictions between existing sectoral planning and the necessity of new „integrated” thought and action.

(3.) The „Concept of Ecological Neighbourhood Development”. Neighbourhoods that are comprehensible for their inhabitants have been discovered to be the most important level of action for ecological urban restructuring. Multiple possibilities towards networking individual measures to integrated concepts with the participation of the inhabitants and other local actors are offered here. Through

decentralized local networking, individual measures become ecologically effective, economically viable, and socially acceptable.

### „Eight Points of Orientation”

The „Eight Points of Orientation” were formulated out of the necessity of introducing comprehensible guidelines on ecologically compatible urban planning. Explanatory aids as to what is to be understood by „ecological urban restructuring” are hardly available. Institutions and actors are badly prepared for a topic which, no doubt, will be a central one in the future. The theoretical assumptions and the empirical findings from the research project on central ecological urban restructuring are summarized in Illustration 1.





It is in no way imperative that totally new criteria for thought and action be used to reform the interactions between society and environment. Rather, principles of environmentally and socially compatible technology and forms of settlement, verified by centuries of experience, should be systematized.

(1) Human-ethological orientation: If we do not have a better understanding of the „nature in us”, no solutions for the „nature around us” can arise. It is to be noted that we carry the traces of thousands of years of evolution in the natural milieu and in small, social units. Specific behavioural patterns emerge from this, which modern urban planning often disregards. Human-ethological planning criteria comprise the human being's need for individual space and group territory; its search for identity and self-representation; its demand for orientation and social structures.

(2) Participation and democratization: Participation of the inhabitants is the first „ecological law”! The reduction of city inhabitants to mere consumers and considering them to be professionally incompetent was a social and ecological dead-end. Personal participation, experience and responsibility in the interaction with the environment will instigate learning processes. Decentralisation in planning, in the design and implementation of the local habitat leads to spaces for individual and collective awareness and self-realization.

(3) Orientation to cycles and networks: Nature is the most economical and ecological architect. Its products are harmoniously placed into energetic and material cycles, optimally adapted to local conditions. Builders, architects and city planners should again learn from „nature's intelligence”. When choosing building materials and designing products it is important to consider the whole production, consumption and deposition cycle and its effects on people and the environment (chain or tree concept). Corresponding „substance-value factors” should be integrated into all planning activities.

(4) Orientation to nature and the senses: It is not enough to understand cyclical orientation and participation in purely organizational or technical terms. They must be made sensually

felt. Since most of the natural and cyclical relations of architecture, urban planning and technical systems can no longer be experienced sensually, sensitivity and responsibility wither away and indifference as to what is bad and good in life rises. For example, water in the city just occurs between the tap and the drain, and one does not bother about what happens before and after. Under such circumstances the esteem for this vital element must atrophy.

(5) Orientation to qualified density: Ecological urban restructuring implies integration of urban functions, a mixture of living, work and leisure on the smallest possible scale (qualified density). This means the realization of multiple alternatives for cooperation, and of the respective possibilities for saving time, distance and resources.

(6) Orientation to the „Genius Loci”: The Chinese doctrine of „Feng Shui” stipulated a way of constructing buildings and cities, of utilizing land and natural resources „that the landscape was not changed in such a way that the earth's life-supporting energetical influences and operating laws would be disturbed.” Today, orientation to the „genius loci” means to relate architecture and urban planning to the history of a given place. Reference to the „genius loci” thus is visualizing the city and the urban neighbourhoods as living memory.

(7) Ecology and Economy: So far, environmental protection policies have neither proven sufficient nor financially viable. Instead of treating symptoms, we must develop preventive ecological strategies which strike at the anthropological origins of the environmental problems. New, innovative instruments like resource taxes, emission charges, billing according to consumption, environmental accounting, appropriate building standards, planning laws and strategic subsidies have to be introduced. Furthermore, it is necessary to create suitable conditions for new forms of co-operation between the formal and the informal economy, towards co-planning, co-production and co-responsibility in forming the local habitats.

(8) International orientation: Local and global environmental problems, the destruction of the resource basis in the developing countries and the waste of resources in the industrial countries

are closely linked. Ecological urban restructuring thus requires an international exchange of knowledge and experience, and the mutual support in implementing new urban ecological strategies. Important impulses for environmental policy originate from decentralized municipal networks, a new kind of pressure „from below”. Suggestions to finance such programmes „help for self-help” are on hand; means hitherto used for armaments may be channelled to this type of activities.

### **„Fields of Action” and „Building Blocks”**

The question is, how can the proposed „points of orientation” be made more specific and put into practice. On basis of the theoretical foundation presented and of experiences from pilot projects on ecological restructuring, the „fields of action” and „building blocks” were formulated. They try to mediate between the reality of sectoral planning, of existing policy and administrative departments and the necessity of „integrated” thought and action. Three fields of action which complement each other have turned out to be particularly important for integrated ecological urban restructuring:

- (1) Urban Technology and Urban Design
- (2) Grass-root Democracy and Environmental Communication
- (3) Urban Economy and Political Administration

Only by networking these three fields of action does ecological urban restructuring have a good chance. If not, things will remain at a stage of rather exotic and only partly convincing pilot projects. Particularly the second and third fields of action indicate the importance of changes in the economic, social and political conditions which again depend on a new collective environmental consciousness, a new environmental ethic.

With respect to the interdisciplinary and international project quoted above, the three fields of action were defined and made more specific by a number of „building blocks” (see Illustration 2). These building blocks relate to established and new planning

areas, policies, instruments and research proposals which are of particular importance to ecological urban restructuring. Thus there are dialogue partners, persons, institutions and associations to succeed with the implementation of strategies; tasks can be formulated, and the obstacles to their realization can be named, solutions found or called for.

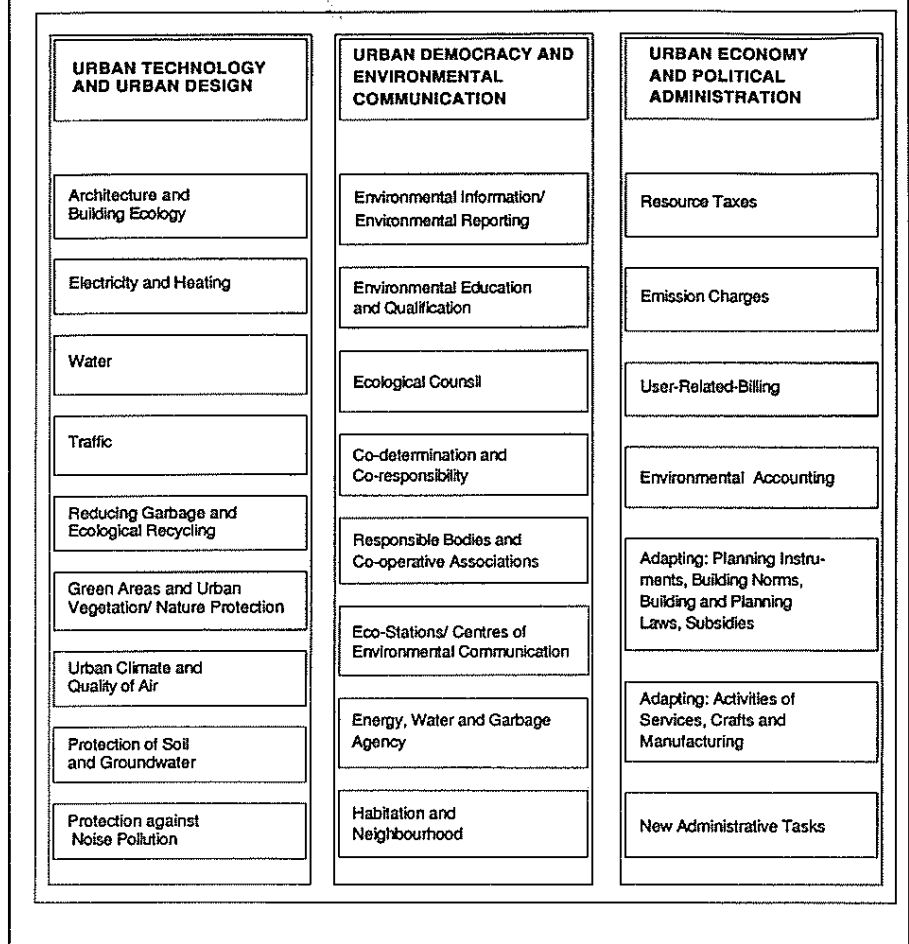
The term „building block” should illustrate that the function and capacity of each building block becomes effective only in conjunction with the other building blocks. In its ecological, economic and social efficiency it has only a limited chance of implementation without this networking. This does not mean, however, that all building blocks should necessarily be taken into account when planning and realizing concrete projects. The building block model is rather a framework; it serves to recognize the suitable approaches for action, given the specific situation of a project, and to allow use of locally given possibilities.

As to urban technology and design it has proven useful to distinguish four levels of innovation (see Illustration 3). They demonstrate historical levels of technology, as well as the direction for the further development of environmental technology. Only the fourth level of innovation can really be acknowledged as being „ecological”. Nevertheless, related to a particular problem in a particular place and time, all four levels of innovation can be the best solution, i.e. the only possible one.

It is necessary to combine technical measures with environmentally oriented communication, and to introduce democratic participation and co-responsibility of the inhabitants from the very beginning of planning. Education and consultancy play an important role here. „Environmental shops or stations” should be established as centres for environmental information and communication.

With regard to the measures of environmental communication it is important to include local bodies such as churches, youth organizations, clubs, etc. as multipliers in such a process, but also to reactivate untapped resources of the existing administration. Thus, according to given local conditions, an attempt can be made to

Illustration 2: "Fields of Action" and "Building Blocks"



incorporate schools, nurseries, health and cultural institutions into the urban planning process. Citizens' initiatives, self-managed projects which already exist and whose work can be fostered are very important when implementing a neighbourhood-related programme to reduce solid waste, to recycle materials, to compost organic waste and to promote environmental communication in the way described.

Ecological urban restructuring can and must also be understood as an economic strategy of creating additional employment and developing new professional capabilities. In energy and water conservation, in optimizing transport, or in urban farming, new employment opportunities emerge. All these activities are labour-intensive; ecological restructuring thus offers employment generation effects.

Illustration 3: Four Levels of Innovation or Environmental Technology and Technical Concepts for Urban Development

Level of Innovation	Symbol	Description
1	→	Measures according to the "High Chimney Principle"
2	→/→	Measures of Technical Treatment After the Fact
3	⊖	Measures of Technical Prevention and Problem Avoidance
4	☯	Preventive Techniques and Concepts with Socio-Ecological Principles of Design

However, additional employment and new professional capabilities on the city and neighbourhood level are strongly dependent on administrative innovations on the national level. New environmental policy instruments, like resource taxes, emission charges, new accounting procedures, and the adaptation of planning instruments and planning law all fall into the competence of the national government, some (taxes and charges) even need approval on the international (European) level. The discussion on this new environmental policy framework for economic activities is well advanced, the implementation of the respective proposals, however, is lagging behind.

### „Concept of Ecological Neighbourhood Development“

Urban neighbourhoods, especially areas for multiple uses (living, working, leisure, shopping) are particularly suitable for successful ecological urban restructuring; four characteristics of neighbourhoods (see Illustration 4) are important in this respect.

(1) The neighbourhood as a defined area of several blocks, with the streets and free spaces belonging to it, is an entity of people and its group territory, which they are familiar with and which they can control. As a „human habitat“ it features daily experiences, attitudes and actions, and consequently has a constitutive influence on the individual's well-being.

(2) The severity of environmental problems but also the potential for solutions are recognizable best from the intimate acquaintance with one's own habitat. On the neighbourhood level, the environment and the living conditions are influenced by the environmental effects of business, of emitting power plants, of residues which pollute the water, of leisure areas, of traffic noise, and garbage generation.

(3) Since the state and other central institutions have failed to provide and secure acceptable living and environmental conditions, they are confronted by local communities not willing to accept these and fighting for their right to sound living conditions. Increasingly, inhabitants are prepared to invest ideas, time and money for their local habitat.

(4) Thanks to increasing environmental information through the press, television, literature and experts living in the area, the citizens of a neighbourhood

learn about the specific problems and about realistic solutions for them. Urban neighbourhoods have a certain potential of resources at their disposal which can be activated under suitable conditions in order to promote ecological urban restructuring.

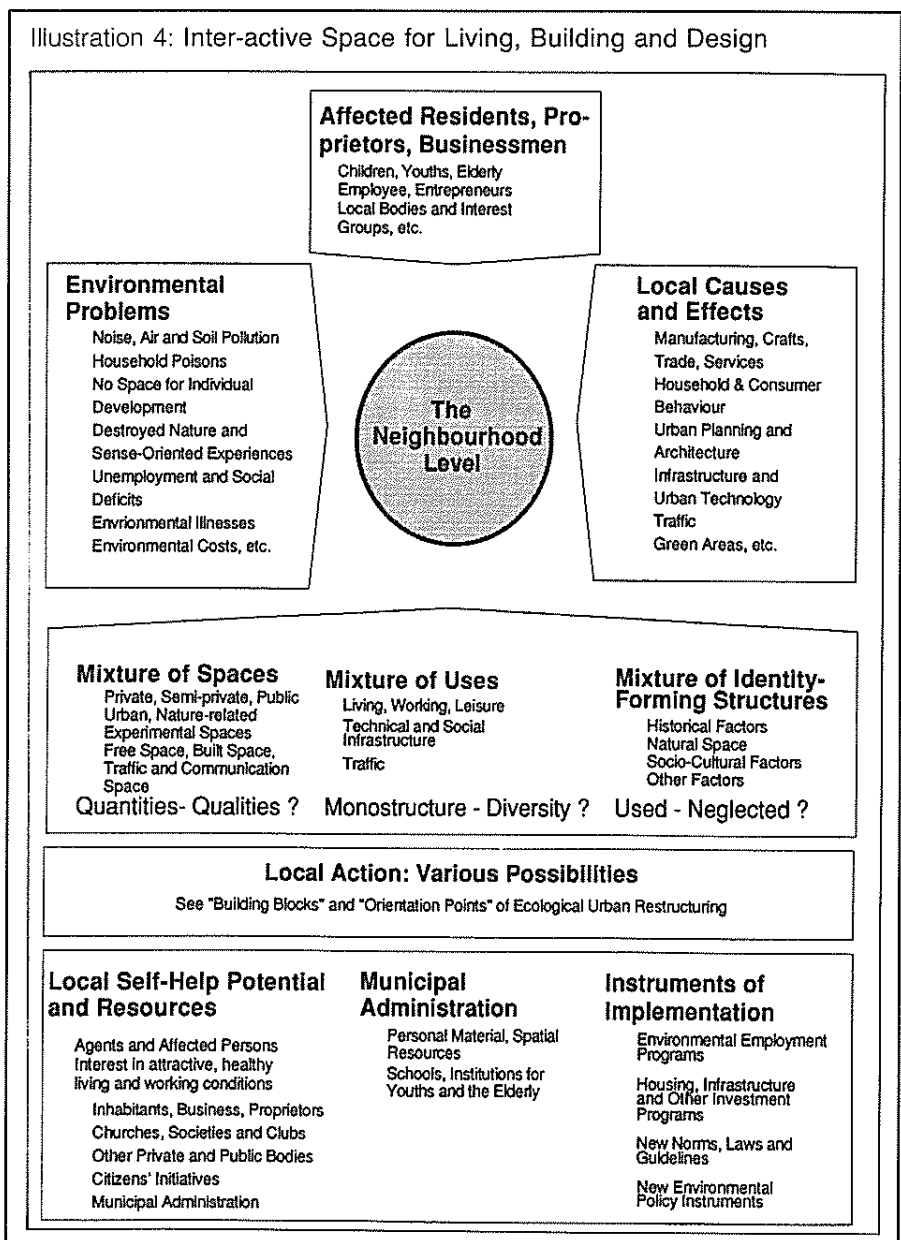
### Initiatives of International Organizations

The importance of ecological orientation of urban technology and design has been recognized by almost all large international organizations. Resolutions have been passed, research projects were initiated; policy recommendations were given and guidelines for national urban policies were developed.

Some examples:

The topic of Urban Ecology has been discussed by the European Economic

Community (EEC) in its „Fourth Environmental Action Programme“ (1987-1992). This programme deals with the contents and goals to be set, with recommending policies and with support programmes for urban initiatives and projects within the EEC. The support programmes concentrate on sectoral research topics, with projects on energy, water, traffic, waste, noise protection, etc. In June 1990, the „Green Charta for Urban Planning“ was passed. In this charta, the economic importance of an ecological recovery of the European cities is stressed and objectives and areas of action are made more specific. Particularly, a connection is postulated between urban environmental programmes and employment, and a plea is made for integrated, inter-departmental concepts of urban ecology.



Since the beginning of 1989, the OECD runs a programme on „The Role of Cities in Sustainable Development“. Three focal points have been designated for the years 1991 to 1994: 1. „Cities and Economic Development“, 2. „Cities and Social Development“ and 3. „Cities and the Environment“. Parallel to this, the „Urban Observatory Programme“ is to be conducted, which is concerned with environmental reporting and information systems and improving the data basis for the „Sustainable Development of Cities“. The programme shall also examine the urban environmental problems of non-member states, especially those of Eastern Europe.

Since 1988 the World Health Organization (WHO) runs the „Healthy City Project“. The objective of this project is defined the following way: „A healthy city is one that is continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to mutually support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing to their maximum potential.“

Cities worldwide were requested by WHO to participate in the establishment of an „International Healthy City Network“. In the meantime, about 400 cities from more than 25 countries participate in the project.

UNESCO can be considered to belong to the avant-garde on urban ecology. In 1975 an expert group was convened on the topic of „Integrated Ecological Studies on Human Settlements“ in the „Man and Biosphere (MAB)“ programme. Ten years later the project on „Urbanization and Environmental Change“ was initiated in cooperation with ICSU (International

Council of Scientific Unions) and IFIAS (International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study). Case studies on urban ecology in various regions of the world have been carried out, and seminars and conferences were organized.

The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) has decided that the main topic of a conference in 1992 will be „Urban Ecology“. In 1990 a research colloquium was held on „City Ecology which served to provide the „state of the art“ on this topic.

Also new international organisations concerned with this topic are being founded, as the „European Academy of the Urban Environment“, in Berlin, and the „International Secretariat for Local Environmental Initiatives“ in New York, which are thought to promote local environmental initiatives in Europe and worldwide.

These examples illustrate that apart from the necessity of local action, the importance of international cooperation for ecological urban restructuring in some way or other has been recognized.

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## Aymara in Chile

wollen traditionelle und neue Wege miteinander verbinden. Sonst bleibt den Hochland-Indios nur die Abwanderung in die Städte und Kupferminen. Herstellung, Verarbeitung und Verkauf von Alpaca-Wolle und Nahrungsmitteln müssen verbessert werden,

um die dem Hochland angepasste Lebensweise zu sichern und die Tradition zu bewahren. Die ASW möchte die Aymara dabei unterstützen. Dazu benötigen wir Ihre Spende.



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# ÜBERLEBENS SICHERUNG



# 500 Jahre Kolonialismus 500 Jahre Widerstand

## DIE ERKLÄRUNG VON QUITO

## Encuentro Continental del Pueblo Indígena

Die neue Qualität des Widerstands von indianischen Völkern zeigte sich auf der ersten kontinentalen Versammlung vom 17.-21. Juli in Quito, Ecuador. Die rund 300 VertreterInnen, von 120 indianischen Nationen, bekräftigten dort ihre gemeinsame Offensive zum Recht auf Selbstbestimmung in eigenen Territorien, zum Ende der nun fünf Jahrhunderte währenden Verfolgung und für die Freiheit und die Akzeptanz ihrer Kulturen. Den Sarkasmus der Fest- und Freudenfeiern von den spanisch-/amerikanischen Regierungen zum fünfzehnhundertsten Jahrestag der Invasion 1492 setzen sie eine Kampagne »500 Jahre indianischer Widerstand« entgegen. Gleichzeitig soll der Tag der Landung spanischer Schiffe zum Trauertag für die indianischen Völker erklärt werden. In der Erklärung der »Declaración de Quito«, wurden folgende Schwerpunkte herausgestellt:

»1. Wir lehnen die 500-Jahr-Feiern rundweg ab. Wir sind fest entschlossen, dieses Datum zum Anlaß zu nehmen unsere Einheit zu festigen, und auf dem ganzen Kontinent unseren Befreiungskampf zu verstärken.

2. Wir bestehen auf unserem unverzichtbaren politischen Projekt, im Rahmen der Nationalstaaten und auf der Basis einer neuen, vom Volk getragenen politischen Ordnung unsere Selbstbestimmung und Autonomie durchzusetzen. Wir werden dabei die politischen Prioritäten respektieren, die die jeweiligen Völker sich setzen

3. Wir betonen unsere Entschlossenheit, unsere Kultur, unser Erziehungswesen und unsere Religion, die Grundlagen unserer Identität als Völker, zu verteidigen. Wir wollen unsere eigenen Formen des spirituellen Lebens und Gemeinschaftslebens in enger Verbundenheit mit unserer Mutter Natur wiedergewinnen.

4. Wir weisen die Machenschaften durch Organisationen, ohne indigene Vertretungsbefugnisse zurück, denn sie mißbrauchen unseren Namen zugunsten imperialistischer Interessen und stehen in Verbindung mit den herrschsüchtigen Schichten unserer Gesellschaften. Dem gegenüber bestätigen wir unseren Willen, unsere eigenen Organisationen zu stärken, ohne Abschottung und Isolierung von andern Teilen des Volkswiderstands.

5. Wir erkennen die bedeutende Rolle an, die der indianischen Frau im Kampf unserer Völker zukommt. Wir sind uns der Notwendigkeit bewußt, die Beteiligung von Frauen in unseren Organisationen zu vergrößern und

betonen, das Mann und Frau gemeinsam sich für unsere Befreiung einsetzen müssen. Das ist ein entscheidendes Element unserer politischen Praxis.

6. Wir indianischen Völker betrachten die Verteidigung und den Erhalt der natürlichen Lebensräume als lebenswichtig, die gegenwärtig durch transnationale Konzerne bedroht werden. Wir sind überzeugt, daß diese Verteidigung erst wirksam wird, wenn die dort lebenden indianischen Völker, im Rahmen ihrer Lebensformen, diese Gebiete verwalten und kontrollieren.

7. Wir stellen die Rechtsordnung der Nationen in Frage, weil sie das Ergebnis kolonialer und neo-kolonialer Entwicklungen sind. Wir streben eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung an, die die Ausübung unserer traditionellen Gewohnheitsrechte schützt. Wir fordern unsere Anerkennung als Völker im Sinne des internationalen Völkerrechts und verlangen dies auch von den betreffenden Nationalstaaten anzuerkennen.

8. Wir klagen an, daß wir indianischen Völker von Gewalt und Verfolgung betroffen sind. Darum fordern wir Achtung vor unserem Recht auf Leben, Land, Organisationsfreiheit und freie Ausübung unserer Kultur. Gleichzeitig fordern wir die Freilassung aller unserer politischen Repräsentanten, das Ende der Repression und eine Entschädigung für die verursachten Schäden«(S.2).

### Resolutionen:

Als Grundlage weiterer Beschlüsse erklärten die VertreterInnen der indianischen Völker zu den 500 Jahr Feiern:

»Von unserem Standpunkt aus gesehen sind die Invasion, die 1492 begonnen hat und dieses Regime, das Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung installiert hat, noch nicht vorüber. Es besteht nicht nur im Hinblick auf die indianischen Völker, sondern sie betreffen die Gesamtheit der jeweiligen Gesellschaften. Jedoch setzt sich auch der Widerstand und der Befreiungskampf unserer Völker fort.

- Die Arbeit in unserer panamerikanischen Kampagne »500 Jahre indianischer Widerstand« muß sich an der Basis orientieren, um Vertrauen aufzubauen, sie muß sich in nationalen Komitees mit Beteiligung breiter Bevölkerungsschichten darstellen, die Kommunikation und Koordination fördern und gemeinsame regionale und kontinentale Kampagnen in die Wege leiten.

- Die Kampagne muß ein Kommunikationsnetz schaffen, um die verschiedenen Vorschläge, zum Widerstand gegen die 500 Jahr Feier, zum Ausdruck zu bringen

- Unser Bündnis mit anderen Bevölkerungsschichten wird vom Prinzip gegenseitigen Respekts geprägt sein und soll dazu beitragen, daß wir in unserem Bemühen vorankommen, die Realität unserer Länder umzugestalten.

- Wir müssen den kulturellen Austausch zwischen den alten und den jungen Menschen fördern.

- Wir müssen den 11. Kongreß 500 Jahre indianischer Widerstand und Volkswiderstand, der 1991 in Guatemala stattfinden soll, unterstützen und an ihm teilnehmen.

- Wir schlagen vor, daß in Guatemala die Möglichkeit diskutiert wird, Anfang 1992 in Cuba einen Weltkongreß über die 500 Jahre und die Indianerfrage abzuhalten. Dadurch soll in der Öffentlichkeit mehr Interesse an unserer Situation geweckt werden und auf dem ganzen Kontinent eine ernsthafte Debatte über die Lage der Indianer initiiert werden.

- Wir müssen gegen die Politik der Modernisierung, Privatisierung und der totalen Unterordnung für die Interessen des US-amerikanischen, europäischen, israelischen und japanischen Imperialismus, die von den Regierungen unserer Länder gegenwärtig gefördert werden, kämpfen. Denn diese Interessen haben für die indianischen Völker den Raub ihres Landes und ihrer Naturressourcen zur Folge gehabt und uns in Abhängige und Ausgebeutete verwandelt.

- Der Kampf um die Agrarreform in unseren Ländern muß auch die Rückgewinnung unseres Gemeinschaftslands zum Ziel haben.

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Wir danken dem Ausschuß für entwicklungsbezogene Bildung und Publizistik (ABP) für finanzielle Unterstützung.

- Der Kampf um unsere Rechte (Land, Bildung, Gesundheit usw.) muß in ein eigenes politisches Projekt eingebettet sein, das ein organisiertes Vorgehen ermöglicht und zu einer Umgestaltung der herrschenden Gesellschaftsordnung und zur Herausbildung einer Gegenmacht beiträgt.

- Um unsere Völker zu entkolonisieren, müssen wir um eine zweisprachige, interkulturelle Erziehung für die gesamte Gesellschaft kämpfen, wobei die indianische Erziehung in den Händen der Indianer liegen muß.

- Unterstützen und koordinieren müssen wir einerseits ein Tribunal der Völker um der fünfhundertjährigen Invasion den Prozeß zu machen und andererseits die Konferenz von Befreiungstheologen mit dem Namen »Santo Domingo für das Volk«. Solche Aktivitäten tragen dazu bei, die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Interessierten zu erleichtern und ein erweitertes Publikum zu erreichen.

- Wir fordern, daß die Vereinten Nationen im Hinblick auf 1992 das Recht der indianischen Völker auf Selbstbestimmung bestätigen. Hierzu ist es nötig, daß wir Basisarbeit leisten, um Druck auf die Regierungen auszuüben und Bündnisse mit anderen unterdrückten Volksschichten und fortschrittlichen Regierungen zustandebringen.

- Die Delegierten aus den USA nehmen sich für die Präsidentschaftswahlen 1992 vor, Druck auszuüben, damit die Probleme der indianischen Völker Nordamerikas Beachtung finden. Sie wollen auch auf die Außenpolitik der USA in Fragen, die die indianische Völker betreffen, Einfluß nehmen.

- Es ist nötig, daß die indianischen Völker sich koordinieren, um gemeinsam offizielle Beziehungen zu Staaten und internationalen Organisationen aufzunehmen, die es uns ermöglichen, politische Freiräume und Verhandlungsspielräume zu erobern.

- Wenn Spanien bereit ist, für die Schäden, die die Invasion angerichtet hat, Entschädigungszahlungen zu leisten, fordern wir, daß diese Mittel für Projekte verwendet werden, die den Bedürfnissen unserer Völker entsprechen. Wir sollten daher ein Seminar veranstalten, um unsere Politik in der Frage der Entschädigung zu definieren.

- Wir solidarisieren uns mit den afroamerikanischen Völkern, die ebenfalls Opfer der Zerstörung durch die europäischen Invasion sind. Wir fordern diese Völker auf, sich unserem Kampf anzuschließen, im Sinne der Einheit und der Achtung aller Unterdrückten und Ausgebeuteten beider Kontinente.

- Unsere Kampagne muß sowohl kurz- als auch langfristig gemeinsame Ziele und Aktionen umfassen. Unsere Strategie ist antikolonialistisch und antiimperialistisch. Wir sollten in jedem einzelnen Land und auf dem ganzen Kontinent Protestaktionen durchführen:

★ Proteste gegen Regierungskonferenzen, welche die 500 Jahr Feiern unterstützen.

★ Unsere Kampagne sollte sich gegen die multinationalen Konzerne und ihre Raubzüge auf indianischen Gebiet richten.

★ Wir protestieren gegen das Wehrüsten, das unsere Gesellschaft stranguliert.

★ Wir protestieren gegen Organisationen und Institutionen, die den Namen der Indianer mißbrauchen, um eigennützige Projekte durchzuführen, die unseren Interessen widersprechen.

★ Wir unterstützen Widerstandsformen, die ein Vorbild für die Kämpfe unserer Kampagne sind, wie z.B. der Indianeraufstand in Ecuador.

★ Wir wollen in in- und ausländischen Massenmedien eine intensive Pressekampagne beginnen, um über unsere Lebensweisen und unsere Wahrheiten zu informieren\* (S.3).

Der Kongreßbericht beschreibt anschließend die Differenzen und die Gemeinsamkeiten der indianischen Lebensvorstellungen und Existenzbedingungen, und formuliert Ansprüche an Aufbau und Struktur von Vertretungs- und Kommunikationsorganen. »Unsere Führung und Basis muß ständig geschult werden, die Arbeit der Organisation muß regelmäßig hinterfragt werden und es muß möglich sein die Führung zu ersetzen, um eine Spaltung der Organisation zu vermeiden« (S.5). Dabei werden die Gefahren fehlender Basisdemokratie verdeutlicht, da: »Internationale Indianerorganisationen wie der Südamerikanische Indianerrat (CISA) und der Weltirat indianischer Völker (CMPI) Apparate sind, die sich von den Indianerorganisationen der einzelnen Länder entfernt haben und oft individuellen Interessen dienen«(S.5). Gefordert wurde auch, daß: »Alle Institutionen, die Objekte, heilige Handschriften und andere überlieferte Werte, der amerikanischen Indianer besitzen, müssen diese an unsere indianischen Nationalitäten zurückgeben. Es müssen nationale Museen geschaffen werden, die von Indianern kontrolliert werden« (S.4). Die indianischen Frauen verknüpfen in ihrer Analyse ihre Existenzbedrohung mit der Zerstörung und Vergewaltigung der Erde. Exemplarisch stellen sie den Militarismus als lebensfeindlich, frauenfeindlich und gewaltverherrlichend heraus; denn die Rekrutierung von Männern sorgt dafür, daß: »Diejenigen, die nach Hause zurückkehren, verlernt haben frei und friedlich zu leben« (S.6). Die Frauen fordern schließlich die Solidarität und Hilfe zur Auffindung der Verschwundenen und weisen die Praktiken der Zwangssterilisierung zurück. Sie beschreiben auch die Arroganz der Männer in ihren Organisationen und schlagen vor, daß auf allen Ebenen und auf den zukünftig organisierten Treffen, der Anteil der Frauen und Männer gleich groß sein soll. »Wir wollen keine isolierten Frauenorganisationen schaffen, sondern die Einheit mit den männlichen Compañeros suchen« (S.6).

Daß die indianische Lebensvorstellung insgesamt eine Alternative für die weltweiten Umweltzerstörungen bedeuten, drückt sich in ihrer Einschätzung zum 20. Jahrhundert aus: »Am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, wo angeblich die Zivilisation ihren höchsten Stand erreicht hat, wo die technologischen Fortschritte alle Erwartungen übertreffen, wo es den beiden Gesellschaftssystemen nicht gelungen ist, die Probleme der Menschheit zu lösen, haben die sogenannten Großmächte, die sich mit ihrem Entwicklungsstand brüsten, die Ungleichheit, die Krise und die ökologische Zerstörung verschärft und damit wurde das Gleichgewicht des Planeten ernsthaft in Gefahr gebracht. In dieser Situation tritt verstärkt das indianische Gegenmodell mit seiner historischen Verantwortung ans Tageslicht, eine Folge ihres klaren Weltbildes und ihrer harmonischen Lebensweise mit der Natur« (S.6).

## KULTUR/MEDIEN

### Filmtitelliste zum Thema »500 Jahre«

EZEF (Evangelisches Zentrum für entwicklungsbezogene Filmarbeit) und CON Film aus Bremen stellen eine Liste von verfügbaren Filmen zu 500 Jahren Kolonialismus zusammen. Diese Liste wird voraussichtlich als Sonderbeilage im Frühjahr 1991 in den »Dritte Welt« Zeitschriften erscheinen. Kontakt: EZEF, Gänseldest. 67, 7000 Stuttgart 1

### Peruanische Radiobeiträge

Unter dem Titel »500 Jahre Völkermord und Evangelisation« wurden im letzten Jahr in Puno (Peru) elf Beiträge von einer Gruppe von Befreiungstheologen für den örtlichen Radiosender erstellt. In den Sendungen werden das Bewußtsein und der Glaube der Eroberer als Grundlagen von Aggression und Versklavung behandelt und es wird im Sinne der Befreiungstheologie der Widerstand von Dominikanern gegen die Gewalt zur Befreiung der Unterdrückten beschrieben.

Die Sendungen wurden auf Kassette aufgenommen und können ausgeliehen werden.

Kontakt: **Brigitte Berdelsmann,**  
Ferdinand-Weiß-Str. 116, 7800 Freiburg,

### Filmprojekt »Begegnung zweier Welten«

Anhand der derzeitigen Situation von vier indianischen Völkern sollen sowohl die bedrückende Aktualität der Kolonisation als auch die Formen indianischer Selbstbehauptung erzählt werden. Es wird gezeigt, daß jede Phase der Kolonialgeschichte in ihrem Wesen noch heute auf dem Kontinent stattfindet. Dabei soll im Norden des amerikanischen Kontinents begonnen werden und exemplarisch verschiedene Episoden der 500-jährigen Geschichte thematisiert werden. Kontakt: Pfan, Oranienstr. 45, 1 Berlin 36

### »Die Vereinigten Theaterstaaten von Amerika«

Für 1992 ist eine große Kultur- und Theaterkarawane durch Lateinamerika geplant. Die Aktivitäten, die unter der Überschrift »La des-conquista« stehen, werden von der 1989 gegründeten lateinamerikanisch-karibischen Theaterschule (EITALC) koordiniert. Sie beginnt mit der Mobilisierung der verschiedenen nationalen Theatergruppen. Von Mexico, Feuerland und Brasilien setzen sich die Gruppen in Bewegung, geben Theatervorstellungen, bieten Kurse für die Bevölkerung an und fahren dann zusammen weiter. Ziel der Karawanen ist ein großes Treffen vom 15.-30. Juni '92 in Ecuador.

Außerdem werden VertreterInnen kultureller und politischer Projekte aus den Industriestaaten zum NORD-SÜD-Dialog eingeladen. Im Anschluß daran besteht die Möglichkeit, die Karawane in Europa fortzusetzen.

**Max Meler, Görlitzerstr. 50,1 Berlin 36**

## Literaturtips

Urs M. Viechtner, Sergio Vesely

### **Erwachen in der neuen Welt**

Die Geschichte von Bartholomé de las Casas

Signal Verlag, Baden-Baden 1989, 152 Seiten, DM 22,80.

Best.-Nr. 1016

Bartholomé de las Casas (1484 bis 1566) zählt ohne Zweifel zu den berühmtesten Persönlichkeiten der lateinamerikanischen Kolonialgeschichte. Als einer der ersten wandte er sich gegen die Greuelthaten der spanischen Eroberer und begann einen, mit zäher Verbissenheit geführten Kampf um die Lebensrechte der Indioölker.

»Erwachen in der neuen Welt« ist eine Erzählung aus den ersten Etappen im Leben des späteren Bischofs Las Casas, aus jenen drei Jahrzehnten, die aus dem »ganz normalen« spanischen Kaufmannssohn eine Ausnahmeerscheinung in der Geschichte der Eroberung Lateinamerikas machten. Es handelt sich nicht um ein Biographie im engen Sinne, sondern um ein farbiges Buch über einen Menschen und seine Zeit.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger (Hrsg.)

### **Bartholomé de las Casas kurzgefaßter Bericht von der Verwüstung der Westindischen Länder**

Insel Verlag, Frankfurt 1987, 152 Seiten, DM 12,00. Best.-Nr. 1030

Originaltexte des oben beschriebenen de las Casas. Nichts beschönigend und ausgezeichnet, mit einer Genauigkeit, mit der die Strukturen der kolonialen Herrschaft erfaßt werden. Ergänzt ist das Buch von einem Kommentar Enzensbergers.

Heinz Dieterich (Hrsg.)

### **Die Neuentdeckung Amerikas**

Essays, Gedichte, Interviews von und mit Mario Benedetti, Alejo Carpentier, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Elena Pontiatowska u.a.

Lamuv Verlag, Göttingen, Oktober 1990, 240 Seiten, DM 29,80.

Best.-Nr. 1012

Die Beiträge des Buchs sind im Rahmen des internationalen Wettbewerbs »*Emancipación e Identidad de America Latina: 1492-1992*« entstanden. Es sind Versuche, die Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Europa und Lateinamerika aufzuarbeiten und Perspektiven für ein neues Verhältnis zwischen »Erster« und »Dritter« Welt aufzuzeigen.

Frauke Gewecke

### **Wie die neue Welt in die alte kam**

Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 1986, 315 Seiten, DM 38,00. Best.-Nr. 1006

Nicht die Taten und Untaten europäischer Entdecker in der neuen Welt interessieren die Autorin, sondern wie die neue Welt von der alten wahrgenommen wurde, wie diese Wahrnehmung von Anfang an durch stereotype Vorstellungen und Vorurteile geprägt war: schöne Wilde, nackte Kannibalen, Heiden, Barbaren, Monster, unermäßliche Schätze, das irdische Paradies...

Dieses Buch, gut lesbar und spannend, sollte schon deswegen gelesen werden, weil es sich mit den Wurzeln unseres alltäglichen (auch linken) Rassismus beschäftigt. Und der wird uns im »Europa 1992« noch mächtig zu schaffen machen.

