

© The United Nations University, 1980
Printed in Japan

ISBN 92-808-0164-3
ISSN 0379-5764

HSDRGPID-50/UNUP-164

**AGRARIAN REFORM AND RURAL
DEVELOPMENT: A PERSPECTIVE
AND SOME THESES**

Johan Galtung

Project Co-ordinator
UN University Project on Goals, Processes, and
Indicators of Development
c/o UNITAR
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland



This paper by Johan Galtung was presented as a background paper at the GPID III Meeting, Geneva, 2-8 October 1978 and the GPID Food Study Group II Meeting, Geneva, 8-10 July 1979.

Geneva, March 1980

Johan Galtung

It is being circulated in a pre-publication form to elicit comments from readers and generate dialogue on the subject at this stage of the research.

CONTENTS

I. Introduction	1
II. Basic Human Needs and Rural Development	3
III. Structure and Process of Rural Production	8
IV. Ten Theses about Rural Development	17
V. Conclusion	28
Appendix	30
Notes	31

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Man lives from bread; it is from the countryside, by means of agriculture, that bread comes to him and keeps him alive; in a just society the peasants who bring life to man should be the objects of gratitude, of prestige, perhaps even the subjects of power and privilege — yet it is in the countryside of certain countries that most of the extreme misery, even starvation, is found.¹ Historically it certainly was not always like that. But today "agrarian reform and rural development" are discussed by city-based people as a problem "we" have to solve for "them"; whereas an organization for urban reform and development, run by country-based people, actually might make more sense, given the primary role played by what is, rightly, referred to as the primary sector.²

2. But man does not live from bread alone; man has other needs, and one reason for the position of the cities is rooted in their ability to produce for, and meet, some of these other needs. Thus, the most basic need of man is simply to keep alive and as a minimum not to die as the victim of direct violence.³ The basic formula behind feudalism, protection in return for taxation, was adopted by the modern state with its centre in one city, the capital — whether one would agree that the system produces security or not. Further, Stadtluft macht frei, the old slogan of the Middle Ages: in the cities individual freedom could be obtained. And the cities produced certain types of culture, first for the bourgeoisie, later for the masses, in quantities and varieties that had some relevance to the identity of the citizens, whether they were citizens in the sense of living in the city or of belonging to the nation as a whole. Above all, the cities became the sites for industrial production and for trade on a scale

unknown before; a place where bureaucrats were building the state as an organization, capitalists had their corporations, and intellectuals/researchers produced knowledge and culture.⁴

11. BASIC HUMAN NEEDS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

3. To explore this further from a development, and not only general historical, point of view, some idea of basic needs is indispensable — provided one agrees that "development" means development of human beings,⁵ which in turn means meeting, and developing further, human needs. In other words, rural development is something that happens in the countryside so that human beings develop. It should never be identified with such factors as agricultural output (production); output : input ratios (efficiency, e.g., per unit of land, capital, fertilizer, research — or productivity, i.e., per unit of labour); employment ratios; volume-traded market shares; or profit on national and international markets. Increasing values put on these indicators⁶ may be signs that things are moving in the right direction, but may also mean the opposite — it depends on the structure and distribution formulas. At best these are the means, the instruments productive of development — although they also can be counter-productive. For they do not stand for basic human needs as such. At best they represent satisfiers — such as, for example, output of grain — of such needs, and the question is whether they reach the human beings most in need. But they may also represent rather irrelevant entities, such as, for example, carnations grown on good foodland, not good for meeting any basic human need.⁷ At worst agricultural production may be directly anti-human (not only indirectly in the sense of opportunity costs, or basic-needs units lost): habit-forming drugs, cancer-producing tobacco, etc., are also agricultural products.

4. We shall mean by a basic human need something human beings cannot do without, in their own judgement,⁸ without suffering basic degradation as human beings. Meeting these needs is the necessary condition

for unfolding as human beings. The needs vary from one social structure to another, in time and space, with age, sex, and social position. The need-universals are probably few and trivial, and even there it is only the need-dimension not the quantity of need-satisfier that might be said to be universal. Needs can to some extent be classified as material or non-material, depending on the nature of the need-satisfier or whether they affect the human body or the human mind — needless to say, such distinctions should never be drawn sharply and one might often better talk about material and non-material components. But given this distinction it may be fruitful to subdivide the material needs further into needs for security and for welfare, the latter comprising such well-known needs as the needs for food and water (and air), for clothing and shelter, for medical services and schooling, for transportation and communication, and for a minimum of comfort (e.g., labour-saving devices as a protection against dirty, heavy, degrading, boring, and dangerous work). And the non-material needs may be subdivided into needs for identity and for freedom. (For a general list of suggestions about what this may imply, see Appendix.) From that list some non-material needs are of particular significance for any discussion of rural development. They are the needs:

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

5. In a narrow and shallow approach to needs-based theory and practice of development, food experts would tend to define a distinct need for food as separate from other needs. The task of the medio rural⁹ would be to produce sufficient quantities for everybody including themselves; while doing so, sufficient surplus should be generated to provide for the other basic material needs (as listed under welfare in the preceding paragraph). The goal is relatively well-defined, precise; it can be administered from above, at

governmental and inter-governmental levels — in some countries it can even be implemented. The procedure is protected by a convenient theory of a "hierarchy of needs,"¹⁰ holding that material needs should be provided for first, then non-material needs — in spite of all the evidence to the effect that human beings are willing to lay down their lives for freedom, and degenerate into caricatures of humans when alienated, deprived of identity.

6. The critique of the narrow approach to food and rural development defined in the preceding section is not exhausted, however, by calling attention to other than material/somatic needs, pointing out how they are left unattended, even counteracted through managerial approaches to development, not unlike the way animals are attended to in a good zoological garden.¹¹ An equally basic point lies in the integration of needs-satisfaction. Thus, there is a segmented mode of needs-satisfaction, perhaps particularly widespread in Northern Europe and North America, which would define a separate context — a place in space, an interval in time, a group of people — for the satisfaction of each need.¹² Thus, a person may have his need for food satisfied at well-defined meal times; for creativity in his hobby club; for autonomy and challenge on a Sunday outing if he manages to lose his way just a bit, in a forest; for togetherness in a meeting with friends; for partnership with nature in that Sunday outing; and for a sense of purpose with life in his church or political party. Needs-satisfaction is distributed in a thin layer over space, time, and social space, one need at a time, reflecting the division of human beings into need-compartments, even having one ministry (department) for each compartment, and well-planned space and time budgets.¹³

7. But this is not the only mode of needs-satisfaction; there is also an integrated mode of needs-satisfaction, known in the West but perhaps even more in the non-West. In this mode several needs are satisfied together in the same context, meaning within a narrow interval of space and time, and together with the same people. Thus, compare "meeting the need for food" by means of an intravenous injection with the scientifically correct quantities of calories,

protein, vitamins, minerals, etc., with a meal creatively produced and consumed in a spirit of togetherness, using home-grown products, with an element of aestheticism in the presentation and in the setting. Compare both to a quick intake — in solitude — of a lunch in a diner, "washed down" with a cup of coffee (which, in turn, will have to be washed down with something else) to make it clear that this is closer to the former than to the latter. We shall not identify the dimension "segmented-integrated" with "quality of life," for it does not take into consideration the degree of satisfaction along each need-dimension; but it obviously has something to do with it. The integration gives a more total experience, and for that reason is not only compatible with meaningfulness, it is the meaning of life — work and love, leisure and sweat, production and consumption, all wrapped into one.