Edition Nahua, Hofaue 51, 5600 Wuppertal 1

## TAGUNGSWIESE

### **AFRIKA, der vergessene Kontinent 21.-25.11.'90**

Internationales Symposium/Beratungstreffen in Münster/Emsdetten

Neben Themen wie: Multis, Weltmarktintegration einzelner Regionen, Rohstoffpreisentwicklung, Strukturanpassung (IWF, Weltbank, Lomé-Abkommen) und Ökoflüchlinge wurden die Auswirkungen des EG-Binnenmarkts und die Bedeutung Afrikas in der Kampagne zu 500 Jahre Kolonialismus beraten. Kongreßergebnis bei: AKAFRIK, Lingenerstr.9, 4400 Münster

### **Europäisches NGO-Treffen in Kopenhagen am 24./ 25.11.'90**

Als Ergebnis einer Diskussion von Internationalismus-, Umwelt-, Menschenrechts- und ökumenischen Gruppen vom 13.-15. September in Strasbourg, lädt nun die dänische SIMU (Cooperation for International Environment and Development) nach Kopenhagen zu einem Fortsetzungstreffen ein. Zentrales Thema ist die Bildung eines europaweiten Netzwerks. Die Konsequenzen des EG-Binnenmarkts, die UN-Konferenz für Umwelt und Entwicklung (1992 in Brasilien) und der 500 jährige Kolonialismus sollen erörtert werden. Ein Tagungsbericht erscheint in der nächsten Beilage. Grundsatzpapiere sind anzufordern bei: SIMU, c/o NOAH, Studiestraede 24, 1455 Kopenhagen, Dänemark

### **Feministischer Internationalismus 21.-23.9.'90 Oberhausen**

Auf dem Treffen in Oberhausen wurde an die Diskussionen den BUKO-Frauenplenums in Nürnberg angeknüpft. Themen waren Erfahrungen und Entwicklungen von Frauenaktivitäten und Frauengruppen in der Soliarbeit.

An einem möglichen Brückenschlag unterschiedlicher Frauenaktivitäten im Zusammenhang zu 500 Jahre Kolonialismus und dem EG-Binnenmarkt bestand Interesse.

Das Frauenarchiv in Dortmund hat sich bereit erklärt, Material zu dem Thema Frauen und 500 Jahre Kolonialismus zu verteilen: **Frauenarchiv c/o Geschichtswerkstatt Dortmund, Am Oelpfad 27, 4600 Dortmund 30**

Ein Fortsetzungstreffen ist für den 18.-20. Januar '91 geplant, Schwerpunktthema ist feministische Ökonomie. Kontakt: Elke c/o BUKO-Geschäftsstelle, Nernstweg 32-34, 2000 Hamburg 50

### **Vorbereitungstreffen für den BUKO - 1991**

Am letzten Oktoberwochende wurden in Köln die thematische Ausrichtung und die Ziele des Bundeskongreß Entwicklungspolitischer Gruppen vom 9.-12. Mai 1991 in Köln geplant. Schwerpunkt sind der EG-Binnenmarkt und 500 Jahre Kolonialismus in Verknüpfung mit weiteren Themen wie Ökologie, Rassismus, Militärstrategien und Alternativen zur Weltwirtschaft. Es wurden verschiedene politisch-ideologische Positionen sichtbar, die konkrete inhaltliche und organisatorische Festlegungen verhinderten.

Materialien über BUKO-Geschäftsstelle und in der Zeitschrift FORUM

### **Gruppen stellen sich vor**

#### **Lelio-Basso-Stiftung**

Der Zweig der Organisation, der für die internationalen Beziehungen zuständig ist, plant verschiedene Aktivitäten gegen die 500-Jahr-Feiern. Hauptziel der Organisation ist es, die Problematik über einen spezifischen Personenkreis hinaus, zu vermitteln. Geplant sind u.a. Schulmaterialien und ein Videofilm, die in mehreren Sprachen herausgegeben werden sollen. Außerdem planen sie 1992 ein Tribunal zum Thema »500 Jahre Eroberung« abzuhalten. Adresse: **Lelio-Basso-Stiftung, J. Ramos Regidor, Via Santa Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186 Roma**

Seit einiger Zeit geben die Fondazione internazionale Lelio Basso zusammen mit der Lega italiana per il Diritti e la Liberazione del Popoli ein vierseitiges Informationsbulletin mit dem Titel: »1992 500 Años de la Conquista de America« in spanisch heraus. Darin wird über laufende oder geplante Konferenzen und Veranstaltungen zum Thema informiert. Redaktion: **Segreteria della Campagna, Via Stradella 10, 20129 Milano**

#### **»Autonomie für die Mapuce«**

Die Mapuce-Indianer wehren sich gegen die Auflösung ihrer Gemeinschaften, die durch die Privatisierung ihrer Flüsse, Seen, Wälder, Erde und des Meeres verursacht wird. Die Mapuce verstehen ihren Kampf als ungebrochenen Widerstand gegen fünf-hundert-jährige koloniale und neokoloniale Unterdrückung. »Autonomie für die Mapuce« ist eine in Freiburg neu gegründete Initiative, die den Befreiungskampf der Mapuce-Indianer in Süd-Chile hier bekannt macht und auch finanziell unterstützt. Die Initiative will ein Informations- und Aktions-Netzwerk aufbauen. Kontakt: **Habsburgerstr. 9, 78 Freiburg**



## ES GEHT SO - ES GEHT ABER AUCH ANDERS !

(frei nach B. Brecht)

Offensichtlich ist ein handfester Konflikt zwischen der Solidaritäts-/Internationalismusbewegung auf der einen Seite und dem Projekt »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« auf der anderen Seite entstanden. Verschiedene Zeitschriften aus dem Solidaritätsspektrum kritisierten in erster Linie die abgehobene Vorgehensweise und den Singularitätsanspruch des o.g. Projektes.<sup>1)</sup>

Aus welchem Grund kommt es zu einer auffällig häufigen Kritik an diesem Projekt?

Um diese Frage beantworten zu können, ist zunächst ein kurzer Rückblick auf die Ausgangspositionen notwendig. Hier sollen beide Positionen anhand ihrer Grundlinien verdeutlicht werden, damit wir zu einer konstruktiven Auseinandersetzung zurückfinden, die für eine zukünftige Kampagne entscheidend ist und unbeteiligten Dritten verständlich wird.

Das Projekt »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« wurde vor zwei Jahren in Mexico gegründet und versteht sich als Sprachrohr in Europa für die Forderungen lateinamerikanischer Positionen, v.a. aus dem intellektuellen Spektrum, aber auch der Bauern und Indianerorganisationen. Sie wollen dem »Jubiläum 1992« ein »kritisch-emanzipatorisches Diskussions- und Arbeitsforum« entgegensetzen. Durch Buchveröffentlichungen, jährlichen nationalen Kongressen in lateinamerikanischen und europäischen Ländern, Wettbewerben im kulturellen Bereich, Stipendien und geplanten Großveranstaltungen 1992, soll ein breites Zielgruppenspektrum angesprochen werden.

Die Gruppen aus dem Solidaritäts- und Internationalismusbereich stehen demgegenüber noch am Anfang ihrer Aktivitäten im Bereich 500 Jahre Kolonialismus. Sie sind mit verschiedenen organisatorischen und inhaltlichen Problemen konfrontiert. Das hat Gründe: Es wird versucht, über Schwerpunktseminare, der Entwicklung einer Forderungsplattform, regionalen Aktionsbündnissen und Publikationen, wie dieser Beilage, Schritt für Schritt, durchaus unter Einschluß verschiedener Konfliktpotentiale, die auch öffentlich ausgetragen werden, die Grundlage für eine erfolgreiche Kampagne zu legen. An ihrer Kernfrage: Wie läßt sich das historische Thema 500 Jahre Kolonialismus mit den Auswirkungen des EG-Binnenmarktes

verbinden, werden die Hürden klar, die es zu überspringen gilt. Unverzichtbare Voraussetzungen ihrer Kampagne sind eine längerfristige Perspektive, die über den Oktober 1992 hinausgeht und die Zusammenarbeit mit möglichst vielen Initiativen.

Die Konfliktlinie begann vor einem Jahr anläßlich des ersten Bundeskongresses von »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« in Hamburg. In ihrem Tagungsbericht heißt es: »Er (der Kongreß) stellt zugleich einen wichtigen Schritt in der Entwicklung unserer antiimperialistischen Arbeit in der BRD dar«. Wünschenswert wäre es ja durchaus, wenn sich in Europa ein breites Kampagnenbündnis zum Thema Emanzipation und Identität in Europa bilden würde, um einen wirkungsvollen Dialog zwischen den kritischen und emanzipatorischen Bewegungen beider Kontinente in Gang zu setzen. Das Hauptproblem ist jedoch, daß »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« einem Singularitätsanspruch unterliegt, der die Bündnisfähigkeit des Projekts erheblich einschränkt. Formulierungen wie: »Das hier vorgestellte Projekt ist das z.Zt. einzige existierende internationale Forum, welches den nationalen Initiativen gestattet, in kritisch-emanzipatorischer Absicht länderübergreifend und koordiniert gegen das imperiale Projekt des V Centenario zu arbeiten« deuten die schwierige Situation derjenigen an, die nicht innerhalb des Rahmens des Projektes arbeiten, aber nichtsdestotrotz an Diskussionen mit den VertreterInnen interessiert sind.<sup>2)</sup>

Abgrenzungen gegenüber den Solidaritätsgruppen finden aber auch direkt statt: In einem Interview mit »Die Andere« (Nr. 39/ 1990) bringt Heinz Dieterich, der Koordinator des Projekts, den Konflikt unter den Namen »Marktverdrängungshysterie oder Paranoia bei den eingefahrenen Solidaritätsgruppen«. Für ihn ist die Solidaritätsarbeit von gewissen Gruppen »monopolisiert«, die auf neue Projekte allergisch reagieren. »Man muß bedenken, daß der Solidaritätsmarkt zehn Jahre von bestimmten Strukturen beherrscht wurde. Und die Reproduktion von Funktionären - im soziologischen Sinne - ist natürlich wie in jedem Arbeitsverhältnis abhängig von ihrer Produktion«.

Die Gruppen der Solidaritätsszene wurden bisher eher umgekehrt eingeschätzt. Stichworte wie chaotisch, zersplittert und unprofessionell sind häufig zu hören. Funktionäre, oder solche die es werden wollen, verlassen uns aus monetären Gründen und besitzen keinen funktionierenden Apparat, der, wie in hierarchischen Betrieben, nach ihren Vorgaben tanzt.

Im Vergleich zur Vietnambewegung haben die Mehrzahl der heute agierenden Gruppen und Organisationen für Dieterich keinen politischen Kern. Darauf aufbauend stehen diese Gruppen in einem »paternalistischen Verhältnis« zur Dritten Welt. »Die Menschen aus Lateinamerika, aus der Dritten Welt, kamen hierher, hielten Vorträge und wurden glorifiziert«. Auf dem zweiten Bundeskongreß des Projekts »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« Ende September in Frankfurt wurde für ihn zum »ersten Mal gleichberechtigt geredet«. Ob das der Fall war? Ich habe gelinde gesagt da meine Zweifel? Wie letztes Jahr durften auch in diesem Fall die Prominenten ihre Reden halten. Anschließend wurden nur noch »Verständnisfragen« (vgl. Einladung zum Kongreß) zugelassen. Der Vorwurf der Glorifizierung fällt aber auf Dieterich selbst zurück. Nach der durchaus zwiespältigen Rede von Thomas Borge (Ex- Innenminister in Nicaragua) applaudierte das Podium stehend.

Mit Begriffen wie »nationalen Begegnungen«, »Bundeskongreß« und »Kampagne« werden LeserInnen und ZuhörerInnen an der Realität vorbeigelotst. Auch den Gästen aus Lateinamerika wird eine Kampagne vorgespielt, die schlichtweg nicht existiert. Beide werden auf diese Art und Weise funktionalisiert. Die einen als Konsumenten, die Klatschen dürfen, und die anderen als Prominente, die viel aus ihrer Lebenswelt schildern können, aber doch bitte nicht mit der Realität hier konfrontiert werden sollen.

500 Jahre Kolonialismus ist heute schon ein Thema für JournalistInnen, HistorikerInnen und Intellektuelle. Ob dieser Themenkomplex sich zu einer Kampagne entwickelt, die in qualitativer und quantitativer Form den Namen wirklich verdient, ist aber noch völlig offen. Es wird viel Energie und Phantasie nötig sein, hier die richtigen Pfade zu finden. Das Projekt »Emanzipation und lateinamerikanische Identität« hat die Fähigkeiten, dazu viel beizusteuern. Aber die VertreterInnen müssen vom Elfenbeinturm des singulären Anspruchs herabsteigen.

(1) Vergl. LN Nr.197: »Thema verfehlt«, illa Nr.140: »Die Ein - Mann - Kampagne«, ides Nr.505: »Randvölker Herrenvölker - Bundeskongreß über ein durchaus ernstzunehmendes Thema?«, blätter des iz3w Nr.167: »Diskussionsbeitrag zu den Thesen von Heinz Dieterich« und epd Entwicklungspolitik 16/90: »Schwierigkeiten einer Annäherung«. Vgl. auch »Das Wort haben die Betroffenen« in: »Perspektiven«, Sept. 1990, Hrsg.: ASTA Uni Frankfurt

(2) Zitat aus dem Spendenaufruf von Monimbo

Georg Lutz, ADW Freiburg







# 500 Jahre Kolonialismus 500 Jahre Widerstand

Mit der hier vorliegenden vierten Ausgabe der Zeitschriftenbeilage unternehmen die unterzeichnenden Zeitschriften weitere Schritte, um die Kampagne voranzubringen. Wir berichten in dieser Ausgabe über die europäischen Treffen in Kopenhagen und Paris und stellen neue überregionale Aktivitäten / Projekte aus der Bundesrepublik vor, die in Planung sind. Es kommt erfreulicherweise einiges in Bewegung. Kritisch anzumerken bleibt allerdings, daß fast alle Projekte sich auf Lateinamerika und Europa beziehen.

Die Konzeption der Beilage sieht vor, als Schnittstelle zwischen den Zeitschriften und Aktions- bzw. Solidaritätsgruppen zu fungieren, um Anregungen für Projekte / Aktivitäten zu geben und Kontakte zu ermöglichen.



## Überregionale Aktionsvorschläge

### »Boot - Schaft 1992«:

#### Die Umkehrung der Blickrichtung

Bekanntlich lassen sich kulturelle Phänomene anderswo schärfer sehen als in der gewohnten Umgebung, wo sie durch den Schleier der Selbstverständlichkeit als gewissermaßen "natürlich" wirken. Warum also sollten nicht Menschen aus anderen Kontinenten die hierigen Verhältnisse systematisch untersuchen?

Für die Umkehrung der Blickrichtung ist kaum ein Datum besser geeignet als 1992. Wenn sich die europäische Aufmerksamkeit scheinbar auf Lateinamerika richtet, um im Rahmen einer unbewußten "Selbstfeier" den Beginn der dortigen Kolonisation zu begehen, könnte dies zu überraschenden Resultaten führen. Damit wollen wir die "innere Kolonisation" Europas thematisieren: die eigene Kultur, unsere Technik- und Gesundheitsmythen, die abendländische Rechtspflege, den "Ball der einsamen Herzen", die unbemerkten Kommunikationsmuster, die scheinbar naturgegebene Produktionsweise, die mythologisierende Massenführung durch das Fernsehen und den Schicksalsbegriff von Börsenmaklern.

#### Die Idee

Mit einem kleineren Passagierschiff fahren "Entdeckungsreisende aus der Dritten Welt", darunter EthnologInnen, ChronistInnen, VertreterInnen lateinamerikanischer Indianergemeinschaften und Volksorganisationen den Rhein aufwärts. Am Niederrhein, in Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Leverkusen, Köln, Eltville, Karlsruhe, Straßburg & Basel

machen sie Station, um unter ortskundiger Führung "eingeborener HelferInnen" sachdienliche Hinweise zur Aufklärung dessen beizutragen, was das vorläufige Ergebnis des europäischen Fortschritts darstellt. Die an jeder Station gewonnenen Erkenntnisse und Einsichten werden in ethnographischen Protokollen festgehalten, die parallel zur Reise von einem Verbund lateinamerikanischer Zeitungen publiziert werden. Vielfältige Öffentlichkeitsaktivitäten und dialogische Begegnungen begleiten die Bootsfahrt.

Der "verkehrte Blick" könnte sich als der richtige Blick erweisen. Genauso wie es Christoph Lichtenberg um 1790 formulierte: "Der Amerikaner, der den Columbus zuerst entdeckte, machte eine böse Entdeckung!" Weitere Informationen zum »Boot '92« und zum zweiten Kampagnenschwerpunkt von medico »Rückgabe der geraubten Kulturgüter« bei: medico international, Obermainanlage 7, 6000 Frankfurt, Tel. 069-4990041/2

### Permanenter Workshop im »Um - Schaltjahr 1992«

Für den Zeitraum Okt. 1992 und Januar 1993 soll ein prozeßhaft und dynamisch angelegtes Aufeinandertreffen von lateinamerikanischen und europäischen sozialen Bewegungen und Kulturschaffenden vorbereitet werden. Dieses wird der doppelten historischen Bedeutung der beiden Daten, Binnenmarkt und 500 Jahre Kolonialismus, gerecht und schafft die Möglichkeiten, qualitativ neue Beziehungen zwischen den emanzipatorischen Kräften Europas und Latein-

amerikas zu knüpfen. Ein Ziel, das nur erreicht werden kann, wenn es zu einem möglichst massiven, langanhaltenden und intensiven Austausch von Erfahrungen kommt. Daher ist daran gedacht, in dem genannten Zeitraum eine zentral koordinierte, dezentral ausgeführte Rundreise vielfältiger lateinamerikanischer Delegationen durch diverse europäische Länder durchzuführen, auf der:

1. die Komplexität der lateinamerikanischen Wirklichkeit, nicht nur ihr strukturelles Elend, zur Sprache gebracht wird;
2. durch zunehmende Einbeziehung jeweiliger europäischer VertreterInnen sozialer Bewegungen auch die Probleme der europäischen Gesellschaften zum Thema werden;
3. in umfassender Weise Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten in den Bedingungen des Emanzipationskampfes herausgearbeitet werden;
4. Elemente für eine zukünftige alternative Zusammenarbeit zwischen den beiden Kontinenten zu erstellen sind.

Der Vorbereitungs- und Aktionszeitraum soll längerfristig angelegt sein, um auch den interkontinentalen Charakter garantieren zu können. Sonst werden nur bisherige Fehler wiederholt, wie beispielsweise in klassischer Manier 5-6 metropolitane Großveranstaltungen mit bekannten brillanten Köpfen anzusetzen, die von ihrem jeweiligen Klientel durch Europa geleitet werden.

Das Prozeßhafte und Dynamische läge nach diesem Vorhaben darin begründet, daß die inhaltliche Ausrichtung der "Tournée" von der ursprünglich im Vordergrund stehenden Thematisierung der Auswirkungen des fünf-hundertjährigen Kolonialismus sich durch die zunehmende Einbeziehung europaspezifischer Themen mit Blick auf die internen und externen Auswirkungen des Europäischen Binnenmarktes auf die zukünftigen gemeinsamen Aufgaben hin verschieben würde.

Information: Uli Mercker, c/o Ila, Heerstr. 205, 5300 Bonn, Tel. 0228 658613

# Das Kopenhagener Treffen

Am 24./25. November fand in Kopenhagen das zweite europäische Vernetzungstreffen von Internationalismus-, Umwelt-, Menschenrechts- und ökumenischen Gruppen statt. Bei diesem Treffen dominierten die Ökologigruppen weit weniger als bei dem ersten Treffen im September in Straßburg. 67 TeilnehmerInnen aus 24 Ländern waren anwesend. Neben zwanzig VertreterInnen osteuropäischer Gruppen aus Litauen, Polen, Rumänien, CSFR, Ungarn, Ukraine und Jugoslawien, waren sowohl aus den übrigen europäischen Ländern, als auch aus Kolumbien, Brasilien, Indien und von den Philippinen TeilnehmerInnen an dem Treffen beteiligt.

Internationale Vernetzung und gemeinsame Initiativen im Hinblick auf 1992 wurden von allen für notwendig gehalten. 500 Jahre Kolonialismus ist nicht auf ein historisches und ideologisches Thema zu reduzieren. Vielmehr steht der Nord-Süd-Konflikt insgesamt im Zentrum. Insofern sind 500 Jahre Eroberung nicht nur ein Thema für Lateinamerika-interessierte, sondern die Zerstörungen in Afrika, Asien und Ozeanien müssen ebenfalls angesprochen werden. Daneben stehen Veränderungen von Produktions- und Konsumstrukturen im Norden an erster Stelle.

*Trotz der unterschiedlichen Kulturen, Erfahrungen, Probleme etc. der TeilnehmerInnen wurden als politischer Grundkonsens folgende Überlegungen und Forderungen verabschiedet:*

*-Auf Grundlage einer basisdemokratischen Mobilisierung arbeiten wir gemeinsam an der Entwicklung einer Gesellschaft, in der internationalen Solidarität, Ökologie und sozialer Ausgleich höchste Priorität haben. Wir fordern und stellen fest:*

- ★ Eine Welt ohne Rassismus mit dem Recht auf Bewegungsfreiheit und dem ungehinderten Austausch von Ideen und Informationen.
- ★ Politische und ökonomische Dezentralisierung und demokratische Partizipation.
- ★ Eine auf Solidarität und kulturelle Unterschiedlichkeit aufgebaute Lebensweise.
- ★ Eine gesunde Umwelt in Harmonie mit dem Planeten als Grundrecht der Menschheit.
- ★ Ein Ende den patriarchalen Strukturen, welche die Würde der Menschen und den Frauenkampf zerstören.
- ★ Die eingeborenen Völker sollten das Recht haben, erneuerbare Ressourcen zu nutzen und die Möglichkeit haben, ihre eigene wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Belange zu entwickeln, ohne daß ihnen der Zugang zu eigenen Werten der Subsistenz verwehrt wird.
- ★ Der Binnenmarkt 1992 wird die lange europäische Tradition des Imperialismus fortführen, indem er eine zentralisierte und hermetisch abgeriegelte politische, ökonomische und militärische Supermacht aufbaut.

★ Die Strategien ökonomischen Wachstums und Entwicklung, welche die Natur und das menschliche Leben zerstören, sollten durch andere alternative Formen dauerhafter Entwicklung ersetzt werden, die auf sozialer Gerechtigkeit basieren.

★ Eine neue ökonomische Weltordnung basierend auf Selbstständigkeit, Selbstbestimmung und der Neuverteilung des Wohlstandes sowohl innerhalb der Gesellschaften als auch zwischen Nord, Süd, West und Ost.

*Unsere wichtigste Aufgabe für eine weltweite Solidarität ist die Veränderung unserer eigenen Gesellschaften.*

Es wurde, ausgehend von diesem Grundkonsens, beschlossen, in einem mehrmonatigen Diskussionsprozeß eine gemeinsame programmatische Position zu formulieren. Die Aussage eines Vertreters der BUND-Jugend aus der BRD gegen die Forderung einer umfassenden Schuldenstrichung verdeutlichte schon an diesem entscheidenden Punkt die Schwierigkeiten einer Konsensfindung. Weitere grundsätzliche Fragen waren: Gibt es zwischen Osteuropa und der "Dritten Welt" eine Konkurrenz um Ressourcen? Wie stehen die osteuropäischen Bewegungen zur kapitalistischen Marktwirtschaft und dem Weltmarkt? Können westeuropäische Linke aus der Solidaritätsbewegung und Osteuropäerinnen, die sich als antitotalitär definieren überhaupt zusammenarbeiten? Wie gehen die westeuropäischen KritikerInnen der EG mit der Forderung einer jugoslawischen Feministin nach Übernahme der EG-Umweltstandards durch Osteuropa um?

Allgemeiner Konsens war, die Kampagne 1991 mit der Rundreise des "Train of Challenge" zu beginnen. Fest steht die Strecke Helsinki - Istanbul, Istanbul - Berlin und Berlin - Brüssel - Berlin. Dazwischen sind zwar schon einige Stationen organisiert, aber interessierte Gruppen, die weitere "Stops" organisieren möchten, wenden sich an Börje Mattson, Bulevardi 1319, 00120 Helsinki, Suomi-Finnland.

Die Kopenhagener Konferenzteilnehmer haben sich einen provisorischen Namen gegeben: ANPED - Alliance for Northern People of Environment and Development. Zur besseren Kommunikation ist die Veröffentlichung eines Mitteilungsblattes beschlossen worden. Kontakt: Alternativ Future, Hausmannsgt. 27, D182 Oslo 4, Norwegen.

Als erstes größeres Etappenziel auf dem Weg zur 1992-Kampagne soll im Sommer 1991 eine größere Versammlung aller aktiven Gruppen stattfinden. Der Ort steht noch nicht fest. Um den Koordinationsprozeß weiterzuführen, findet am 15./16. März in Straßburg das dritte europäische Vernetzungstreffen statt. Die Vorbereitungsgruppe ist für Interessierte offen.

Kontakt: Peter Wahi Hamburgerallee 54, 6000 Frankfurt/M 90, Tel. 069 709060

## Pariser Treffen der europäischen Lateinamerikaner-NGOs

Nach einem Informationsaustausch über Aktivitäten in den jeweiligen Ländern wurden gemeinsame europäische Aktionen diskutiert. Aufgenommen wurde der Beitrag des BUKO-Vertreters, daß man möglichst die großen voneinander isolierten Akte und Veranstaltungen vermeiden und stattdessen darauf achten sollte, daß es zu einem integrierten Prozeß von Aktion und Reflexion komme, der über den Oktober 1992 hinausweist. Die über die Kampagne entstehenden Vernetzungsstrukturen müßten auch für die Zukunft nutzbar bleiben. Es wurde darauf Wert gelegt, daß die geplanten Aktivitäten immer auch die europäische Realität zum Thema haben sollen.

Der französische Aktionsvorschlag enthält zwei politische Ziele. Einmal, Druck auf das Europaparlament und den Europarat auszuüben und dann die öffentliche Meinung für Nord-Süd Fragen und über die Auswirkungen des Europäischen Binnenmarktes zu sensibilisieren. Der Schauplatz soll Straßburg sein.

Das von den Basken vorgeschlagene Völkertribunal zielt auf Beeinflussung der öffentlichen nationalen wie internationalen Meinung. Es soll Beiträge liefern für eine kritische Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der amerikanischen Völker, sowie für eine objektive Bewertung der Bedeutung des Jahres 1492, und zwar aus einer interzivilisatorischen, nicht eurozentristischen Sicht. Das Tribunal soll aus angesehenen Persönlichkeiten aus Kunst, Kultur und Politik zusammengesetzt sein.

Aus Andalusien kam die Anregung, ein Forum in Puerto Real (Cadix), vom 9. bis zum 12.10.1992 zu organisieren. Zentraler Bestandteil soll die Enthüllung eines Denkmals sein, von LateinamerikanerInnen errichtet, im Gedenken an die Opfer der Kolonialisierung und zu Ehren der Würde der Völker fünfhundert Jahre nach der Eroberung. Das Denkmal soll durch öffentliche Ausschreibungen finanziert werden. Für die Durchführung des Forums stellt die Stadtverwaltung von Puerto Real Räumlichkeiten und einen finanziellen Anteil in Aussicht.

Was diese drei Vorschläge anbetrifft, so besteht Übereinstimmung darüber, daß versucht werden wird, sie mit europäischen Inhalten zu füllen.

Der deutsche Vorschlag, einen permanenten Workshop für den Zeitraum vom Oktober 1992 bis Januar 1993 einzurichten, um auf diese Weise einen intensiveren Austausch zwischen Repräsentantinnen der amerikanischen und europäischen sozialen Bewegungen zu ermöglichen, soll bis zum nächsten Treffen genauer ausformuliert werden. Darüberhinaus ist die Koordination

für weitere Vorschläge offen.

Nächste Schritte der europäischen Koordination:

Die Einschätzung, daß es einer wirklichen europäischen Koordination unter Mitwirkung von Organisationen verschiedener Länder bedarf, wurde von allen geteilt. Die französische Koordination hat nicht die Absicht, diese Aufgabe weiterhin allein zu übernehmen. Vorerst wurde eine provisorische Koordination eingerichtet, bis mit den Straßburger/Kopenhagener Treffen eine gemeinsame geschaffen wird. Diese Aufgabe wird bis zu dem in Genua geplanten Treffen Anfang Februar die italienische Liga für das Völkerrecht übernehmen: **Legg per i diritti e la liberazione dei popoli, Via Stradella 10, 20129 Milano, Tel. 02-225250, FAX 29404811**

Die EXILE-Kulturkoordination hat Materialien von ca. 10 europäisch/lateinamerikanischen Gruppen, die zu dem Themenbereich 500 Jahre... Theaterstücke erarbeiten. Zudem gibt es über Aktivitäten in Spanien Pläne, Gruppen aus Lateinamerika einzuladen. Daraus hat sich die Projektidee entwickelt, die Angebote zu einem Festivalpaket zusammenzufassen und dieses "Mobile Paket" auf die Reise durch die Bundesrepublik zu schicken.

Außerdem bereiten sie einen internationalen Karikaturenwettbewerb zu dem Thema vor, dessen Ergebnisse 1992 als Wanderausstellung zu sehen sein wird.

Kontakt: EXILE, Friederikenstr. 41, 4300 Essen 1, Tel. 0201 777176

**Kolumbus Erben, Cartoons aus Lateinamerika - von Juan Acevedo/ Peru.**

In diesem Band zeigt uns der peruanische Karikaturist die dekadente, scheinmoralische und ignorant-verachtende Haltung der Oberschicht - der Erben Kolumbus - gegenüber der Bevölkerung.

**Heinz Schultze, Menschenverkäufer-Seelenverkäufer, Evangelikale und fundamentalistische Gruppen und ihr Wirken in der Dritten Welt.**

Die Dokumentation zeigt sehr deutlich die reaktionären, politischen und religiösen Ziele auf, die diese Gruppen letztendlich verfolgen, wodurch sie z.B. für Diktatoren zu wertvollen Verbündeten werden.

Bestellungen: AG SPAK, Adlzreiterstr. 23, 8000 München 2

## Die Berliner 1992-Koordination

Am 9./10. November veranstaltete das FDCL in Berlin ein Wochenend-Forum, zu dem alle Berliner Gruppen eingeladen waren, die zum Thema 1992 arbeiten und/oder sich an der »Kampagne 1992« beteiligen wollen. Zentraler Aspekt der Diskussion war das große Interesse von verschiedenen Gruppen, zum Thema »500 Jahre Kolonialismus« und »Europa '92« politisch aktiv zu werden. Die vielen Vorschläge zu Themen und Politikschwerpunkten (EG-Binnenmarkt, Rassismus, Sexismus, Klima-Katastrophe), die in die 1992-Aktivitäten integriert werden sollten, spiegeln die Überzeugung wider, daß die Internationalismuserarbeit an die Konfliktpunkte HIER angebunden werden muß.

Das Zauberwort "Kampagne" geistert weiter durch die Köpfe, dahinter steht aber bisher größtenteils Ratlosigkeit. Vorstellbar ist alles, von einer kleinen Veranstaltungsreihe über Aktionstage bis hin zu einer spektrumsübergreifenden Kampagne. Einschätzungen zur Machbarkeit, sowie erste Vorschläge zu einem Vorgehen gab es allerdings auf diesem Treffen noch nicht, auch wenn von einigen grundsätzlich Sinn und Möglichkeit einer großen Kampagne in Zweifel gezogen wurde. Es wurde jedoch deutlich, daß die viel bemühte Anti-IWF-Kampagne nicht einfach kopiert werden kann, weil die Ansatzpunkte nicht in Form konkreter Personen und Institutionen an einem Ort versammelt sind. Auf einem Folgetreffen dieses Wochenend-Forums wurde dann Anfang Dezember die Einrichtung eines regelmäßig (ein Mal im Monat) tagenden Koordinierungskreises, mit VertreterInnen der verschiedenen Gruppen, beschlossen. Gleichzeitig erklärten die meisten der anwesenden Gruppen, sich an den Lateinamerika-Tagen 1991 zu beteiligen. Das FDCL wird vom 13.-23. Juni 1991 Lateinamerika-Tage veranstalten. Inhaltlich soll es dabei um zwei Schwerpunkte gehen: »500 Jahre Kolonialismus und Widerstand« und nach dem Ende des realen Sozialismus - »Marktwirtschaft ohne Alternativen?«

Die Koordinierungsgruppe soll zunächst die LateinamerikaTage vorbereiten, kann darüber hinaus allerdings die Diskussion über eine eventuelle Kampagne 1992 weiter vortreiben. Aus einem erfolgreichen Verlauf der Lateinamerika-Tage 1991 könnten sich vielleicht auch die Grundpfeiler für die Berliner 1992-Kampagne herausbilden. Zentrale Überlegung müßte sein, ob mensch sich hauptsächlich an den offiziellen Feierlichkeiten reiben will, oder ob wir relativ unabhängig von den offiziellen Feierlichkeiten eigene Schwerpunkte (s.oben) für eine »1992-Kampagne« bestimmen.

Für eine Mobilisierung ist unabdingbare Voraussetzung, daß immer Bezugspunkte hier in Berlin/BRD gefunden werden, an

denen mensch konkret ansetzen und die verschiedenen Themen verdeutlichen kann. Stichworte hierfür sind z.B.: Großkonzerne, Berlin als "Entwicklungspolitisches Zentrum" (Institutionen), Institute an der "Freien Universität", die früher Rassenforschung betrieben und heute in der neokolonialen Tradition stehen etc. Darüber hinaus wird in Berlin 1992 die zentrale deutsch-nationale Ausstellung zur »Eroberung Lateinamerikas« stattfinden. Diese bietet zusätzliche Ansatzpunkte für Aktionen. (siehe Kasten) Außerdem freuen wir uns schon jetzt, 1992 die Massen von Bankern, Technokraten und Regierungschefs in Berlin zum G7-Gipfel (sog. "Weltwirtschaftsgipfel") begrüßen zu dürfen, um ihre Saumägen mit Eisbein zu füllen.

### Bundesdeutsche 1992-Ausstellung in Berlin

#### »Neue Welten - Neue Wirklichkeiten«

Unter diesem unsäglichen Titel wird derzeit die einzig große nationale Ausstellung der BRD als Beitrag zu den Feierlichkeiten um 1992 geplant. Vom September 1992 bis Januar 1993 wird sie im Berliner Martin Gropius Bau zu sehen sein.

Die Ausstellung soll die gesamten 500 Jahre seit 1492 umfassen. Im Vordergrund stehen hierbei die Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik zu Lateinamerika. Auch die Zwangs-Beteiligung Afrikas durch den preußischen Sklavenhandel soll enthalten sein. Entsprechend wird also keine "Kolumbus Ausstellung" geplant, sondern vielmehr die "kulturhistorische Relevanz der Entdeckung" in den Vordergrund gestellt "die Entdeckung als dauerhafter Prozeß". Die drei zentralen Themenbereiche sind: a) Voraussetzungen, Folgen und Durchführung der Kolumbusfahrt; b) Die "Entdeckten"; c) Die Folgen der Entdeckung.

Einer der Höhepunkte soll ein naturgetreuer Nachbau der "Niña" (eines der Schiffe von Kolumbus) im Lichthof des Gropius-Baus sein - "direktes Erleben".

Soweit bisher bekannt, wird die Ausstellung nicht aus einer Ansammlung von Unwahrheiten, Geschichtsverdrehungen und -verfälschungen etc. bestehen. Vielmehr sind die Veranstalter offenbar bemüht, auch kritischere Punkte in die Ausstellung aufzunehmen. Dennoch wird diese Ausstellung durch systematische Ausblendungen ganz bestimmter Realitäten sicherlich genügend Angriffspunkte bieten. Nach den bisher durchgesickerten Informationen läßt sich bereits absehen, daß die Auslassungen nicht beliebig sind. Die Kontinuität deutscher Ausplünderungspolitik bis heute wird genauso wenig Thema sein, wie der Widerstand in Lateinamerika. Trotz des Anspruchs die "gesamten 500 Jahre" darstellen zu wollen, wird die Ausstellung Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts Halt machen - wohlweislich.

# Termine/Hinweise

## PAX CHRISTI

»500 Jahre Unterdrückung Lateinamerikas - Zeit zur Umkehr« ist das Thema des Kongresses 1991 der Pax Christi Bewegung in Deutschland. Schwerpunkte sind: Die gegenwärtige Wahrnehmung der Geschichte Lateinamerikas in Europa, die Leidensgeschichte unterworfenen Völker und ihres Widerstands und welche Strukturen die fortdauernde ökonomische, politische und kulturelle Vereinnahmung der Länder Lateinamerikas sichern. Mit Gästen aus Lateinamerika, u.a. dem Befreiungstheologen Paulo Suess.  
Termin/Ort: 3.-5. Mai in Herzogenrath.  
Kontakt: Andreas Schillo, 5300 Bonn 2, Sonnenscheinstr. 3 Tel. 0228/315151

## »Auf der Suche nach dem besseren Leben. Migranten in Peru«

Dies ist der Titel einer geplanten Wanderausstellung über Hintergründe, Folgen und Bewältigungsstrategien von Migration am Beispiel Perus. Die Ausstellung wird versuchen, aus dem Blickwinkel der Betroffenen zu berichten. Neben Informationen sollen Anregungen zur persönlichen und politischen Auseinandersetzung über die Zukunft der lateinamerikanischen Völker und die Auswirkungen der Conquista geschaffen werden. Zeitraum ab Mitte 1992. Kontakt: Institut für kulturelle Weiterbildung, Postfach 101 193, 5000 Köln 1, Tel. 0221/519500

## Europäisches Koordinierungstreffen der NGOs

Die Fortsetzung des Kopenhagener Treffens vom 24./25. November 1990 findet am 15./16. März in Straßburg statt. Themen sind die Konsequenzen des EG-Binnenmarktes, die UN-Konferenz für Umwelt und Entwicklung (1992 in Brasilien) und die Folgen von 500 Jahre Kolonialismus. Kontakt: Peter Wahl, Hamburgerallee 54, 6 Frankfurt/M 90

## Vorbereitungstreffen zur Aktionskonferenz

Für ein bewegungsübergreifendes Austausch- und Koordinationstreffen zur »Kampagne 1992« am 1. Juni 1991 findet am 21. März in Bonn ein weiteres Vorbereitungstreffen von VertreterInnen des Ökologie-, EG- und Internationalismus-Spektrums statt. Kontakt der BUKO-Gruppen über Peter Wahl, der Umweltgruppen über BUND, Arno Belen

## Die Berliner »1992-Koordination«

Die nächsten Termine sind am: 19.2. und 19.3. Jeweils 19.30 Uhr im Mehringhof.  
Kontakt: FDCL, Gneisenastr. 2, 1000 Berlin 61, Tel. 030 6934029

## Zur Aktualität des Kolonialismus

Eine Tagung anlässlich der 500-Jahr-Feiern zur »Entdeckung« Amerikas 1992 mit Vorträgen, Arbeitsgruppen und Diskussion zum historischen und aktuellen Zusammenhang von Reichtum und Armut in den sog. ersten und dritten Welten. Kontakt: E. Wittulski, Davenstedterstr.60, 3 Hannover 91, Tel. 0511/442326 oder Dritte-Welt-Forum, Schaufelderstr.30, 3 Hannover 1, Tel. 0511/7000155.

## Serpaj- Europa

Serpaj- Europa wird die geplante »Asamblea del Pueblo de Dios« unterstützen. Diese Versammlung soll im Juli 1992 in Quito, Ecuador stattfinden, um Stellungnahmen von Basisgemeinden, progressiven Theologen etc. auszuarbeiten. Sie wollen damit Beitrag leisten, um die Stimme der Basis bei der lateinamerikanischen Bischofskonferenz - CELAM - im Oktober 92 in Santo Domingo deutlich werden zu lassen - als Gegengewicht zu der immer stärker werdenden konservativen Hierarchie in der katholischen Kirche  
SERPAJ-Europa Werner Huffer, Engerserstr. 74a, 5450 Neuwied.

## Seminar der Staatskanzlei in NRW

»500 Jahre Amerika - Arbeit mit Filmen von Dschungelburger bis Fitzcaraldo«. So heißt der Titel eines Seminars, in dem die unterschiedliche europäische Verarbeitung der gesellschaftlichen Realitäten in Lateinamerika analysiert werden sollen. Termin/Ort: 22. bis 24. März in Bielefeld.  
Kontakt: TIERRA NUEVA, Lindemannstr. 84, 4600 Dortmund 1.

## »Gesang für Amerika«

Überall in Europa arbeiten Kulturgruppen zu Tanz, Musik, Theater und bildender Kunst zum Thema »500 Jahre Kolonialismus«. Aus dieser Überlegung heraus ist das Projekt eines drei-tägigen Theaterstückes auf der Textgrundlage des »Gesang für Amerika« von Urs Fiechtner/Sergio Vessely entstanden. Kontakt: Volker Klein, Steffensweg 181, 2800 Bremen.

## DIALOG - Verein für Interkulturelle Beziehungen

Am 12. Oktober wird das Projekt mit einem Benefizkonzert vorgestellt. Folgende Schwerpunkte sind in Vorbereitung: Wanderausstellung lateinamerikanischer KünstlerInnen, Musikveranstaltungen, Literatur, Theater, audiovisuelles Begleitmaterial und Workshops.  
Kontakt: Manuel Valdes Bendelgasse 8, 1120 Wien

## VAMOS in Münster

Bei VAMOS werden Literatur über das Verhältnis Deutschlands zu Lateinamerika sowie zwei Dia-Serien zu den Themen »Kokain« und »500 Jahre Dominikanische Republik« erstellt. Kontakt: VAMOS e.V., Achtermannstr. 10-12, 4400 Münster

## »Step across the border« 500 Jahre Frauenwiderstand

Als Europäerinnen wollen wir einen Beitrag zur Kampagne um 500 Jahre Conquista leisten, indem wir zum einen die gemeinsamen Diskussionen um Widerstand gegen patriarchale Strukturen mit den lateinamerikanischen Frauen vorantreiben, zum anderen aber unseren Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Auswirkungen europäischen/abendländischen Denkens und der Überprüfung unseres Zivilisationsbegriffs leisten. Nicht von ungefähr definierten Männer nicht nur Frauen, sondern auch die indigenen Völker als Teil der Natur, die es zu beherrschen und zu zivilisieren galt. Da die Geschichte zugleich Geschichte des Patriarchats ist, somit auch des Widerstandes von Frauen, werden wir in der Conquista-Kampagne mit einem Frauenschwerpunkt arbeiten.

Dies bedeutet aus feministischer Sicht ein neues Politikverständnis zu entwickeln. Praktisch stellen wir uns folgende Arbeitsbereiche vor:

- ★ Koordination von Frauenaktivitäten zu 500 Jahre Conquista;
- ★ inhaltliche Aufarbeitung (Archiv und Dokumentation) und Veröffentlichungen zum Thema;
- ★ Erarbeitung von Fraueninfos für die Beilage;
- ★ Vorbereitung von Frauenthemen für Bundestreffen (z.B. Aktionskonferenz).

Informationen: Angela, Gaby und Barbara, Info-Büro Nicaragua, Postfach 101320, 56 Wuppertal 1, Tel. 0202/4936305

## Kampagnenbeilage 1992 der Dritte-Welt-Zeitschriften, Auflage 33.000

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# Elements of Urban Ecodevelopment

Ignacy Sachs

*The urban situation cannot be dissociated from what is going on in the countryside. Part of the urban crisis is due to the stream of immigrants from rural areas where they are unable to earn even the most miserable living. An overall development strategy is clearly a pre-condition to successfully tackling the urban and the rural situation. However, focusing on greater food and energy self-reliance may offer a starting point to design and gradually implement an urban strategy inspired by the ecodevelopment approach.*

## Accumulation: The Urban Bias; the U-City and The L-City

The urban revolution, started in the third millennium BC in Mesopotamia [Childe, 1967], is coming to its completion. It has almost accomplished the full cycle from the agrarian community with practically the whole population busy in gathering and/or producing food to the modern urbanised society in which all but a few have nonagricultural occupations. In a not too distant past - this very morning in the historical scale - there were eight peasants for two urban dwellers. This ratio is now being reversed, not only in Europe and North America but also as we have seen, in Latin America.

The whole pattern of accumulation is affected in a fundamental way by this shift of population toward the city. Civilisation was born out of the appropriation by the urban elites of the economic surplus<sup>1</sup> produced by the rural masses. Throughout the age the "urban bias" [Lipton, 1977] has taken many forms according to the needs of different types of "producer cities" and "consumer cities" [Weber, 1982], involving asymmetric flows of goods and people, exactions of tributes and *corvees* of all

kinds, terms of trade twisted against the rural producers, etc. It was only natural, under the circumstances, for socialist thinkers to postulate the overcoming of the contradiction between the town and the countryside. Engels [1975] went as far as to consider the large city as a heritage to be eliminated at great pain. This is, however, easier said than done. From ancient civilisations, throughout the industrial revolution and the colonial era, up to the five year plans enforced by Stalin, the pattern of primitive accumulation continued the same. What had varied were the methods used to extract the surplus from the peasants, at home and abroad in colonies and dependent countries.

Even in contemporary China, the urban bias has worked, i.e., by means of temporary contract labour of peasants in urban industries [Blecher, 1983].

The hardships associated with the primitive accumulation are often presented as a once for ever initial effort of modernisation and industrialisation supposed to unfold new, less painful paths of accumulation, the heavy but necessary price to pay for the take-off of the economy. The problem is, however, that an excessive share of the primitive accumulation has gone into the "consumer city" and not the "producer city". Moreover, a growing parcel of the GNP has to be allocated to the maintenance costs of the city<sup>2</sup>

Latin-American cities are caught in a trap. Their maintenance costs are high because they are more consumer than producer cities. Yet secondary sources of accumulation are scanty and the disproportion between the urban and rural population makes it utterly unrealistic to rely for the functioning of the cities on the surplus extracted from the countryside. Nor is it possible to count any more on an inflow of foreign resources. In 1983, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) estimates, Latin America exported 30 billion dollars of capital to service the debt. The argument developed in this section is summarised in Figure 1.

### Zusammenfassung

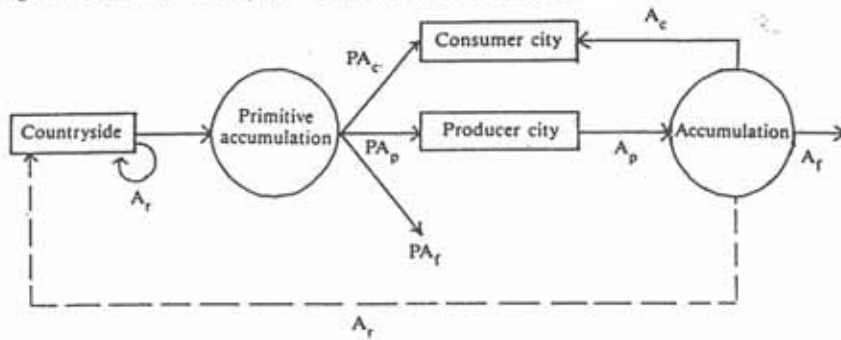
Der Autor unterscheidet einerseits zwischen produzierenden und konsumierenden Stadtgebieten und andererseits zwischen reichen und armen Stadtteilen. Die Stadtgebiete der Armen sind besonders in Krisenzeiten benachteiligt. Unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen sind sie gezwungen, sich selbst zu helfen, aber unter bestimmten Bedingungen auch in der Lage dazu. Dieses „sich an den eigenen Haaren aus dem Sumpf Ziehen“ („bootstrap-operation“) setzt die Anwendung ökologischer Entwicklungsprinzipien voraus.

Der Autor analysiert als deren wesentliche Elemente: Energiesparen, Ressourcenwiederverwendung und Einsatz menschlicher Arbeitskraft, den Aufbau synergetischer Verwertungs- und Produktionskreisläufe, Mehrfachnutzungen, Abfallverwertung in einer städtischen Landwirtschaft. Sogar in Sao Paulo dürften für letztere ausreichende Flächen zur Verfügung stehen (bei 60.000 ha ungenutzter Grundstücksfläche ergäbe bereits ein Drittel davon 1 Mio Gärten 200 m<sup>2</sup>). Diese Tätigkeitsfelder wären zu ergänzen durch Selbsthilfe in Hausbau und Sozialdiensten. Als Voraussetzung für eine solche Strategie nennt der Autor echte Partizipation der Bevölkerung, was gegebenenfalls eine Umstrukturierung des politischen Systems verlangt.

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Figure 1: Cities and Countryside - Primitive and Secondary Accumulation



The primitive accumulation achieved at the expenses of the countryside has been misused: a substantive part of it has been flowing abroad ( $PA_r$ ), the share taken by the consumer city ( $PA_c$ ) is greater than that of the producer city ( $PA_p$ ); investment in agriculture ( $A_p$ ) has been too low. The same structural weaknesses affect the secondary accumulation obtained in the producer city. Part of it is drained abroad ( $A_p$ ), the capital invested in the consumer city ( $A_c$ ) reduces the outlays for the producer city ( $A_p$ ). The much needed transfer of resources to the agriculture ( $A_c$ ) does not occur. A further structural weakness is that  $A_c$  goes to the U-city at the expenses of the L-city. There is over-investment in the U-city and severe under-investment in the L-city.

A qualification is in order here. The consumer city is in reality split into two: the well-to-do live in the beautiful *barrios altos* - the U-city, the urban poor are segregated in the L-city composed of shantytowns, slums and substandard peripheric dwellings. The former has been successfully competing for resources against the producer city and even more so against the L-city. On the top of the urban bias there is a U-bias. No wonder that the U-cities in Latin America can often boast of amenities better than in the richest towns in the North, while L-cities are highly deficient in services and housing. On the one hand, lavish homes, well watered gardens and golf lawns, expensive motor-ways for the commuting of private cars, modern hospitals and schools, efficient but only affordable to a few. On the other, appalling housing conditions lack of sanitation and piped water, deficient transportation, health and public education systems.

### A Bootstrap Operation

What will happen now, in times of crisis? for the bureaucrats from the ministry of finance or planning the answer is clear: austerity budgets compounded by the requirements of foreign debt servicing imply cutting to the bone the so-called „nonproductive“ investment and collective consumption. Outlays for the consumer city as a whole will decrease. A competition between the U-city and the L-city will become more acute and both the urban bias and the U-bias are likely to increase. This ought to be accepted as a deplorable but necessary component of the IMF styled „cure by recession“. There is no way of

preventing those who were already poor to see their situation worsening. While they watch the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of the banks and the widespread financial speculation, they should console themselves by the fact that the middle classes are also hardly hit. They are no more the only *dindons de la farce*.

The spurious logic of this reasoning has been questioned by all those who believe with Celso Furtado [1983] that the answer to the crisis should be a way to the recession and unemployment, starting with a moratorium on the service of the debt in order to bring about its political renegotiation [see also Sachs, 1984a].

Whatever the outcome of the debate between the partisans and the critics of the IMF-styled policies, one thing is clear. Difficult as it is, the situation is not entirely blocked so long as there exist idle, underutilised or presently dilapidated physical and human resources that can be put to socially desirable production of goods and services without upsetting too much the prevailing stringent budgetary restrictions<sup>3</sup>. The main intention of this paper is that this is precisely the case. A bootstrap<sup>4</sup> urban operation aimed at improving the living conditions in the L-city can be organised by grassroots community action without waiting for massive funding from outside. Such an operation has, of course, obvious limitations. It cannot by itself solve the economic crisis and generate enough jobs to resorb the backlog of unemployed. Furthermore, under no circumstances should it be used as an

excuse for the authorities at local, regional and national levels to withhold their responsibility. On the contrary, grassroots actions must be actively supported. This question will be addressed in the final section of this paper. Self-reliance does not necessarily mean self-sufficiency any more than an inward-looking development strategy leads to delinking [Sachs, 1984a]. The complexity of the modern world cannot be tackled by decomposing it into an archipelago of self-sufficient communities be they rural, urban or rurban. But self-reliance in moral, political and intellectual terms makes people resourceful and confident: they assume their situation instead of taking a passive stance, looking around them, they end up by identifying in their environment resources - latent, idle, underutilised or misused. Mobilising those resources may bring about some relief in their plight.

Therefore our message is not one of unqualified optimism and romantic idealisation of grassroots movements and vernacular technology. Its only purpose is to focus on a potential margin for manoeuvre in a situation otherwise completely deadlocked. Without questioning the paramount role of accumulation and investment in the process of economic growth it is important to remember that it does not represent the only possible source of growth. In his important contributions to the theory of economic planning Kalecki [1972] emphasised the need to carefully screen the non-investment opportunities for growth. In the context of the Polish economy he used the following equation:

where

$$r = i/k - a + u$$

- $r$  = the rate of growth
- $i$  = the relative share of investment in the GNP
- $k$  = the capital coefficient
- $a$  = the coefficient of real (as distinct from book-keeping) depreciation
- $u$  = the coefficient of improvement in the use of existing capacities.

This equation cannot be transposed as such to the case of a mixed economy<sup>5</sup>, but Kalecki's insistence on exploring the ways of decreasing  $k$  and  $a$  and increasing  $u$  by better management and organisation points in the right direction. To the extent to which this proves possible,  $r$  will increase over and above what was expected with the given  $i$ .

In other words, the resources saved, thanks to the lowering of the capital-output ratio, the extension of the useful life of equipment and a more intensive use of the same, if properly channelled, could be used as an additional fund for the development of the U-city. Our problem can be restated accordingly as one of identifying at the micro-economic level inside the urban ecosystem, considered as a production system, concrete steps in this direction, of implementing them and of using the resources thus released for socially legitimated purposes.

Before we turn to those questions a comment on the concept of wastefulness<sup>6</sup> in the use of resources is called for. It encompasses several situations. Resources may be used in excess of what is required by a given technology because of neglect, lack of skills or ostentation. Then comes the wrong choice of technology or of product or else of the siting of the production with respect to the consumption markets.

Energy and other resources are in this case being wasted in unnecessarily long interurban transportation lines. The same may happen with intraurban commuting: energy, public investment funds, people's money and time go into daily overcoming of excessive distances between the work places and the residential quarters.

A still different instance of wastefulness is one of foregoing an opportunity to recover energy and materials from waste. At the end of the spectrum one finds the much discussed and subjective issue of life-styles assessed from the viewpoint of their energy and material intensity [see Sachs, 1980b, and Sachs, 1980c].

Moving now to human resources, we may identify a number of situations characterised by foregoing people's willingness and ability to work, be it on labour markets<sup>7</sup>, through self-employment, in the household sector or by voluntarily engaging in a non-paid social activity<sup>8</sup>. In matter of fact, the inability not to waste the available work potential even in periods of rapid growth has been used to define the underdevelopment<sup>9</sup>. The devastating and long lasting effects of the recession commencing on the top of this structural problem are easy to imagine, given the constant pressure of new entrants of the labour market. In many a sense, wastage of human potentialities

for work is by far the worst form of wastefulness, the more so that opportunities foregone are lost for ever: human lives cannot be stocked.

Needless to say that the evaluation of the degree of wastefulness becomes even more arbitrary when one moves along the range of its forms. Lack of objective criteria should not prevent us, however, from considering the curtailment of wastefulness as a major source of finance for development. The high degree of wastefulness built-in into most third world economies gives somewhat paradoxically some reason for hope. In sharp contrast with the "recessive cure" proposed by the IMF, it should be possible in many third world countries to fuel a strategy of growth by a genuine "war against wastefulness". Opportunities at the urban level are plentiful as we shall see. From past mistakes we should derive, however, one lesson. We are not in growth as such, or better said, any growth. Growth is a necessary, but by no means a sufficient condition for development. Left to uncontrolled market forces, it can equally sustain maldevelopment [Sachs, 1984b]. Patterns and uses of growth must be subordinated to the treble criterion of social usefulness, economic viability and ecological sustainability or, in shorthand, ecodevelopment [Sachs, 1980d and 1980e].

### **Urban Ecosystem as a Resource Potential**

Economists tend to look at cities as the site of many enterprises, whose concentration creates both positive and negative externalities but requires a costly infrastructure. Human ecologists have been advocating without much success upto now the study of cities considered as ecological systems [Boyden, 1984]. However, most of the studies conducted within the MaB Programme in its project area on ecological studies of urban systems deal with the impact of the cities on the natural environment and its food-producing systems or describe in detail the energy flows inside the city. The approach outlined in this paper is somewhat different. For analytical purposes it proposes to consider the city as a predominantly artificially created ecosystem with paradigmatic analogies in relation to natural ecosystems. Such a perspective emphasises the actual and potential interrelations and complementarities between different

human activities conducted in the city. Whenever possible, loops must be closed and residues from one production transformed to inputs into some other. The urban ecosystem appears thus as a vast potential of physical and human resources to be identified and tapped in an attempt at arresting deterioration, and hopefully improving the quality of the urban life especially for the population of the L-city.

The analogy between the urban and the natural ecosystem as resource potentials is valid to the extent to which resources do not exist as such. They are but portions of the environment, natural and urban, that people learn to use for a specific purpose. Knowledge about environment, or if one prefers culture, is thus an essential component of the very concept of resource. And resourcefulness, the ingenuity in transforming into resources things around oneself is an important cultural asset for a more self-reliant development. The issue is not to give up the access to any other resource, but to make the best possible use of the local opportunities, combining them with the flow of external resources to the extent to which they are forthcoming.

The human and physical resources potentially available in the urban ecosystem are listed in Figure 2. Figure 3 contains a classification of the forms of wealth production and uses.

For obvious reasons the search for more self-reliant strategies in the urban setting cannot address itself to the whole set of these activities. Those having the greater potential in generic terms (subject of course to the verification of actual conditions prevailing in a given city) have been included in Figure 2.

Among the goals pursued, greater food and energy self-reliance should be singled out. The intrinsic importance of these two problems is only too obvious. Daily provisioning of food and cooking fuel as well as expenditure on transportation take a growing and disproportionate share of family budgets. Food prices have gone up in real terms both as a consequence of higher energy and fertiliser costs and of farmers' and governments' preference for growing exportable crops (or else sugarcane for biomass fuel) rather than staple food. Elimination of subsidies on food and fuel, advocated by the IMF, can only worsen still more

the already untenable situation; recent food riots in Tunisia and Morocco show that this is a highly explosive issue. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that people living in the L-city are those who depend most on the deficient mass transportation systems: they spend a lot of money and time to commute. The second reason to organise the urban bootstrap operation around food and energy, is that they are closely interrelated. Focusing on the food-energy nexus allows for articulating a comprehensive strategy, schematically represented in Figure 5.

**Waste treatment:** Waste and sewage treatment plays in it a central role by providing additional productive employment and generating inputs into food and energy production as well as self-help construction. Rubble from demolition serves to reclaim eroded land for agricultural and constructive purposes. After all, garbage is nothing more than mixed raw materials [Morris, 1983]. In macro-economic terms, waste recycling lowers the capital coefficient, so long as investment per unit of output in this activity is less than otherwise required to produce the recovered materials, energie and fertiliser (or to turn out exportable goods to pay for them). Efficient low cost technologies exist at present for the treatment of sewage and polluted water streams. In Brazil, for instance a pilot project in Piracicaba using water jacinth proved successful and is being replicated at present in several other cities [Tavares de Lima, 1984]. It should be noted that efficient waste recovery, as most of the activities included in the self-reliant urban strategy, requires constant support from the population, in this case seperating paper glass and metal scrap from the garbage. Educational campaigns, the participation of ecological movements and of the youth<sup>19</sup> could make a valuable contribution.

**Urban Agriculture:** Food production inside the city and on its outskirts is conditioned by the availability of private and public land that can be converted on a permanent or temporary basis into small individual kitchen gardens, or larger collective vegetable gardens in schools and factories, producing essentially for the self-consumption of the gardeners and their families. Produktion of fresh food for the local market is also envisageable on the condition of being labour-intensive and high-yielding. Urban

Figure 2: Urban Ecosystem as a Resource Potential

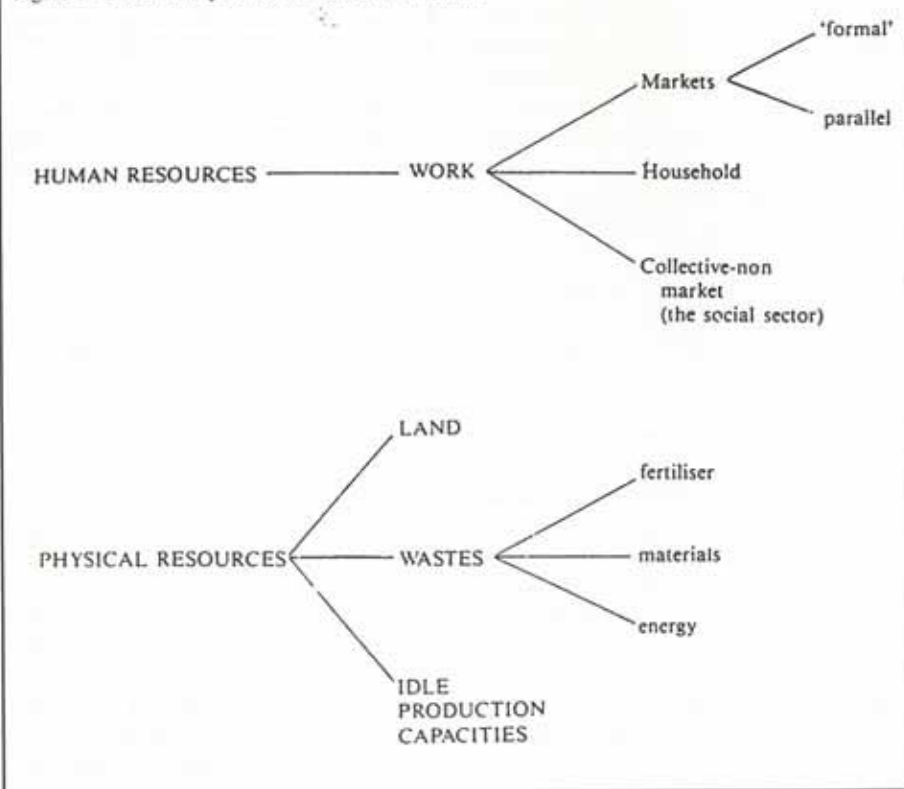
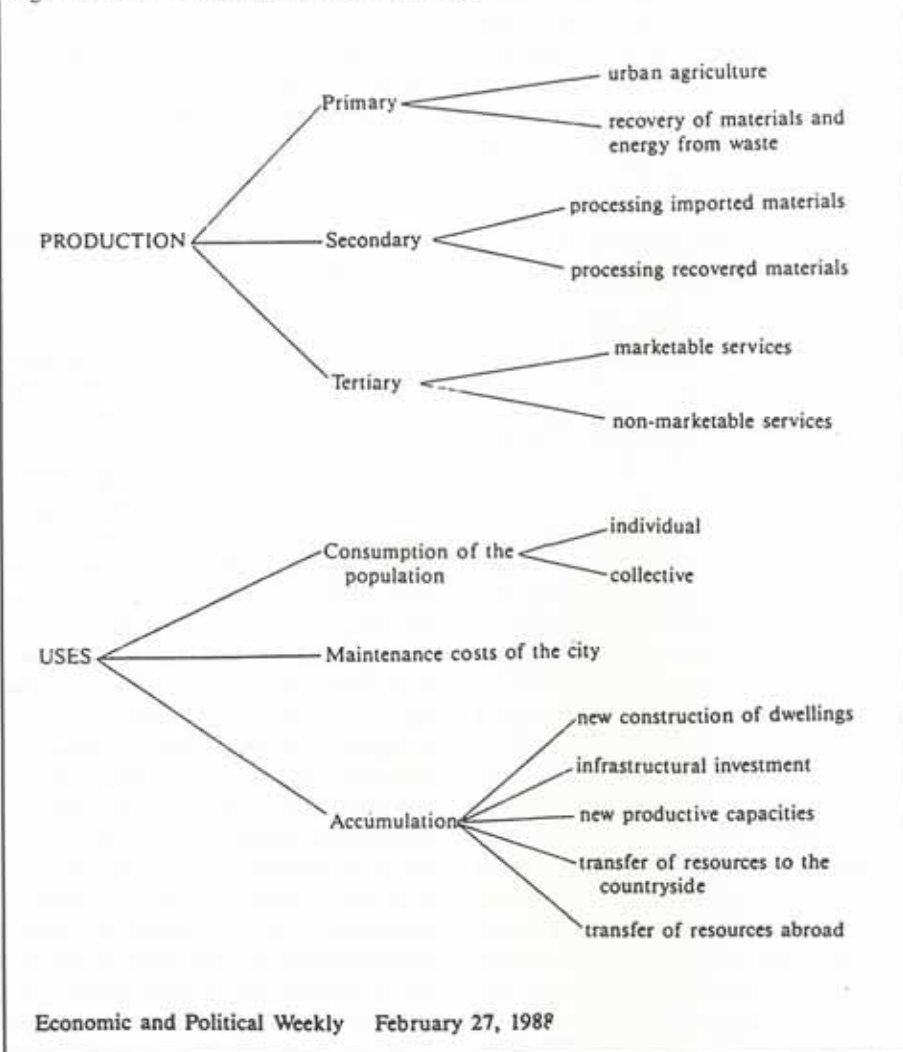


Figure 3: Wealth Production and Uses in the City



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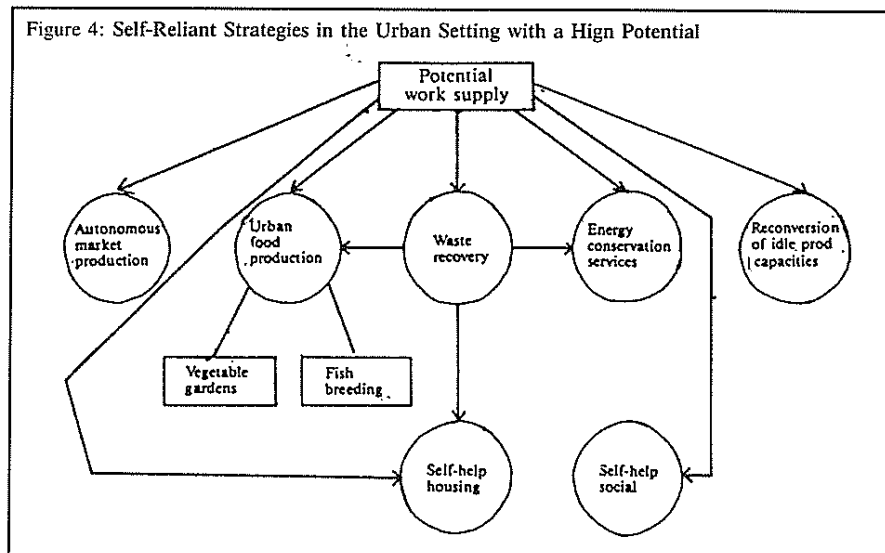
land is too valuable to be wasted. The nutrients recovered from organic and human wastes produced in the city constitute a valuable potential asset<sup>11</sup>.

In most cities possibilities exist for greatly expanding urban agriculture<sup>12</sup> by applying discriminating fiscal measures against owners of large tracts of urban soil kept idle for real estate speculation. It should be remembered that putting an urban plot under cultivation is, after all, a fairly reversible decision. All the land reserve for the future expansion of the city could thus meanwhile produce some food. Individual backyards, schools, factories and public land unsuitable for construction (e.g., the lanes under high tension power transmission lines) offer a permanent opportunity for gardening.

Launching a campaign for growing more food inside the city appears to be a quite inexpensive and low risk experiment. Yet with the exception of China, few instances are reported in the third world<sup>13</sup>, in contrast with the interest taken in home-produced food by Americans, Australians and Europeans, sometimes more as a hobby than a necessity or economic convenience. However, the arguments of greater food security and simultaneous reduction in the cost of living are put forward in the important Cornucopia Project directed at increasing local food production in different US states [Rodale, 1982]. The 1981 crisis has prompted a rapid development of workers gardens in Poland. People occupied all the empty land inside Warsaw and the authorities let them do so. according to FAO, in 1971/75 the proposition of food self-produced by consumers was only 4 per cent in Rio de Janeiro, 7 per cent in Porto Alegre and 8 per cent in Curitiba [Newland, 1980]. These data should be set against the high losses of agricultural land to cities, roads and factories<sup>14</sup>

The reason for this reluctance is mainly cultural. First generation emigrants from rural areas resist the idea of farming or gardening in the city. Lack of appropriate skills and techniques is another cause of slow progress. Very high yields are being reported in organic gardening and intensive fish breeding in backyard ponds by research institutes and individual producers working in temperate climates<sup>15</sup>. But no comparable effort has

Figure 4: Self-Reliant Strategies in the Urban Setting with a High Potential



been done as yet for tropical countries, in spite of the fact that the growing season is longer there.

Under the circumstances, the potential contribution of urban agriculture to the food supply for the L-city dwellers is difficult to assess, the more so that lack of water and pollution may prove limiting factors. As an order of magnitude we may take an estimate quoted by Morris [1983] on the basis of a six month growing season: a full balanced diet can be derived from 2,500 sq ft per person or little more than 0.02 ha for a family of five. A 200 sq m garden would in this case certainly help the family to make the ends meet by providing one fifth of its optimum food intake (i.e., much more in terms of the present depressed standards). Accordingly 4,25,000 families, about one quarter of the Sao Paulo population, would require 8,500 ha of empty land inside the Sao Paulo municipio. Of course smaller kitchen gardens of 50 to 100 sq m are also envisageable.

Should farmers see the development of urban agriculture as a threat to their business? If the produce of urban agriculture will accrue to the urban poor who go hungry because they cannot afford buying more food, farmers will not be affected. Anyhow, greater self-reliance of cities as far as food is concerned is only a matter of degree. Growing food *intra muros* can make a material and moral difference for the lowest-income stratum if not for the city population as a whole. In compensation, efforts at establishing direct links between consumers in the city

and producers in the nearby countryside may be mutually beneficial by cutting down the margin of the traders. For the same amount of money people in the city will buy more food and farmers' sale will go up.

**Energy Recovery and Conservation:**

Results could be more spectacular as far as energy is concerned judging from the work at present developed under the pressure of higher energy prices in the United States [Morris, 1982] and other industrialised countries. Of course, large third world cities are less energy intensive than their American or European counterparts because the latter need heating. The margin for energy conservation is thus correspondingly smaller. Even so much can be done with respect to energy consumption in industries<sup>16</sup> and cities through conventional and less conventional methods.

Among the latter, the following deserve special mention:

- Energy recovery from landfills transformed in giant biodigesters by means of a fairly inexpensive technique developed, i.e., at the Companhia de Tecnologia de Saneamento Ambiental (CETESB) in Sao Paulo; methane recovered in this way from urban garbage would be enough to fuel all the buses running in the city, as is already the case in Modesto (California).
- Energy recovery from sewage (e.g., in New Delhi), a variation on the theme being the use of sewage sludge to fertilise trees later converted into fuel (e.g., in Hagerstown, Maryland).

- Energy conservation by better maintenance of the trucks, buses, construction equipment, etc. In times of crisis, expenditure on maintenance is often foregone, while the contrary should happen. A better maintenance ensures a longer life to the equipment (i.e., reduces the coefficient of real depreciation (a)), while saving on the fuel consumption. In Brazil a 5 per cent cut in the consumption of trucks and buses is a conservative target. But the money thus saved could pay for about 1,00,000 mechanics to service those vehicles, not speaking of the foreign exchange accruing from a lower oil bill. This is certainly the clearest instance of substitution of oil by human work.

- Energy conservation by redesigning and reorganising the public transportation system (e.g., in New Delhi and Curitiba); spectacular results were achieved by software methods, i.e., by the use of highly qualified and imaginative manpower.

- Energy recovery from cold storage plants by coupling them with food dryers, introducing cogeneration of cold and heat as a design principle for agro-industries.

- Energy conservation by investigating the potential for the use in cascade of energy on a district- and not factory-wise basis.

The food-energy loop, schematised in Figure 3, can be closed now. Energy conservation and energy recovery both contribute to the reduction of the

energy import bill. So does the increased local food production as reduced imports of food mean less energy expended in transportation. A greater food and energy self-reliance in the cities is not an utopian dream.

**Self-Help Housing:** For the sake of completeness four other components of a self-reliant urban strategy all based on the use of work potential (see Figure 2) ought to be mentioned.

The first, and by far the most important one, is self-help housing construction [see Turner, 1976, and Correa, 1973]. Reclamation of eroded land with rubble may play a certain role in creating municipal banks of land available for self-help housing schemes. Materials recovered from waste can lower the cost of construction.

**Self-Help Social Services:** The citizen movements active in promoting a self-reliant urban development strategy might wish to help the interested families in jointly organising, with some support from the authorities, childcare and other similar services [see, e.g., Passaris, 1981].

**Reconversion of Idle Capacities:** Tradeunions and professional organisations may have concrete ideas about new products that could be put on the market using the existing idle capacities. A dialogue between them, the entrepreneurs and consumer associations should be encouraged<sup>17</sup>.

**Feito em casa:** Independent craftsmen and artisans working at home

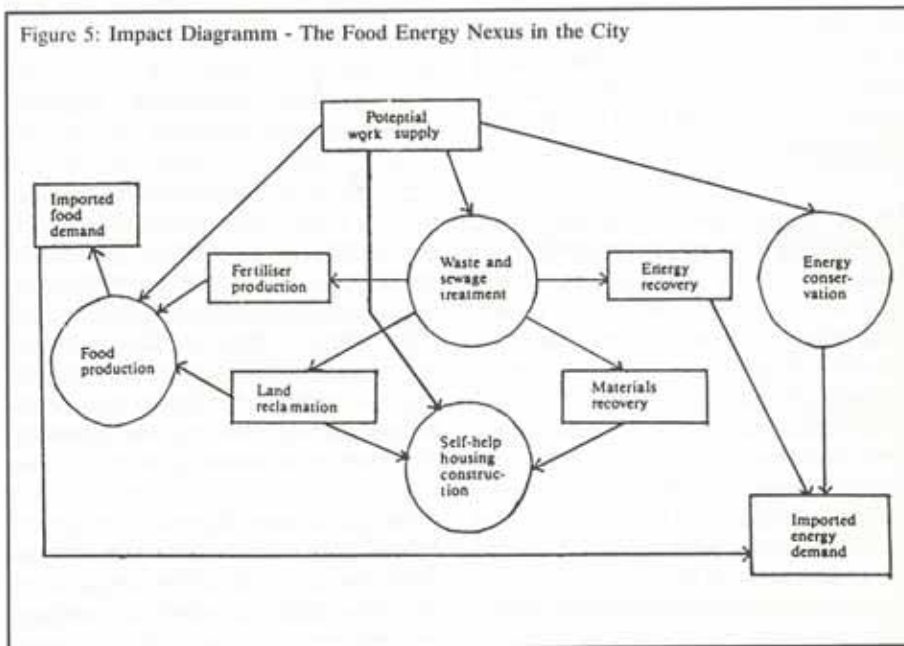
should be helped in finding outlets for their products on the regular market. The initiative taken in this respect by the Planning Secretariat of Sao Paulo City (SEMPA) constitutes a step in the right direction

Urban ecodevelopment calls, as we have seen, for a minute and concrete knowledge both of the pressing social needs and of the city's latent resources. Identifying and matching them requires a constant and effective participation of grassroots organisations and citizen movements, because of their daily involvement with the territorial specificity of each neighbourhood. Planning for urban development certainly requires going down to this scale, even though it cannot be performed exclusively at the lowest level of disaggregation. The complexity of a large city, of a region or of a country cannot be resolved into an archipelago of self-contained local units.

The meaning of participation must be spelled out, because of the frequent abuses of this term. The formal and passive association of the community organisations with the policies initiated by the authorities constitutes at least a pale imitation of what is required and, at worst, a farcical cover for authoritarian regimes. Genuine participation ought to be measured by the power of initiative gained by the community, the room for real size local experiments, the degree of symmetry in the relation between the citizens and the different levels of government, the existing mechanisms for concentration and conflict resolution, the nature of the planning process<sup>18</sup>, the access to the communication media, but also by the capacity of the community organisations to find a balance between their roles of critics of the existing order and of proponents of constructive solutions. Of course, there is room for both.

In other words, it is necessary to look at the place for genuine participation provided by the formal interplay of institutions and at the actual unfolding of the political process, both in its party and non-party manifestations [see Kothari, 1983]. The interaction among the actors of the development process is closely related to the articulations of development spaces - local, regional, national and transnational - (see [IFDA Dossier 17, 1980] and [Development Dialogue, 1981]).