8. Hence, there is more to food than just food. To say that "this is an élitist perspective" is the ultimate in élitist perspectives, for the élite more than others are precisely those who are able to satisfy their needs in a more integrated manner, eat creative food, enjoy it in an aesthetic setting, produce or acquire exotic food-stuffs, etc. In fact, it should be assumed that this is the normal way in which humankind has produced and consumed its food, whether of plant or animal origin — which means that some distortion is necessary in order to see it in another perspective. Two such distortions or distorting mechanisms are obvious: the economistic view of "food-stuffs" (the word itself is indicative) as a commodity that can be traded, and the scientistic view of food as something that can be reduced to a very low number of dimensions, such as calories and proteins, etc. The point here is not to argue against these views; as for all other views, there are pros and cons. The point to be made is only that there is an intimate connection between these two views on the one hand and the segmented mode of needs-satisfaction on the other — a compatibility to the point of mutual reinforcement.

9. If the problem of hunger is approached merely as a problem of having more food-stuffs reach hungry mouths there will be no barrier

against the final incorporation of agricultural production in the industrial mode of production. Food-processing will increasingly mediate between nature and the consumer; the farmer will produce agricultural raw materials as a part of agro-industry, it will be processed and then distributed by agri-business, and he will buy it back preserved and packaged from the supermarket – as he already does in many countries; like the miner excavating iron ore (then buying it back as a car) and the fisherman (buying his catch back as frozen fish). His own part in the operation will be more and more routinized, his age-old skills will not be called for, mechanized production of raw material will impede togetherness, he will be a part of an enormous economic cycle which will offer wages against loss of autonomy. In short, for good and for bad he will be like the masses in the developed countries. However, the argument will certainly be that this is a minor price to pay: that the loss in non-material goods would be worth the gain in material goods – in casu food. If this is the way to abolish hunger, then it is worth it. The problem, of course, is that the approach has not shown itself capable of abolishing hunger either, only of impoverishing the existence of the rural poor even further.

III. STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF RURAL PRODUCTION

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

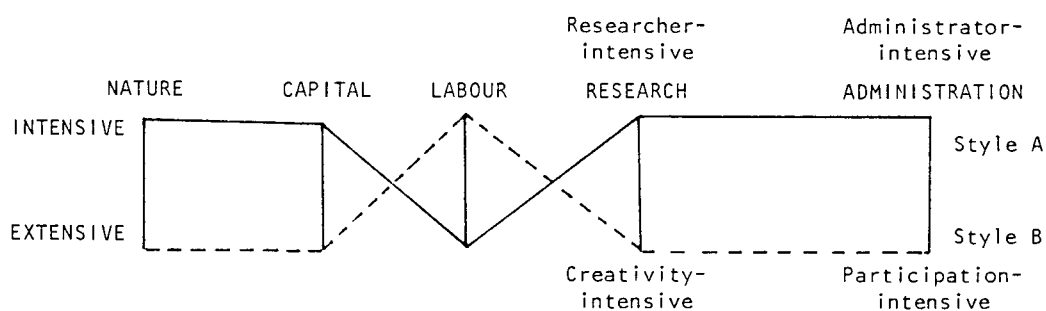


FIG. 1. Factor Proportions and Styles of Rural Production

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

11. According to style A, which is the dominant approach today to rural development, nature is used uneconomically, mono-cropping being one example of intensive, wasteful use: the concept implies the use of extensive areas, for precisely because soil is used intensively the areas have to be extensive. Much capital is also required; labour is saved; there is a high input of research and of administration (another way of phrasing the last two would be to say the style is both researcher- and administrator-intensive; the latter being a term that may stand for the owners of nature, of capital, of labour — i.e., slavery — or simply the management in any form of private or state-organized rural production by any means except the peasants themselves). Assuming good soil and enough sunshine, capital is used for irrigation, seeds are of special varieties, fertilizer and machinery are introduced, research is used to create the efficiency/productivity per unit input of the sub-factors just mentioned (labour productivity by definition being high), and administrators are used to put all of this together — usually they are very different in background from the peasants who remain.

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

13. According to style B, the opposite approach in all factors,²⁰ not so much nature is needed because it is made such good use of²¹ by multi-cropping, extremely good care and attention to details; the other inputs of water, seeds, fertilizer, and tools are inexpensive and based on local production; labour is made very much better use of but not so much "modern" science and management are used; reliance is more on people's own creativity and people's participation in all kinds of decision-making.²² The latter is here understood to be the essence of agrarian reform: that essence is not land distribution, but decision-distribution (about what to produce, how to produce it, how to distribute it, etc.) — land distribution being one approach among many. It should be pointed out that according to this definition, expropriation of land from private ownership and transfer to state-planning organizations with little or no popular participation in decision-making concerning work and life does not constitute agrarian reform; it is merely a change of landlords — for better, for worse, or for more of the same.

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

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

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

for style B: rural labour, peasants, small farmers

The votes in favour of style A would be few relative to the votes in favour of style B, given that choice. However, in favour of style A would also vote two other groups of people – rather big groups, especially the latter of the two – not mentioned so far because the focus has been on rural production, not on distribution and consumption. As long as style A produces primarily for market demand, and even for a world market and for consumption by those (few in number) who do the production, and style B produces primarily for consumption by the producers, the distributors – the food traders from the big transnational agri-conglomerates down to the smallest little merchant – and the consumers in the cities and overseas will vote in favour of style A. Style B will instil in them one very basic fear: that the peasants will stop delivering food to the cities, that they themselves will have to start growing it, that history will turn backwards (and they downwards). Since in intergovernmental organizations rural labour is, practically speaking, unrepresented in any direct manner whereas the élite (landlords, capitalists, researchers, administrators, traders) and the average consumer, particularly the consumer in the cities, are very well represented,²⁵ it is a foregone conclusion that intergovernmental organizations will tend to favour style A.

16. However, they who do so are not unaware of the problem of misery-production; the data are by now too overwhelming, perhaps particularly after the "green revolution," on which some staked such hopes.²⁶ Hence, style A will have to be accompanied by strategies for dealing with the rural poor: the question is how. One can no longer pretend the problem does not exist; informed people no longer believe in the "natural calamity" theory. By and large, there are three possibilities, barring the use of starvation as a "population control mechanism":²⁷ differential family-planning with an over-targeting on the rural poor to diminish their numbers in the next generation;²⁸ food aid,²⁹ including the processing of inferior types of food from waste products generated by style-A processes;³⁰ and absorption in secondary and

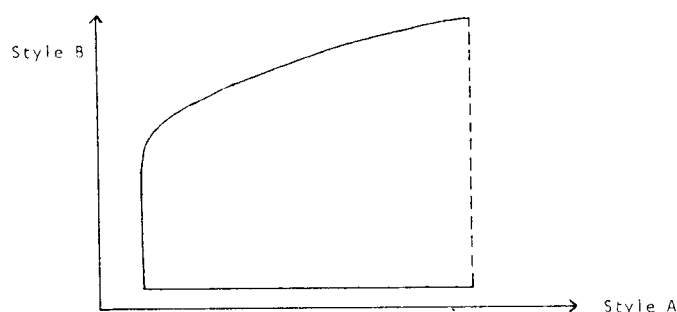
tertiary sectors of the economy.³¹ For those who still have a little land left there is also the fourth possibility of injecting some capital, research, and administration factors into their holdings — but their lands are likely to be of relatively poor quality and already very much exploited.³² And if the lands are capable of yielding (much) more, any weakness in the legally defined right to hold the land will be made use of by those (even only a little bit) better off than they themselves are; which brings us back to the other three possibilities.³³ These three, consequently, should be seen as measures taken to facilitate the continued exercise of style A as the dominant style, however humanitarian and honest the motivation behind such efforts may be.³⁴

17. So far this analysis has been in bipolar terms, style A versus its opposite, style B, with an effort to point to the powerful alliance, mostly tacit, against style-B exercises in general, and against the rural poor in particular — an alliance certainly consisting not only of feudal landlords. This analysis will now be made less bipolar, (1) by introducing time-order as an important parameter, (2) by exploring the possibility of coexistence between the two, and (3) by exploring some of the other 30 factor combinations.