Figure 5: Impact Diagramm - The Food Energy Nexus in the City

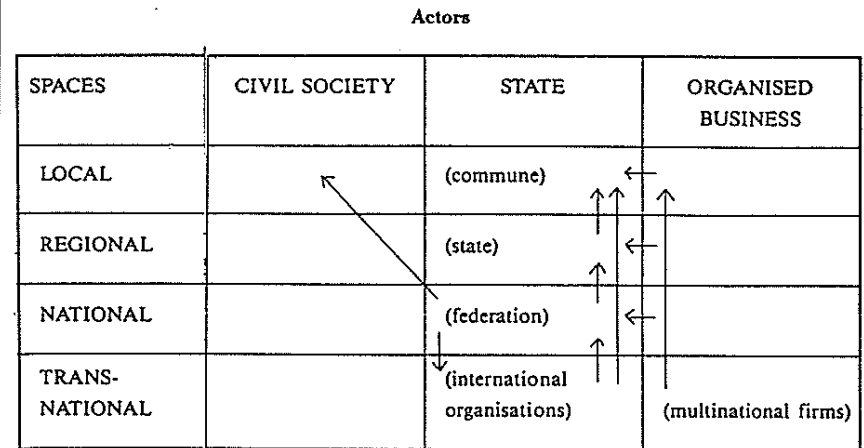


Figures 6 and 7 schematise this extremely complex field of institutional analysis. Figure 7 indicates the most important horizontal, vertical and transversal linkages in the ideal case of an effective all-level democracy of which the city is an integral part. Thus, planning for greater urban self-reliance cannot be dissociated from the broader institutional setting. The following observations are in order here.

The vertical articulation of the development spaces can be made smoother by applying the principle of subsidiarity, i.e., by not taking to the higher level of decision-making what can be decided at the local level. However, emphasis on the local decision-making should not be understood as releasing the higher level authorities from any responsibility. The principle of equity requires from them a fair measure of resource redistribution, taken from the richer (regions and people) and transferring to the poorer. They should be furthermore entrusted with making compatible between them the local development plans and implementing projects of interest to the whole region or country, e.g., in the field of transport and communication. That is why their participation (which is not tantamount to overriding importance) in local decision-making may be useful. Subsidiarity requires on the one hand, more cohesive neighbourhood and, on the other, a new relationship between levels of government [Morris, 1983]. A good way of avoiding arbitrariness in granting or refusing support to local development initiatives by higher local authorities consists in setting automatic or semi-automatic rules for the transfer of resources.

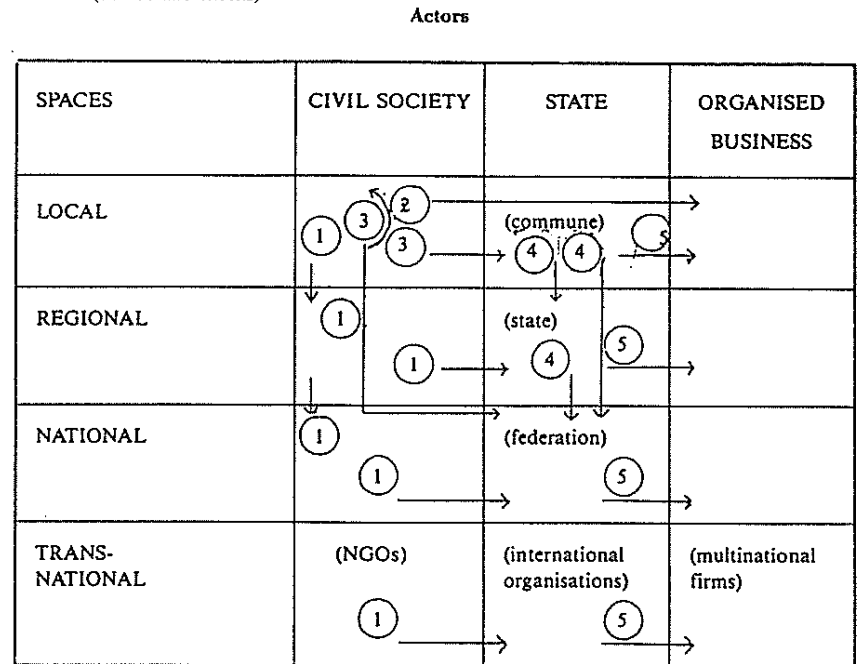
Fears are often expressed that the insistence on local development may produce a perverse effect in the form of exacerbated parochialism. Such a danger certainly exists, but to quote once more the excellent article by D. Morris [1983], the inward orientation of local self-reliance may be compensated by the outward orientation of modern communication systems. One is reminded here of Toynbee's [1971] vision of the future society, everyone belonging to a neighbourhood, sharing the word culture and being able to interact across oceans and continents with people having the same interests and hobbies.

Figure 6: Relationship between Development, Spaces and Actors (the authoritarian free-market regime)



The figure schematises the situation of an authoritarian, hierarchised system geared to a free market economy. The two main sources of power are the central government and the multinational firms.

Figure 7: Relationship between Development, Spaces and Actors (democratic checks)



In contrast to Figure 6, this figure introduces the countervailing powers necessary for the working of an ideal democracy. For readability reasons, arrows from the previous figure have not been reproduced. Reality in most countries lies between the two models.

Arrows marked 1 denote the existence of an effective democratic political system.

Arrow 2 stands for self-management in the enterprises.

Arrows 3 represent the local democracy and the emergence of the "third power system" (see IF-DA DOSSIER 17). Important as 3 is, it cannot be dissociated from 1 and 2.

Arrows 4 denote a political system in which the lower levels can effectively defend their viewpoint in relation to the central power.

Arrows 5 ensure an effective government and international control on organised business.

Communication can play a dual highly positive role as a powerful means of social control over the working of the political and administrative systems and as a tool for horizontal networking of communities interested in exchanging experiences, technologies and products of culture.

*Vivir con lo nuestro* [A. Ferrer, 1983]: This title of a recent book discussing the Argentine crisis clearly suggests that self-reliance is the only realistic guideline in the present situation and to the third world at large in the form of collective self-reliance<sup>19</sup>. Focusing on greater food and energy self-reliance

greater food and energy self-reliance may offer a starting point to design and gradually implement an urban strategy inspired by the ecodevelopment approach. Its possibilities should not be, however overestimated. A lot more is needed to overcome the present crisis. More generally, the urban situation cannot be dissociated from what is going on in the countryside. Part of the urban crisis is due to the stream of immigrants from rural areas where they are unable to earn even the most miserable living. The investment required to accommodate them in the cities is far greater than the outlays that would be necessary to provide them with agricultural and related jobs if access to land were only made possible by appropriate institutional measures. An overall development strategy is clearly a precondition to successfully tackling the urban and the rural situation. The secular experience of north-eastern and central Italy [Fua and Zaccia, 1983] and the post-war record of territorial planning in the Federal German Republic, to quote only two examples, reinforce the postulate put forward by Sabri Adalla [1979]. Third world countries ought to industrialise without uprooting the peasants<sup>20</sup>.

## Notes

- 1 The economic surplus had not taken the form of food surplus alone, even though the volume of the latter sets the limit for the size of the urban population.
- 2 More generally "the improvement of living standards (basic needs and luxuries) constitutes a diminishing fraction of each new unit of increased per capita GNP, the rest is spent on the structural changes required by growth itself, on its side effects and on managing wastes" [Sorensen, 1975].
- 3 To what extent the restrictions are too severe is another question which will not be treated in this paper.
- 4 Bootstrap (adj) according to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 'Relying on its own efforts', Compare, in the same dictionary, self-reliance: 'Reliance upon one's efforts, judgments or ability; self-confidence'.
- 5 Kalecki [1972] assumed away the existence of idle capacities and of business cycles. Of course, the presence of idle capacities, as it is the case now in many developing countries, only reinforces our argument.
- 6 The French term is *gaspillage*. An important report submitted to the government in 1974 put the struggle against wastefulness in the centre of environmental policies [see Gruson, 1974].

- 7 The plural is intentional: the labour markets are highly fragmented and from the legal point of view range from the 'formal' to the criminal underground, passing by various degrees of 'informal'.
- 8 E.g. self-help construction of a neighbourhood cultural and health centre or funding of a child day-care centre.
- 9 Of course, much depends on the lower limit set for the wages. It is counterproductive to push them too low.
- 10 E.g. school students could engage in collecting at home papers and glass and bringing them to the schools. The produce of the sales could be used to buy sport articles for the use of the kids. For examples of successful institutional arrangements with the collaboration of city authorities and citizen movements in Japan and Netherlands, see Chandler [1983].
- 11 At the end of the past century, Paris was a great centre of production and export of off-season salads. Output reached 59 kg per capita and year thanks to a skilful use of horse manure from 1,00,000 horses then existing in the city. See Kropotkin [1899 (1973)] and Stanhill [1976].
- 12 Including poultry, raising of small animals and intensive pisciculture in small ponds.
- 13 Examples include the urban communities in Curitiba idealised by Jaime Lerner [1982], the green belt in Madras [Alan Turner, 1981] and the *zonas verdes* in Maputo and Beira in Mozambique.
- 14 Perhaps the most dramatic case is Egypt, where an average of 26,000 ha of prime agricultural land is being lost each year in spite of a very unfavourable man/land ratio [Newland, 1980].
- 15 See, eg, the work of the Rodale Institute in the United States and the permaculture movement in Australia, Japan and the UK [Strange, 1983]. Permaculture purports to be a *gestalt*, multi-purpose approach to every-site, including urban, aimed at designing ecologically stable high yield foodproducing systems in which waste recycling plays an important role. Permaculture is not a collection of isolated techniques but a set of designing principles. The resemblance is striking with the concept of eco-design, put forward by Eduardo NEIRA in relation to housing and habitat.
- 16 A recent World Bank study estimates at 37.8 to 65.5 million TPE (tons of petroleum equivalent) per year the short-term savings of industrial energy in developing countries. However, an investment of 8.1 to 19.3 billion dollars will be needed. The outlay for 1 TPE saved every year varies from 175 to 350 dollars, to be compared with the present price of 299 dollars per 1 TPE [Kohli and Segura, 1983].
- 17 For an analysis of the pioneering effort of the shop trade union at the Lucas factory in the United Kingdom, see Rogalski and Yakubovich [1980].
- 18 Ideally, it should have a clear social commitment (advocacy planning), be participatory and lead to contractual arrangements between the development actors, possibly in the form of pluriannual contract-programmes [see Godard, 1980, and Sachs, 1984c].

- 19 For the concept of self-reliance and collective self-reliance and collective self-reliance, see: What Now [1975], Galtung, O'Brien and Preiswerk [1980] and Hope [1983].
- 20 *Industrialisation sans depaysanisation* is the goal

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# KRIEG UND FLUCHT IN KURDISTAN

TÜRKEI/IRAK

- 500 000 Menschen schon vor Beginn des Golfkrieges geflohen
- In den letzten Tagen flohen: 300 000 Menschen der Stadt Diyarbakir (600 000 Einwohner) und 3/4 der Bewohner der grenznahen Städte Cizre & Silopi
- Alle relevanten Hospitäler & Überlandbusse vom türkischen Militär beschlagnahmt
- Frauen & Kinder & alte Menschen existieren hilflos in Winterkälte entlang den großen Landstraßen in Erdlöchern, Viehställen & im Freien.
- Türkische Regierung verhindert jegliche Schutzmaßnahme & selbst die minimalste Versorgung der Betroffenen

Während die Regierung in Ankara die durchaus erwünschte Entvölkerung Kurdistans auch dadurch fördert, daß ihre Armee die Felder der Vertriebenen mit Flammenwerfern & Bulldozern dauerhaft vernichtet, fliegen die in diesem Land stationierten NATO-Kampfbomber ihre tödlichen Einsätze auf die nord-irakische Kurdenstadt Zakhō. Um denen, die dort im Sommer 1988 die Giftgasangriffe Saddam Husseins überlebten, im „Namen der Freiheit“ endgültig den Rest zu geben.

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# The Urban Ecosystem Approach

## Planning and Designing for the Long Term in Coastal China

Richard L. Meier  
Quing Shen

In this article, we examine the problems of the development of coastal China, with a focus on Shanghai, in a systematic way. By exploring the issues in an ecological framework, not only can we see the problems of the development of the coastal cities more clearly, but also we recognize the potential for the alleviating future problems. It can be done through setting the goals of development to be the attainment of a higher quality of life. Scientific and technological knowledge can help plot the long term strategies, while the tactics are determined by what seems to be politically and socially feasible locally.

Because the coastal metropolises are places where production and labor force are growing, they will encounter urban problems sooner than others. They will be pushed to the frontiers of knowledge acquisition and application. Our study focusses on Shanghai as a prototype among the coastal metropolises which will often act as a leader in the introduction of innovations.

For understanding better the major issues to be confronted we shall use the framework arrived at in UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Symposium held in Beijing in October 1987 (fig.1).

### City Structure and Dwellings

Self-motivated migrants who come to a densely populated city like Shanghai will be highly unlikely to gain access to the heavily subsidized public housing. In fact, even the citizens with jobs which give them some claim to public or company-financed housing are being encouraged by the new policy to build

and buy their own units. The high standards adopted for the newly constructed housing units have resulted in a situation where most of the expenditure has become „consumptive“, rather than „productive“. If housing is to be productive, the location and design must enhance output per unit of a scarce resource to such an extent that the savings would pay for the housing.

Perhaps half of the new households will be mixing their living space with work space needed to operate a micro-enterprise. The workers may be building artisans, street food preparers, televisions repair mechanics, cycle repairers, furniture makers, commercial decorators, and the like. These households prefer the bottom two floors, while precision micromechanics, tailors, and artists can conveniently use upper floors. These independent workers offer services presently unavailable in Chinese cities, so they can add significantly to the overall diversity and potentials. Overseas Chinese developed a special form of building for these enterprises called the „shop house“, which has since taken on several modern

forms in other Asian cities that might be borrowed and brought back to the Mainland.

Coastal cities, especially Shanghai, are bounded on one or more sides by wetland and water. These lands have not been built upon due to the costs of reclamation and occasional flooding. When land values are high, as in Tokyo and Hong Kong, it is not only possible to reclaim some of that land, but also to build upon piers above the high water mark. The dredging and excavation tends to leave „borrow pits“ which could float barges which support multi-story buildings.

Special strategies must be employed to make sure that new housing produces savings in energy and water consumption. Refrigeration and air conditioning services can yield the greatest wastage of energy. Although engineering system design can save half the power requirements, even greater savings can result by going back to the fundamental of convenience and comfort. For example, natural ventilation aided by carefully placed fans would be healthier than air conditioning.

#### Zusammenfassung

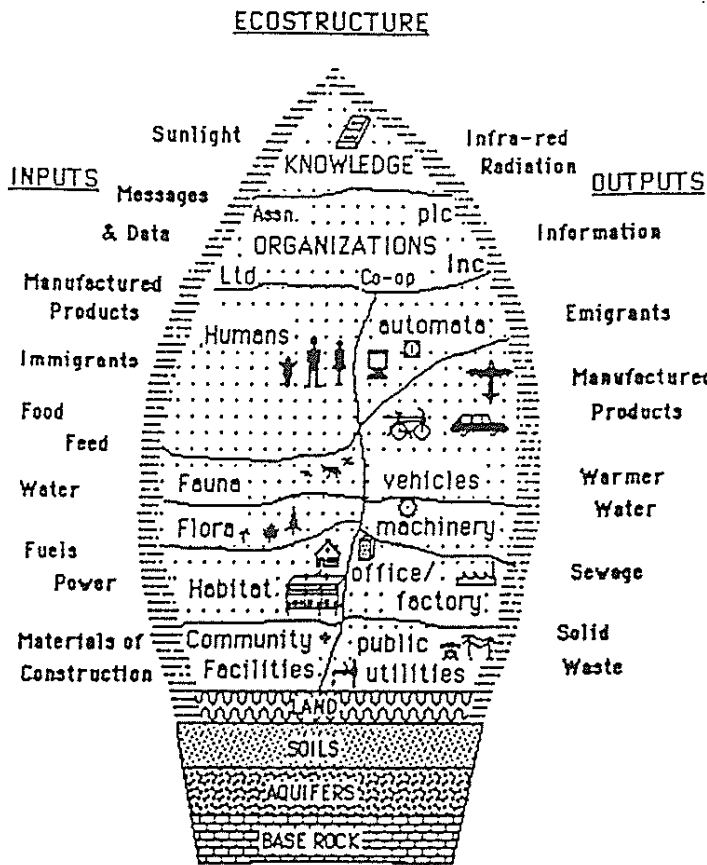
Am Fall des Ballungsraumes Shanghai entwickeln die Autoren Vorschläge für Techniken und Strategien, mit welchen die ökologische Lebensfähigkeit (Zukunftsbeständigkeit) einer großen Stadtregion verbessert werden kann. Die Beispiele betreffen:

- Selbsthilfe im Wohnungsbau bei angemessener Siedlungsdichte
- energiesparend gebaute und entsprechend im Kommunikationsnetz eingebundene Gewerbe- und Dienstleistungsgebäude
- in Hinblick auf die abnehmenden fossilen Energievorräte treibstoffsparende Verkehrsmedien wie Fahrräder sowie, in Übertragung von Erfahrungen in anderen asiatischen Städten, Kleintransport in einem anpassungs- und lernfähigen Logistiksystem.
- Rationalisierung der Wasserversorgung; Entsorgung mit Mehrfachnutzung in Klärteichen zu den Zwecken: a) Vermeidung von grundwasserbedingten Bodensenkungen, b) Aufnahme der organischen Abfälle und c) Nahrungsmittelproduktion (Fischzucht)

Diese Teilbereiche könnten ergänzt werden, z. B. durch hochintensive, ökologische Garten- und Landwirtschaft und so die direkte Tragfähigkeit des Ballungsraumes auf ein geschätztes Maximum von insgesamt ca. 100 Mio. Einwohner erweitern.

This article is the shortened version of a paper presented at the TRIALOG International Conference „Sustainable Habitat on an Urbanized Planet?“ in Berlin, 1990. The full paper may be obtained from the authors at College of Environmental Design, Department of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley CA 94720 USA.

Figure 1: Community in Urban Ecosystem



A permeable boundary is adjusted to admit a variety of inputs (material, energetic, or information-rich) and eliminates a balancing set of outputs. Public transactions occurring within the ECOSTRUCTURE make up community life. Experience derived from these transactions is condensed and organized to become Knowledge, which needs to be conserved because it suggests the ways of improving efficiency in the use of inputs which become increasingly scarce over time.

Wells (1981) has dedicated a career to the design of earth-sheltered buildings for many purposes. The insulation of one to two meters of earth makes such buildings as energy-conserving as the best constructed above the surface when the weather is very hot or very cold, so the higher cost of building can be offset.

With this kind of beginning the designer's logic brings him to a built site which looks like a green park with 15 meters high ridges, each with a glass cliff on the sun-facing side that terminates at a pool or a narrow strip of lawn. It would be particularly suited to house organizations whose workers and clients arrive as pedestrians and cyclists. The shady side would serve backroom functions that call for low levels of illumination, as well as various kinds of entrances. (fig. 2)

### Communication and Transport.

Already the airport, telecommunications systems, power distribution network, hospitals, continuous flow technologies, police establishment and freight services work around the clock. To compete, the Chinese cities must extend this continuous service to computing centers, entertainment industries, fast food outlets, mass transit, banking, commodity and financial markets and retailing. Flexitime, which gives employees some freedom to choose their own working hours, is needed to spread out peak flows and thereby save on expensive infrastructure. It allows the central district to be more compact, thus saving both space and time. Many work stations will be operating two, or even three, shifts per day. On the whole, if the urban services can operate in the range of 30 - 70% of design capacity, day and night, instead of the current 15 - 25%, the city would eliminate most queueing and thus be both highly efficient and more humane.

The world has a quite stable set of expectations regarding what fuels can be produced economically in the future. The big transition, toward which cities must plan ahead is the rapid falloff of per capita petroleum use around 2020 AD. This is only one human generation away and well within the life cycle of urban structures and service systems now being designed. As noted in the preceding part of this study, Chinese cities will still be in the midst of the ex-

The economical achievement of comfort in the winter requires a judicious balance between clothing design, radiant heating and space heating.

### Office Buildings

The developing parts of China experience a huge shortage of offices - the sites where the work of coordinating public activities is carried out. Architects, together with responsible officials, have been struggling to find an appropriate solution. Too often the allocation of space in the resultant designs has mapped itself to the respective officials in the present hierarchy without recognizing that these relationships will be forced to change in important respects even before the building is finished. Image and appearance are still given much more attention than serviceability over the lifetime of the structure. Offices should fit conditions for doing public work thirty to fifty years into the future.

One key to energy conservation will be found in the minimization of lighting

energy by designing for daylighting. This means paying attention to orientation and allowing for special climatic conditions. The building should have fluorescent lighting installed which is controlled by light-activated microprocessors instead of ballast. The fenestration and the interior room surfaces can be specified so that the daylight is transmitted to the back of the room, and the fluorescent lamps make up for what is missing. Window glass can now be purchased at reasonable cost which selects out the heat-producing infra red component of sunlight and quickly re-radiates it back to the environment.

The „garden city” type of office block normally requires so much land restricted to suburban estates, however, an „earth-sheltered strategy” for energy economy seems to be available in the future. To our knowledge, no large metropolitan office building has come into being, but forerunners in the form of libraries and schools have appeared in recent decades, Architect Malcolm

pansion necessary to accommodate immigration of surplus people from the countryside. To serve this population the future transport system must be very different from those evolved by world cities to date (Rogers, 1983; Ocampo 1982).

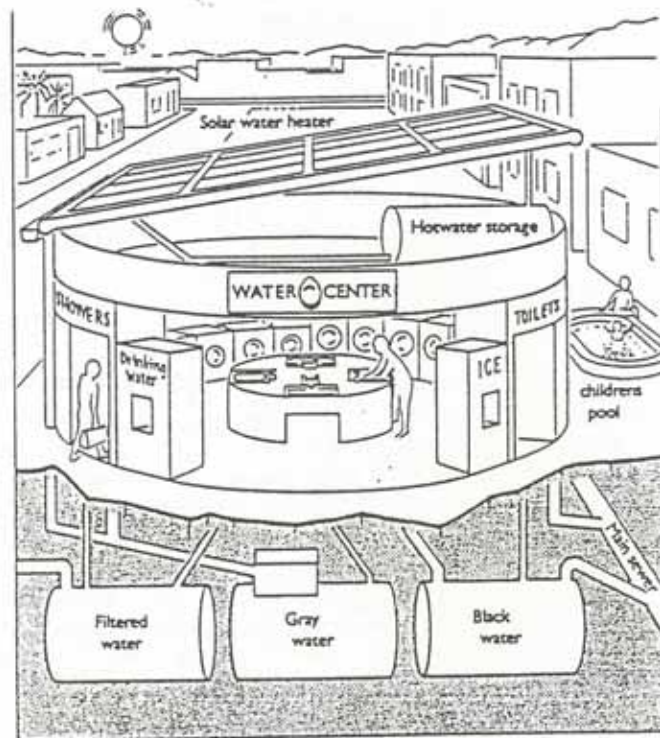
The shock of the transition will be relatively great in China because it has not been discovering petroleum where it was hoped that it would be deposited. Also, its biomass resources, which we now know can be converted into methanol - a liquid fuel competitive with gasoline or any liquid hydrocarbon - are greatly constrained by aridity of the climate

Under most conditions the lowly bicycle is the most efficient vehicle for the future, but careful planning is required to take advantage of the potentials, and no city has as yet done this. It causes no noise and no pollution, and the energy source - food - is universally available. Bicycles become dangerous when mixed with automotive traffic so parallel lanes need to be provided. This leads to chaos at intersections, unless special multi-level roundabouts (such as have appeared recently in Beijing) are designed. In high density areas it may be necessary to provide a network of cycle and pedestrian paths above the street traffic. So far designers have shown no originality whatsoever for parking bicycles at central destinations, such as office buildings and subway stations. However, Shanghai has added a touch with roll-on, roll-off harbor crossing ferries for bicycles.

Lightly powered bicycles - mopeds - and various rickshaws become equally efficient in lower density environments, and their maneuvers mix easily with the cycle mode of movement (A. K. Meier, 1977). A great deal needs to be done with system design, regulations enforcement, safety equipment, and integration with other modes, including eventually a personal, cellular telephone that fits into a helmet. A heavy dependence upon the cycle mode of transport will greatly change urban form from what it has become today.

A serious gap exists in vehicles which can move 2 - 4 persons together. The taxis in Shanghai are greatly under-used, and therefore too expensive. The „Shared taxi“ in Seoul, Teheran and elsewhere encourages a taxi to post a sign on the windshield indicating a ge

Figure 2: A Recycling Neighborhood Water Center



A fully developed water center should provide hot water, ice, packaged drinking water, bathing facilities, laundry, public toilets, and possibly even a wading pool for infants. It would also contain arrangements for catching runoff from the roofs, combining it with gray water from bathing and using this water quality for laundry and scrubbing. Laundry wastewater can flush toilets when water gets expensive. A family of "water watchers" should be installed to maintain and manage such a center as part-time employment. It could serve 30 - 100 households living within a distance of 50 meters or less, so the level of convenience is high.

neral destination and then pick up four to five passengers along a corridor leading in that direction. These shared taxis charge five to ten times the normal bus fare for each passenger, but in a developing metropolis a rapidly increasing number of business and professional workers can afford this because it saves them much valuable time. In Shanghai most of these vehicles are idle at rush hours or they carry a single elite passenger.

In Seoul the volume served has reached a 11% share of the rush hour peak, or virtually the same amount as four subway lines. A given taxi has several drivers and is on the road twenty hours a day.

A new kind of energy conserving taxi has been invented for Bangkok that would fit very well in Chinese conditions. It is a stylish, half-enclosed three-wheeler powered with pollution-free propane. It is quiet when well-maintained, but after some years of continuous operation it develops an operating noise which caused the public to

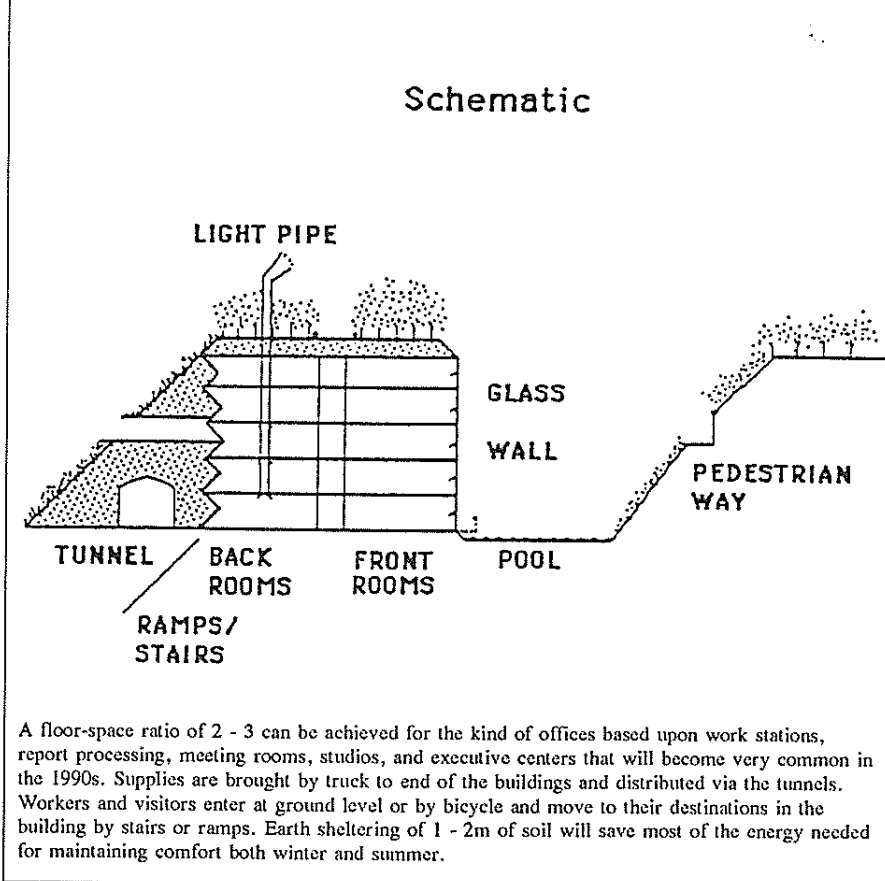
call it „chuck-chuck“. It carries 1 - 4 persons, charges 60% of the normal taxi fare, and has the advantage over other three-wheelers that it can maneuver as a virtual equal to automobiles and trucks in heavy street traffic. Fuel requirements per kilometer of service are about half the present taxi. Jakarta has several varieties of three-wheelers, each of which has found a special niche in the urban transport system.

Another Asian invention is the „scat bus“, which guarantees the rider a seat from the pickup point to the destination. In Hong Kong and Shenzhen it is the popular „public light bus“ with fourteen passenger capacity, while in Seoul it was found that a 40-passenger bus costs less circulation space per passenger carried (the most important criterion in the inner city) and the energy cost was noticeably less.

Perhaps the most effective metropolitan scale procedure to be applied during the rapid evolution of new modes of urban transport is a learning-by-trying micro-management style incorporating



Figure 3: Earth-Sheltered Office Construction for Central Areas



The idea for a water-conserving recycling center is of little interest to Shanghai residents at present, because recent additions have been made to the water supply. The taste and odor of municipal water remains, however, the worst a tourist will ever encounter when moving from city to city. Desinterest in water-saving is reinforced by the standards set by designers and planners for new apartments, since they include a small private flush toilet. Recycling in a multi-unit building of this design is highly inconvenient. The pressure to economize is not felt by most households because they do not have their own water meter, or because the rates are low and no special charges are laid on to reduce the waste of water.

quick feedback and local design improvement wherever extreme congestion occurs. When Seoul was at the same stage as Shanghai today, it installed about thirty television monitors which covered continuously the critical points in urban traffic flow. In a central general operations room one man usually covered three television screens, each backed with a recent air photo to get the larger picture in case of fire or major accident. He was connected by radio telephone to a squad of traffic police who could be warned of impending traffic blockages and be instructed about manual control of stop lights. Daily reports from these interventions suggested improved signing and lane marking, sometimes even reconstruction of intersections. The location of the monitors tended to be moved seasonally and also adjusted to the completion of new construction. An extra 5 - 15% flow can be squeezed out of a traffic network by this means at very low investment cost.

### Water supply

Water conservation is critical only 3 - 10% of the time, but if the potential is

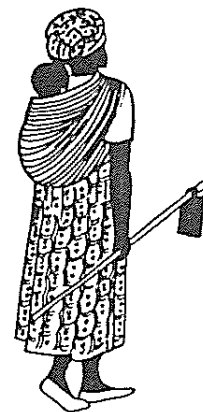
not there the industries and the wealth-production of the city can be crippled for decades at a time by a severe drought. Water-intensive manufacturing, such as brewing and paper-making, can be designed to be shut down at the peak of a crisis, so the stress upon water-conserving design is directed to food processing along with domestic, commercial and office uses.

The ultimate in domestic water-conserving design is an integrated „water recycling center“. Typically serving 50 - 300 households, or equivalent commercial/office/workshop units, it would bring water-using activities to within fifty meters of ones doorway. It would also save huge amounts of piping and costly individual meters. Small amounts of two or three grades of water (say drinking, ice, hot or filtered) would be carried to the point of small scale storage within the units. Through intense attention and recycling efforts it should be possible to reduce domestic consumption to 10 - 20 liters per capita per day and still maintain transaction volume in the city, or about a thenth of normal consumption. (fig.3)

**Dem Hunger entflieht man nicht mit den Füßen, sondern mit den Händen.**

(Afrikanisches Sprichwort)

Deshalb unterstützen wir Selbsthilfeprojekte und Basisinitiativen in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika.



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ÜBERLEBENS SICHERUNG

# Appropriate Technology for Urban Wastes in Asia

## Avoiding Past Mistakes

Christine Furedy

*From garbage farms in East Calcutta to windrow piles in Karachi, decisions about composting techniques become embedded in regional, environmental and social planning.*

Appropriate technology has become an important concept for urban as well as rural planning in the developing countries. The term does not only reflect concern over the operation and cost of machines imported from developed countries. Social and environmental goals are seen as relevant to decisions about whether techniques are appropriate or not in specific settings. Thus whether a particular technique generates or displaces jobs may be assessed and the degree of control that citizens possess over the techniques may be an important factor. The environmental ethic of "sustainable development" is establishing resource conservation as another important consideration (Mitchell, 1980; Redclift, 1984; I.L.O., 1977; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

The extensive informal recovery of manufactured materials from waste streams in Asian cities makes composting appear eminently suitable as a way of reducing solid waste disposal problems and making maximum use of wastes, because the "end of the line" refuse consists predominantly of organic and inert matter. But compost-making has become controversial. This is because, in many Asian cities, when administrators made decisions to explicitly promote composting in the last

20 years, they chose complicated mechanical plants for this purpose and proceeded without studies of potential markets and overall costs. Few cities have been able to operate these plants successfully or to market their product without losses. The plants have had numerous mechanical problems. Some have been closed down; those still working rarely operate at capacity, and generally produce compost that is not desired or is unaffordable by farmers (Jha, 1984; Thom-Kozmiensky, K., 1982; Furedy, Field Notes, 1985 - 88).

These plants have become exemplars of inappropriate technology, and compost-making appears fraught with problems (Sakurai, 1986; Maung, 1982). Nevertheless, the interest in composting urban wastes persists, simply because it seems to offer the only feasible way to substantially reduce refuse volumes at dump sites. In some cases, too, city managers still dream of making money from compost sales. Proponents of appropriate technology do not start with the design of machines for cities of developing countries. Instead they ask: to what extent does composting take place in community settings, and what methods appear to

be working satisfactorily? They point to examples of flourishing natural systems, and the potential for further promoting community-based approaches to composting.

### Garbage Farms of East Calcutta

The largest, and most economical, natural system of using city refuse for farming is probably that of the garbage farms of East Calcutta, for here the wastes are predominantly used *in situ*, and thus there are not the costs and complications of transportation (such as, for instance, on the garbage barges of Shanghai). At Calcutta's main dumping site, established in 1865, the municipal corporation leases out plots of mature dump land for vegetable farming, amounting to about 800 hectares (Furedy & Ghosh, 1984). The city's refuse forms an extremely productive substratum - besides vegetable matter and coal ash, there are quantities of animal dung, sewer sludge, bones, and other organic materials. Twenty-five varieties of vegetables are grown throughout the year, at an average rate of 150 - 300 tonnes per day, without the addition of chemical fertilizers. Fresh refuse is also highly prized by nearby

### Zusammenfassung

*Auf dem Hintergrund nicht angemessen betriebener Abfallsammel-, verwertungs- und Kompostierungsanlagen in verschiedenen asiatischen Städten beschreibt die Autorin das auf bäuerlichen Kleinbetrieben für Komposterzeugung und Fischzucht beruhende System in den östlichen Stadtgebieten Kalkuttas. Eine andere Technik stellt die Düngerproduktion der zentralen umwälzbelüfteten Kompostierungsanlagen von Schanghai, Peking, Delhi und Jakarta dar. Gefahr droht beiden Verfahren von dem steigenden Anteil nicht-organischer Stoffe, besonders von dem mangels Wiederverwendungsmöglichkeit nicht aussortierten Weichplastikmaterial.*

*Die Autorin empfiehlt deshalb eine umfassende Abfallverwertungs politik, in welcher Sortierungsvorgänge zwingend vorgeschaltet sind. Darüber hinaus ist die Beibehaltung garten- und landwirtschaftlicher Verwertungs- und Produktionsgebiete in den Ballungsgebieten selbst unerlässlich. Diese müssen vor den Vorurteilen und möglichen Ansprüchen privilegierter Bevölkerungsgruppen geschützt werden.*

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farmers, many of whom have made arrangements with refuse truck drivers to obtain consignments before the trucks reach the dump.

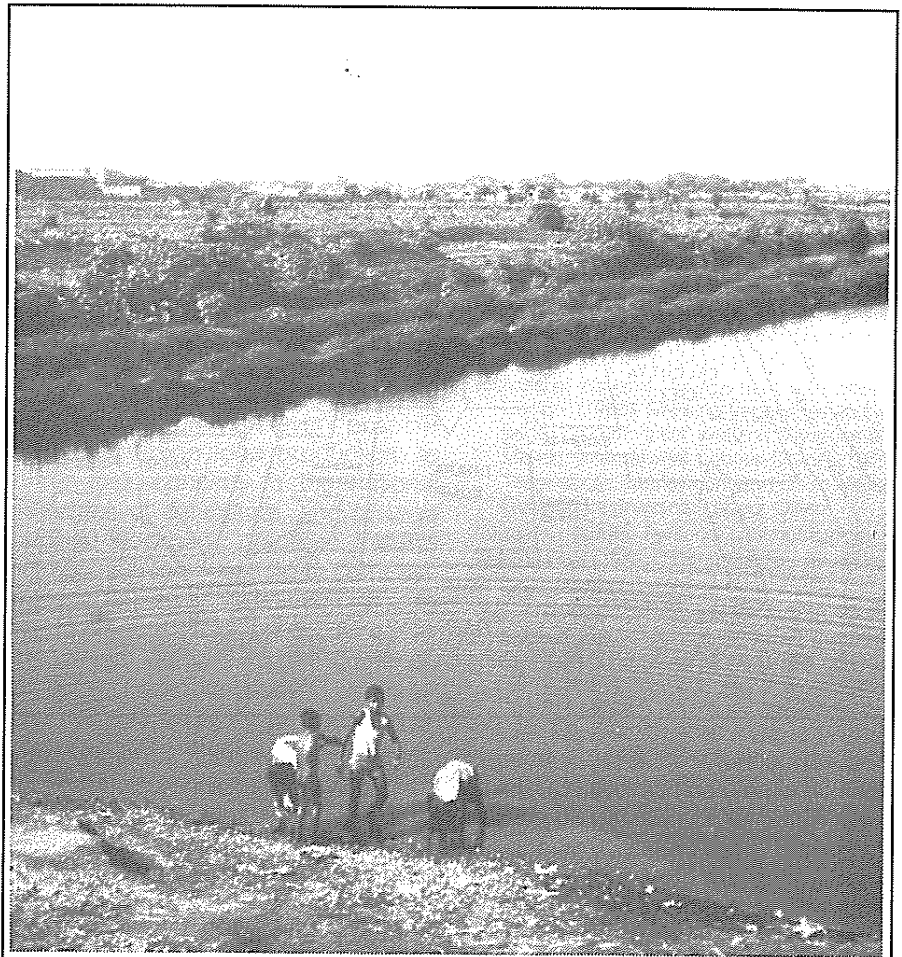
*In the garbage farms of East Calcutta 25 varieties of vegetables are grown throughout the year without the addition of chemical fertilizers.*

The employment generated by this intensive farming (an estimated 20,000 people have work as a result) is one of the arguments put forward, along with ecological and economic ones, by those who wish to see the garbage farms protected and assisted (Institute Wetland Management, 1986). The dependence of the nearby farmers on the refuse is indicated by their active protests when changes in municipal management have threatened to end their informal deals to obtain some of the fresh refuse. Recently, produce farmers and fish farmers (who use the city's sewage in their ponds) in the East Calcutta area formed a Waste Recycling Region Development Committee to work for the preservation of the farms and fish ponds (Chaudhuri, 1988). In this system of garbage farming, there are no marketing and transportation costs, factors which have been handicaps for municipal plants in other larger cities.

Other natural approaches are found in large South Asian and Chinese cities (for instance, Bangalore, Beijing, Guangzhou and Jakarta, to name just a few). Farmers come into the city to gather cartfuls of refuse, or go to the operating dump sites to take compost; small dumps abandoned as the cities expand have, in some cases, been converted into vegetable gardens. Quantities of refuse in smaller South Asian cities are also casually deposited on waste land, or underneath trees lining the regional roads. Although this is not deliberate composting, these wastes condition and improve the soil and thus ultimately make it attractive for small vegetable gardens

### **Barges in Shanghai**

The largest city to dispose of considerable quantities of domestic solid wastes through garbage farming is Shanghai. Refuse is carried out to farms on barges along rivers and canals. In the suburbs and Jiangsu district, it is offloaded onto the land to



Sewage treatment fisheries in Calcutta

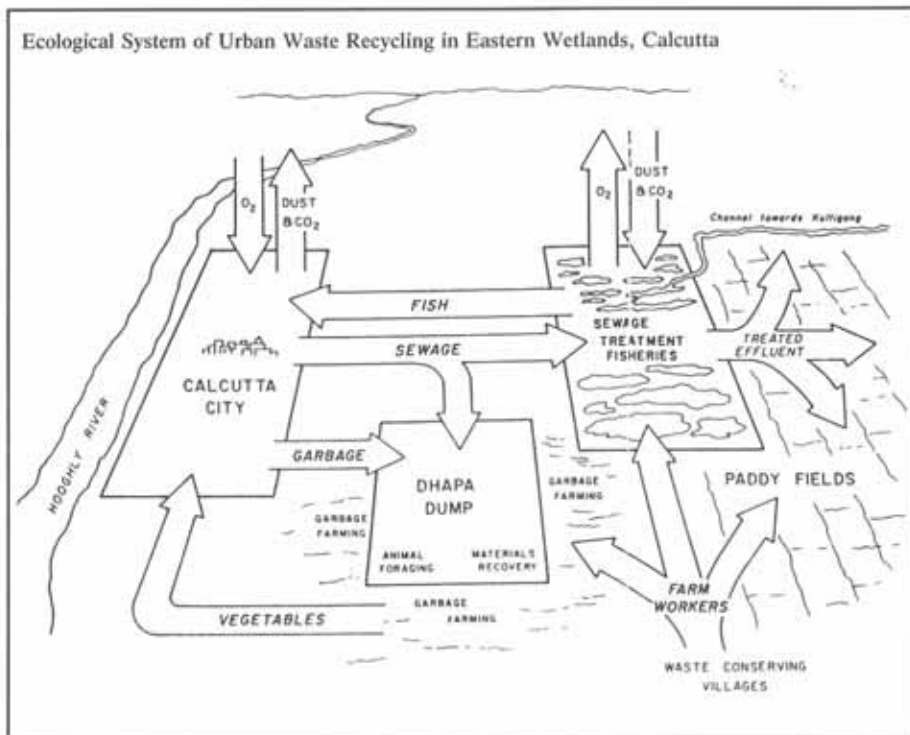
Photo: Kosta Mathéy

decompose, and the compost may then be sifted through screens (Shanghai Resource Recovery Co., 1984). Subsidies of chemical fertilizers to farmers in the region, a growing distaste for the odors of decomposing wastes, and dissatisfaction with the amount of synthetic material and glass in the waste, have led many farmers to reject the city's wastes in recent years (Zhang, 1988). The surplus has to be dumped along the sides of the canals. Now Shanghai faces the problem of finding more space for refuse dumps (Furedy, Field Notes, 1985 - 1988). The city has also built a small compost plant with the aim of making superior compost, but as yet the market potential of the compost produced from this plant and others that are planned, has not been researched (Zhang, 1988).

Other satisfactory compost systems are based on "low tech" windrow systems, where refuse is piled and turned by frontloading dozers. In South Asia, one often finds that the compost plant has accommodated the desire of waste pickers to retrieve all possible materials. In Kathmandu, pickers are allowed to gather from the

windrows, and this is not seen as interfering with plant operations (Furedy, 1986). In New Delhi, they are permitted access to the plant's conveyor belt (Jain, 1986),

Several Chinese cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing, are developing somewhat more elaborate systems where wastes are fermented in chambers and later the residues are mechanically sifted (Furedy, Field Notes, 1985-1988). Market assessments are usually not conducted. The city managers believe that urban fringe farmers have not forgotten their traditions of compost use and that they will accept good compost as long as it can compete with the readily available chemical fertilizers. In Shanghai, farmers had begun to complain about the increasing amount of glass and synthetic particles in the city garbage. Hence the Sanitation Bureau believes that these must be removed by sifting to make an acceptable product. (In very poor Asian countries, the amount of broken glass and the like may be less than in China's city wastes, because waste pickers will gather even very small fragments of recyclables).



requires a much wider vision of "appropriate technology" than most of those promoting composting are attuned to.

The most immediate material threat to composting in South Asian cities may be the proliferation of thin plastic bags. The use of small plastic bags for packaging and in markets has exploded in the last few years. Much plastic recycling may take place, but as waste pickers get very little for dirty, low-grade plastic, they prefer to concentrate on hard plastics and larger pieces. When small plastic bags become very common, they are not retrieved in sufficient numbers and thus begin to affect the quality of the compost. This is relevant, of course, to any compostmaking. With mechanical plants there is the added problem that the bags cause frequent operating problems and complete breakdown. Broken glass and fragments of unvaluable manufactured materials are also growing problems - farmers cut their hands and feet while working the land, and, of course, these materials lower the quality of the compost in general.

The east Calcutta region illustrates another kind of general threat: the urban development plans of the city will convert much of the farm land for residential and industrial expansion (Karlekar, 1984). All cities will suffer similar handicaps to compost use if they allow unrelieved urban development without providing for intensive urban and urbanfringe agriculture. Elite suburbs designed along western lines to be divorced from local traditions of farming, will almost certainly lead to a "N.I.M.B.Y." (not in my backyard) syndrome in developing Asian cities.

The lack of economic feasibility for large compost plant in most highly industrialized cities has led some to promote household composting as an alternative, principally to reduce the bulk of residential waste. Several Japanese cities are experimenting with this, including Nagoya. The Ontario Ministry of Environment has recently circulated pamphlets on home composting to houses with gardens in Metropolitan Toronto. There is a pilot project to encourage apartment dwellers to compost wastes on their balconies. Household composting is practiced in Asian cities, to some extent, but there are no statistics to suggest its significance (Suwanarat & Furedy, 1986).

The Ragunan Zoo in Jakarta set up, in 1988, a simple co-composting system that combines zoo waste with domestic waste from nearby neighbourhoods, at a site off the zoo grounds. Recyclables are gathered by pickers. The waste is mounded and watered and turned for 11 days. It is then packed into wooden frames and "blocked". After a few days, the compost is ready for packaging. It is sold in supermarkets. Some is also used on zoo vegetable gardens to grow corn, beans and squash as animal feed. The system successfully recycles 30-40 cu. meters of zoo waste and a further 70 c.m. of domestic waste (Jakarta Post, 1988)

### Viability of Natural Systems

The viability of these natural systems obviously depends on the extensive retrieval of manufactured and problematic materials (such as green coconut shells). This is largely achieved informally, except in Chinese cities, where recovery is organized through centres under the Ministry of Commerce. Changes in the techniques of solid waste collection and disposal - for instance, the introduction of large roll-on-roll-off containers with high sides and heavy lids, designed, in part, to prevent people from going through the garbage to take out items, compactor trucks (which do extensive damage to recyclables), and policing of dump sites - are undercutting the traditions of waste recovery in developing countries. This, together with the

increase of synthetic materials in the refuse in modernizing societies, spells trouble for municipal composting plans. Unaware that it is their "front-end" policies that are causing much of the problem, cities again look for mechanical means of processing municipal refuse to remove unsuitable ingredients.

*Successful composting of city wastes requires a much wider vision of "appropriate technology" than most of those promoting composting are attuned to.*

There are other reasons why municipalities are more prone to adopting elaborate mechanical plants than to examining simple or completely natural methods. A branch of city government can, acting alone, easily make a decision to install such a plant - very easily indeed if the plant is offered as gift or on low-interest financing under a bi-lateral aid agreement. But a decision for a natural, community-base approach would require the coordination of city and regional authorities, prior research into existing practices, pilot studies, safety tests of the compost being produced by the farmers, monitoring, and so on. This amounts to quite complicated environmental and economic planning. In most developing countries, the institutional set-up restricts a city official from taking the initiative in suggesting such coordination and decision-making. Successful composting of city wastes

It is worthwhile for city governments to explore this option further, for in Asian cities, where every means should be pursued to increase urban food production, composting should not be seen merely as a waste reduction technique, let alone a moneymaking venture. There are possibilities for street and neighborhood cooperation that would allow the community to apply compost to common vegetable plots as well as to local parks. It is useful that many recent immigrants to cities are familiar with rural practices in composting. The city of Guangzhou, proud of its reputation as a "flower city", believes that civic pride will encourage apartment dwellers to buy compost for potted plants (Furedy, Field Notes, 1985-1988).

### Testing Systems in Pakistan

A recent project in Orangi, a squatter settlement in Karachi, Pakistan, undertaken by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, monitored the formal and informal solid waste systems, and then tested out three methods of small-scale composting - the Chinese covered pile, a simple windrow and a force-aerated windrow. It was concluded that all methods reduced enteric bacteria satisfactorily but that the Chinese method was likely to work best for Orangi. Exploring markets for the compost that would be produced by community cooperation was a com-

*As long as Asian city wastes remain relatively uncontaminated, compost making can ensure that maximum use is made of the organic residues.*

ponent of this project. There did not appear to be a prospect for its use in the settlement - home gardens are not mentioned in the brief published report, possibly because of the scarcity of water. The demand in surrounding rural areas, has yet to be analyzed (UNCHS, 1986).

As with any community-based projects, small-scale composting faces all the problems of gaining sufficient resources initially, of sustaining peoples motivation, and achieving stable markets. The attempt to link composting with urban food production, or with plant nurseries and parks improvement, as part of a waste management strategy is worthwhile, and deserves to be seriously examined.

As long as Asian city wastes remain relatively uncontaminated with hazardous refuse, broken glass, and excessive amounts of plastic, compost making can ensure that maximum use is made of the organic residues. But compost is merely highly refined garbage if it is not used productively, or, as Kunitoshi Sakurai, a consultant for Japan's International Cooperation Agency puts it: "Garbage in, garbage out". (Sakurai, 1986). If cities do not have the will or the capacity to preserve farm land in and around the metropolis, to promote every possible means of urban food production, to bring their concern to the national ministries of agriculture, and to urge support for organic practices, there is little point in them looking to compost-making as part of the solution for solid waste disposal, for there will rarely be convenient markets for the compost. Sustaining compost-making in Asian cities on a large scale (as against producing only as much compost as can be absorbed in city parks or residents plant pots) will ultimately depend on retaining a close relationship between a city and its rural hinterland, and monitoring the impact of regional or national policies (especially subsidies for chemical fertilizers) on the potential for waste recycling.

In general, decisions about appropriate techniques cannot be made superficially. Social and economic goals must be made explicit and critically assessed. Planners must understand what is already working to some extent in the city, and build upon these practices. The impact of new approaches upon those who are currently benefiting from organic wastes must be a component of social impact assessment. For instance, would the diversion of compost to city parks, under a large-scale city program, deprive poor people of organic material for local vegetable growing? Cities must consider carefully what aspects of the regional economy can provide the incentives for maintaining the technologies that are chosen, and then try to ensure that regional authorities do not undercut the basis for urban compost use beyond the city. Decisions about techniques for composting urban wastes thus become embedded in complex, regional, environmental and social planning. A successful coordination of these perspectives can truly be considered an "appropriate" approach to "sustainable development".

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# Cultural Limits of Urbanization

Dogan Kuban

Victorian optimism has always been a characteristic of urban studies. All the ills of contemporary settlements can be solved if sufficient time, money would be allowed and attention would be given to planners. From small neighborhoods to Ecumenopolis we have models, and plans. First we analyze the living environment, second we offer solutions for the problems arising from the relationship between man and nature. Then we plan the framework for social balance: We ask questions and classify the answers. Then the priorities are established for an upgraded human habitat. Social customs are observed and rationalized schemes and design proposals for houses and community buildings are developed: beautiful abstract schemes. Methodologies for studying urban transportation have been devised. Eventually planning has reached the state boundaries. All the steps to plan an habitable world were defined. Electronics invented the global village. Even the deficiencies of human environment have been rationally classified. Scholars, specialists, showmen, businessmen and globetrotters have been offering ingenious solutions to the pressing problems of human settlements since the nineteenth century. My presentation is against this optimism which I find misleading and abstract.

We, the people of non-western world, carefully followed the lessons of the West. In our countries, under the label of urban or environmental studies there is nothing but Western models, theories and formulas. Yet the great cities of Muslim world such as Istanbul, Cairo, Theheran, Karachi, Dakka or Jakarta, to name a few (excluding the notoriously rich Arab cities), are near collapse. Evidently we have not learn-

ed our lessons well. Yet, in the meantime we have learned that there is no global solution, neither any solution, without a specific context. As Edward J. Hall, a wise scholar, said: „How man copes with the urban crisis is a function of conceptual models he has of himself and of the city.“ Our problem is the inability to create this conceptual model in Istanbul or elsewhere.

But we are not that naive to blame only ourselves. As Theodor Roszak in his noted book 'Where the Wasteland Ends' says: „Urban-industrialism is a failed cultural experiment and that the time is at hand to replace it.“ Evidently large metropolis is a hopeless human product everywhere. The sickness is perhaps inherent in the present premisses of civilization, as so many thinkers have been discussing in this century. Spengler was one of the earliest prophets of doom. Interesting thing is that this failed cultural experiment which still survives in the West may come suddenly to its end in the Non-Western world.

The ills of modern urbanization are too well known to be repeated. But those

ills take different dimensions in the cities of non-western realms. They are qualitatively different in industrially less developed countries. The vulnerability of the Muslim cities is much greater due to the discrepancy between the nature of imported object and its rational use, and the importing society. I do not participate in the believe that we may be able to solve the problems of great cities in the Muslim world. I am inclined to believe that we reached a stage in the cancerous growth of our great cities in the Islamic world where only a pollution disaster, a complete collapse of water supply and traffic, epidemics and social disruption may lead to radical decisions which may save the cities from their blights. As R.D. Laing observed (quoted by Roszak) „Breakdown may also be breakthrough.“ This collapse will be the natural outcome of our abuse of the environment.

At this moment of history where radical and traumatic transformations are taking place in the Muslim world, it seems to me that we are approaching a ceiling of maximum disturbance in our great cities, after which level no planned

## Zusammenfassung

*Während viele Planer in der Dritten Welt sich damit befassen, die eine oder andere Lösung wenigstens für die bedrängendsten Probleme der wachsenden Ballungsräume zu finden, versucht der Autor die Unmöglichkeit solcher Lösungen jenseits bestimmter*

*Grenzen zu zeigen. Als Beispiel für für derartige Agglomerationen in Ländern der islamischen, vielleicht sogar der Dritten Welt allgemein, in denen die ländliche Bevölkerung noch in der Mehrheit ist, dient ihm Istanbul.*

*Jede Lösung der Probleme der großen Ballungsräume beruht auf einem konzeptionellen Modell im Kopf der Entscheidungsträger und der allgemeinen Öffentlichkeit. Dieses Modell kann nur innerhalb des Rahmens geschaffen werden, den die traditionellen Denkmuster einer Kultur in Bezug auf die moderne Welt zur Verfügung stellen. Die Diskrepanz zwischen dem überlieferten Weltbild der dörflichen Moslems in den alten Städten sowie die von außen bestimmten Rahmenbedingungen begrenzen den Operationsraum für Stadtplanung in der islamischen Welt. Planung setzt ein Leitbild für die Zukunft voraus - kein dogmatisches oder chauvinistisches, sondern ein rationales. Wachstum ohne solche auf Leitbildern beruhende Pläne, wie es heute stattfindet, kündigt den Zusammenbruch an.*

amelioration could possibly raise the standards of average living. This conclusions are not projections based on exact numerical data. Because they are unavailable. They are based on the observations on everyday behavior of urban crowds, on environmental changes and on my knowledge and experience of urban planning which covers a period of almost half century.

Since we believe in planning as urban planners and architects I would start with a question: Is it possible to prepare feasible plans, in recently industrialized countries where pre-industrialized mentalities and allegiances are still prevalent? And if there is this possibility, in what framework of thought and under what circumstances it can be implemented? I present the case of Istanbul.

Two basic facts hinder the satisfactory preparation of urban plan, indeed all kind of plans, and their implementation: One is the lack of dependable data base, second is the social and cultural behavior. Quantitative data and information on the physical aspects of the city are insufficient, incorrect or throughly distorted. Cadastral and topographical maps, even those for the historical core are not up-to-date. City's boundaries are ever changing; city's population is increasing with phenomenal speed. Forty years ago against New York's nine million inhabitants Istanbul had less than one million. Today they have almost equal population: around seven millions. We have no reliable information about the infrastructure of this city of seven millions, such as the sewer system, or plan of water supply distribution. Natural water supply reached a ceiling of continuous shortage. Sewage system is utterly inadequate. Septic tanks, hasardous for the water supply system constitute the major portion of the sewage system. City's garbage dumps are sources of continuous hasards.

The transportation and traffic seems hopeless. Rain or fog may provoke callapse of traffic for hours. Deforestation is concomitant with the urban sprawl. Each slum kills more than one tree. The Bosphorus which was a bounty for sea food is almost depleted. The pollution of water made the shores of Istanbul unfit for swimming. Air pollution often rises to dangerous levels, twice as high of the acceptable

limits. There is chronic shortage of electricity. Illegal buildings constitute the 60% of the constructions. The quality of building construction is poor. Continuous increase in building density, unbelievable rents, destruction of the historical heritage complete this panorama. If there are some superficial improvements here or there, the wholesale degeneration of the environment cannot be denied.

The number is our nightmare. We cannot frame the information in order to built upon it a dependable plan. Accordigly no master plan of greater Istanbul has ever been completed and much less implemented. The failure of planned growth in Istanbul can only be explained by the non-existence of a cultural realm corresponding to the exigencies of planning rational. I would like to present an example to explain the nature of growth of the city of Istanbul.

On the Asian side of the of the Bosphorus, near the natural sources of water supply of the city, there is a recently developed slum area, called Sultanbeyli, with a population of 125 000. In this unplanned, unchartered area the land essentially belongs to the state. It was partly a preserved forest area. But by mostly illegal means the land essentially belongs to the state. It was partly a preserved forest area. But by mostly illegal means the land was carved out by a speculator and sold to poor immigrants from Anatolia. There is no planned infrastructure. Artesian wells, septic tanks and garbage dumps are side by side. This new settlement is not like a south American shanty town. As John Turner once remarked it is similar to Barriada's of Lima, but of much better construction. In such new quarters speculator may become mayors.

Istanbul like many other metropolises of the world is the eldorado of speculation. There are parts of the city where the land prices soared 50000 times in twenty five years. This is fifty times more than the Inflation in the same period. In the last decade the only investment in Turkey, the sole resource of large profits, both for great industrial holdings as well as mafia, has been land. City planning only serves the distribution of this income created by the misuse of political power Actually this is how suburban Istanbul grew from skrach in no time. Similar settlements of older date have reached

today population levels of 500 000 or more. What is perplexing is the complete resignation of public and professional opinion in front of such developments, and majestic optimism of planners.

Urban planning as a discipline is a Western product. Concepts and vocabulary, history and criticism, models, utopias, methodology, quantitative analysis, ecology are all derived from Western history, practice and industrial development. We adopted them. But in practice we filtered them through our culture. I cannot name and analyze this process of adoption. But it is not an interpretation. There may be some successful but limited applications of Western methods. But I do not remember any relevant example in Turkey. What we witness is unplanned growth which is the most dominant factor of our history, more important than politics, religion and economics. Actually all these items are unseparable. But it would certainly be a different perspective to interpret history through the unfolding of urban development.

The problems of cities such as Istanbul are generated by the character of the traditional culture and by the speed of transformation. It is a forced transformation of an almost medieval society through extremely rapid peasant immigration to the cities. It is called urbanization, but in reality it is a sort of ruralization. The idea of urban village is not new. Herbert Gans's 'The Urban Village' dates from the early sixties. All these terms, however, are inadequate. And the term 'urbanization' jeopardized, from the beginning, the understanding of this most malicious and complex phenomenon of the twentieth century the roots of which lie on the interface of traditional man and the cosmopolitan metropolis.

The city is not a product but a procedure. Products are repeatable, but procedures are not. Here we may quote Henri Lefebvre: „Urbanism block ups the way by its models. Because here one of the conflicts inherent to the contemporary political and scientific thought is involved; the conflict of the way and the model." Old Istanbul was a unique instance of history. Contemporary Istanbul is also a specific case in urban history. It unites the images of a world city with the behavior of a rural population and medieval concepts about the city and

the world. It does not fit to any universal theory of urbanization, neither it allows easy-made theoretical solutions.

For the traditional Muslim view the material world as an independent object was not the subject matter of research even curiosity. It was the gift of God. It was given to men temporarily and was evaluated only in its functional relationships with men. In the traditional Muslim life, from a spoon to a city only the usage made sense. Vague definitions based on empirical experience were sufficient. Quantities had very little role in the appreciation of the material world. In the same way the city as a physical organization had little place in the Muslim culture. As a place of civilization or seat of power there was a developed imagery. It could be rich, plentiful or poor, large or small. But its numerical dimensions were vague entities. Their monuments are mentioned in relation to their builders or to their saintly patrons, but not for themselves. The city as a repository of culture had literary associations, but not material ones.

Another aspect of the traditional idea of a city in the Muslim world was its total submission to the political power of the ruler or the state. This character of a Muslim city has to be recalled in order to understand of a Muslim city and a Western one. Evidently modern Muslims do not necessarily behave like their ancestors. But they do not have the urban tradition of the West. Fernand Braudel in his „civilisation materielle et Capitalisme” remarked that in most part of the civilized world, in the continuous struggle between the town and the state „the latter usually won and the town then remained the subject and under a heavy yoke. The miracle of the first great urban centuries in Europe was that the town won entirely, at least in Italy, Flanders and Germany. It was able to try the experiment of leading a completely separate life for quite a long time. This was a colossal event. The large cities and other towns they touched and to which they served as examples, built an original civilization on the basis of this freedom and spread techniques which were new ... These towns were the West's first 'Fatherlands'. Braudel mentions Werner Sombart who remarks that „It is in Florence towards the end of the fourteenth century, that we meet the perfect bourgeois citizen for the first time.” For Sombart this was the out-

come of the development of rational spirit. Besides the connection of the rise of capitalism and this new brand of society, the important thing to underline in our context is the fact that the Muslim city remained always subject to central power. In the Ottoman Empire the sultan reigned supreme. The city remained without personality and a bourgeoisie in the European sense, never arised.

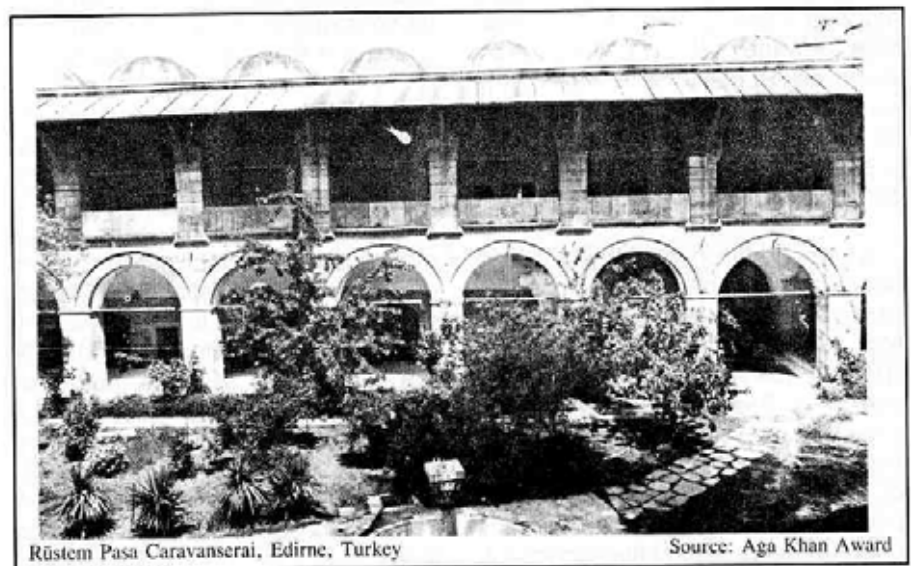
Thus before proposing solutions for non-western cities this background is to be remembered. No bourgeois tradition, no corresponding rationality and no urban citizen. Recently, Western planners used to propose basic needs approaches. The idea behind it is simple arithmetic. Basic needs are quantified needs. But humans are not animals. Their hopes cannot be reduced to basic amenities, especially in a world of intense communication. In every context we need a total image of a city.

People came to Istanbul with hopes. It is a city of hope, of economic incentive, a city of symbol of worldly goods. Even for the jobless, landless, poor crowds it remains as their only hope. Despite their desperate situation they do not complaint and they continue to come. And they act. On their activity, on their demands, on their ignorance and hopes that the politicians and speculators gamble. What happens in Istanbul is not independent of the images of the city in the mind of average citizen. His behavior is the outcome of various images he concocts from the hazy information reached to him through the media and from his traditional culture. His expectations are

governed by his half-baked ideas about the modern world. But he acts as a peasant, his alienation faced with contemporary technological world is disruptive. He is aware of modern amenities. Because everyday he is brainwashed by the images of modern gadgets, but he is ignorant of the scientific and intellectual content of this display of modernity. So they became for him sort of fetishes. He uses them as agricultural tools, however. The car is his horse, if he has one. He still act as in rural surroundings. We cannot solve the garbage problem, because the inorganic is treated as organic, the asphalted surface as soil and any empty place is used for garbage dump.

Today nobody born in Istanbul from a local family can possibly be elected as the mayor of the city. And all the higher executives of the city are predominantly of rural or provincial town origin. We are not against this process of domination of the masses per se. But it is symbolically as well as practically antimetropolis, anti-urban, at least for the moment.

This great proletarian crowd cannot be disciplined and cannot become bourgeois overnight. The nineteenth century physiognomy of Istanbul was created by a cosmopolitan urban people. Today the city is not owned by the newcomers. Nobody has any allegiance to the city. Thus the old city has been almost completely destroyed. The new breed of citizens without urban experience do not express any aesthetic feeling for the environment. And this is reflected in the physical shaping of the city.





One of the nightmares of the great modern cities, the transportation is doubly handicapped in Istanbul. Because the relationship between rural man and the machine is a continuous friction. The rational use of car, on all levels of planning and usage is far from being established.

In a number dependent democracy, decision maker is a vote seeker. Relatively speaking, Western societies are strongly organized as to detect the extremes of political exploitation. In recently industrialized countries this is not the case. Politicians and speculator gamble on the ignorance, credulity hopes of common man. The political discourse concerning the city and planning is a total aberration of realities. It replaces the vocabulary of planning with that of politics. And it finds ready translators among the professionals. For ignorant crowds there is always a heroic trait in the daring acts of politicians who builds. They may create false images of accomplishment behind which all the dirty acts of speculation can be hidden. An astute politician does invest for immediate visibility. You can built a public park of ten acres along the shore of the sea and destroy hundred acres of woodland elsewhere without noticed by common people who would enjoy the park and praise your activities. Their resilience, their fatalism, their traditional subordination are great hindrances to the evolution of an acceptable level of urban life.

In these circumstances planning lacks a rational basis. The dimensions of a concept in planning has to be proportional with the organizational capacity of a given society in which this concept will be implemented. And the political will to improve one's surroundings has much to do with the awareness about the nature of physical change. But when I speak on the ills of the urban environment I only express the ideas of a small group of specialists. Common people think differently. And what is forgotten in planning is their existence.

It is also often forgotten that the complexity of urban images are based on culture. There is planning for adequate living, and there is planning for image making. These are not necessarily compatible, because they are not decided upon rationally. We have not yet reached that stage of rationality in

which the image and usage have symbiotic relationship. And there is no such methodology to investigate the nature of images the citizens of Istanbul have for their city.

There is a vision of city which exists only in our minds. Then there are imprecisely juxtaposed, sometimes interlinked, sometimes isolated images: the physical image, ideological image, politically valid image, religious image which is ideological in our case and the cultural image. The words defining them are selected accordingly. Spatial, geometrical, architectural, aesthetical journalistic, territorial definitions; the city of everyday life, the city of ceremonies, the city of aberrations, the city of omissions. and there is the professional image of a city, often presented in drawings and numbers. This latter image is kept in the cupboards of municipalities.

Reading the city is a selection among these images serving the specific purpose of the planners which, most often than not, serves the politicians. Their field of action coincides with that of politics. Politics is where human being in his worst is represented: lust for power, greed and mythology. This is why a theory of collapse fits in the negative development of metropolises where greed, lust for power and myth find their most favorable ground of action. In our verbal utterances concerning the city the words replace the reality. In order to be a little honest we should define our reference to an image, an image understandable to the users. We do not need saviors and global syntheses.

Goethe in one of his letters to Eckermann say that „Epochs which are regressive and in the process of dissolution, are always subjective, whereas the trend in all progressive epochs is objective.“ What we witness is a colossal subjectivism of an entire society in the so-called urbanization process of the great cities. It is entirely without control and lost in the subjectivism of political frenzy and greed for money. In its spiralling whirlwind the urban life may come to a standstill.

The future of our cities has nothing to do with planning, perhaps neither with economics as scientific disciplines. It has to do with a new vision of the world.

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# Building an irremediable Planet?

## Local urban culture an environmental issue

Maria-Clara Echeverria Ramirez

The pollution of rivers, the contamination of air, the erosion of land, the disappearance and death of vegetation, the destruction of ozone, the contamination by noise, the drying up of energy resources, the nuclear menace and contamination, the dwindling of oil reserves and the harmfulness of uncontrolled industrial development, these all are local and global issues of high priority. But we have also to talk about human beings, their social relations and their participation in the establishment of their society and culture, their attitude towards habitat and environment.

The world, my country, Colombia, and certainly my city, Medellin, are exposed to all these problems. They are the result of the obliviousness of the society with regard to environmental protection and humane development. Medellin suffers among others from a high contamination of its streams and rivers which are mere waste water collectors, erosion of soil and land slide disasters, an accelerated process of vegetation destruction due to one of the highest air pollutions of the world, etc.

This is just a short description of environmental problems as they are found in most cities of the Southern hemisphere and the reason, why habitat researchers, professional and ecological groups are raising alarm, searching for new ideas and calling for revised terms of reference for human development.

Medellin in 1990: Whom must we ask for explanations? Who must give us an answer with regards to our present situation? Who destroyed our trees? Who muddied our river? Who devastated our woods? Who poisoned

our air? What finished off our slopes? Who of us will be responsible for giving an answer to the coming generations?

Jorges Luis Borges, one of the most important writers in Latin America, was asked a few month before he died, to address the Argentinian youth. This was his message:

„I would tell them that the future depends on them. I am an old man, I can't do much because I won't have many days or years to live. But they do have, and the future depends on them. To say „on them„ is still very vague. It is better to say „on each of you“. On each of you depends the salvation, not only of our home country, but probably even of the world. Why not? We have to be infinitely responsible.“<sup>1</sup>

These sentences call for innovative decisions from the society as a whole, from its citizens and from its institutions to introduce the necessary for a future in dignity and justice. Yet, this is not the perspective of the society, it is not even part of the desires and dreams of the people. Everything is centered around the rising of individual living standards and, consequently, Ruled by short term economic views and interests, the main end of which is the growth of capital and not in the evolution of

mankind. Yet the living conditions of the majority of the urban inhabitants are quickly deteriorating,

„In defining the economic course of a nation one has to combine economic growth and social equity or efficient development and a balanced distribution of income. This states Eduardo Sarmiento with regards to Latin America: 'Countries which favored income distribution towards a more balanced type of society, (Chile in the past, Argentina and Uruguay) could achieve this only by accepting very low economic growth. On the contrary, countries which chose economic growth, ...it with a highly unequal income distribution (Brasil and Colombia).“<sup>2</sup>

In many countries most inhuman living conditions co-exist with rising of per capita incomes and increase in production. No socially organized system guarantees a humanly and environmentally balanced development. However, all these statements should not be fatalistically accepted; even if our society is sick, its disease is not irremediable. It can be understood as a challenge to governments and societies to find new paths for different conceptions of development and growth incorporating also justice and a decent level in the quality of life.

### Zusammenfassung

Die Autorin sieht die notorische Umweltverschmutzung auch ihrer Heimatstadt Medellin auf dem Hintergrund der kulturbedingten Handlungsnormen und Verhaltensweisen. Ihr zufolge herrscht dort Gleichgültigkeit den Armen und der Zukunft gegenüber und eine Unwilligkeit, sich eine bessere Zukunft auch nur vorzustellen, die „mentale Vergiftung“ genannt wird. In einem solchen Klima bleiben fortschrittliche Gesetze und Planungen, die mehr Solidarität und Zukunftsbeständigkeit gewähren könnten, weitgehend Papier. Dies wird am Beispiel der Stadtentwicklungsplanung, der Wohnungsversorgung und der Bodenpolitik allgemein gezeigt. Die Autorin fordert deshalb, die im Grunde vorhandenen demokratischen Basisstrukturen zu stärken und besonders den lokalen Nachbarschaften mehr Kompetenzen für die Gestaltung ihrer Wohnumwelt zu geben.

At present the living conditions in Medellin have reached a critical stage. The argument of „reaching the poor” has pushed the standard of human habitat below the ceiling of dignity. It has reached a level where it is accepted that what a human person can afford is what he or she deserves. A consensus on this level would jeopardize future development as well as any possibility of building culture and society. Today, in most cases short term and narrow framed economic points of view are winning the debate; such views obviously tempt governments and politicians to act within a short term scope, with the resulting patron-client 'benefits', leaving a feeling of powerlessness.

### Mental contamination

The first type of environmental issue to be faced with is related to the conceptual frame which governs development action. If it is centered on immediate economic priorities and interests it denies ethics and human principles, and ruins thought. Such a society without esteem for human feelings and social relations does not care for concepts of history, culture and society as developed by environmental psychology, anthropology, ecology, medicine, psychoanalysis, social sciences, alternative economy and urban pedagogy, among others. Such a society refrains from any vision of a better future. Being under, as we call it „mental contamination” it has resigned to its fate as *a cuty of no future*.

Our opinion is, however, that hope is absolutely necessary for human beings, for societies conscious of their environment and for human evolution. In Franios Jacob's words :

„At present, it would be stupid to decide, as many people would like, that under the pretext of reasons being inconclusive, reason is of no use at all. Science tries to describe nature and to distinguish dream from reality, but we should not forget that human beings need dreams as they need realities. Hope gives sense to our live. And hope is based on the perspective to transform, some day, the present world into a possible world which could look better. When Tristan Bernard and his wife were arrested by the Gestapo, he said: 'Times of fear have finished, now times of hope are coming'.”<sup>3</sup>

Towards an integrated concept of urban development

For a meaningful discussion of environmental issues in the urban context a number of themes which are generally dealt with by environmental researchers and ecologists have to be deepened and supplemented. Among those are:

- the links and relations of man with his habitat and environment,
- his social and cultural backgrounds, structures and potentials,
- restrictions and potentials of political and economic systems,
- conceptions of „development”, with regard to the place where they live, to predetermined social use, to allocation and management of resources, and of future potentials.

With regards to Medellin this leads us to the following questions:

- Which has been the role of the urban planning institutions in the city and the decision-making process, both at micro and macro levels and which are the transformations needed?
- What should be the allocation policies in the field of natural resources such as land and water in view of the urbanization processes and the people's dynamics?
- What should be the role of society, and that of its elements, people and their communities?
- What work should be done to achieve collective consciousness and general participation in environmental and development matters ?
- What should be the contribution of politicians, researchers, educators, institutions, the private sector and the local communities for conceiving Medellin's future in 2040 ?

Environmental issues are part of political and ideological conceptions underlying any possible answer and, indeed, strongly linked to some of the most crucial decisions on development (both urban and rural) like:

- a) management of land with its economic, social, political implications
- b) management of water and energy resources up to the level of international relations, and
- c) industrial production when threatening human and material resources.

### What about land?

Land management in our country, as in many others, obviously shows

evidence of the interests that are behind it and the gap between land policies and reality. Looking at the present debate in the Metropolitan Area of the Aburra Valley<sup>4</sup>, we find the following situation<sup>5</sup>:

- The Municipal Regime Code (MRC) (Law 1333-1986) establishes nationwide decentralization for Municipalities, looking for a more autonomous local development. Each Municipality must approve its Municipal Development Plan or its Simplified Development Plan, defining „social housing” and „risk or disaster” areas;
- The Urban Reform Law (URL) (Law 09-1989), also makes reference to the municipal level and plans, which would guide the setting of new conditions for land distribution in each municipality. In accordance to the MRC, and the corresponding Municipal Plans, the URL approved „voluntary land transfer and expropriation” to put to use such land for „social housing and infrastructure development plans, legalization of titles, public spaces, resettlement of risk areas and rehabilitation of rented areas”. This reform also introduced some measures to undercut land speculation, like the protection of public spaces in urban development, the protection of dwellers in rehabilitation projects and the establishment of land banks through voluntary land transfer, expropriation or compulsory purchase.
- The Metropolitan Planning, Land Use and Building Statute for the Aburra Valley (MPS) (approved in 1988 for the Metropolitan level) defined new norms and regulations for its cities, setting important changes to the previous norms for housing projects, defining common standards to be fulfilled by every new development, with no social differentiation for it, projecting public and private space in housing etc. It repeals the norm of 36 m<sup>2</sup> plots by 60 m<sup>2</sup> as a minimum and it defines new conditions to guarantee public spaces in all housing schemes.

These three legal instruments could constitute a good base for urban development, but they are totally dependant on the political will, both at national and local level. Not without significance the following happened:

- The MRC, approved three years ago, has had difficulties in its implementation due to several reasons, among which are:

(a) restricted possibilities for most of the municipalities to develop their Municipal Plan, due the lack of intuitional consolidation and of professional resources; (b) difficult conditions in certain areas of the country to develop such plans, due to social instability and violence: obviously a development plan touches different social interests which are part of these conflicts; and (c) there is no clear formular for the assignment of the resources to particular projects; the allocation of certain taxes is not in keeping with the needs.