18. As to time-order, the argument may be made that one could start with one and then proceed with the other style. In fact, something like that may be a relatively good description of what is or will be happening: if style A leads to glaring inequities, and the three measures indicated above to alleviate the potential political pressure ("rural unrest") from the landless and/or labourless and the peasants with the smallest holdings do not work, then there may be a social explosion; a revolution ushering in style B may be the result.³⁵ Or, the opposite scenario: style B is put into operation for one reason or the other, it works very well to start with, the scourges of famine and misery are abolished, but then the process runs out of steam. Without substantial markets to draw upon there is not sufficient capital accumulation for acquisition of capital goods, people's creativity and participation work wonders up to a certain

point because they were previously such totally unutilized forces, but beyond that point scientific style-A research and administration are called for. With a style-B created infrastructure as a basis, capital-, research- and administration-intensities are then increased – a turn towards style A.³⁶

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



We have made the two trajectories meet in the same point. Both trajectories, however, are rather unrealistic the way they are drawn: they presuppose that the level attained along one axis is maintained after the dynamism is carried by the other style. A jump to people-run agriculture would in our present world lead to a withdrawal of capital, research, and administration inputs; a gradual increase in these inputs would inevitably erode the creativity and participation levels – people would yield to technocracy.³⁷

20. More politically expressed, style A stands for growth in output without structural change or improved distribution, but not necessarily for growth in output. What should come first, growth or structural change/distribution? The position taken here is certainly structural change and distribution first, growth later;³⁸ in that case the fruits of the growth will reach those most in need – if the growth takes place first we know that the buying power of those most in need will

diminish at the same time as the products become either more expensive or non-food products.³⁹ Hence, to refer to style A as "realistic" in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the effect that it will not work for the world's large periphery should only be taken to mean that it is the approach that will be favoured by the élite indispensable for style A to operate, those dependent on them, and the vast array of consumers sufficiently politically unconscious not to know the forces they support.⁴⁰ If the goal is to abolish hunger and satisfy basic human needs, and not only the material ones, style B is obviously the more realistic one.

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

22. As to other styles, this has already been touched upon in the preceding; here it will be done more explicitly. Thus, departing from the two styles we have used as anchoring points for the whole exercise, the easiest solution might be to change one factor only. For

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

23. Given style B it is probably most easy to absorb, for instance, increased research and capital inputs — provided research findings are made comprehensible and open to dialogue and criticism, and provided capital inputs are distributed evenly, avoiding any distinction between people with good seeds, fertilizer, and machinery and those with more inferior varieties. The obvious answer to this problem is collectively-run agriculture, although the problem "who will use the new tractor?" is already a classic in such settings.⁴³

24. Thus, there are many possibilities, even within this very simple scheme of analysis; one type of process may be followed by the other; as a reaction or as a deepening they may to some extent coexist in space, within the same country; and all kinds of in-between styles of rural production processes can be imagined, many of them also practised. However, the basic polarity between one style that is labour-intensive and economic with all factors and, on the other hand, a style that is labour-extensive but compensates for this by requiring much in terms of all other factors remains and should not be lost sight of. There are basic choices to be made, and this is seen even more clearly when the analysis is extended to comprise other parts of the economic cycle: distribution, consumption, waste-production. Style A is (world) market-oriented, style B is

subsistence-oriented (exchange-oriented and use-oriented would be another phrase pair). But these terms cut the pie too distinctly: there is production for use in style A as there is production for exchange in style B — only the priorities and the proportions may differ. Nor is style A necessarily capitalist and style B socialist; socialist regimes may run style A, but under state rather than peasant ownership, and capitalist regimes may run style B, but as some kind of micro-capitalism. And then they may each do both.

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

IV. TEN THESES ABOUT RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Thesis 1: The best the outsider can do is not stand in the way

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

27. If what is wanted is rural development there will be both more development and less violence if these forces are made use of. The only astounding thing about peasants is not that they want a change but that they are so incredibly patient. A basic task of the outsider

is not to "aid," but to be sure not to stand in the way,⁴⁶ not to impede basic social processes; and to help convince those who oppose it that change may also be in their interest. A slight decrease in material living standard might be a low price for no longer having to fear a basic change: the change would already have taken place.

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

28. By "the coming agricultural revolution" is meant the present upsurge of innovations, technical and social, that may restore the self-reliant, even self-sufficient farm. If the first agricultural revolution established sedentary styles of production, as opposed to the hunter-gatherer and nomadic forms, and the second revolution was the set of innovations (again technical and social) that brought to the countryside industrially produced fertilizers and agri-machinery,⁴⁷ then this would be the third revolution. It is based on such technical innovations as solar-energy converters (and other "new" forms of energy or utilizations of old forms in new ways), biogas conversion, algae ponds, etc.,⁴⁸ that in principle could be coupled together in cycles⁴⁹ within a limited area and yield much of what modern humans are said to need. It is also based on such social innovations as the many forms of communal living with co-production, commensalism, and convivialism, by some seen as more or as important as consanguinity.

29. In a sense it is a paradox of history that this takes place at the same time as there is an escape from the countryside, a migration to the towns and cities all over the world in the search — in rich countries — for wage-labour, for participation in money economies, social security, and paid vacations (away from animals and plants!), for more comfort and closeness to the cities where things happen; and — in poor countries — a desperate struggle for survival down to the scavenging of the garbage heaps, held to be more promising in cities. But at the same time there is an opposite trend, so far a trickle in comparison, mainly of young people, educated but not rich, in search

of another style of life — more like what has been called style B above.⁵⁰ Many of them move into farmhouses made empty by the dominant trend but in order to farm in a different way, not to be incorporated into the social structures they are escaping from. Our thesis is that in so doing they are making experiments on behalf of humanity, experiments that should be supported and from which there may be much to learn in the years to come in terms of making the countryside less dependent, especially in energy.⁵¹

Thesis 3: Rural development is also needed in rich countries

30. With the predominance of style-A agriculture in rich countries, partly as a cause and partly as a consequence of their being rich and having somebody at whose expense they could develop, there are problems of development in the countryside of the rich countries as well. Of course, these are different types of problems. The output is high, efficiency and productivity impressive, there is little rural unemployment. There may be marketing and profitability problems, but these are generally blamed on international economics. Grosso modo, the problems may perhaps be defined as follows: the residents are materially secure but caught in the same alienating structure that industrial society tends to create, without benefiting from all the privileges of city life. Self-reliance is out, there is total dependence on capital goods from the outside and external markets; yet the good things of city life such as paid vacation and comfort are not available.

31. It may well be that the trend alluded to under Thesis 2 holds part of the key to a solution here: a gradual replacement of the family farm by the communal farm — perhaps also with style-A farms run as firms or factories.⁵² Under such formulas, togetherness would be provided at the same time as vacations would be possible on a rotation basis, with whole families leaving together, and others, or paid replacements, running the farms.⁵³ Animals and plants still require some human presence,⁵⁴ a farm cannot be closed down like a

factory can. Experience gained in developing countries, such as the sarvodaya villages in India and Sri Lanka, the agro-towns in Bulgaria, the people's communes in China, the ujamaa villages in Tanzania, might be of relevance to richer countries, and it would be a natural task for international organizations to facilitate the transfer of such experience.