- The URL, which sets certain possibilities for urban development in our country, even though when analyzed we still find many limitations<sup>6</sup>, is at present being obstructed by different economic and political groups. The financial sector opposes the URL, as do land owners and different political sectors, mainly representing the interests of private capital. At the same time, only few measures in favour of this reform have been carried out.
- The MPS for the Aburra Valley was also under debate, particularly by the building and the real estate sectors, which oppose the stipulations on public and private areas in the new housing projects (plot size, roads, communal free spaces, etc.), favouring lower standards for „low income housing norms“.

Such a situation demonstrates the spirit of indifference of the whole society towards social discrimination and poverty, as well as towards any future living conditions. Gabriel Garcia Marquez seems to comment exactly this by saying: „It looks to me as if we are acting, thinking, conceiving and trying to make a country which is not real, but a country which is just on paper. The Constitution, the laws... everything in Colombia is magnificent, everything on paper. Nothing corresponds to reality ... Yet there is a democratic tradition alive, although repressed for many years. This is the only hope we still have, - Colombia still has.“<sup>7</sup>:

We observe other countries which are unable to provide but the worst sub-human and unworthy conditions and whose social, religious, cultural, political, economic and institutional conditions allow only for maintaining this „status-quo“. It is possible, that our country will come to a similar level. Samuel Jaramillo G. answered to the question: „Is it possible to build low-

income housing in Colombia?“ „I think that this is a very revealing question, because, by being a positive question it shows that the way in which the issue must be dealt with cannot be one of 'asking if it is possible or not', but one of 'how to make it possible'. Having low-income housing is not an alternative we might take or leave. We don't have an option..., such aspirations have been postponed... Probably many of the difficulties which we have in other areas of social life are also related to this kind of phenomena. (...) The point is not, if it is convenient, from the angle of a certain sector, group or institution, to have low-income housing or not, but if the country facing the problem as a whole is able to solve it by concentrating the efforts from all quarters, and even by making sacrifices.“<sup>8</sup>

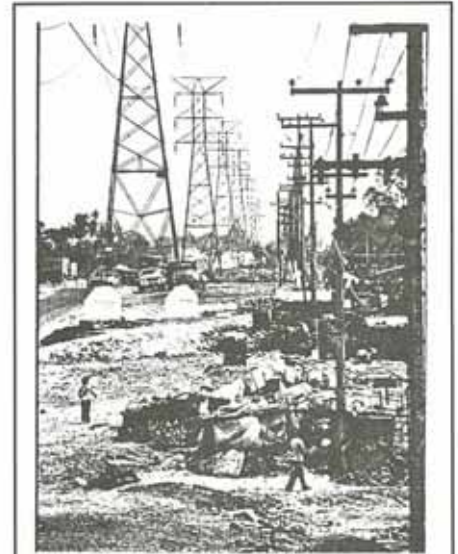
Environmental defenders have worked on the issue of polluted air, water and soil but not much work has been oriented to that of overcrowded urban areas and its negative effects over physical and mental health and social behaviour. When analyzing the issue of urban violence we could look into studies done by environmental psychologists, as well as by biologists, who prove that social behaviour changes when saturation occurs (elephants commit suicide and rats kill themselves in situations of disproportionate density

Reductions in standard of decent and healthy habitat and environment, are usually the result of short term economic pressures. Instead there is a need for long term perspectives, because only these are able to take into account any possible deterioration of the environment and at the same time cater for the necessary social, cultural and economic conditions for development. Quality of human life must be the first priority issue. Economy should be a means to this end - and not the other way round.

### Disaster in cities

The result of national land policies and local management of urban resources in terms of land, water and services as well as the commercial circulation of land in view of the demographic dynamics push the poor to slopes, geomorphologically disadvantaged and dangerous areas, to flood-prone river banks and swamps, in short, to the most fragile and risky sites. Some

disasters in connection with shelter may have natural causes. Often, however, society may be at the root of these tragedies: Poor people do not have the choice but to live in risk areas if they want to avoid eviction.



Deterioration of Urban Environment in Mexico. Source: „Sein oder Nichtsein“ (see book reviews) Photo: Erich Papst

If we call disaster any event which destroys environmental, economic and physical structures to the detriment of the people, also planning measures may be called disaster: road plans, public works, hydroelectric projects, among many others. Such events destroy, together with the existing structures, also the local knowledge about natural and social environments. The only type of life left over is the one on the survival and subsistence level.

Instead there is a need to enable the the people to improve their environment, to enrich their culture, to embrace the variety of communities found in the city. According to our understanding it is the culture of people and their dynamics which give meaning to the city. We have to acknowledge, that (a) the role of people as builders of their city and, with it, builders of their culture has gradually declined, that (b) this has removed much of the responsibility people feel for their habitat and its physical configuration, and that (c) our urban managers, contrary to the new legal prescriptions, do not respect the historic and cultural characteristics of the different urban communities. The building of a diversified culture and a balanced urban environment is not possible if we deny an active role to those who give life to the cities.

When talking of urban environment we have to mention also the violence in our cities. Only if the citizen is playing an active role by establishing a wide range of social references and linking the a history of his group and his habitat to his future, this problem can be tackled and, hopefully, solved in the long run. Certainly the problem cannot be solved by institutions, whose attitude in terms of paternalism, charity or authority take the people rather as a „load to be carried through“.

Not much has been done to legalize the competences of the people in a broad way: to take the people as the real agents of building the cities, as the ones who possess a fundamental right to define their habitat and invent their specific cultural references and identities. The part-taking of the people in the urban process, their feeling of being creative has much to do with environment and its deterioration or improvement. It has also to do with their attitude towards pacifism and violence.

### The building of democratic citizenship<sup>9</sup>

It is a challenge for local authorities, urban communities and planning professionals to form and educate citizens in innovating attitudes. The involvement of the citizens in decisions of urban development should not be seen as a time-consuming conflict. On the contrary, we think that it allows for forming areas of collective responsibility; this is the basis on which the collectivity of the inhabitants could build their neighbourhoods, districts and cities.

How can we ask people to „defend environment“, if they cannot consider themselves participating in building such an environment? If they cannot feel proud of a collective construction? If they do not feel part of a common issue? If neither the idea of „our“ city is understood, nor the idea of „us“? ...If it is not so, then to whom does the city belong? Human beings must build their own culture, they feel themselves legitimately belonging to a particular place, to a unique city.

Up to now, urban planning and urban development have not worked in a decentralized way. Professionals working in urban issues and the adequate infrastructures for the develop-

ment of their responsibilities are rarely located outside the main central planning departments or housing institutions. Technical assistance to communities for environmental urban development and its need for a decentralized institutional infrastructure have still not been recognized as a responsibility of the State, and these have still not been provided by any of the corresponding habitat, environment or planning institutions. What is worse: institutions clearly oriented towards environmental evolution and conservation with regards to urban habitat and low-income settlements are almost non-existent.

Certainly institutions related to urban planning and habitat are some of the most relevant for controlling the environment as well, both with regard to its evolution and its conservation; these institutions have also the competence to convoke local communities and to work with them (provided they are interested in it). This combination of institutions and people must be capitalized on through appropriate development strategies to achieve an evolution of a balanced natural, built-up and social environment which guarantees a long range future (productive, reproductive and of quality of life) in an local environment.

Will it be possible to build consciousness around this including the political and opinion leaders, news media and politicians? Is it not an easy challenge: In our city we have been witness to tragedies such as the destructions of Villa Tina, La Iguana, 20 de Julio, Santa Domingo...; witness to the tragedies in Armero, Magdalena...; witness to Chernobyl and the ozone destruction. Is there political will to avoid this in future? To quote again Gabriel Garcia Marquez:

„Since life appeared on earth, three hundred and eighty million years passed for a butterfly to learn how to fly; another one hundred million years to make a rose blossom with no other purpose than that of being beautiful. Human beings needed four geologic eras to sing better than birds and die of love. It is a shame to this species to have found, in the golden age of science, the way of how to bring this difficult, colossal process of multiple milleniums to the nothingness from where it came - just by pushing a button.

We are here trying to avoid that happening by joining our voices to the numberless voices which demand a world without guns, hence peace and justice. But if that might occur, - and even more if it occurs -, it will not have been useless to be here. Millions and millions of milleniums after the blowing-up of our globe, a triumphant salamander might pass once again through the whole evolution of the species, might be crowned as the most beautiful woman of another creation.

It depends on us, men and women of science, men and women of arts and literature, men and women of intelligence and peace, it depends on all of us that the guests at such a dreamt-of coronation go not to the reception with the same fear which we are having today... . We shall have to inform mankind of what the cockroaches are not able to tell them: *That life existed here on Earth; that suffering prevailed and injustice domitated; but that we also knew love and we were able to imagine happiness*<sup>10</sup>

In this kind of world we are indefinitely responsible.

### Notes

- 1) Published by PLURAL. Revista Cultural de Excelsior, Mexico. 18. (208) enero. 1989. (Translated from LA BIBLIOTECA INFORMA. Universidad de Antioquia. Biblioteca Central. Medellin. No. 15).
- 2) German Jimenez Morales, in: „El Colombiano“, 13-03-90
- 3) Translation of Franois Jacob, in „El Juego de lo Posible“ (‘The game of the possible’).
- 4) Area Metropolitana del Valle de Aburra (AMVA), composed by 10 municipalities: Barbosa, Bello, Caldes, Copacabana, Envigado, Girardota, Itagi, La Estrella, Medellin (the largest city in the AMVA) and Sabaneta.
- 5) This part is based on the report „Urban territory as support for people’s development“, by Maria Clara Echeverria R., CEHAP, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Seccional Medellin, January 1990.
- 6) see „Boletin CEHAP“ No. 2 - July 1989, Editorial „Colombia: pais de reformas o las reformas del pais“ by Maria Clara Echeverria R.
- 7) Colombian holder of the Nobel Prize in Literature
- 8) Colombian researcher on urban issues. Answered during the National Housing Conference: “Es posible una vivienda economica en Colombia?”, p. 60.
- 9) The word „democratic“ refers to a real participatory process which starts with the determination of common issues. Consequently, it goes further than just voting. The word „citizenship“ must be understood in a broad sense, referring to the exercise of the full rights and responsibilities of a member of society.
- 10) Gabriel Garcia Marquez „El Cataclismo de Damocles“, Ixtapa Conference, Mexico 1986.

# Self-Reliant Rural Development

## Reflections on a visit to North Korea

David Barkin

### Introduction

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea) is a product of the new global conflict that was shaped after World War II. Ill suited by historical developments to be an independent nation, agriculturally poor, and physically destroyed after the Korean conflagration of 1950-1953, the country had to find a way of forging a new economic structure capable of supplying the needs of a poor and rapidly growing population. Although North Korea maintained amicable relations and received substantial amounts of material assistance from both the Soviet Union and China, there were many reasons to reinforce the initial predisposition to adopt an economic strategy which would enable to the country to rapidly become self-sufficient in as many productive sectors as possible. The Korean philosophy of self-reliant development, embodied in the doctrine of Juch, remained a cornerstone of political philosophy and development policy ever since.

This article focuses on the development of agriculture in North Korea. It is widely agreed that after forty years of independence and thirty years of economic growth, the country has genuinely achieved food self-sufficiency as part of its larger strategy of inwardly oriented economic growth.<sup>1</sup> The North Koreans reorganized rural production to respond to the demands created by their drive towards self-reliance. They did not choose an extreme version of this approach (autarky) which would have involved no trade with the outside world. Rather, they

sought to produce those foods which could be efficiently produced given their climate, resource endowment, and socio-cultural requirements. Since the end of the Korean War they have engaged in international trade in foodstuffs, but have never eased up on their commitment to attempt to maintain a balance or a surplus on their foreign account in food and to be able to feed themselves entirely from national supplies should international events dictate the need. It appears that they have been generally successful in this regard for the past decade.<sup>2</sup>

### The reorganization of agriculture for self-reliant development

Rural production is presently organized in collective farms, which were created in the late 1950s; there are also several hundred state farms, which occupy 8% of

the land area.<sup>3</sup> The cooperatives, as they are called in Korea, are an intermediate stage in the development of socialism in rural Korea. In 1946, a thorough-going agrarian reform displaced the inherited structure of landlord control with a system of small peasant ownership. Some collectives were created during the war as a pragmatic response to labor and animal traction shortages and this move was rapidly extended to the whole countryside in the early 1950s. Collectivization set the stage for a consolidation of cultivated land in 1958; these larger village (Ri) units would simplify control of the productive unit by the planning authorities, to be more responsive to national economic and political needs, and better adapted to the application of modern farming techniques. As a result, the number of cooperatives declined from over 16,000 in 1957 to less than 4,000 by the end of

*In July 1985 I visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on an invitation for their Academy of Social Scientists. My hosts laid out a program which included a very heavy dose of visits to museums, accompanied by an intensive course in Juch. The program left little time for substantive discussions of the material conditions of development, as those moments when we were not visiting were devoted to lectures on juche philosophy. My initial concerns about the lack of attention to my objective of understanding rural development were parried with requests for patience, but once I managed to transmit my request to the highest authorities in the Academy the program for the ensuing 17 days was modified to include lengthy visits to three cooperatives, two industrial establishments supporting rural production, and numerous official organizations charged with the planning, administration, teaching, and research. I talked with several hundred Koreans during this time.*

*I recount this anecdotal experience because the few people who have visited the DPRK have complained about the rigidity of their hosts. They have mentioned the lack of freedom to speak with 'ordinary' people and the tightly controlled program of visits which affords them little opportunity to savor the quality of daily life; a particularly unfortunate result of this appears in the series of articles written by John Burns in the New York Times on July 9-11, 1985, precisely during the period I was there. The arrangement I arrived at with my hosts included a provision to speak at random with "people in the street"; the time allocated each visit allowed me to visit places not explicitly included on the official plan. As a result, I enjoyed more visits and each one was longer than those of the other guests. I was also afforded an opportunity to walk at random through Pyongyang, both accompanied by a guide and unaccompanied.*

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**TABLE I:**  
Indices of Agricultural and Food Production, 1962-1983  
(1969-1971 = 100)

	Agricultural Production	Food Production	Food Production Per Capita
1953a	37	-	-
1962	83	83	99
1963	87	84	100
1964	88	88	99
1965	86	86	93
1966	90	90	95
1967	90	90	93
1968	90	90	90
1969	93	93	95
1970	99	99	100
1971	108	108	105
1972	116	116	110
1973	118	118	109
1974	128	129	116
1975	137	138	121
1976	148	150	128
1977	159	160	134
1978	160	161	131
1979	168	170	135
1980	172	174	135
1981	175	176	134
1982	179	181	134
1983	189	191	138
<b>Annual Rates of Growth:</b>			
1953a-1962	9.5		
1962-1970	2.2	2.2	0.0
1970-1983	5.1	5.2	2.5

Note: a - output index based on Chung 1974:Table 14

Source: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Production Yearbook, Rome, various years.

1958, with the average size jumping from about 100 to more than 460 hectares and from 63 to 275 households per cooperative. The Ri based cooperative farm is still the basic unit of farm production today and the lowest decision-making body in the agricultural production system.

In the cooperatives the land, draft animals, and some implements are owned collectively by the peasants. Production costs, the common reserve fund (amounting to 10-15% of the net product), and a socio-cultural fund (2-3%) are set aside before distributing the product to the members based on their qualitative and quantitative labor contribution; explicit taxes were eliminated in the mid 1960s. Machinery is rented from county tractor stations which also supply operators. Private cultivation of small vegetable gardens and fruit trees on lots of 50-90 sq. meters (30-50 pyong) is still permitted as are domestic animal and bee production for home consumption and sale at the regional peasant markets.

The rapid move toward socialist collectivization is directly related to the struggle for self-sufficiency. It was the subject of an intense ideological struggle within the DPRK, as evidenced by Kim Il-Sung's comment that "Some people think it strange that the agricultural cooperative movement is progressing rapidly in our country."<sup>4</sup> Many within the party argued that the rural transformation should proceed more slowly, as had been the case in the USSR. But Kim and his group were insistent that the technical revolution that had begun would eventually be stymied by an outdated consciousness: "Without making a cultural revolution, the technical revolution cannot be carried out in the rural areas..."<sup>5</sup>

These must go hand in hand, Kim argued, with an ideological transformation based on the precepts of Juch and Chajusong. Juch, formally enunciated as a guiding principle of Korean development in 1955,<sup>6</sup> is generally translated as self-reliance, while Chajusong is explained as personal independence and confidence. The first concept might be best explained as a combination of the triad self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and self-confidence. The second stresses the responsibility of the individual for his own life. One insightful analyst has summarized the interaction of the two "as the concept of both national integration and an extension of the horizon of man's ultimate capacities."<sup>7</sup> In the Korean setting, internal ideological opposition to the reorganization of production in rural areas was tempered by according primary importance to the notion of self-reliance and emphasizing the key role of rural production in economic development. The collectivization stimulated important increases in production during the first years after the Korean War in spite of the lack of public investment, which went almost exclusively to heavy industry.

In the years following complete collectivization discontent grew. Agriculture did not meet its output targets; the cooperatives were burdened by increasing debts and poor management; labor shortages

became particularly acute as mechanization did not advance as planned and the farms often received inappropriate machinery. A new management system, known as the Chongsan-ri Method, was implemented in 1961 to address these problems. It called for greater participation of lower level units in plan implementation and management. The essence of the new method lies in the aid given to inferior units by superior units, in the assistance of the lower by the higher, in the constant proceeding to actual work sites by party cadres, and their deep understanding of the realities, their search for the correct methods of solving problems, their giving priority to the political task and matters concerning the masses, and their ensuring the execution of revolutionary tasks by mobilizing the self-conscious enthusiasm and creativity of the masses.<sup>8</sup>

In synthesis, the new system placed responsibility on the party workers to approach the peasants, to seek guidance and learn about the reality from them before emitting orders and formulating plans.

The new approach also involved a fundamental reorganization of the role of the Cabinet itself. The previous pattern of direct intervention was replaced by a hierarchical structure of command. The county (Kun) Agricultural Management Committees are now key units in the management structure. Charged with correcting the previous problems of bureaucratization and centralism, they were given responsibility for managing the machine tools, tractors, and other equipment to be used within the county. They would supervise the local irrigation system and the distribution of much of the other socially (government) provided equipment available to the co-ops. Furthermore, and perhaps even more important, in coordination with the provincial committee, they would establish factories to meet regional needs for farm equipment, some inputs, and even to process some industrial crops. This move to delegate responsibility to the county level was designed to counteract the "administrative-technological omnipotence" which had characterized the provision of machinery and industrial services to the co-ops in the past.

This decentralization facilitated a more efficient central administration of the provinces...The granting of greater responsibilities to the local state organs left the central ministries free to concentrate on larger-scale national industries. It also promoted the development of local industries, for the economic effect of the establishment of provincial economic organs

**TABLE II:**  
Per Capita Food Supply: 1961-63 - 1979-81

	1961-63	1964-66	1969-71	1974-76	1979-81
<b>Calories</b>					
Total	2,424	2,464	2,447	2,709	2,995
Vegetable	2,298	2,141	2,319	2,560	2,806
Animal	126	123	128	150	189
<b>Proteins (grams)</b>					
Total	71.8	70.9	72.3	80.4	84.6
Vegetable	60.4	59.8	60.8	66.8	67.8
Animal	11.4	11.1	11.6	13.6	16.8

Source: FAO, 1977, 1983 Production yearbook, Rome.

and the degree of independence and initiative it conferred on the provinces allowed a more rational utilization of the resources and potentialities of local communities."<sup>9</sup>

The Kun Committees are responsible for preparing production plans for the cooperatives under their aegis. The work teams are expected to evaluate these plans and formulate their own work program, specifying their work programs and output targets. These are aggregated into a single program for the co-op and discussed at a general assembly before passing to the county level. These meetings can be effective mechanisms for the farmers to discuss their grievances and ideas with cadres and managers from other levels. In two co-ops where I questioned members in detail about the formulation of production plans for 1986, I found that the assemblies were lengthy because of the detailed analysis of the output and the productivity targets; some modifications were introduced into the original proposal by one of the communities and later accepted at the Kun and provincial levels. In another community the meeting had been very short because the Chairman of the co-op had spent the previous two weeks analyzing the proposed program individually with each of the subteams; in the process adjustments were made in the overall plan which contributed to accelerating the general assembly.

Even after the reorganization of the cooperatives, the problems of waste, inefficiency, low productivity and neglect of equipment were seriously limiting their growth. To improve accountability and to relate the annual distribution not only to the quantity but also to the quality of the work, the work teams of about 100 people were subsequently divided into subteams and even into brigades with responsibility for specific areas, tasks, and/or instruments. In the new "small work-group contract system", approved by the Party in November 1965, smaller units were assigned production targets, which became the basis for evaluating the year's work. These subteams form the basis for the peasant's "economic family" which might include from 15 to 25 people. Over or under-fulfillment of the goals is the basis for premiums and penalties in the final distribution of the co-op's total output. In this way, there would be a clearer identification of individual remuneration with collective work efforts in a way that was not possible when the unit of accountability was, in effect, the whole co-op.<sup>10</sup>

The Chongsan-ri approach to management has withstood the test of time in

North Korea. It remains basically unaltered from the structure that evolved in the sixties. The national planning agencies, the provincial flow-through, and the county administrative apparatus are still fundamental parts of a structure that places key operational responsibility in the hands of the village cooperative management committee. The small workgroup approach to task planning and distribution also has proved itself to be an effective means of combining a material incentive system with political rewards while strengthening the collective organization of work.

### The path of agricultural progress<sup>11</sup>

Agriculture in North Korea appears to be well organized and able to improve on its past record of growth and diversification. When the DPRK was formed in 1945, the country was predominantly agricultural. Almost three-quarters of the labor force (74.1%) were peasants and 63.5% of national income originated on the farms, although a substantial part of its food supplies had to be brought in from the south. Since the Korean War, there have been marked differences in the growth of agricultural production (Table 1). Output increased substantially in the first decade as a result of the crash efforts to speed reconstruction. There was a decline in growth in the 1960s because of the lack of technical progress, organizational inefficiencies, and ineffective incentive systems; these were particularly severe in agriculture. The two most recent plans (1971-1976 and 1977-1984) have apparently been implemented with far fewer problems and output targets appear to have proved quite attainable.

At present, North Korea has an arable area of about 2.2 million hectares, of which half of these are under irrigation. An additional 90,000 are sown with permanent crops and 50,000 are permanent pastures. The population is about 18.5 million, and growing at about 1.6% annually.<sup>12</sup> This means that there is about one-tenth of an hectare per person available for annual crops at the present time, a relatively small endowment. There are also about 300,000 hectares planted with fruits trees.

A series of technological and agronomic innovations contributed to improving grain production, which accounts for 78 per cent of the cultivated area. Yields increased markedly, placing the DPRK in first rank internationally in rice and almost as high in maize. The country exports rice and imports (less expensive) wheat as a way of assuring adequate grain supplies and generating foreign exchange earnings by taking advantage of its dynamic

comparative advantage.

In other areas not covered by the indices in Table 1, the North Koreans report high growth. In the 1960-1980 period they achieved substantial improvements in fruit and vegetable output (9% and 5% annually). New industrialized methods for egg, poultry, and hog production also made a significant contribution to food availability; during the 1949-1980 period output of meat increased 9% annually, while egg production rose about 16% a year. Agricultural raw materials (principally cotton and silk) also become more readily available for local use and export.

The North Koreans reported harvests of 8.5 million tons of grain in 1977, 9 million in 1980, and 10 million in 1984. To achieve their objective of 15 million tons by 1990, they plan to obtain additional yield and production increases by extending current production techniques to all grain areas, accelerating the introduction of machinery and agro-chemicals, and reclaiming tidelands for intensive cultivation. They anticipate average rice yields of 8-10 tons per hectare and only slightly lower maize yields.

### The "Three Revolutions"

From the very beginning of the post-war period, the Koreans recognized the need for a multi-faceted approach to restructuring agriculture. A technological revolution was required to create the new techniques and produce the equipment necessary to permit a more intensive cultivation of the country's extremely limited land area. But the technical innovations would have to be implemented within a new institutional and ideological structure which would liberate the human energies necessary to ensure a rapid advance of production in the future. This thought was canonized in Kim Il-Sung's essay "Theses on Rural Socialism in our country,"<sup>13</sup> as the Three Revolutions: ideological, technical, and cultural.

#### a) The "ideological revolution"

The primacy of the ideological development of the individuals within the evolution of the new society is a fundamental tenet of North Korean social and economic doctrine. The focus is on the transformation of the peasants' ideological consciousness, instilling in them a spirit of collective awareness and responsibility for the evolution of the rural economy. This was carried out by a lengthy series of educational campaigns among the peasants which focused on the dual concepts of Juch and Chajusong; the first was a collective task to be realized by individual contributions to a national productive and



technological effort while the second started from the basis of the individual charged with acknowledging his or her potential as a result of an intense interaction with the collectivity.

This focus on the political development of the individual and the forging of a collective consciousness appears to have played a key role in the political integration of the Ri cooperative and its members into the national development program. It was particularly important in the first decades after the war because of the severe shortage of human, technical, and mechanical means to implement the other transformations contemplated in the rural theses. As a result of the effective use of this process of political education, the special mobilizations to stimulate extra productivity appear to have been effective, when combined with the revised system of material and moral-political incentives, in forging a perceived commonality of interests between the individual peasant, the cooperative, and the nation.

#### *b) The "technical revolution"*

The technical revolution is the best documented of the three. The Koreans emphasized irrigation, mechanization, electrification, and use of agrochemicals as ways to increase land productivity and free labor for tasks in other parts of the society.

Irrigation was accorded highest priority from the beginning of socialist construction. Starting with less than 100,000 hectares under irrigation in 1945, now all of its rice fields are under systematic irrigation or controlled drainage as are most of the other lands used for crops that need it. About 1.2 million has. were under irrigation in 1981, representing about three-quarters of all lands cultivated with short-cycle crops.<sup>14</sup>

Electrification of the countryside was completed and mechanization far advanced by the end of the 1970s. Electrification enabled agricultural processing to be mechanized and permitted rural families to aspire to the slowly increasing range of consumer durables that are becoming available. By the early 1980s the state had supplied to the cooperatives an average of 7 tractors (15 hp. equivalent) for every 100 has. in the flat areas and 6 in the higher and hillier parts of the country.<sup>15</sup> Farm implements and equipment to use with these machines are evident as one travels about the country. Substantial work to reshape the fields themselves by terracing and other leveling operations and by enlarging plots is permitting the use of larger and more

efficient machines.

The application of chemicals to agriculture is the fourth aspect of the technical revolution. Working under the banner of "Fertilizers are rice, rice is socialism," special efforts were made to intensify the production of organic compounds and ensure their correct application in the countryside.<sup>16</sup> A substantial volume of organic fertilizer from animal and farm wastes as well as night soil is also used. Pesticide production is also growing rapidly.<sup>17</sup>

#### *c) The "cultural revolution"*

The cultural revolution involves the reconstruction of the peasants' physical and institutional environment. Emphasis was first placed on education, eliminating the heritage of illiteracy and then increasing the basic skills and technical capabilities of the rural population. Access to the basic educational infrastructure was extended to all parts of the country, beginning with primary education, and then expanding to encompass secondary and technical schools, as well as child-care centers and pre-school facilities.

With the reorganization of rural communities into cooperatives, a more receptive environment existed for establishing technical training courses, once the basic task of adult literacy had been achieved. Secondary school equivalency programs have now been extended to a broad program of on-the-job education through correspondence courses and self-study programs in which a substantial proportion of the population is involved.

Higher education is also widely available. Each of the nine provinces has its own university, including an agricultural college, a medical faculty, and a teacher training institute, among others. With the recent stress on specialized training substantial numbers of people are reported to be taking these courses and on average, in 1981, each cooperative farm had 57 technicians and specialists charged with the diverse mechanical, biological, agronomic, and other tasks needed to control and raise production.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Consumption levels and living standards<sup>19</sup>**

There is general agreement that the average diet more than adequately meets minimum international nutritional norms (Table 2).<sup>20</sup> Many basic foods are distributed through a "supply system", which the North Koreans differentiate from a rationing system because — they argue — it is not based on scarcity. They stress

that the present system is a great advance from the extreme levels of austerity to which they were subjected for quite some time after the Korean War. It provides a firm basis for moving forward towards a communistic distribution system (based on needs rather than ability to pay or administrative fiat). Although they point out that they are not yet at the point of "administering prosperity", because the relation between production and consumption is still precarious, the supply system is evolving to permit a transition to a higher form of social relations founded on an abundant supply of basic foodstuffs.

The supply system does not provide everyone with an equal quantity of all distributed goods. Workers in privileged positions and those who exert more energy are entitled to larger amounts than others. Children receive special additional foods through the school system. Elderly people also have their supplies specially tailored to their conditions.

Grains are the most important goods administered through the supply system. On average every person in the country is entitled to about 600 grams of a mixture of rice and maize in the ratio of 7:3 (420g:180g); it is not clear how barley and wheat are included in this distribution, but it seems that different grains are substituted according to availability. The variations in the allocation are from about 400 grams for children in some areas to 900 grams for some particularly demanding occupations (mining, iron foundry workers, etc.); children also receive vitamin enriched bread and milk daily through the schools. Meat of all kinds is rationed, but chicken and pork are generally available at higher prices on the peasant markets; an average of about 6 kilograms per month appears to be the personal allocation. About 20 eggs per person per month are distributed through the controlled market, and virtually unlimited supplies are obtainable on the open market. A liberal quantity of fish — 500 grams a day — available to every person in the country; obviously this is not fully consumed.<sup>21</sup>

Other goods are distributed on a seasonal basis. Vegetables have increased in availability during the past fifteen years as have certain temperate climate fruits. Some of these are distributed directly while a large part are sold through various state channels. On several occasions people in both rural and urban areas commented on their availability in even the winter months, an important change from colonial days. In general, the impression is that people are well nourished and are enjoying an increasing variety of

foods as the multiple cropping systems during the lengthening growing year permit an important easing of previous restrictions in personal consumption.

The supply system is one part of a broader distribution program which effectively breaks the relationship between money incomes and living standards. The prevailing wage and bonus system differentiates salaries in accordance with skills and labor input, as well as level of responsibility. These differences in money incomes are not an accurate reflection of differences in real living standards. Since a significant part of the value of consumption is provided through direct distribution, money incomes are not the primary determinant of the quantity of goods and services available to each household. In addition to the panoply of services normally distributed to people in socialist societies at little or no charge — medical care, education, urban services, etc. — the range of other goods the Koreans provide is quite important. Housing is the most significant of these, with no charge for rental or ownership. Every worker has the right to a two week all expense paid vacation with his or her family.

In this setting money incomes are important to determine discretionary purchases of extra clothing of a higher quality than that distributed in work centers and schools, and the availability of some consumer durables (washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators) which are not widely distributed. The material incentive system works only to improve the margin of expenditures for these items, which include some foods as well as other types of goods.

#### **What can we learn from the Korean experience?**

North Korea is not the only country that experienced high rates of growth of agricultural output during the period. Its arch rival, South Korea, enjoyed even higher rates of increase of output. What distinguishes the DPRK from other Third World countries, is that the transformation of agriculture has not come at the expense of the peasantry or at the sacrifice of food self-sufficiency. These two characteristics sharply differentiate it from many other countries.

There are several important policy measures in the North Korean experience that are noteworthy. Several are consistent with the package of measures traditionally recommended by Westerners to promote agricultural development, while others clearly conflict with this approach. The most obvious of the familiar policies

is the apparently large subsidy for basic grain production; consumer prices are less than 15% of the producer prices while state charges for production do not appear to reverse this balance by unduly taxing the cooperatives. The data do not permit us to determine who is really being subsidized, but the net impact is to stimulate production and reduce the cost of consumption.

Material and technical support for agriculture is also relatively abundant and increasing. High quality seeds, fertilizers, and agrochemicals are widely available and can be applied by a full range of farm machinery and equipment. Although the North Koreans are in the process of increasing their stock of equipment, present levels are far superior to those prevailing in most of the Third World. The technical expertise to ensure the correct application of these supplies and the proper maintenance of the equipment also appears to be available. Formal training programs are in place to raise the level of co-op members and a substantial number of young people are being prepared to advance this process.

Scientific research and technical development are systematically oriented to respond to socially determined priorities. Unlike market economies where a serious cleavage between social needs and effective demand has often tilted the balance of research and development in favor of the latter, the North Koreans do not experience any conflict. They have invested heavily in improving agricultural productivity for crops which are needed for national consumption and industrial production plans. As part of these plans, they do trade some rice for wheat products with both capitalist and socialist countries. Other agricultural products and derivatives that are exported include fruits, vegetables, and silk. These decisions appear to reflect a careful evaluation of the country's dynamic comparative advantage in international trade; this has been itself strongly influenced by research and production policies which make the DPRK the most productive rice producer in the world.

These achievements have been realized within the framework of a policy of self-reliance. That is, the North Koreans have placed great emphasis on producing their own equipment and developing the scientific capacity necessary to realize this agricultural transformation. Clearly, they have learned from others, exchanged experiences, equipment, and personnel. But these lessons have not been uncritically copied; they appear to have been evaluated and adapted to local conditions when found useful. Perhaps

the most impressive of these adaptations involves the development of a productive structure which uses relatively little petroleum as a source of energy or industrial raw materials; they have gone to great lengths to substitute other sources of energy when possible and develop alternative technologies based on their own mineral endowments.

On the consumption front, too, the North Koreans appear to have adopted a policy approach like that recommended by Western development practitioners. Their consumption pattern ensures virtually everyone an adequate diet and access to a basic package of other goods and services which satisfies the minimum socially defined norms of adequacy. In fact, by international standards, nutritional and housing standards are quite high, as is the quality of social services such as education and health care.<sup>22</sup>

It is on the organizational plane that the model appears quite unorthodox. The extreme hardship occasioned by the 1950-1953 war and the heritage of Japanese colonialism facilitated the decision to move rapidly towards full collectivization. The internal processes of debate and decision-making were apparently effective in forging an elite consensus which led to an organizational scheme which developed cooperative work processes to reinforce the formal structures. Material incentives complement political rewards to stimulate individual productive efforts without endangering the integrity of the small work team or the unity of the village cooperatives. The planning process also appears to permit sufficient participation and feedback from the base to produce achievable goals.

The North Koreans have gone to great lengths to ensure that their productive structure corresponds closely to the local pattern of demand. They are also concerned that the resource and technological requirements of this production are in accord with the country's endowments and capabilities. Thus, from a strict instrumental point of view, they appear to have implemented a development strategy like that recommended by Western development experts, but rarely applied in market economies in the Third World. The inputs and the outputs are similar to textbook prescriptions — it is the process of transformation itself which appears radically different.

An important lesson to be learned from the DPRK's experience is that food self-sufficiency is attainable by most countries. It started out with a meager agricultural resource base and virtually no infrastructure. The initial levels of productivity

and knowledge about agricultural problems were also inadequate. The North Koreans set out to develop a program of material and technical progress based on the principle of self-reliance which would permit them to achieve their production goals in a relatively short time. In doing so, however, the North Koreans stress that the technocratic aspects of their experience are secondary to the political and organizational aspects of the transformation.

Collectivization was only one part of the transformation of the role of people in society. Great responsibility was placed on people to reshape their environment, materially, socially, and perhaps in other dimensions as well. People had to be encouraged to participate creatively and productively in the development process; substantial growth cannot come from an inflexible hierarchical system in which all knowledge and commands flow only from the top. But, the collective system's goals will be threatened if people work simply in their own material interest; collective responsibilities and rewards for work must be built into the system if social needs are to be equated with actual production. This appears to be the key to understanding the progress that the North Koreans have made up until now in agriculture: by emphasizing the importance of self-reliance and creating organizational forms in which enlightened self-interest is complementary to collective advance, they have forged an agricultural economy capable of strengthening the country's ability to be self-sufficient.

Many economists question whether such a system can allocate resources efficiently. They point out that great sacrifices have been made to substitute other resources for petroleum, or to convert unfertile lands into grain fields. Surely the country would be better off, the advocates of world-wide efficiency might argue, if it concentrated on exploiting its mineral wealth and trading it for products which cost relatively more to produce locally. This argument would be correct only if one accepted the system of world prices which has created the prevailing international and national patterns of inequality.

Once the priorities of the market system are modified and the goals of full employment and guaranteed minimum living standards are placed at the head of the list, the allocation problems become very different. In this setting, the problem is to find the most productive employment possible for everyone, to develop means to motivate people to actively participate in raising the productive capacity of the society, and to avoid producing patterns of individual or collective consumption

which might threaten collective progress. The normal standards of evaluation change because social priorities and therefore the price system itself is altered — the social opportunity cost of labor and many other resources is drastically reduced. The task of economic development is not simply to question whether people and resources can be profitably employed. Rather, an effective strategy must assume the task of reorganizing institutions and resource use to offer everyone a constructive way of participating in the collective development effort.

### Notes

1. See Foster-Carter (1985) for some reflections on autarchy in the DPRK.

2. This article is based on information which I personally gathered and material published by other visitors. Most of the quantitative information is based on data freely available to scholars in the West; the United Nations system (especially the FAO in the case of the subjects covered here) and the World Bank make their own estimates of production and other variables used for international comparisons. Unfortunately, because of the hermetism of North Korean authorities and social scientists, there is virtually no official information coming directly from North Korea on their development experience; the numbers they cite are generally relative rates of growth, index numbers of a very general character, and specific figures on isolated aspects of material production or social conditions. Authoritative sources in the DPRK argue that their policy on secrecy is a necessary consequence of the ongoing hostility and potential aggression which they fear from their southern brethren and the United States. No flexibility was displayed on this point in repeated interchanges.

3. State farms are regarded as the most advanced form of social organization in the rural areas, examples of "ownership by the whole people." Many existing state farms are in the harshest climates in the country while others are responsible for specialized production which is particularly well-suited to factory organization, as is the case with fruit plantations and modern poultry and hog-raising establishments. They receive a relatively generous endowment of machinery and the most advanced systems to raise productivity. In a few cases, the state farms have been established as part of an on-going process of experimentation with the problems of the transition to communism in agriculture. State farms probably do not yet occupy 10% of the cultivated area in rural North Korea.

The transition from collectives to state farms is still far off. It is recognized that it will require a profound advance in the material, technical, cultural, and ideological conditions prevailing in the rural areas. It will herald an important new stage in social construction "as important an event as the agricultural cooperative movement. [But] it is a very difficult and complicated socio-economic reform. Therefore, we must promote this work step by step accumulating experience through some experimental stage" (Kim Il-Sung, Speech to the Sixth Party Congress, 1980.

4. Kim Il Sung, Speech, VI/11/58, Works, Vol. II, p. 156.

5. Idem.

6. Kim Il Sung, Speech, XII/28/55, Works, Vol. I, p. 583-593.

7. Noumoff (1979), p. 33.

8. Kim Il-Sung, "On the occasion of the twentieth

anniversary of the foundation of the Korean Workers' Party," cited in Scalapino and Lee (1972), p.1099.

9. Brun and Hersh (1976), pp. 329-30.

10. The present position on the question of incentive evolved after a lengthy internal debate on the issue which took place at the same time as in other socialist countries (e.g. China, Cuba) (see Riskin (1975) and Silverman (1971) for more on this). The position developed in the DPRK appears to have placed more importance on material incentives than elsewhere, a position that has subsequently been modified in the other countries.

The Koreans emphasize the importance of combining material and moral-political incentives. Material incentives are needed because people still have an "obsolete mentality" based on holdovers from the previous society, thought patterns which cannot be simply erased by the political desires and commands. This approach requires distribution based on the socialist principle of "to each according to their work" which militates against an egalitarian system. Distribution, therefore, corresponds to the skill and quantity of labor. The combination of the two contributes to raise the collective consciousness of the workers since individual labor is part of a team effort and the people work together to increase productivity. The collective organization of work, however, must also serve to advance the attainment of social objectives. For this reason moral-political stimuli are an important part of the mechanism for labor management in Korea today.

11. The data in this section are based on FAO Production Yearbook and DPRK (1983). The FAO data are based on their expert evaluation of the Korean situation and differ substantially from government sources; there seems to be little difference in trends.

12. This estimate of population growth differs substantially from that used by international organizations such as the World Bank (1985). It is based on estimates provided by the Koreans themselves and confirmed in discussions with demographers on the basis of information about family size, marriage age, and the age structure of the population.

13. Selected Works, Vol 2, 1964.

14. DPRK (1983), pp. 44-55.

15. Ibid., pp. 67-69.

16. In discussing fertilizer use with Koreans, it became clear that these figures do not reveal a complete picture. Several problems were raised relating to the effective nutrient content of these inputs and the way in which they are used. A knowledgeable person commented in a lengthy discussion of problems of agricultural productivity in Korea that there was a growing awareness of the possibility that too heavy a dose of chemical (inorganic) fertilizers was being applied in some areas, the result of the overzealous application of national norms on a local level, which was actually leading to a decline in productivity. New techniques were being tested to examine the appropriate mixture of nutrients in accordance with recent improvements in understanding of the role of fertilizers in plant growth. This person added, however, that greater emphasis on non-industrial fertilizers would require substantial educational efforts among the peasants who had become convinced of the productive bounty of the inorganic material.

17. The Koreans point to the wide variety of specialized substances which they are producing for the specific conditions of their agriculture. A growing part of this effort is apparently oriented towards the reinforcing of modern forms of biological control to control different types of pests and weeds. While some of these involve the production of new agricultural inputs (e.g., large-scale production of larvae to control some pests), many involve the dissemination of new cultivation techniques which involve reducing the use of industrial plaguicides. They are also heavily involved in research on high-yielding var-

leties of seeds and are quite familiar with work at the International Agricultural Research Centers. 18. DPRK (1983), pp. 132-140.

19. The remarks about consumption levels are based on interviews with numerous respondents chosen at random in the capital city and on cooperative farms.

20. E.g., Pak (1983), p. 228.

21. The numbers provided must be taken as general indications of consumption levels rather than fixed quantities; it was very difficult to get a precise description and quantification of the system and different informants provided me with slight variations around a fairly common level for most commodities.

An additional point about prices. In general, the cost of obtaining these foods is quite nominal, reflecting important subsidies, especially as noted for grains. When asking people about the cost of food, it was necessary to change the point of departure in phrasing the question from asking about its high cost but rather to focusing on its low cost. People in general do not appear to be constrained in their daily living standards by the cost of the foods which they purchase within the supply system. Information about the peasant (non-state) markets is too limited to speculate on the impact on consumption of the generally higher prices prevailing there. One comment is in order, however, about consumption standards when compared to another society with which I am familiar; there does not seem to be any popular pressure to complement inadequate food availability through the supply system with restaurant meals, as was the case in Cuba during some periods of shortages.

22. These summary evaluations are based on discussions with United Nations experts in these areas, since I did not evaluate them directly.

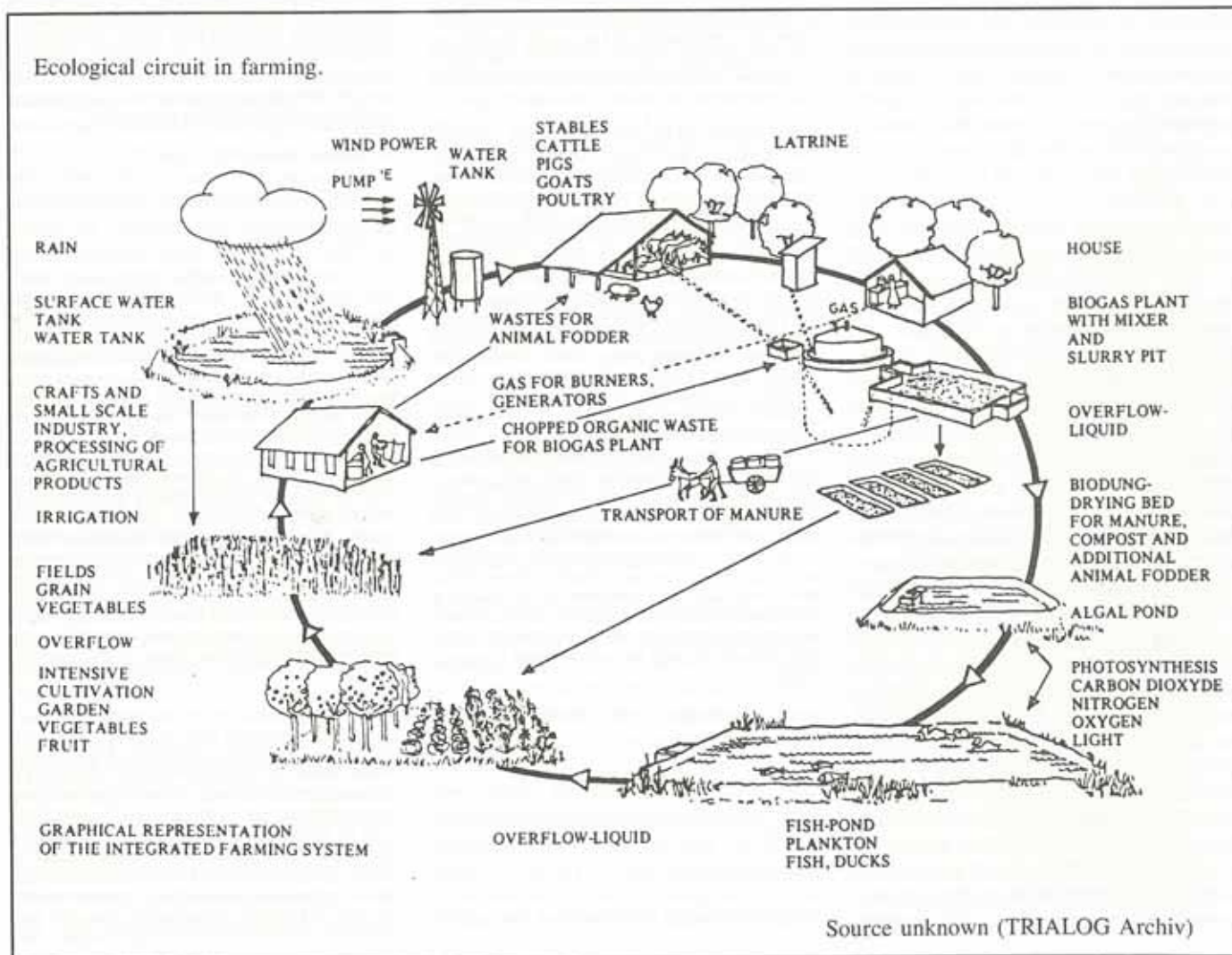
## Bibliographical Note

The best bibliography for people wishing to know more about Korea, North and South, is Jon Halliday's bibliography (1984). The material cited in the references include a good collection of introductory work on North Korea. The most recent book (Scalapino and Kim (1983)) is a collection of essays by people who are unsympathetic to the advances realized by the DPRK. A most revealing introduction to the "Korean problem" is Cumings (1980); White's excellent article (1982) places the policy of self-reliance into perspective. Brun and Hersh's (1976) study stands the test of time as good background reading about the construction of socialism in the DPRK. Chung (1974) offers a good quantitative introduction to the Korean economy to about 1970.

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# Periodo Especial

## Wie Cuba die wirtschaftliche Krise ökologisch zu überstehen versucht

Kosta Mathéy

Schon auf der Fahrt vom Flughafen nach Havanna fällt auf, daß wesentlich weniger Autos auf den Straßen sind als vor einem Jahr. Das Benzin ist rationiert, überall muß gespart werden. Die UdsSR, die bisher Cuba direkt und indirekt durch Ankauf von jährlich 4 Millionen Tonnen Zucker über dem auf dem Weltmarktüblichen Preisniveau, und Verkauf von Rohöl zu extrem niedrigen Preisen unterstützt hat, ist zu dieser 'Solidaritätsleistung' nicht mehr in der Lage, selbst wenn der Wille dazu bestünde. Noch Ende Dezember 1990 war unbekannt, zu welchen Bedingungen der Handel zwischen den beiden Staaten im neuen Jahr fortgeführt werden kann; fest steht nur, daß künftig in konvertierbarer Währung abgerechnet wird. Wenn Cuba jedoch im Außenhandel mit der übrigen Dritten Welt in Konkurrenz treten muß, droht eine ähnliche Armut wie in anderen Ländern Lateinamerikas. Zwar erreicht die Auslandsverschuldung nicht das Ausmaß wie in anderen Staaten der Dritten Welt, doch Importe sind dagegen teurer wegen des seit 1964 bestehenden Handelsembargos der USA. Von dem jährlichen Treibstoffverbrauch in Höhe von bisher 13 Millionen Tonnen kann Cuba weniger als 1 Tonne aus eigener Produktion decken, mit dem Verkaufserlös der gesamten Zuckerproduktion des Landes ließen sich noch nicht einmal weitere 4 Millionen Tonnen einkaufen. Doch auch ein Großteil der Lebensmittel wird aus dem Ausland eingeführt und muß in Devisen bezahlt werden.

Das Land soll mit einem Notprogramm – der Bevölkerung als *Periodo Especial* ('Spezielle Periode') vorgestellt – vor dem wirtschaftlichen Ruin gerettet werden; und es besteht kein Zweifel daran, daß das politische Überleben weitgehend von dem Ergebnis dieser Bemühung abhängt. Neben dem weiteren Ausbau devisenbringer Wirtschaftszweige wie Tourismus und Biotechnologie vertraut die neue Strategie in erster Linie auf die Möglichkeit der

Energieeinsparung bzw. Substitution, und Lebensmittel-Selbstversorgung. Damit verbunden ist die Notwendigkeit, überschüssige Arbeitskraft in den Betrieben ökonomischer einzusetzen bzw. auszulagern.

### Reduzierung von Ölimporten

Bereits 1989 gelang es, den Ölverbrauch um 25% zu drosseln, doch das ist nicht genug; für 1991 werden 50% Einsparung gefordert. Wie Fidel Castro kürzlich vor dem Nationalkongreß der StudentInnenverbände erklärte, muß sich das Land im Extremfall auf die "Nullenergie"-Option vorbereiten. Daß es mit den Einsparungen ernstgemeint ist, zeigt das Ausmaß und die Bandbreite der bereits eingeleiteten, konkreten Maßnahmen. Individuelle Beratung soll Haushalten wie Betrieben helfen, ihren Stromverbrauch zu reduzieren, die bereits erzielte Einsparung liegt immerhin bei fast 10%. Die Klimaanlage sollen – wer hat in den erbarmungslos heruntergekühlten Kinos und Empfangssälen noch nicht bitterlich gefroren? – endlich gedrosselt werden. Die besonders energieintensive Zementproduktion wurde um 50% gedrosselt, selbst wenn der politische Preis eine unpopuläre Herabsetzung der Neubauwohnungen impliziert. Auf dem Lande wurde, mit Hilfe von 'Brot für die Welt', die erste Biogasanlage fertiggestellt, und soll täglich 50 Tonnen Rindermist in nutzbare Energie umwandeln.

In den Kleinstädten, wo in der Vergangenheit die Pferdefuhrwerke im Namen des Fortschritts verbannt worden waren, werden diese nicht nur wieder zugelassen, sondern bewußt für Transporte über kurze Strecken, wie für Hotelwäschereien, Müllabfuhr etc. eingesetzt; nach Feierabend können die KutscherInnen zusätzlich auf eigene Rechnung Privataufträge annehmen. In der Landwirtschaft sollen 400.000 Rinder zu Zugtieren 'umgeschult' werden und Diesel-fressende Traktoren ersetzen; die so entstehende Lücke auf der Schlachtbank wird durch erhöhte Produktion von Geflügel und Schweinefleisch ausgeglichen.

Die spektakulärste Maßnahme besteht jedoch in der teilweisen Substitution des Kraftfahrzeugverkehrs durch Fahrräder – ein in Cuba so gut wie unbekanntes Fortbewegungsmittel. 200.000 Fahrräder wurden bereits aus China importiert, weitere 300.000 sollen folgen. Um die Montagekosten von 12 US\$ pro Fahrrad einzusparen, werden die Einzelteile von den StudentInnen der technischen Hochschulen in Abend- und Wochenendschichten zusammengebaut. Für den weiteren Bedarf werden fünf eigene Fahrradfabriken gebaut.

### Selbstversorgung

Das chronisch dürftige Angebot an Obst und Gemüse, das in krassem Gegensatz zu den klimatischen Möglichkeiten steht,

**Summary:** Cuba is being hit twice by the economic crisis, once due to unfavourable terms of trade and the Gulf war (from which all Third World countries suffer similarly), and secondly because habitual cooperation with Eastern Europe has ceased or must be paid in hard currency from 1991 onwards. The austerity measures introduced in winter 1990/91 attempt improvements in basically three areas. Energy consumption must be drastically reduced and turned to renewable energy resources. One striking example is the putting into service of over 500,000 bicycles to reduce car and bus journeys. Agricultural diversification and decentralization (including urban farming) shall make the country self-sufficient in food supply, and economic production is expected to become more productive by reducing overemployment and complement industrial production with traditional artisan workshops.

muß jeder und jedem Cuba-BesucherIn aufgefallen sein. Jetzt sind auch andere Lebensmittel knapper geworden, was sich in einer bescheideneren Auswahl niederschlägt. Die langen Schlangen vor den Brotgeschäften zeugen von den reduzierten Getreideimporten (bislang hauptsächlich aus der UdsSR), aber noch hat jede/r genug zu essen.

Das empfohlene Heilmittel heißt Selbstversorgung, möglichst dezentral auf mehreren Ebenen. Havanna und seine Provinz soll seine Lebensmittel fast vollständig in dem bereits existierenden, aber landwirtschaftlich nur wenig genutztem Grüngürtel produzieren. Jeweils 10.000 Stadtbewohner sollen in 14-tägigen Turnus in den Staatsfarmen (22.000 ha.) und Co-operativen (17.000 ha.) aushelfen. Darüberhinaus werden mehr als 60 neue Dörfer im Umkreis von 40 km zur Hauptstadt aus dem Boden gestampft, wozu viele der eigentlich für den städtischen Wohnungsbau eingerichteten Microbrigaden – das sind Selbsthilfe-Baubrigaden von Betrieben oder ganzer Nachbarschaften – eingesetzt werden. Höhere Löhne (z.B. 225 statt 175 Pesos in einem mir bekannten Fall), eine eigene Wohnung, soziales Prestige, und die Garantie, nach zwei Jahren wieder an den alten Arbeitsplatz zurückkehren zu können, sollen die notwendige Anzahl von Freiwilligen aus Havanna zur Übersiedlung in diese Siedlungen und zur Arbeit auf dem Lande motivieren. Interessant ist dabei, daß die Cubaner damit der früheren Bedeutung von moralischen Anreizen zur Leistungssteigerung weniger Bedeutung zumessen.

Auf einer niedrigeren Ebene sollen auch die Bildungseinrichtungen, wie schon früher in den Landschulen erprobt, ihren eigenen Lebensmittelbedarf für die Kantine produzieren; die Technische Hochschule CUHAJ und die Pädagogische Hochschule am Leninpark haben bereits die dafür notwendigen Landflächen bestellt. Selbst zwischen den phantasielos aneinandergereihten Blöcken des Massenwohnungsbaus aus den 70er und frühen 80er Jahren fangen die BewohnerInnen an, verwarloste Freiflächen in Hausgärten zu verwandeln, manchmal individuell, manchmal als Gruppe. Obwohl solche Aktivitäten von staatlicher Seite auch schon früher angeregt worden waren (z.B. Fidel Castros wiederholter Aufruf, dort Obstbäume zu pflanzen), beginnt jetzt offensichtlich das magere Angebot in den Läden (und der damit verbundene erhöhte Zeitbedarf fürs Schlangestehen) den arbeitsintensiven Eigenanbau als Alternative attraktiv zu machen. Auch die Stadtverwaltung von Havanna zieht mit und will alle Hauptstraßen in Alleen verwandeln.

Bessere Selbstversorgung wird auch im medizinischen Bereich abgestrebt. Zwar ist Cuba auch Exporteur von Impfstoffen (z.B. gegen Meningitis und Hepatitis B), Medikamenten und ärztlichen Leistungen, aber viel pharmazeutisches Material muß noch importiert werden. Deshalb wird primär aus ökonomischen Erwägungen heraus Akupunktur und Pflanzenmedizin (*medicina verde*) massiv gefördert. Selbst in der Aidsstation von San Antonio schwören viele Patienten auf die Heilkräuter, die sie als Alternative zu chemischen Produkten zur Prävention und Unterdrückung von Sekundärinfektionen wählen können, und die sie im Garten der Anstalt für den Eigenverbrauch und zur Vermarktung anpflanzen.

### Organisatorische Reformen

Bürokratie und Scheinbeschäftigung waren Schwachpunkte aller real-sozialistischen Wirtschaftsexperimente. Cuba ist keine Ausnahme. Das Wunschbild der Vollbeschäftigung wurde über 20 Jahre künstlich in der Realität aufrechtzuerhalten versucht, bis die Welle der nach der Revolution geborenen Jugendlichen, verstärkt noch durch die aus Angola heimkehrenden Soldaten, auf den Arbeitsmarkt drängten, und in den letzten Jahren offene Arbeitslosigkeit akzeptiert werden mußte. Nachdem das Tabu einmal gebrochen war, fällt es jetzt leichter, betriebswirtschaftlich überzählige Arbeitskräfte aus dem Produktionsprozess herauszunehmen, und die Sicherheit des Arbeitsplatzes mit Leistung zu koppeln. Bis zu 50% soll die Belegschaft der Betriebe reduziert werden, wobei allerdings alternative Arbeitsplätze bei gleichem oder höherem Lohn, doch auch mit minderer Qualifikation oder in der Landwirtschaft jedem und jeder Betroffenen angeboten werden sollen. Wird kein Ersatz-Arbeitsplatz gefunden, werden 60% des bisherigen Lohnes weiter gezahlt (in Sozialfällen mehr). Bei Ablehnung des angebotenen Jobs besteht allerdings kein Lohnanspruch. Trotz dieser für den bzw. die einzelne/n ArbeiterIn beachtlichen Konsequenz schien sich nach meinem (zugegebenermaßen sehr punktuellen) Eindruck an der Arbeitsmoral (Krankfeiern!) oder dem Arbeitstempo so schnell nicht viel geändert zu haben. Die konkrete Erfahrung mit Arbeitslosigkeit fehlt den potentiell Betroffenen offensichtlich; hinzu kommt, daß bei den noch immer subventionierten Preisen für Grundnahrungsmittel und den vielen kostenlosen Sozialleistungen der Einkommensverlust des und der Einzelnen von anderen Familienmitgliedern aufgefangen werden kann.

Eine bessere ökonomische Effizienz wird auch mit anderen Maßnahmen ange-

strebt: Das zeitraubende Schlangestehen soll z.B. dadurch verkürzt werden, daß an einem Tage jeweils nur Kunden mit bestimmten Anfangsbuchstaben bedient werden (*Venta por Grupo*). Papier, ein besonders rares Importgut, wird eingespart, indem einige Zeitungen weniger häufig, abwechselnd oder gar nicht mehr erscheinen (wer trifft die Auswahl? – eine gewisse Informationsvielfalt wird durch Direktübertragung der nordamerikanischen *CNN World News* einmal pro Woche angestrebt) und jedes Blatt Altpapier in den Betrieben für's Recycling gesammelt wird. Gleichzeitig wird an einem neuen Verfahren gearbeitet, daß es mittelfristig erlauben soll, Zuckerrohr-Abfälle für die Papierherstellung zu nutzen. Viele Supermärkte werden jetzt direkt von den Erzeugern mit Obst und Gemüse beliefert, um den Verderb in den Großmärkten und während des Transports auf vielen Umwegen einzudämmen. Viele Kleinbetriebe werden wieder oder neu eingerichtet, um Versorgungslücken zu füllen, direkter auf lokale Bedürfnisse reagieren zu können, oder um das Angebot der tragen und pannenanfälligen Großindustrie zu ergänzen. So wurden schon hunderte der jetzt wieder benötigten Pferdekarren in kleinen Provinz-Werkstätten hergestellt, und selbst Holzkohle wird (aus einem unkrautähnlichen, dünnstammigen Baum) wieder von Köhlern gebrannt und offiziell vermarktet.

Alle genannten Innovationen wurden – für Cuba typisch – *ad hoc* als Notmaßnahmen konzipiert und entgegen den Prinzipien der Planwirtschaft implementiert, denn im laufenden Fünfjahresplan waren sie nicht vorgesehen. Es scheint fast, als ob die aktuelle Krise zum Teil auch willkommener Anlaß für die erneute Propagierung und Umsetzung so mancher langgehegter Visionen des *maximo líder* (Fidel Castro) wurde, wie im Falle der Fahrräder oder Aufforstung der Städte. Die Bevölkerung nimmt's mit Humor und sieht wohl in der Mehrheit ein, daß das jüngste Schicksal Nicaraguas, Panamas, oder Granadas keine bessere Alternative darstellt. Doch auch das wirtschaftliche Vorbild des großen Bruders UdsSR, daß Cuba u.a. mit der heute wertlosen Zuckerrohr-Monokultur, extrem erdölabhängiger Industrie, und einer Atomkraftwerks-Baustelle nach dem Tschernobyl-Modell beglückte, ist zu einem Häufchen Elend zusammengefallen. Alle warten jetzt gespannt auf den für Frühjahr oder Sommer 1991 angesetzten Parteikongreß, der eine Aussage zur mittelfristigen Wirtschaftsstrategie machen muß – zusätzlich zu den brennenden politischen Fragen. Genauer Termin und Tagesordnung sind noch nicht bekannt, doch die Erfahrung lehrt, daß Cuba immer für eine Überraschung gut ist.

# Housing Policies in the Socialist Third World

edited by  
Kosta Math y

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Socialist principles would seem to provide a number of more favourable conditions for overcoming problems of overcrowding, lack of urban services and substandard or unfit housing than are to be found in market economies. However, there is little evidence that, in practice, real improvements have been achieved for the housing sector on a large scale in the socialist Third World. With recent political upheavals in Eastern Europe and the fundamental questioning of socialist concepts, the situation of socialist Third World countries appears even more precarious. Although the full impact of political change is still to be seen, it is already clear that these countries will be unable to pursue present policies without radical reform.

Most of the literature in the area of housing is focused on market economies. *Housing Policies in The Socialist Third World*, in thirteen country studies, investigates the very different considerations for formulating shelter strategies based on need rather than profit. Contributors address questions of national development and housing; land ownership; centralized planning and administration and the effective mobilization of local resources; housing production and meeting targets; and priorities for housing allocation.

With the greater freedom and availability of information that is now permitted, it is time to take stock, to scrutinize the achievements and failures of past and present policies, to compare and evaluate alternative strategies. The country chapters contained in this book will provide essential resource material for academics, students, planners and policy makers interested in Third World development.

## Contents:

**Part I / Background:** Introduction (*Kosta Math y*), Socialist Housing: Some Key Issues (*Kosta Math y*); Socialism in the Periphery (*Reinhart K bler*)

**Part II: Country Studies:** Cuba (*Jill Hamberg*); Nicaragua (*Kosta Math y*); Guinea Bissau (*Julio Davila*); Cape Verde (*Christina von Schweinichen*); Angola (*Otto Greger*); Mozambique (*Paul Jenkins*); Tanzania (*Karin Nuru*); Zimbabwe (*Ann Schlyter*); Ethiopia (*Sabine Wendt, Sabine W hning, Kosta Math y, Matteo Scaramella*); Algeria (*Djaffar Lesbet*); Vietnam (*Ngy n Duc Nhu n, Kosta Math y*); China (*Richard Kirkby*); Albania (*Lena Magnusson*); **Index**

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## Neue Bücher Book Reviews

Die Postbestimmungen für Büchersendungen erlauben uns leider nicht, Buchrezensionen mit Preisangaben zu drucken. Sofern uns die Preise bekannt sind, haben wir sie an die Buchhandlung 'Das Arabische Buch' weitergegeben (siehe Anzeige in diesem Heft)

### Ökologie

Johannes Kotschi (Ed.), *Ecofarming Practices for Tropical Smallholdings*. 185 Seiten, ISBN 3-8236-1184-4, 1990. Weikersheim: Josef Margraf.

Eine durch Bevölkerungszuwachs, Boden-teilung, und Umstellung auf cash crops immer intensiver werdende Nutzung der für landwirtschaftliche Selbstversorgung zu Verfügung stehenden Flächen hat gleichzeitig einen raschen Rückgang der Fruchtbarkeit dieser Böden zur Folge. Wenn auch eine Bekämpfung der gesellschaftlichen und weltwirtschaftlichen Ursachen des Prozesses nicht vergessen werden sollte, können parallel auch Mittel vor Ort angewandt werden, um diesen Degradationsprozess zu verlangsamen oder gar zu revidieren. Wie so etwas, abhängig von den lokalen Rahmenbedingungen, gemacht werden kann, zeigen in diesem Band Fallstudien aus Zimbabwe, Benin, Rwanda, Tanzania, Colombia, und Burkina Faso. Alle beschriebenen Erfahrungen wurden durch BMZ, GTZ, oder EG gefördert.

Da für die Auswahl der Methode anscheinend kaum allgemeingültige Anleitungen gegeben werden können, sind die erbrachten quantitativen Nachweise, daß eine Bodenverbesserung unter ganz unterschiedlichen Bedingungen tatsächlich möglich ist, und den landwirtschaftlichen Ertrag kurz- bis mittelfristig beachtlich erhöhen kann, umso wertvoller. Eine Langzeiterfahrung liegt bei den beschriebenen Projekten verständlicherweise noch nicht vor und kann somit auch nicht evaluiert werden. Kosta Mathéy

Friedhelm Goeltenbach (Ed.), *Subsistence Agriculture Improvement. Manual for the Humid Tropics*. 232 Seiten, ISBN 3-8236-1157-7, 1990. Weikersheim: Margraf Scientific Publishers.

Die wesentlichen Teile des Buches sind: 1. Beschreibungen wichtiger Gartenwerkzeuge für tropische Gärten (z.B. aus Bambuspfählen gemachte Blumentöpfe); 2. generelle Pflanz- und Pflegeanleitungen; 3. eine Liste von 34 genießbaren Pflanzen mit Informationen über Herkunft, Nährwert, Höhenlage für die Anpflanzung, Bodenansforderungen; 4. detaillierte Pflanzhinweise, und 5. eine Erläuterung von Möglichkeiten des integrierten Pflanzenschutzes und natürlicher Düngung. Alle Angaben werden mit Zeichnungen veranschaulicht.

Mitherausgeber ist das WAU Ecology

Institute in Papua-Neu-Guinea, in dessen internationalem Forschungszentrum das Buch entstand. Deswegen wird im Text oft auf die feucht-warme Klimazonen Bezug genommen, doch die Informationen sind so reichhaltig, daß auch für andere geographische Zusammenhänge genug nützliche Information abfällt. Mir ist kein anderes Werk bekannt, daß so einfach und praxisbezogenes wichtiges Wissen für die Bewirtschaftung von Hausgärten in tropischen Ländern vermitteln würde. Es eignet sich daher nicht nur für direkte Anwender, sondern auch für nicht-landwirtschaftlicher Berufe wie Siedlungsplaner, Architekten, für die bei Aufgaben in Entwicklungsländern ein gewisses (und leicht nachschlagbares) Grundwissen über Möglichkeiten der Nahrungsmittel-Selbstversorgung eine Selbstverständlichkeit sein sollte. Kosta Mathéy

Sylvia Hamberger et al. *Die Industrielle Zerstörung der Natur*. 246 Seiten. ISBN 3-922696-57-0, 1990, Raben Verlag, 8000 München 40, Froschammerstr. 14.

Der Katalog einer zuerst 1990 im Münchener Stadtmuseum gezeigten Ausstellung, die den früheren Projekten GRÜN KAPUTT und ALPTRAUM AUTO folgt. Brennende Themen wie Luftverschmutzung, Waldsterben, Alpenzerstörung durch die Tourismusindustrie, Verseuchung des Trinkwassers, Industriekatastrophen, Elektrifizierung und Chemisierung unseres Alltags, Massentierhaltung, Verkehrsterror, oder die Müll-Lawine werden nicht nur mit eindrucksvollen Fotos ins Bewußtsein gerufen, sondern mit ihren ganzen menschen- und naturverachtenden Sachzwängen als Ausdruck und Folge eines idiotischen Systems offengelegt. In der Buchveröffentlichung finden sich neben der kompletten Ausstellung (120 Seiten) ergänzende Aufsätze von Autoren wie Peter M. Bode, Christiane Grefe, Berthold Brecht, Robert Jungk, Hermann Hesse, die aktuelle Hintergrundinformation vermitteln bzw. zeitlos gültige Erkenntnisse in einem weiten Spektrum verbaler Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten vermitteln. Möge die Ausstellung und der Katalog eine große Anzahl von Mitbürgern erreichen und sie von der Notwendigkeit eines Umdenkens, soweit bei den einzelnen Besuchern noch nötig (wer setzt sich dieser Art von Information aus und wer wehrt sich?), überzeugen. Mögen die Autoren ihre nächste Ausstellung machbaren Alternativen zu dem Desaster - die es durchaus gibt - widmen. Kosta Mathéy

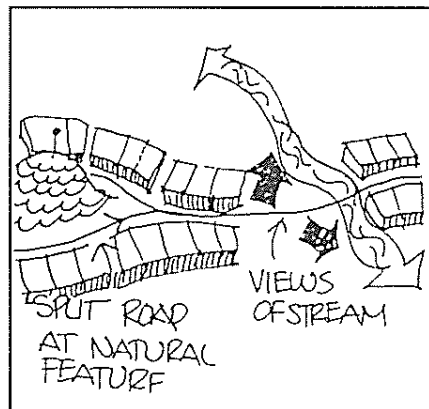
### Stadtentwicklung

Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth (Eds.), Kevin Lynch: *City Sense and City Design. Writings and Projects*. 853 Seiten, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1990

Kevin Lynch (1918-1984) gehört zu den bekanntesten Stadtplanern der USA, und sein Name wird assoziiert mit der Suche nach der formal ansprechenden, humanen, und leb-baren Stadt. Die Idee der erhaltenden Sanierung von Innenstadt-Gebieten wurde, wenn nicht von ihm geboren, so doch stark von Lynch mitgestaltet. Seine Bücher gehören auch im Ausland zur Standardliteratur in Architekturfakultäten, und die Liste der fachlichen Aufsätze ist lang. Dennoch blieb ein Großteil seiner Arbeiten bislang unbekannt, da sie entweder nicht veröffentlicht wurden, oder die Publikationen schwer zugänglich sind. Diesem

Manko verschafft die vorliegende Publikation jetzt Abhilfe: in bewundernswerter Kleinarbeit haben die beiden Herausgeber, selbst Schüler von Lynch am Bostoner MIT, den künstlerischen und schriftstellerischen Nachlaß des Meisters gesichtet, und wichtiges Material in sieben Kapiteln reproduziert: Aufsätze über die Natur der städtischen Form; Stadtimpressionen (einschließlich Reisenotizen aus Europa und Lateinamerika), Methoden der städtebaulichen Analyse; Gestaltungsrichtlinien; Unterrichtsmaterialien; Lynchs eigene städtebaulichen Projekte; und schließlich Utopien einschließlich der sog. Cacotopias - Schreckensbilder beispielsweise über die Folgen eines Atomkriegs, oder die (un-) Qualität des menschlichen Zusammenlebens in einer ungezügelten Müll-Gesellschaft einerseits oder einer müll-losen Stadt andererseits.

Ein sonderendes Querlesen des Buches bestätigt die Relevanz und Qualität aller Beiträge, und lädt ein, in die Tiefe zu gehen. Leider würde der beachtliche Umfang des Werkes die systematische Rezeption des Inhaltes zur Lebensaufgabe machen, oder zumindest zum Jahresprojekt. Daher ist die Anschaffung eher etwas für's Bücherregal, um so immer wieder einmal nachzuschlagen oder stöbern zu können. (K.M.)



Nicholas Wilkinson (Ed.), *Quality in the Built Environment: Public and Private Responsibilities in Housing Design and Settlement Planning*. 213 pp., ISBN 1-872811-00-0, Newcastle: Open House International Association. Bestelladresse: The Secretary, School of Architecture, GB-NE1 7RU Newcastle upon Tyne.

Im Juli 1989 fand in Newcastle eine internationale Konferenz statt, deren Beiträge hier dokumentiert sind. Entsprechend dem Programm der Veranstaltung stehen die Aufsätze unter vier Überschriften: Baugeschehen, Private und öffentliche Institutionen, Methoden und Instrumente, Praxis. Zu jedem der Themen war ein prominenter Eröffnungsredner eingeladen worden: John Habraken, Amos Rapoport, Roderik Lawrence, und John F.C. Turner. Die übrigen 25 Beiträge sind in unterschiedlicher Ausführlichkeit (einige nur auf 1 Seite als Zusammenfassung) dokumentiert. Als vorherrschende Tendenz fällt die Suche nach konstruktiv-formalen Lösungen aufzeitgenössische Wohnungs- und Urbanisationsprobleme auf. Dabei spielt die Weiterentwicklung und Umsetzung der SAR-Entwurfsmethode, d.h. Trennung der Verantwortlichkeit für Rohbau und Ausbau zwischen Experten und Nutzern, eine wichtige Rolle.

Für einen Konferenzband ist die Veröffent-



lichung überdurchschnittlich kohärent und sorgfältig präsentiert. Das Spektrum der Beiträge ist beeindruckend, doch bei einigen besonders interessanten Papers, wie z.B. über den Wiederaufbau in Tepito/Mexico City nach dem Erdbeben, hätte sich der Leser eine ausführlichere Darstellung gewünscht – der Wegfall von anderen Papers wäre zu verschmerzen gewesen. Besonders für Fachbibliotheken empfiehlt sich die Anschaffung. (KM)

**Robert B. Potter and Ademola T. Salau: Cities & Development in the Third World. 200 Seiten, ISBN 0-7201-2066-7, London: Mansell, 1990.**

Der vorliegende Band entstand aus den überarbeiteten Papers eines Workshops, der vom Commonwealth Geographical Bureau 1988 (?) in New Delhi organisiert worden war. Die meisten Beiträge wurden Autoren geschrieben, die entweder aus Entwicklungsländern stammen oder dort leben, was den Beiträgen eine lobenswerte Authentizität verleiht. Das behandelte regionale Spektrum ist weit gestreut, und erfaßt die Commonwealth-Länder Nigeria (Kano), Zimbabwe (Harare), Barbados, Fiji, Malaysia, und Indien. Inhaltlich ist der Schwerpunkt zweigeteilt: die ersten fünf Kapitel beschäftigen sich mit innerstädtischen Problemen, insbesondere Wohnungsversorgung, Infrastruktur, und Soziales, während die restlichen Beiträge Urbanisierungsfragen im nationalen oder sogar noch großräumigeren Kontext gewidmet sind.

Der besondere Wert des Buches liegt in den konkreten Fallstudien zu einzelnen Städten, und in den aktuellen statistischen Daten, denn fast alle Beiträge basieren auf laufenden Forschungsprojekten, deren Endergebnisse sonst, wenn überhaupt, sicher erst in einigen Jahren zugänglich sein werden. Trotz der einleitenden und zusammenfassenden Kapitel der beiden Herausgeber sind die Einzelbeiträge jedoch zu speziell, um einem Nicht-Experten einen Einstieg in die Thematik zu ermöglichen. Kosta Mathéy

**Walter Satzinger: Stadt und Land im Entwicklungsland. 633 Seiten, ISBN 3-88156-485-3, Saarbrücken 1990. Erhältlich vom Autor: Stetten 3, D-8201 Amerang (Tel. 08075-8149/089-31875263).**

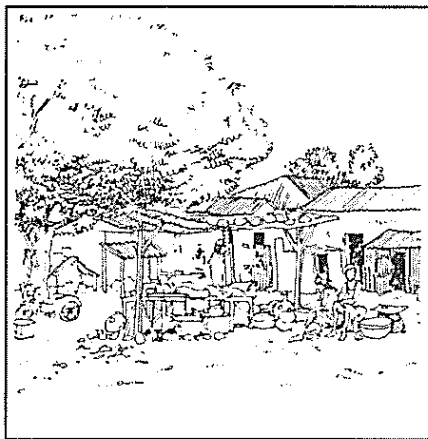
Der Untertitel dieser Bielefelder Dissertation heißt ganz bescheiden: Beitrag zur Diskussion über die urbane Befangenheit von Entwicklungsplanung und Entwicklungsprozeß am Beispiel Tanzanias. Doch genau genommen handelt es sich um einen Sammelband zu mindestens 4 oder 5 Themenkomplexen, wovon "Urban Bias" nur einer wäre – und dieser ist nicht nur auf Tanzania bezogen. Ein anderes enthaltenes Thema ist die nationale Entwicklungsplanung Tanzanias 1986–1985, inclusive der Ujamaa-Strategie. Geographische und raumplanerische Aspekte stellen ein drittes Thema dar, wobei alleine die Würdigung der Hauptstadt-Neugründung (bzw. Verlegung) in Tanzania und anderen Ländern in der angewandten Gründlichkeit eine Publikation für sich Wert gewesen wäre. Das Wachstum der tanzanischen Städte wird im nächsten Abschnitt analysiert, wobei die Analyse des Migrationsphänomens wiederum eine nahezu eigenständige Einheit darstellt. Eigene Ideen des Autors zu einer anti-städtischen Urbanisierung im abschließenden Kapitel sind das letzte und spannendste Thema – und

ebenfalls in sich abgeschlossen und verständlich. Kürzere Exkurse, wie zur Kenias Stadt-hierarchie-Konzepts, wurden zusätzliche eingefügt.