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

32. Historically the urban-rural axis has always been a source of tension, an axis for the organization of direct and structural conflict. The terms of exchange between goods and services produced in the cities and towns, and agricultural products, tend to work in favour of cities, as can be seen clearly from the difference in living standards, and perhaps particularly from the fact that peacetime starvation seems to be a rural phenomenon.⁵⁵ The location of most national (and international) élites, such as bureaucrats, capitalists, and intellectuals/researchers, in the cities, the location of secondary and tertiary sectors of economic activity — or at least their platform of command — in the cities, not to mention the location of the instruments of ultimate power — police and the military — make for an urban-rural centre-periphery gradient. As long as this gradient is as steep as it is today almost any amount of agrarian reform and urban development will prove unsuccessful in keeping people in the countryside; people will move along the gradients, and not only for money, unless the cities prove increasingly unliveable.⁵⁶

33. It may be objected that to keep people in the countryside is no goal, that urbanization is not only a trend but also a goal. Maybe in the future some good synthesis between these two milieus can be found; today rich cities in rich countries also repel, in spite of being centres, making both city and countryside seem unattractive as habitats for human beings, although for different reasons. But a much more positive goal would be to strive for a range of urban/rural mixtures, bringing some agricultural production to the cities and more

urban activities (and not only medical services, schooling, and third-rate movies) to the countryside – including the relocation of centres of creativity and power.⁵⁷ With the facilities of transport and communication existing today a fairer distribution of centre and periphery elements over the urban-rural axis should be possible.⁵⁸ In countries with overdeveloped capitals this will probably entail a phase where a brake, even a lid, is put on the growth of the capital city till the countryside has come further in catching up.⁵⁹ Nationally this may be more feasible than internationally, as we know.⁶⁰

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

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

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

Thesis 6: The unit of rural development is not farms, but households

36. Agricultural activities follow the cycles of nature in general and animals and plants in particular: they have to be cycle- (season) sensitive, and may also be vulnerable to the variations in nature. They differ from industrial and tertiary-sector activities that unfold in an artificial, man-made environment, sensitive to cycles in environment⁶⁴ but not to nature's cycles except to the extent that agricultural cycles are involved. Where people in cities and other sectors do essentially the same type of work all year round, having geographical and social mobility as the only way of changing the work they do, people in agriculture do very different types of work depending on where they are on various cycles; on the other hand, the two types of mobility are usually blocked as long as they do farm work. Even the poorest in the countryside may have enough to eat at harvest time (because he has work) and right after harvest (because food is cheap and abundant); in other periods he may starve.

37. Consequently, the farm as such may be insufficient to keep a household alive, leading to the need for counter-cyclical economic activities.⁶⁵ There are many types: construction work, factory jobs, all kinds of low-level tertiary-sector jobs, and as farmhands on farms big enough to absorb some of the impact of the cycles. And that, of

course, is the point of departure for a basic pattern in the reconstruction of the countryside: the commune where these ancillary activities are built into the economic activity as parts of a whole, not as something on the side.⁶⁶ In fact, the commune would also institutionalize rotation into higher-level tertiary-sector activities, medical services, and schooling, and consequently offer a greater repertory of alternatives to conventional agricultural work. In doing so the household would engage in meaningful activity the whole year round, and, since the household is the unit in which most basic needs, material and non-material, receive their satisfaction, that is rather significant.⁶⁷ The point is to make the household viable — to make the farm viable may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition.

Thesis 7: The insights of people, particularly women, are indispensable

38. Traditionally women were perhaps more expert on food processing, distribution, and consumption than on the production of the raw materials, but they also participated in that. In style-A agriculture women are by and large relegated to very inferior positions unless they manage to reappear as agronomists and nutritionists, or in positions in the food-distribution business. But this is a recent phenomenon, a process that has advanced far in some countries but not yet got started in others, which means that women still are almost inexhaustible reservoirs of insights about how to produce, store, process, and consume food, how to handle waste products, etc. The argument is not that all traditional knowledge is necessarily good and valid, only that much or most of it is, and that a system that reduces production to agri-technology as if animals and plants can be handled the same way as the inanimate matter processed by industry, and reduces consumption to the handful of variables handled by nutritionists, is wasting its own sources of insight. So-called modern, scientific insight has a tendency to be based on very few variables that can be "handled"; traditional insight is much richer, but also less codified. We cannot afford to lose the insights accumulated, particularly by

women, about how to keep a family alive under very adverse conditions, how to communicate feelings of love and solidarity through food — in fact, the whole use of food as a means of communication.

39. This, of course, holds for people in general: we must not only tap the knowledge they already possess, but also design rural development processes in such a way that people's creativity is called for.⁶⁸ The conditions allowing people to be innovative may not be well known but they would certainly include such factors as challenge; the knowledge that the insight will be made use of if it is valuable; that it will make a difference to somebody, preferably including somebody of one's own kind. This is no plea for lay, non-scientific knowledge to dominate the scene alone, but for its use, together with modern research (among other reasons because the former has been tested by experience, the latter not, however spectacular it may be).⁶⁹

Thesis 8: Redistribution before growth is rural development strategy

40. As pointed out in the general part of this paper, the time order of redistribution of the land factor and investment in rural growth (of production) is crucial.⁷⁰ The spectre of the "big-bang revolution" to effect this reversal of the time order should not be permitted to serve either as a pretext not to do anything or as a motivation to do something: in either case it will probably turn out contrary to expectation. If agrarian reform is not engaged in for fear of a domino effect that some of it will lead to the big-bang revolution, the suffering in terms of structural violence today and direct violence tomorrow will only increase. If agrarian reform is engaged in order to avoid that revolution, as a palliative measure, chances are it will be very half-hearted — giving the peasants inferior soil, standing in the way when growth is supposed to start, blocking adequate credit facilities and access to markets. The only thing that can be obtained in either case is a postponement of what is going to happen one way or the other, even combined with mass starvation. Style-A agriculture will always lead to a sizeable residue

of land- and labour-less people in some countries,⁷¹ outcompeted by those fortunate enough to have land before growth started.

41. One point that could be made in this connection is that this is not merely a political and a humanitarian issue; it is also a question of what makes economic sense.⁷² Countries that have really been through a process of this kind seem also to be capable of considerable growth, especially if forms of grafting style-A elements into a style-B infrastructure are found. But nothing can conceal the essentially political nature of this point: it is a question of who has power, a small class of land-owners and their associates or the people and their representatives.⁷³

Thesis 9: Power to those most in need will trigger initial dynamism

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

43. What this means is that there is a potential for tremendous dynamism, for growth among the most needy; an economic (in addition to the obvious political and humanitarian) reason why they should have much more power. A condition, of course, is that they are given good material with which to work, not cynically made use of to till very

inferior soil, motivated by their own hunger and that of their children. However, as indicated above, the motivation may peter out as needs get satisfied. At this point the pressure will be on them to produce more, because their task, given the national and international division of labour, is to produce food not only for themselves, but for all those not growing their own food, including bureaucrats, capitalists, and intellectuals/researchers (including those who write papers about agrarian reform and rural development).⁷⁵ Why should they? They might produce that extra food, but in doing so they will inevitably "peripherize" themselves — as pointed out under Thesis 4 above. Hence, the real difficulty for the future, once the problems of redistribution and then of growth have been solved and rural transformation has taken place, would be to strike new urban-rural balances.

Thesis 10: Only a broad approach to basic needs is realistic

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

45. Of course, one cannot claim today that there is evidence for a clear relation between being a dependent client of a man-made structure, with no autonomy for decision-making in matters very much affecting one's own life, and alienation — but many data from overdeveloped

countries seem to point in that direction.⁷⁶ The economic approach may produce food, but in addition to not solving the problem of hunger it may also induce large-scale and deep alienation to a point that makes human existence much less than it could be — even with a full belly. And what about the "nutritionistic" approach: what happened to quality of food? To food as a powerful means of communication, as an expression of love — the difference between Christmas cakes made by mother (in modern families it would be by the family together) and those bought at the supermarket? Where do such factors enter the equation? Where in the economic/nutritionistic paradigms are the caveats, the variables that will force the planner/decision-maker to take all such factors into account in launching policies, not escaping into hierarchy-of-needs ideologies? The answer is nowhere — except in the hunger and more or less vague dissatisfaction of vast masses of people, who have a right to better theory and practice in these fields.

V. CONCLUSION

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

47. If the goal is to satisfy the basic needs of people, with particular emphasis on those most in need, self-reliance strategies will have to become a much more important part of the NIEO package.⁷⁸ This means a three-tiered approach: at the regional level, the national level, and the local level, all the time making better use of one's own factors for one's own needs and exchanging with other units at the same level. It does not mean autarchy but a redirection of trade, and when it comes to agricultural production a redirection of the food cycles that guarantees that real food reaches those who need it and that food is used neither for blackmail nor as something the élite can use to balance city-oriented and industry-oriented national development.

Food relates to such a basic need of man that it is not only immoral but in all regards counter-productive to treat it as a commodity before needs are met.⁷⁹ It is no longer a question of acting before it is too late; for most of those concerned action is long since overdue.⁸⁰

APPENDIX

A List of Basic Human Needs as a Working Hypothesis

	Satisfiers Held to Be Relevant in Some Societies
<u>Security needs (survival needs) — to avoid violence</u>	
— against individual violence (assault, torture)	Police
— against collective violence (wars, internal, external)	Military
<u>Welfare needs (sufficiency needs) — to avoid misery</u>	
— for nutrition, water, air, sleep	Food, water, air
— for movement, excretion	
— for protection against climate, environment	Clothes, shelter
— for protection against diseases	Medical treatment
— for protection against excessive strain	Labour-saving devices
— for self-expression, dialogue, education	Schooling
<u>Identity needs (needs for closeness) — to avoid alienation</u>	
— for self-expression, creativity, praxis, work	Jobs
— for self-actuation, for realizing potentials	Jobs and leisure
— for well-being, happiness, joy	Recreation, family
— for being active and subject; not being passive, client, object	
— for challenge and new experiences	Recreation, family
— for affection, love, sex; friends, spouse, offspring	Recreation
— for roots, belongingness, support, esteem: association with similar humans	Primary groups
— for understanding social forces; for social transparency	Secondary groups
— for partnership with nature	Political activity
— for a sense of purpose, of meaning with life; closeness to the transcendental, transpersonal	National parks
	Religion, ideology
<u>Freedom needs (freedom to; choice, option) — to avoid repression</u>	
— choice in receiving and expressing information and opinion	Communication
— choice of people and places to visit and be visited	Transportation
— choice in consciousness formation	Meetings, media
— choice in mobilization	Organization, parties
— choice in confrontations	Elections
— choice of occupation	Labour market
— choice of place to live	
— choice of spouse	Marriage market
— choice of goods and services	(Super-) market
— choice of way of life	?

NOTES

This paper was prepared at the request of Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz, Special Representative of the FAO Director General for the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) held in Rome, 12-21 July 1979. The main objectives of the conference were broadly defined: ". . . eradicate poverty, improve quality of life, increase production, promote employment and increase effective demand; Rural people's participation for self-reliant development and satisfaction of basic needs, with special reference to small farmers, landless labourers and other rural poor; The place of agrarian reform and rural development in national development policies; Alternative strategies for agrarian reform and rural development, to suit the socio-economic realities of the different countries and regions; Measures to overcome obstacles in effective implementation: institutional, administrative and financial aspects" (from Draft Annotated Agenda, 7 March 1978). There was also emphasis on "integration of women in development," and "the need for establishing fair terms of trade in agricultural produce as one of the most relevant elements of the New International Economic Order, so as to benefit the implementation of agrarian reform and rural development programmes." The terms "agrarian" and "agriculture" are also to be understood broadly so as to include fisheries, forestry, etc.

1. See the article by Pierre Spitz, Silent Violence: Famine and Inequality (Geneva, UNRISD/78/c.7, prepared for UNESCO, Division of Human Rights and Peace). Spitz quotes, among numerous sources, a study of the great Bengal famine in 1943 "which, according to various estimates killed from one and a half to three and a half million people — the migration towards Calcutta consisted of a host of individual movements and did not develop into a dangerous form of group behaviour. There were very few riots and hardly any looting of shops. Jobs and food supplies were reserved for the inhabitants of Calcutta and consequently, as is noted by the official report on the famine in Bengal, the thousands of dead who lay strewn in the streets of Calcutta had all come from rural areas. Not a single inhabitant of Greater Calcutta died of hunger, while millions of people were suffering and dying in the country" (p. 2).
2. Sooner or later a conference like that will come about — for the same reasons as the series of conferences for non-aligned/Third World countries started in Bandoeng, Indonesia, 1955, and the

World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico, 1975. It is a question of consciousness and capacity of organization.

3. The argument is simply that direct violence kills more quickly than the "silent violence" of which Spitz writes: in a second as opposed to days, even weeks of starvation.
4. These four classes of needs, security, freedom, identity, and then the economic well-being, the welfare needs, are explored in some detail in Johan Galtung, The Basic Needs Approach (GPID Sub-project meeting on needs, West Berlin, May 1978, to be published in the proceedings of the meeting). Many other classifications are possible and — indeed — exist. This one has the advantage of highlighting the non-material needs — for freedom and identity.
5. The Cocoyoc Declaration, Mexico, 1974.
6. Alternative indicators are now being elaborated by the GPID project working group on Indicators.
7. For a very well documented study of this type of "development" see Ernest Feder, Strawberry Imperialism: An Enquiry into the Mechanisms of Dependency in Mexican Agriculture (Editorial Campesina, Mexico City, 1978).
8. They may be wrong, of course, or experience may prove that they can do without it. Those who starve have proven that they cannot do without food; those who overindulge in food may still think they cannot do without overindulgence. Experience later in this century may tell them/us that they/we can if, for instance, those who go hungry today gain control over the food production process in their countries. An optimistic assumption is that less dramatic proofs would be needed, that informed debate and dialogue might be enough.
9. This Spanish expression does not translate well into English, and conveys something very important: the "countryside" as a medium through which food is produced, needs can be satisfied, etc. It connotes more than merely a geographically defined area.
10. The best known is that of A.H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation" (Psychological Review 1943, pp. 370-96). At the bottom are hunger, thirst, oxygen, recovery from fatigue; then freedom from pain protection, psychological goals; then friendship, love, and tender affection; then prestige, achievement, status, and dominance, and at the top the need for self-actualization: expression of capacities and talents. The problem with such hierarchies is that they tend to be used far beyond what they can reasonably stand for: as an indication of the needs that are more animal-like versus truly human needs, as a legitimization of a division of society into lower classes busy with the first two layers, middle classes engaged in "friendship, love and tender care" and upper classes devoting their time to the top two layers. Hierarchies also tend to justify separation or segmentation of need-satisfaction.
11. This is explored in some detail in Johan Galtung and Anders Wirak, "Human Needs, Human Rights and the Theory of Development" (Papers,

Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, 1975: also published by UNESCO, Department of Social Sciences).