Besonders bemerkenswert ist, daß der Autor bei der Fülle des Materials nicht ins Schwafeln kommt, sondern einen flüssigen und verständlichen Stil beibehält. Der/die Leser/in sind eher geneigt, auch klein (bzw. kursiv) gedruckte 'Vertiefungen' zu lesen, statt Textteile zu überspringen – wenn nicht der Gesamtumfang, teilweise durch umfangreiche Anmerkungen und gründliche Registerzustande gekommen – gegen zeitökonomische Zwänge anzukämpfen hätte. Kosta Mathéy

**Alain Sinou & Bachir Oloudé: Porto-Nuevo. Ville d'Afrique Noire. 175 Seiten, ISBN 2-86364-051-8, 1989, Editions Parenthèses, 72, Cours Julien, 13006 Marseille.**

Porto-Novo, nach Cotonou die zweitgrößte Stadt des Benin und gleichzeitig auch Hauptstadt, zeichnet sich durch seine relativ lange Geschichte als Kolonialstadt aus, doch auch als Durchgangsort für die hin- und her strömenden Migrationswellen nach Nigeria in den letzten Dekaden. Die Geschichte dieser Stadt und ihres architektonischen wie städtebaulichen Erbes wurde in einem Gemeinschaftlichen Projekt von ORSTOM in Paris und dem lokalen Stadtplanungamt nachgezeichnet, und im vorliegenden Band dokumentiert. Dabei werden nicht nur pittoreske Zeugnisse der Stammes- wie Kolonialarchitektur beschreiben und abgebildet, sondern ethnische wie religiöse Einflüsse auf den Prozeß der Stadtentwicklung, und der gewachsene Bezug zum Umland werden umrissen. Jede historische Entwicklungsphase wird an hand von Plänen, Fotos, und ansprechenden Zeichnungen neben der schriftlichen Darstellung auch visuell vermittelt. Einer kurzen Charakterisierung der sozialen Brennpunkte folgend wird eine mögliche Strategie für die Zukunft angedeutet, welche zumindest als Diskussionsanregung wertvoll ist. Das Buch ist mit Liebe gemacht, und füllt wegen seiner thematischen Spezialisierung eine bibliographische Lücke. Kosta Mathéy



**Fred Scholz: Muskat, Sultanat Oman. 1. Band: Text- und Bildteil, 488 Seiten. 2. Band: 6 Faltkarten. ISBN 3-923446-58-6. Das Arabische Buch, Berlin 19, Horstweg 2. 1990.**

Nahezu 20 Jahre lang erforschte der Autor das Sultanat Oman, jetzt liegt das Ergebnis seiner geographischen Arbeit vor. Die politische, wirtschaftliche und bauliche Geschichte des Landes wird nachgezeichnet und dabei die

These belegt, daß die Entwicklung der Küstenstädte in der Golfregion in erster Linie von der Konjunktur des Fernhandels abhing, zum Nachweis dieser These werden u.a. auch die Bazare der Stadt Muskat untersucht und ihr Warenangebot analysiert. Ein weiterer Teil des Werks beschäftigt sich mit den übrigen Städten des Sultanats. Dem Fach entsprechend werden die beschriebenen Fakten in zahlreichen Karten, Zeichnungen und Photographien dokumentiert. Doch mehr noch als Geographen dürften sich andere Disziplinen für die Publikation interessieren: Kunsthistoriker, Stadtplaner, Entwicklungsexperten, und viele mehr. Das Buch ist mit Sicherheit das gründlichste und aufschlußreichste Werk, das über dieses Land bisher veröffentlicht wurde. Kosta Mathéy

**Reinhard Herdick, Kirtipur. Stadtgestalt, Prinzipien der Raumordnung und gesellschaftliche Funktionen einer Newar-Stadt. 272 Seiten, ISBN 3-8039-0355-6. Weltforum Verlag, Köln. 1988.**

Sieben Jahre nach Abschluß der zugrundeliegenden Feldforschung erscheint diese bemerkenswerte Arbeit über die Stadt Kirtipur im Kathmandu Tal. Wir werden mit einem uns weitgehend unbekanntem klassischem Urbanisierungsmodell konfrontiert, das Stadt als begehbares, rituelles Werkzeug, definiert. Bestimmte Kultbauten sind als dreidimensionale *madaia* zu verstehen. 'Drei Faktoren kennzeichnen die wesentlichen Modelle des Stadtraums: 1. die symmetrische Anordnung der genau abgegrenzten Wohnquartiere. 2. die Einflüsse tantrischer Stadtkultur mit anthropomorphen Bedeutungsebenen, die insbesondere bei der "männlich-weiblichen" Zweiteilung der Stadt zum Ausdruck kommen, und 3. frappierende Ähnlichkeiten mit alten idealtypischen indischen städtebaulichen Abhandlungen'. Diese Zusammenhänge werden nicht nur in Wort und Bild erklärt, sondern auch mit den quantitativen und qualitativen Daten einer Bestandsaufnahme belegt. Nicht nur für Nepal-Spezialisten, sondern auch für Stadtforscher im Allgemeinen, birgt dieses Buch wichtige Forschungsergebnisse. Kosta Mathéy

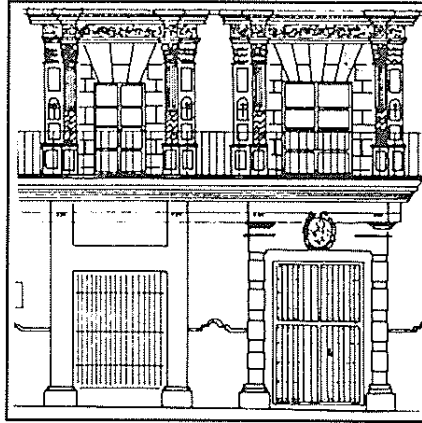
## Architektur

**Jean-Louis Bourgeois & Carolee Pelos, Spectacular Vernacular, 191 Seiten, 089381-391-5, Aperture Books, 20 East 23 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. 1989.**

Auf den ersten Blick erscheint dieser Bildband wie ein weiteres "Coffee Table Book" über traditionelle Architektur, insbesondere über Lehm- und Holzbau, doch der Schein trügt. Zwar hat der Stil etwas Feuilletonistisches an sich, was übrigens auch für das Vorwort von Basil Davidson gilt, doch beim Weiterlesen zeigen sich weitere Qualitäten auch im Text, wie sie bei den ausgezeichneten Fotos von vorne herein ins Auge fallen: Der Autor hat sein Feld gut recherchiert, wissenschaftlich belegt, und verfügt darüberhinaus auch über praktische Erfahrung aus erster Hand: er lebt nämlich in einem (selbstgebautes) Lehmhaus in New Mexico. Die Fotos wurden übrigens auch in einer Wanderausstellung in den USA und Österreich gezeigt und dokumentieren u.a. überraschend neue Aspekte von Lehm- und Holzbauten, wie Dachkonstruktionen, Dekorationen, Bewohner, historische Aufnahmen. Ein rundum empfehlenswertes Buch. Kosta Mathéy

Atilio Petruccioli (Ed.), *Mimar Sinan . The Urban Vision. Doppelheft von Environmental Design*, 5.Jg., No. 5-6. 222 Seiten. Rom: Beniamino Carucci Editore (P.O.Box 6218, 00195 Rom).

1489 geboren, wurde Sinan in seinem späteren Leben der berühmteste Architekt und Städtebauer des Osmanischen Kaiserreiches. Als Ingenieur der Armee baute er Brücken und legte Städte an, später errichtete er, obwohl selbst Christ, zahlreiche Mausoleen, Klosterschulen und Moscheen mit Kuppeln von über 50 Meter Höhe. Seiner städtebaulichen Leistung gewidmet war das 4. internationale Symposium des 'Islamic Environmental Research Centre', dessen 43 Beiträge hier, reich illustriert, veröffentlicht werden. In Anbetracht der Werke von Sinan erscheint die Baukunst eine der wenigen Disziplinen, der in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten bereits ein rasanter Fortschritt vorenthalten blieb. K. Mathéy



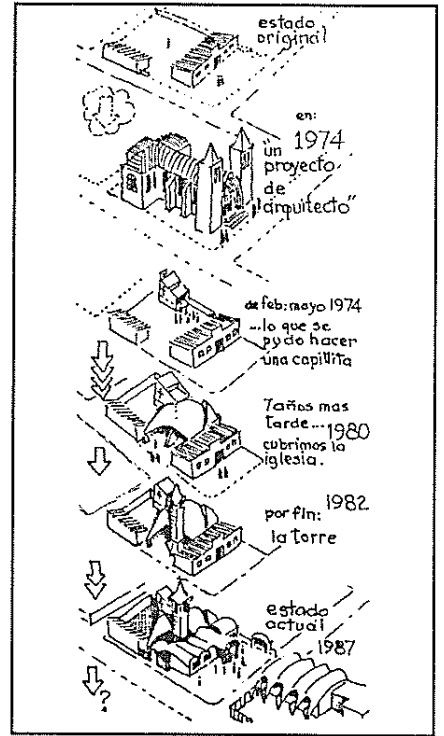
Konstruktion, und Bauzustand des Bürgerhauses analysiert, wobei sich der Autor auf die detaillierte Bauaufnahme von 54 Gebäuden und ergänzende Beobachtungen von weiteren 114 Bauwerken stützt. Die quantitative Untersuchung wird durch die Wiedergabe akribisch ausgefüllter Auswertungsbögen belegt - eine hieb- und stichfeste wissenschaftliche Arbeit, wie sie im Buche steht - aber als Veröffentlichung leider auch genausowenig ansprechend präsentiert. Kosta Mathéy

**John McKean: Learning from Walter Segal / Von Segal Lernen.** 222 Seiten, ISBN 3-7643-1999-2, 1989, Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel.

Der deutsch-englische Architekt Walter Segal (1907-1985) wurde sozusagen ein Guru der Selbsterbauer, und ist Urheber einer Konstruktions-Philosophie, die sich durch Einfachheit und hoher ästhetischer Qualität bei niedrigsten Baukosten auszeichnet. So plädierte er, zumindest bei seinen letzten Projekten, dafür, den Architekturentwurf auf handelsübliche Baustoffmaße (Holzquerschnitte, Fassadenplatten, etc.) abzustimmen, um so Arbeit und Materialverlust durch Zuschnitte zu vermeiden. Durch konsequenten "Trockenbau" minimierte er Bauzeit und kam fast ohne professionelle Handwerker aus. Stelzen machten aufwendige Planierarbeiten oder gar Unterkellerung überflüssig. Doch Segal hatte auch gelernt, "konventionell" zu bauen, wie diese Publikation zeigt - selbst ein Hochhausprojekt wird abgebildet. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß die Biographie eines so interessanten Architekten wie Walter Segal ein Treffer werden muß, und bestimmt noch viele Neuauflagen erleben wird. K. Mathéy

**Antonio Toca (Ed.), Nueva Arquitectura en América Latina: Presente y Futuro.** 284 Seiten, ISBN 968-884-134-6, 1990. Naucalpan (Mexico) & Madrid: Ediciones G. Gilli.

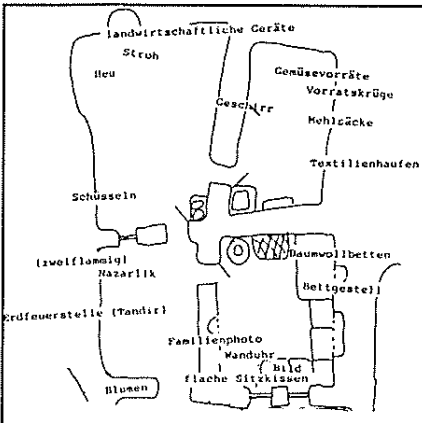
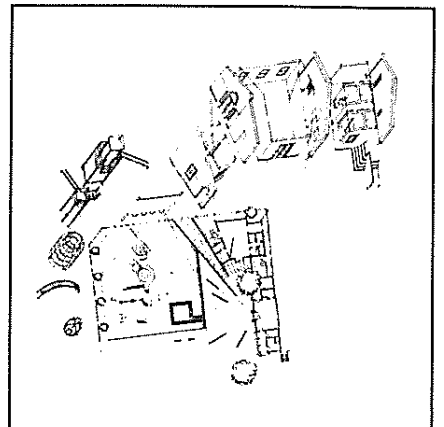
Das Architekturgeschehen in Lateinamerika ist weitaus vielfältiger als es uns durch einige Hochglanz-'coffee-table' Bücher oder die Befürworter der Barfußarchitekten in Europa geläufig ist. In dem vorliegenden Band wird in 18 Einzelbeiträgen ein weites gestalterisches und soziales Spektrum von Bauaufgaben und Lösungen in Lateinamerika ausgetrieben. Einige der Aufsätze konzentrieren sich auf einzelne Länder (Kolumbien, Uruguay, Argentinien, Brasilien, Mexiko), andere sind themenbezogen - wobei eine Häufung der Stichworte 'Identität', 'Regionalismus', und 'Angepaßte Architektur' auffällt. Zahlreiche schwarz-weiß Photos und Zeichnungen il-



lustrieren die vorgebrachten Thesen. Das Buch füllt eine Lücke in der vorhandenen Literatur und gestattet einen Einblick in aktuelle Architektur-Tendenzen in Lateinamerika. Kosta Mathéy

**Claire Lorenz, Women in Architecture: A Contemporary Perspective.** 144 Seiten, ISBN 0-8478-1277-4, 1991. New York: Rizzoli.

Insgesamt werden 48 Architektinnen oder von Architektinnen geleitete Firmen aus 20 Ländern mit einer kurzen Biographie oder der Selbstdarstellung, und mit Fotos ihrer Projekte vorgestellt. Ich glaube nicht, daß es Absicht der Publikation war (und einfach wäre), so etwas wie 'feminine Architektur' zu dokumentieren. Auf der Suche nach einem gemeinsamen Merkmal fällt in der Sammlung eher die Vielfalt in Stil und Verständnis auf, aber alle Arbeiten sind in ihrer Weise bemerkenswert. Die Herausgeberin sah sich bei der Auswahl in erster Linie von der Qualität der Architektur geleitet, doch gleichzeitig wollte sie auch ihren Kolleginnen in einer immer noch von Männern dominierten Berufssparte - was Sie mit Statistiken belegt - ein adäquates Forum geben. Unter den aufgenommenen Architektinnen befinden sich übrigens auch solche, deren Arbeit eng mit den in TRIALOG vorherrschenden



**Andus Emge: Wohnen in den Höhlen von Göreme.** 170 Seiten, ISBN 3-496-00487-8, 1990, Dietrich Reimer Verlag Berlin.

Als ethnologische Dissertation in Heidelberg vorgelegt, überrascht diese Arbeit durch ihre vielschichtige Analyse des Untersuchungsgegenstandes, der Höhlenwohnungen im Anatolien. Der Autor geht auf materialkundliche, konstruktive, architektonische, funktionelle, symbolische Qualitäten der Wohnungen ein - beschreibt alles in einer objektiven und weitgehend wertfreien Sprache. Nur in Betracht auf die Umsiedlungsaktionen der türkischen Regierung bezieht er eine - eindeutig kritische - Stellung, und die genannten Argumente sind einleuchtend genug, um hoffentlich als Empfehlung sowohl an die Behörden wie an die Bewohner verstanden zu werden. Die beschriebenen Beobachtungen werden durch zahlreiche Fotos und Zeichnungen illustriert, und mit einer beeindruckenden Anzahl von Querverweisen mit dem Text verknüpft. Doch auch wegen der ansprechenden Präsentation verdient die Veröffentlichung Lob. Kosta Mathéy

**Dirk Bühler, Das Bürgerhaus der Kolonialzeit in Puebla.** 352 Seiten, ISBN 3-88156-482-9, 1990, Saarbrücken: Breitenbach.

Es handelt sich um die Veröffentlichung einer an der TH Aachen vorgelegten architekturgeschichtlichen Dissertation. Vom Allgemeinen zum Speziellen kommand hat der Autor zunächst die Entwicklung der Baugeschichte in Lateinamerika, dann in Mexico, und schließlich in Puebla zusammengefaßt. Der zweite Teil ist der Entwicklung der Stadt Puebla gewidmet. Teil 3 ist der Hauptteil: in ihm werden Entwurf,

den Thematiken verbunden ist, wie im Falle von Madhu Sarin aus Chandigarh oder Diana Lee Smith aus Nairobi. Aber auch die meisten der anderen vorgestellten Arbeiten und Berufts-Auffassungen finde ich ausgesprochen anregend, weshalb ich die Dokumentation nur wärmstens empfehlen kann. (Kosta Mathéy)

### Wohnungsversorgung

**M.S. Müller & D. Plantega. Women & Habitat – Urban Management, Empowerment, and Women's Strategies. 40 Seiten, ISBN 90-6823-806-9, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute. Vertrieb in der BRD: TRIOPS, Hindenburgstraße 33, D-61 Darmstadt.**

Eine handliche Broschüre, die die benachteiligte Wohn- und Lebenssituation von Frauen in ohnehin benachteiligten Regionen der Welt aufzeigt, und versucht, Erfahrungen ihrer Organisation in informellen Netzwerken und in formellen Selbsthilfegruppen an drei Beispielen in Bombay, Colombo und Manila zu vermitteln. Als wichtige strategische Schritte werden Bewußtseinsbildung, Einforderung eigener Interessen, und organisatorische Ausbildung genannt. Es folgt eine nützliche Liste von Literaturhinweisen. Kosta Mathéy

**Michael Dewit, Hans Schenk (Eds.): Shelter for the Poor in India. 147 Seiten ISBN 81-85054-86-X, 1986, Manhor Publishers, 2/6 Ansari Rd. Darya Ganj, New Delhi, Indien 110002.**

Die acht Beiträge dieses Buches wurden von Dozenten und Forschern aus den Niederlanden verfaßt, und haben fast ausnahmslos mit verschiedenen Aspekten von sog. Selbsthilfeshousing-Projekten in Indien zu tun. Sie wurden zuerst auf einem internationalen Symposium mit dem Titel *The Limits of Self-Help Housing 1987* in Amsterdam vorgestellt. Wie der Titel der Veranstaltung bereits verrät, ist die gemeinsame Bilanz der Untersuchungen durchaus nicht positiv. Vielmehr kommen die Autoren zu dem Schluß, daß in Indien die von der Weltbank propagierte Selbsthilfe-Wohnungspolitik – mit Anspielung auf John Turners Buch *Freedom to Build* – für die Armen oft mit *Freedom to Die* übersetzt werden mußte. Die von den Briten ererbte Staatsbürokratie, die weltbankfinanzierte Besessenheit für *replicability*, und, damit verbunden, *cost recovery*, dazu ein leichtsinniges Vertrauen auf den Markt als Patentlösung sind weitgehend dafür verantwortlich zu machen. Aber auch die NGOs, als Alternative zur Versorgung durch Staat und Markt gerühmt, erreichen nur in Ausnahmefällen die ärmste Zielgruppe. Übrig bleibt die Forderung nach echter Partizipation der Bewohner an den Entscheidungsprozessen, und die Hoffnung, daß eine solche den Ausweg aus dem Dilemma darstellen kann. Positiv sollte noch angemerkt werden, daß dieses Büchlein nicht nur in der (Amts-) Sprache des 'erforschten' Landes geschrieben, sondern auch in diesem Land gedruckt veröffentlicht wurde. Somit besteht eine größere Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die Texte von den Verantwortlichen gelesen werden, und eine Wirkung erzielen. Sollte sich selbst dies als leere Hoffnung erweisen, gab es zumindest einen finanziellen Ressourcentransfer nach Indien zur Begleichung der Druckkosten. (KM)

**Tade Akin Aina. Health, Habitat and Underdevelopment in Nigeria. 98 Seiten, 0-**

**905347-70-6, 1990, 1990. London: IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street, GB-London WC1H 0DD.**

Wie eng Gesundheits- und Wohnungsproblematik miteinander verknüpft sind, ist nur Wenigen gegenwärtig. Das macht diese Untersuchung des Wohngebietes Olaley-Iponri in Lagos, die beide Aspekte parallel berücksichtigt, besonders bemerkenswert. Dabei geht Tade Akin vom Allgemeinen zum Speziellen, von der nationalen Politik zum Maßstab der Siedlung, bis sie zuletzt die Ebene der Familie in zehn Fallstudien analysiert. Die abschließenden Policy-Empfehlungen beziehen sich notwendigerweise wieder auf den nationalen Rahmen.

Die Studie ist gut angelegt und mit konkreten Daten belegt. Etwas mehr Aufmerksamkeit hätte den kausalen Verknüpfungen zwischen Ursache und Wirkung der beschriebenen Phänomene, und zwischen den beiden Sektoren 'Wohnen' und 'Gesundheit' gewidmet werden können. Ein wenig typographische Hilfestellung wäre der Lesbarkeit des Textes zuträglich gewesen. Kosta Mathéy

### Gesellschaft und Politik

**Mir A. Ferdowski & Peter J. Opitz: Macht und Ohnmacht der Vereinten Nationen. Zur Rolle der Weltorganisation in Drittwelt-Konflikten. Ifo-Studien zur Entwicklungsforschung, Band 18. 234 Seiten, ISBN 3 0039 0353 X. Köln: Weltforum Verlag.**

Seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs fanden über 160 Kriege hauptsächlich auf dem Territorium von Dritte Welt Ländern statt, und nur 26 Tage (im September 1945) herrschte weltweit Frieden. Angesichts der darauf zurückzuführenden 25 bis 35 Millionen Toten ist es gerechtfertigt, von einem bereits längst begonnenen Dritten Weltkrieg zu sprechen. Der achtjährige Krieg zwischen Iran und Irak mit seinen schätzungsweise 1 Million Todesopfern, die Konflikte in Afghanistan, Kambodscha, Namibia, Namibia, und insbesondere der gegenwärtige Golfkrieg mit seinen unabsehbaren Folgen zeigen die Grenzen der Weltorganisation. Somit ist das bereits 1987 erschienene Buch mit Beiträgen einer Tagung zum Thema 'Kriege in der Dritten Welt' im Münchener Geschwister-Scholl-Institut (1988) wieder ganz aktuell.

Das vorliegende Buch verfolgt die Zielsetzung, einen systematischen Überblick über die Dimension und Ursachen von Krisen und Kriegen zu geben, die mit der Entstehung neuer Staaten in Asien und Afrika zusammenhängen. In einer Reihe von Fallstudien wird versucht, Ursachenkomplexe für die verschiedenen Konflikte herauszuarbeiten. Das bestehende System der kollektiven Sicherheit wird dargestellt, wobei ein besonderer Schwerpunkt auf die aktuellen Herausforderungen für das System gelegt wurde. Vorschläge für eine Verbesserung des friedenssichernden und konfliktlösenden Potentials der Vereinten Nationen werden abschließend zur Diskussion gestellt. Hassan Ghaemi

**Hans Breitenbach, Tom Burden, David Coates, Features of a Viable Socialism. 177 pp., 1990, ISBN 0-7450-0840-2. Harvester Wheatsheaf, 66 Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, HP2 4RG.**

Das Vorhaben der drei Autoren ist beachtlich: in einer Epoche, in der Ost wie West die wunder- und heilsamen Qualitäten der Markt-

wirtschaft preisen, versuchen sie – aus den Fehlern des Realsozialismus lernend – Umriss einer machbaren und besseren sozialistischen Gesellschaft zu entwerfen. Die Kenntnis der aktuellen historischen Fakten schützen davor, der Verlockung einer Neuaufgabe sozialistisch-utopischer Romane der Jahrhundertwende nachzugeben; in der Tat erscheinen viele der vorgeschlagenen Maßnahmen – die meisten unter ihnen das ökonomische System betreffend – sinnvoll und machbar. Dazu gehören beispielsweise die Auszahlung eines bescheidenen, doch das Überleben sichernden Grundlohns für alle, mit deftigen Zuschlägen für solche, die sich auf die Verbindlichkeit eines festen Arbeitsverhältnisses einlassen. Oder: betriebswirtschaftliche Bilanzen müssen ökologische Kosten mit einbeziehen. Lauter schlaue Ideen, die sich z.T. auch schon in Übergangsgesellschaften durchsetzen ließen. In dieser Hinsicht bereitet das Buch eine kurzweilige Lektüre mit vielen Aha-Effekten, auch wenn die Tendenz manchmal allzu sehr in Richtung Küchenrezept zu gehen scheint. Aber heutzutage ist der oder die Leser/in ja dankbar für jede positive Zukunftsperspektive. Kosta Mathéy

**Zwischen Rostock und Dresden – 2/3-Welt Gruppen. 110 Seiten, ISBN 3-922263-10-0, Berlin: INKOTA-Netzwerk. Erhältlich über IZ3W, Postfach 5328, 78 Freiburg.**

Nach der deutsch-deutschen Kolonialisierung fragten sich viele, was geschieht mit den existierenden 3.Welt-Gruppen in der ehemaligen DDR, was sind ihre inhaltlichen Schwerpunkte, ihre Pläne, und – nicht zuletzt – wie kann man sie kontaktieren. Alle diese Fragen beantwortet dieses kleine Büchlein mit einführnden Aufsätzen, Selbstdarstellungen der Gruppen, und zwei Registern nach Ort und Thema. Rundum: ein nützliches Handb. (KM.)

### Technologie

**Lionel Jayanetti, Timber Pole Construction. 44 Seiten, ISBN 1-85339-068-2, 1990, IT Publications, London WC1B 4HH**

Ungeschnittenes Rundholz ist als Baumaterial dezentral verfügbar, und im Vergleich mit Kanthölzern oder Brettern billiger zu erstellen und stabiler in der Resistenz gegen statische Belastung und Verwitterung. Nicht nur in der traditionellen Architektur, sondern auch für unkonventionelle moderne Vorhaben finden wir es oft verbaut. Die vorliegende Broschüre gibt Hinweise für Gewinnung, Bearbeitung, und Anwendung dieses Baumaterials. Leider ist ein gewisser Gegensatz festzustellen zwischen dem 'primitiven' Baumaterial einerseits, und für die weitere Verwendung vorgeschlagenen und teilweise recht komplizierten Beschläge. Chemische Konservierung wird, abgesehen von dem Hinweis, daß einige der Stoffe in bestimmten Ländern verboten sind, ohne Bedenken empfohlen. Einige der Fundierungspläne erachte ich als bedenklich (Holzpfehl in Betonwürfel eingegossen und unter die Oberfläche vergraben). Kosta Mathéy

**Raimund Stewen: Biologisch Renovieren. Handbuch der praktischen Baubiologie. 261 Seiten, ISBN 3-923243-65-0, Volksblatt Verlag, Köln (Postfach 250405), 1990.**

Baubiologie wurde von einigen Beobachtern lange in der Nachbarschaft von Religion eingeordnet, was nicht zuletzt an dem missionari-

schen und pseudowissenschaftlichen Stil mancher einschlägiger Publikationen gelegen haben mag. Dieses neue Buch aber ist durch und durch fundiert, gibt konkrete Zahlen, nennt Meßmöglichkeiten, und zeigt, wie Verbesserungen durch bauliche Maßnahmen erreicht werden können. Der Band gliedert sich in zwei Teile: Diagnose möglicher Risikofaktoren, und Hinweise zu Sanierungsmaßnahmen (die selbstverständlich auch für den Neubau Gültigkeit haben). Zwar wurde das Buch für den deutschen Markt geschrieben, doch diagnostische Methoden, Instrumente, und die Bewertung gebräuchlicher Baumaterialien machen nicht an Ländergrenzen Halt. In Entwicklungsländern, wo Handwerker ihre Fachkenntnisse im Allgemeinen nur 'on the job' sammeln, wäre eine stärkere Verbreitung der hier vermittelten Grundsätze daher besonders wichtig. Mathéy

**Uli Gelbrich. Kurzes Wörterbuch für das gesamte Bauwesen ENGLISCH-DEUTSCH. 418 Seiten, ISBN 3-7625-2763-6, Wiesbaden & Berlin: Bauverlag.**

Viele Projekte in Entwicklungsländern werden in englischer Sprache abgewickelt. Auch die Fachliteratur ist vorwiegend englischsprachig. Somit dürfte die Nützlichkeit dieses Spezialwörterbuchs mit 30.000 Stichwörtern kaum bezweifelt werden. Das Werk bietet reine Wortübersetzungen ohne Erläuterungen, einen Komplementärband DEUTSCH-ENGLISCH scheint es noch nicht zu geben. Die Publikation wurde vom VEB Verlag der Technik in Berlin übernommen und in der Nach-DDR produziert. Daher die solide Leineneinband – aber auch die Verwendung zweier verschiedener Papiersorten. Die Preispolitik des Verlages ist leider 100% West – in der DDR wäre das Buch für einen Bruchteil des jetzigen Preises verkauft worden. K. Mathéy



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19.3.–21.3.1991, Athens, Greece. Research colloquium 'Appropriate Educational Background, Professional Qualifications and Training Needs for People Engaged in Urban Management' Contact person: Mrs. Helen Ioannidou, Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works, Section of International Activities and Relations to the EEC, 17 Amaliados str, 11523 Athens

25.3.–26.3.1991, Stoneleigh, UK. Eighth Inter-Schools Conference on Development: 'Appropriate Policies and Technologies for Low-Income Settlements' Further information: Mr. Reinhard Skinner, ITDG, Mysun House, Railway Terrace, Rugby CV21 3HT, UK. Tel: 0788 560631, Fax: 0788 540270.

19.–21. 4. 1991 in Bonn. BUKO Seminar: Alternative Weltwirtschaftsordnung – welche konkreten Utopien haben wir (noch)? Teilnahme für Mitglieder von TRIALOG oder einer anderen angeschlossenen Organisation DM 35,-, sonst DM 50,-. Fahrtkosten werden weitgehend zurückerstattet. Anmeldung: BUKO, Nernstweg 32, 2 Hamburg 50. ☎ 040/393156

5.5.–10.5.1991, Waterloo, Canada. International Seminar on Gender and Economic Restructuring. Organisers: the International Union Study Group on Geography and Gender, the Women's Studies Program at the University of Waterloo. Topics: gender and environment, urbanisation, informal sector work, reproduction and production, etc. For information contact: B. Hyma and T. Bunting, Department of Geography, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, N2L 3G1.

7.5.–12.5.1991, Saicena, Switzerland. Conference to discuss the formation of an international network for Urban Research and Action. Information: Richard Wolff, Nordstr. 151, CH-8037 Zurich. Tel: 01 3820447.

9.–12. 5. 1991 in Köln: 15. Bindsongreß entwicklungs-politischer Aktionsgruppen. 16 Arbeitsgruppen, u.a. zu Vernichtung der Regenwälder, Müllpolitik, Nationale versus soziale Befreiung?, Reformierbarkeit politischer Organisationsformen, Die Bedeutung ehemaliger Planwirtschaftsstaaten in einer neuen europäischen Großraumordnung, Fil-Workshop, Kolonialismus und Widerstand auf den Philippinen, was heißt Entwicklung? – Neudefinition des Entwicklungsbegriffs. Teilnahme für Mitglieder von TRIALOG oder einer anderen angeschlossenen Organisation DM 80,-, sonst DM 110,-. Fahrtkosten werden wahrscheinlich zurückerstattet. Anmeldung: BUKO, Nernstweg 32, 2 Hamburg 50. ☎ 040/393156

25.6.–28.6.1991, Manchester, UK. Fifth International Conference 'Managing for Professional Effectiveness'. An interdisciplinary conference to consider how professionals and technical specialists in various fields can contribute most effectively to development. Specialist areas include education and training, engineering and physical infrastructure, rural development, information technology, and health services. Contact: Dr. R.F. Clarke, Institute for Development Policy and Management, University, Precinct Centre, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9QS, UK. Fax: 061 2738829.

14.–19. 7. 1991 in Cambridge, GB: Land Value and Land Prices – the impact of public policy upon the valorization process in less developed countries.

Information: Peter Ward, University of Cambridge.

8–12. 7. 1991, Oxford, GB. Congress 'Planning the Transatlantic: Global Change and local Problems', organized by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning & the Association of European Schools of Architecture. Themes: Land Policy and Planning Instruments' and others. Info: Alain Duran Lasserre, 7, rue Santé Garibaldi, F-33000 Bordeaux. ☎ 56991584. FAX 56991585

10.–13.9.1991, Lancaster, UK. Eight Urban Change and Conflict Conference. Themes include: the political economy of urban growth and decline, social movements and urban planning, gender relations and urban space etc. Abstracts should be submitted by March 31, 1991. Contact: C. Lury or A. Wardle, Sociology Department, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YL, UK.

17.9.–20.9.1991, Istanbul, Turkey. International Symposium organised by the European Network for Housing Research 'Housing for the Urban Poor'. Subject areas include evaluation of housing policy, evaluation of informal housing, alternative housing programmes and comparative housing studies. Due date for Papers is 15.4.1991, registration fee US \$ 250. For further information contact: Symposium Secretariat, ENHR International Symposium, Housing for the Urban Poor, P.K. 2280191 Teknik University, Istanbul, Turkey. Fax: 90-1-1763672

22.9.–27.9.1991, Belfast and Dublin, Ireland. International INTA Conference on 'Urban Renewal – Striking the Balance'.

25.9.–28.9.1991, Chandigarh, India. International Research Conference 'Housing Strategies for the 90's'. Themes include Housing and the economy, housing and community, housing markets, housing finance, public and private housing, low-income housing. Abstracts by 28.2.–1991, papers by 15.7.1991. Contact: Harjinder Singh, Organising Secretary, Guru Ramdas School of Planning, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 143005, East Punjab, India.

1.10.–4.10.1991, Stuttgart, Germany. International Symposium of the SFB 230: 'Natural Structures – Principles, Strategies and Models in Architecture and Nature'. Main topics include generating and designing processes, branching structures, pneumatics and shells, concepts of nature and theory of science. Contact: SFB 230, Universitätsstr. 21, W-7000 Stuttgart 80. Tel: 0711 68520-32.

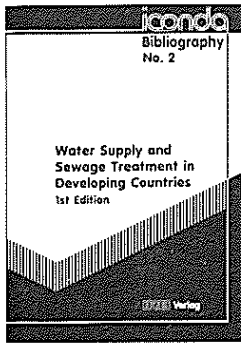
Oktober 1991 in Loccum: Tagung zum Thema Verstädterung in der Dritten Welt. Info: Jörg Meyer, Ev. Akademie, 3056 Rehagen-Loccum.

21–27.10.1991 in Trieste, Italia: VI Festival del Cine Latino Americano. Info: Rodrigo Diaz, Via Peschiera 5, 30174 Venezia, ☎ 41-5497811.

22.10.–25.10.1991, Habana, Cuba. International Symposium on Ferrocement. Topics include: use of ferrocement in housing, marine projects and rural projects, construction technology, research and development, national experiences. Contact: Mr. Hugo Rivas, Organizing Committee, International Conference Center, Apartado 16046, La Habana, Cuba

27.–29. 11. 1991 in Toulouse: 'Grandes Metropoles d'Afrique et d'Amerique Latine'. Registration: 500 FF. Info: Marie-Christine Lacoste, Réseau Amérique Latine (GDR 16-CNRS), Université de Toulouse Le Mirail, 5, Allées Antonio Machado, F-31058 Toulouse CEDEX, ☎ 33 61 504308; FAX 33 61 504209.

16.12.–19.12.1991, Habana, Cuba. Internationaler Workshop 'Theorie, Methodik und Ideen für eine Angepasste Entwicklung der gebauten Umwelt in Südländern'. Veranstalter: Centro de Estudios de Construcción y Arquitectura Tropical, Instituto Superior Politécnico José Antonio Echeverría, Ciudad Habana, Cuba und Wissenschaftsbereich Tropen- und Auslandsbau, HAB Weimar. Weitere Information: CECAT, ISPJAE CP 19390 Ciudad Habana, Cuba. Tel: 201729, Telex: 225517 BDICT CU



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- Other sources: reports, research projects, conference contributions (7%)

CD-ROM ICONDA is brought up to date twice a year and costs USD 950,- or DM 1425,- per year.

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**Information Centre for Regional Planning and Building Construction (IRB) of the Fraunhofer-Society**

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The fiftieth anniversary of the Information Centre  
for Regional Planning and Building Construction in Stuttgart

## International Building Information Congress BI '91

from 7th to 11th of October 1991

One of the oldest and internationally known institutions of the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft (FhG), the Information Centre for Regional Planning and Building Construction (IRB), celebrates its 50th anniversary this year. The most important event concerning this topic is an international congress under the motto „Building and Planning need Information“ which will take place from the 7th to the 11th of October in Stuttgart. The Federal Research Minister Dr. Heinz Riesenhuber has become patron of it. About 1000 visitors are expected from all branches of the building industry and trade, from planning offices and building administration, offices of town- and regional planning, building-product producers, clients, and representatives of the credit market economy, the information services and the media.

The co-organizers of this congress are the International Council for Building Research, Studies and Documentation (CIB), the International Union of Building Centres (UICB) and the International Association for Building Documentation (IVDB).

The main topics to be discussed are: building information for entire Europe; information to how to avoid building damages; information for building and planning in developing countries; and information the town development and regional planning. A specialised exhibition is planned parallel to the congress.

The IRB goes back to Professor Otto Graf, who founded the Building-Technical Information Service in 1941 in Stuttgart. During the last five decades IRB has developed from this service to

its contemporary international importance. The main matter of concern of Professor Graf was the information transfer from research to practice and vice versa. He sought for cost-saving methods to make the treasure of experience from various sources available to the best experts, so that building could be rationally executed and damages or mistakes could be avoided. Considerations like these are still of great importance, today as well as in former days, and they run like a thread through the work of the IRB.

Another development corresponding to the wishes of the founder of the IRB is the ICONDA database (The CIB International Construction Database), a five years old, English literature database, with references to building literature from 68 countries. Now ICONDA is used by more than 600 institutes and experts from nearly 40 countries. The ICONDA-input is achieved from 15 countries and two international organizations and coordinated by IRB.

For further information, please contact:



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