12. For a further theoretical exploration of this, see Johan Galtung, "The Dynamics of Rank Conflict" (Peace and Social Structure, Essays in Peace Research, Vol. III, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1978, pp. 182-96).
13. Even the terms "time budget" and "space budget" are indicative of this mentality: minute subdivisions of space and time on the one hand, human activities and concerns on the other, and then a mapping of the latter on the former, called "planning." Conventional architecture is done this way, separating people from a common room where all kinds of things took place into functionally specific "compartments."
14. For a further development of this, see Johan Galtung, Development Environment and Technology (UNCTAD, Geneva, 1978, chap. 2).
15. For "intensive" read: absorbing, requiring; for "extensive" read: saving, economic.
16. This, of course, applies not only to rural technologies, but to technologies in general: economic theory has largely been based on the first three, thus closing for reflections on research vs. popular creativity and administration vs. popular participation.
17. See Keith Griffin and Azizur Rahman Khan, Rural Poverty: Trends and Explanations (ILO, World Employment Programme, Working Papers, Geneva, 1977); Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1977, particularly Parts VIII and IX, very richly documented); Susan George, How the Other Half Dies (Penguin Books, London, 1976, particularly Part III).
18. The report from the Seminar: Prospects for Fisheries Development for Goa, 22-23 April 1978, formulates the nagging question (p. 14): "15 years ago there was ample fish in the markets: today with 400 trawlers operating, why is there scarcity of fish and high prices?" That there is scarcity of fish may not be so strange given the efficiency of the trawler and its ecological impact: "This process of dragging at a speed has a ploughing effect in which the fish eggs and larvae breeding in the soft sediments are brutally killed" (p. 3). But why should the unit price go up? Possibly not because, with increased costs with capital-intensive technologies for production, catch may increase even more than the catch resulting from traditional methods. But what definitely goes up is the price that can be asked because of the willingness of people in the rich countries to pay. One may then argue that the owners of the means of food production could have a two-tier or multi-tier price structure — but why should they? It would be much more rational from their point of view to throw the fish overboard, keeping the prawns, for as the Goa Director of Fisheries concludes (in the Annual Report 1977 of Goa Fisheries Foundation): "The processing industry is of prawn only, having a ready foreign market, with easy money advances and high yearly profits" (p. 5). Or, as Lappe and Collins put it (op. cit.,

p. 259): "it takes a lot of freight to fill a DC-10 cargo jet. Yet three times a week from early December until May a DC-10 takes off from Senegal loaded with green beans, melons, tomatoes, eggplant, strawberries, and paprika. Its destination? Amsterdam or Paris or Stockholm. Ironically such airlifts began just as the drought in Senegal was beginning and they dramatically increased even as it was getting worse." Or: "The poor must compete with the rich at every stage of the process for land, for inputs, for services and, finally, for the food itself on the basic of their purchasing power and/or political power" (Food Systems and Society, a Project Proposal, UNRISD/78/C.14/Rev.1, Geneva 1978, p. 13).

19. "In their mass migrations from the countryside, the peasants take their poverty with them and, far from remedying it, sometimes aggravate it. They create serious problems of employment, pollution, crowding, lack of public services, and other kinds of environmental damage in the urban areas" (from The Historical Context of the North-South Relationship and the Role of the United Nations in the Evolution of this Relationship, Centre International pour le Développement, Paris, 1977, p. 70. Also presented at the North-South Roundtable, Rome, Society for International Development, 18-20 May 1978). So, if most of the causes of the negative development in the countryside are located in the city, the sins of the fathers are visited upon their sons and daughters, creating a poorly understood interdependence to the benefit of very few.
20. It should be noted that the argument does not make use of the two real extremes, "intensive on all five factors," or "extensive on all five factors." Theoretically possible, they are probably economically relatively meaningless, for where would the saving that could make for some comparative advantage be in the first, and where would the input be in the second? The first is too brutal, the second too gentle to make sense.
21. Lappe and Collins (op. cit., pp. 156ff) quote a number of studies to the effect that "the small farmer in most cases produces more per unit being more productive of land than the large farmer" (studies from India, Thailand, and Taiwan, and the World Bank Study, The Assault on World Poverty - Problems of Rural Development, Education and Health, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975, on Latin America; showing small farms to be three to fourteen times more productive per acre than large farms). On the other hand, "based on a study of 83 countries, slightly more than 3 per cent of all landholders, those with 124 acres or more, control almost 80 per cent of all farmland" (Lappe and Collins, op. cit.). One of the explanations is that the small farmers have to, another that they behave in an ecologically more sound manner by rotating and mixing complementary crops. They are not victims to "how planting single commercial crops over large areas depletes the soil, leading to a notable dependence on costly chemical fertilizers" (p. 389); thus, they are also in need of less capital.

22. See Learning from China (FAO Regional Office for Asia and the Far East, Bangkok, 1977, "A Report on Agriculture and the Chinese People's Communes," by an FAO Study Mission, fall 1975), particularly Chapter 6, "People's Organization: Transforming a 'Sheet of Loose Sand'." The authors say: "The Chinese also regard the people's commune as the basic organization of social power. In the circumstances of the small farmer, self-reliance must necessarily be conceived in community or organizational terms. Individually, the small farmer is too weak to respond to the increasingly urgent calls for self-reliance and participation. The small farmer needs solidarity and strength, thorough organization in a poor group. Only through organization can the small farmer acquire both responsibility and power" (p. 93).
23. This type of documentation is now accumulating within FAO. See "Summary Review of FAO Activities in Cooperation with the People's Republic of China" (DFFF Working Paper, 20 June 1978). Of course, it may still be objected that there is now more knowledge of how the People's Communes work when they work than of the extent to which the system really works all over China.
24. In the case of China all three methods are used. (See Johan Galtung and Fumiko Nishimura, Learning from the Chinese People [Georgi, Lausanne, 1979, forthcoming, Chapter 5, "Production and Consumption"].) But then a totally different view of the medio rural has been involved, and a firm decision to get rid of famines and to let the 80 per cent of the population, the farmers, have much more power in the development process.
25. A very interesting experiment in another style for the organization of such meetings took place in The ACFOD/FAO Regional Small Fishermen's Workshop, Bangkok, 22-26 May 1978 (ACFOD stands for the Asian Cultural Forum on Development, an NGO). "With the active encouragement of the Asian Assistant Director-General of FAO, its Regional Fisheries Unit and its Regional (People's) Action for Development Unit, AFCOD broached the idea with its national NGO affiliates in five Asian countries. With their help, AFCOD brought together two fishermen from the northern tip of Indonesia (Sumatra), two from the north-western Malaysian peninsular, two from the northern and eastern shores of the gulf of Thailand and two from the coast of Honshu Island in Japan. The individual fishermen were themselves elected by their respective communities. Each pair of fishermen was accompanied by a representative of their respective national non-governmental sponsoring agencies" (also for interpretation). The basic point, it seems, is that these fishermen were not members of their government's delegations, and that the discussion was directly among them, resulting in "a Programme of Aquarian Reform parallel to Agrarian Reform. The participants drafted this with the help of their NGO associates and sought FAO help for its wide dissemination" (from the report with that title, pp. 2 and 6). So, it can be done.
26. See Andrew Pearse, Bitter Rice: An Overview Report (UNRISD, Geneva, 1978, and the very well-documented Chapter 17, "Hasn't the Green

Revolution Bought Us Time?" in Lappe, Collins, op. cit., pp. 124-34). Looking through the list of factors making the rice so bitter, one of the most interesting features is that this was all known in advance. There is nothing new in it except the consequences of the reduction of genetic variety, and if biologists/ecologists could not predict that, these disciplines must be in a very poor state. The point is, of course, that these decisions were made on the basis of very well selected research findings, and on the basis of the type of economic theory that sees development in terms of developing countries (e.g., through trade) rather than people (e.g., through having enough to eat). The whole story is, of course, a special case of the more general case referred to in paragraph 12; see note 17.

27. Which, of course, was one of Malthus's three mechanisms (the other two being war and sexual abstinence).
28. This, of course, is no argument against family planning, only an argument against family planning as a means to avoid or postpone more diverse and interesting views. Indeed, see Perdita Huston, Message from the Village (The Epoch B Foundation, New York, 1978; produced with the assistance of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities). The country with the highest proportion of its development aid dedicated to population activities, incidentally, is Norway.
29. See International Peace Research Association (IPRA) Food Group, Circular Letter IV 1/1978, Special Issue: "Food Aid with Report from a Workshop on Food Aid versus Self-reliance" (Amsterdam, 20-23 January 1978). From the report on "US Food Aid and the Guatemalan Earthquake": "Mounting US farm surpluses traditionally translate into pressures on Congress for stepped-up overseas food aid. . . . The widespread and indiscriminate distribution by CARE and CRS of free food from the US depressed prices for locally grown food. Tens of thousands of small farmers lost their source of livelihood just when they most needed it" (pp. 19 and 21). Also see Pierre Spitz, "Les Aides Alimentaires, Techniques et Culturelles dans la Politique Agricole des Etats-Unis en Inde depuis la Défaite du Kuomintang" (Mondes en développement, No. 4, 1973).
30. Of course, style A competes under the conditions obtaining in most Third World countries very well with style B, which means that style B farming is pushed back, onto inferior soil and with less access to inputs. On the other hand, style A generates very much waste. The logical conclusion, to feed the poor generated by style A on the waste generated by style A, is almost too cruel to contemplate.
31. Although the growth of the slums around major Third World cities is indicative of some kind of absorption capacity, nobody in his right mind would see this as a solution. For an excellent analysis of the urban-rural interface that generated these conditions, see Randolph David, "The Sociology of Poverty or the Poverty of Sociology: A Brief Note on Urban Poverty Research," in Nancy Ching, ed., Questioning Development in Southeast Asia

- (Select Books, Singapore, 1977, pp. 77-84). The book also has other chapters on the urban poor in the area, including a chapter on "The Urban Environment and Mental Health," by Riaz Hassan.
32. "Address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank, Nairobi, 24 September 1973," by the President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara; also see the Address, Manila, 4 October 1976. For a critique see Ernest Feder, McNamara's Little Green Revolution: The World Bank Scheme for the Self-Liquidation of the Third World Peasantry (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1976); and Rainer Tetzlaff, "Multinationale Entwicklungspolitik und die Entwicklungspolitik der Internationalen Organisationen" (Handbuch der Unterentwicklung, EVA, 1975, pp. 349-69). The critique, in our terms, is simply that the problems cannot be solved with style-A approaches. It is also sobering to be reminded that "Focus on the small farmer sounds good until we recall that in many countries up to 60 per cent of the people in the countryside have no land" (Lappe and Collins, op. cit., p. 404).
 33. This, in fact, is what seems to happen. See Keith Griffin and Azizur Rahman Khan, Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia (World Employment Programme, ILO, Geneva, 1976), for important data on the compatibility between increases in per capita income, real income at the top, and/or agricultural production with dramatic decreases in the level of living at the bottom (Sri Lanka, West Malaysia, Bangladesh, the Philippines). Hungry people can more easily be exploited by those a little better off, e.g., small farmers, buying them off.
 34. The lack of transparency is important here. When the green-revolution paddy fields are next to the landless and labourless recently evicted it does not take much imagination to see the connection when trucks bypass the hungry on the way to the export harbours. From the corporate control positions of style-A production in rich countries it is less clear.
 35. But it could, of course, also result in other styles. "Barrocal, one of the 450 Soviet-style collectives created three years ago in Portugal's Communist-dominated southern wheat belt, is dissolving itself. The workers, who euphorically welcomed collective control at the time, recently wrote the government in despair, asking to have the farm broken up and part given back to the former owner. Lisbon promptly accepted the proposal to the relief of the workers." "Down on the farm," Newsweek, 31 July 1978, p. 9. This type of agrarian reform, whether it can be termed "soviet-style" or not, is obviously style A under public rather than private ownership, which is not the same as "collective control" (the journalist authors are probably not familiar with such distinctions).
 36. In Food Systems and Society (op. cit., note 18 above), the UNRISD team makes a very useful distinction between three approaches to the problems discussed in the present paper, the "neo-Malthusian," the "enlightened official wisdom," and the "radical." Their critique of the "radicals" is probably justified: "their analyses and policies are global, not country or locality specific" (p. 7).

But when they say "In addition, the radicals tend to neglect production issues or to blame modern production techniques for many undesirable social trends without examining carefully the relationships between production techniques and social structures" (p. 8, footnote 14) it sounds less justified; this relationship is at the core of "radical" and not only Marxist analyses.

37. Diagrammatically it would show up in the curves folding backwards.
38. See the paper by Irma Adelman, "Redistribution Before Growth — A Strategy for Developing Countries" (Document No. 1, Nationale Advies Rad voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, January 1978, also delivered at the Institute of Social Studies 25th Anniversary, December 1977; the Hague in both cases). Says Irma Adelman: "My proposed theory of economic strategy for equitable economic development in developing countries is quite simple. As indicated earlier, what I would urge is that, at each step in the growth process, the historical time sequence of productivity improvement followed by redistribution be reversed. First, the critical asset whose productivity will subsequently be improved should be redistributed. Then, and only then, its productivity should be improved" (p. 7). And she goes on: "the experiences of the recently developed non-communist developing countries which have successfully combined no-deterioration-in-the-relative-incomes-of-the-poorest with accelerated growth (Israel, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) show that they all have followed a dynamic sequence of strategies similar to the one recommended by me for equitable growth" (p. 8). In addition to the arguments in favour of "distribution first, growth later," there are also the arguments of provoking disequilibria; see Johan Galtung, "Paths of Development: A Diachronic Analysis of Development in Japan" (in Nancy Baster, ed., Measuring Development, London, 1972).
39. "Few Mexicans are aware that there is little but Mexican land, water, and labour involved in the agricultural sector producing strawberries . . . all strawberry plants come from the US; the US determines which strawberry will be grown in Mexico; US strawberry interests are opposing directly and indirectly that Mexico develop its own adapted varieties" (Feder, op. cit., pp. 47ff). Not only non-food but also minimum utilization of local factors, and hence minimum factor development, even factor destruction, e.g., mono-cropping depletion of soil.
40. But certainly enjoying the low prices (with the exception of the Bananfrauen in Switzerland who want to pay more); and the all-year availability of non-basic food.
41. But this could of course also be a trick: "Let these collectivist sarvadaya type people have their little primitive self-reliance, set aside some acres for them, and let the rest of us do serious business."
42. The Nordic approach?
43. The more literary style kubbutzim literature, and also some of the kolkhoz literature abound with such references.
44. For an example of the opposite of stimulating people's creativity,

see the article "Persuading by Radio: Iodized Salt, Si, Breast-feeding, No!" Report (by the World Bank Group), November-December 1977, p. 5: "When in 1972 they employed a successful New York advertising firm to assist in their educational programme, Ecuador's National Institute of Nutrition was guaranteed an innovation project. Never before had radio advertising techniques been so systematically applied to educational needs in a developing country." The same manipulative attitude is found in an article on family planning in India in Report (January-February 1978, p. 1): "The process of persuading the impoverished small farmer or landless worker to limit his family is likely to be a protracted one at the best, and the chances of success cannot be rated very high. . . . For these and other reasons the main contact with the poor has been in the context of the mass sterilization camps that have taken place for limited periods outside the village setting. There, the camp organizers set out to obtain acceptance under the extraordinary festive atmosphere of the melaa and through the use of incentive payments that are very large compared with the budgets of poor households. These high-pressure tactics have succeeded in raising the count of sterilizations performed, but, in many cases, the acceptors have regretted their decision afterwards." Compare this, which taken in the context of general style-A penetration is tantamount to an undeclared war on poor people, with the following: "In the Asian context it precludes, therefore, dictatorship of the élite over the masses, the city over the countryside and of the modern sector over the traditional, and new forms of external control which would dilute the process of democracy," from "Participatory Democracy" (in Towards a Theory of Rural Development, Development Dialogue, 1977: 2, by Wahidul Haque, Niranjan Mehta, Anisur Rahman and Ponna Wignaraja).

45. For a very thoughtful analysis of this, see T.K. Commen, "Green Revolution and Agrarian Conflict in India" (Delhi University, Delhi, unpublished paper): "It appears to me that the prevalent socio-economic condition in India is likely to legitimize such attempts [land grab movement] over a period of time, unless the structural reasons for breeding conflicts are located and these conflicts are resolved systematically."
46. Of course Susan George is right when she, after having considered "the only answer one really wants to offer when asked what they — in positions of power in the West — can do to eradicate world poverty is to say Nothing; Let them alone; Stop it," goes on to say "Life is not like that, neither are MNCs, neither are states. Their methods may change; their basic goals will not" (George, op. cit., p. 271). But the point should nevertheless be made.
47. The high-yield varieties, or any pattern that makes the agriculture dependent in any lasting way on inputs from the outside, most particularly on agricultural universities and colleges, are also in this tradition.
48. See Russel Anderson, Biological Paths to Self-reliance (Stockholm, 1978), which gives a comprehensive theory for these as well as

for their interconnections. The sun is our inexhaustible energy capital, solar energy our income; it should be used much better. According to W.D. Sellers (Physical Climatology, University of Chicago Press, 1965) northern Europe receives on the average 60 cal/cm²/year, North America 120, the tropics 200-220, giving a very favourable ratio for the tropics, where most of the Third World is located. The problem is how to use it. Anderson wants to make much more use of photosynthesis, and argues that the water resources are also sufficient, except for northern Africa and the Middle East.

49. Anderson argues that very many of the "energy needs" of modern society are by-products of excessive centralization. With conventional agriculture yielding food and waste, the waste (also human waste and animal waste) fed into a biogas digester heated by solar energy to operate optimally, using the sludge fertilizer and the gas for heating, cooking, and to run some engines (e.g., pumps) — with all of this, coupled to an algae pond to feed the digester even more, very many needs should be satisfied within a small area, creating a high level of self-reliance. One would, of course, also use trickle irrigation to avoid unnecessary waste of water, and inter-cropping, with aquaculture. One problem, however, is to initiate autonomous research processes in a decentralized fashion so that the system becomes capable of renewing itself without falling back on the second agricultural revolution, in practice very much based on cheap and abundant oil.
50. A typical expression of the technologies they make use of and the social dimensions implied is found in Peter Harper, ed., Radical Technology (London, 1976). It is interesting to note the number of city youths who take courses in farming in a country like Britain at present.
51. Of course, much more important than books and small projects in the rich countries is the gigantic process taking place in China. For a good account relating to the third agricultural revolution, see "China: Recycling of Organic Wastes in Agriculture" (FAO Soils Bulletin, No. 40, FAO, Rome, 1977), with very detailed information on recycling of organic materials, bio-fertilizers, green manure crops and aquatic plants, and biogas technology. On the latter: ". . . the most important limitation is the impossibility of using them efficiently in colder regions of China because of the thermal requirements of the fermentation process" (p. 53).
52. Of course, in a "modern" society farms will decreasingly be inherited and increasingly be administered like farms: positions will be advertised, and so on.
53. In a country such as Norway farmers can now take vacations and get an allowance on the condition that they really do vacation — which means that the allowance can be used to hire replacements for a period.
54. This may, however, be decreasingly true: under the second agricultural revolution industrial processing of animals, from

artificial insemination to food processing, is a logical consequence. The ultimate effects of this "inanimal treatment of animals" are probably far from clear.

55. See note 1 for an example. Of course, in wartime this may change: cities may be besieged and their vulnerability becomes evident.
56. Two countries in Western Europe, Italy and Britain, now appear to have net migration out of the cities. Overcrowding, pollution, traffic, gangsterism, and in the Italian case terrorism also may be among the causes. There is also the famous finding (by Edmund Leach) that Kalahari bushmen need about two hours per person per day to collect food — for primitive man food cycles were only a few kilometres long! — which is not so different from what a London housewife might need for shopping. Average of travel in a metropolis seems to be down to 7 km/h, which is the same as walking speed, so the difference is mainly that modern life depletes and pollutes, and is bad for somatic and mental health.
57. They have to be organically linked to what takes place in the countryside, though. Anderson (op. cit.) mentions the following capital-goods needs for the cycle mentioned in note 49: a solar-energy converter, anaerobic digester, non-nitrogenous fertilizer (which would still be needed), some machinery, burners for methane. Consequently, these are things that should be made in the countryside rather than by mechanically moving some electronic industries into the paddy fields.
58. The Italian concept citta-territorio is useful here: a city not as a conglomerate of densely packed houses, but as a network with nodes, stretched out over vast territories, with no clear centre anywhere. Most of western Europe has this network, but the centres are still much too clear — in the capitals and some other places. The present author had the occasion to visit a number of small communities in northern Norway on May 17, the national holiday. The communities used to be bursting with local activity to celebrate the day: that year (1976) they were dead, people were glued to their colour television sets to watch the parade in Oslo, the real parade, probably not because the King was there but because it was on television. Decentralized television seems impossible; on the other hand, the experiments with decentralized broadcasting in Italy are interesting.
59. This was a very deliberate Cuban policy: in a country that had favoured the capital out of proportion, asymmetry was needed to compensate for asymmetry. Obviously, the Khmer Rouge leaders of Kampuchea must have had similar perspectives in mind.
60. Because there is no world government with a world policy. Such a world government might have put a lid on the growth of the North Atlantic area till the rest of the world somehow caught up; some smaller lids might have been imposed in a few areas.
61. In the Food Systems and Society research project (see note 18) the UNRISD team wants to use a systems approach to study food cycles, and make a distinction between four such cycles: "family

self-provisioning circuits," "local circuits (rural/rural and rural/urban)," "national circuits," and "international circuits." The approach could be extended to the total cycle, including waste-production and what happens to it. There are half a billion flush toilets in the world today, each one wasting waste! (Another point: the rural-rural and rural-urban circuits seem so different that separate treatment probably would be unwarranted.)

62. In a planned economy the crucial problem is which part is fixed in advance and which is treated as residual. If the producers themselves define what is needed for seeds/consumption/reserves the rest may be said to be a true surplus; if the landowners or others (e.g., within private and state capitalist systems) define the surplus, even in advance the residue may be so small as to squeeze the producers into poverty and hunger.
63. In a country such as Norway there is now a clear counter-trend. The old system of "colony gardens," mini-plots with a mini-hut for city dwellers who want some contact with the soil, is not so important, nor are the private gardens surrounding homes. The new feature is the plot, averaging not more than 100m², contiguous from a couple of plots to several hundred, rapidly expanding in number.
64. Such as Kondratieff cycles.
65. See Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Basic Needs, Peasants and the Strategy for Rural Development (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, 1977), for an excellent presentation of this point. "In peasant economies, as we have seen, farming is generally an uncertain and unstable occupation, and the peasant farm, whether it is devoted exclusively to subsistence crops or to cash crops, does not provide either sufficient employment or income to satisfy the basic needs of the family (however these are defined)" (p. 29). In this connection it should be pointed out that "employment" is essentially a style-A concept; to argue in favour of full employment and a satisfactory income may be an argument in favour of more style-A agricultural production than the system can take. The basic perspective should be on basic needs, with employment and income as one approach, combinable with style B.
66. Thus, the commune can rotate labour from agriculture to industry to service activities (including studies), adjusted to seasonal variations on the spot, not to market demands in distant places.
67. For the individual is not the unit of rural development either; the unit is the group in which she or he lives — the family, the collectivity, here referred to as the household.
68. The United Nations University's Human and Social Development Programme has two research projects, "Research and Development Systems in Rural Settings" and "Sharing of Traditional Technology," both of them in different ways very much aiming in this direction.
69. In addition the ecological disturbance, the possible link between pollution and cancer and other pathologies in modern societies,

would seem to indicate the need not only for less scientific arrogance given this type of record, but for a more diversified approach, trying many more approaches, seeing western science more as exactly that, western ethno-science, not the science.

70. For a discussion of this as a general research approach, see Johan Galtung, "Bivariate Diachronic Analysis" (chapter 4, Methodology and Ideology, Ejlers, Copenhagen, 1977).
71. Here it is useful to think of the world not as a strict dichotomy between rich and poor, dominant and dominated, and the like, but as a chain with each part trying to push some of the negative externalities and poverty of various kinds further down, until it ends in the poorest people in the poorest countries. Many parts of that chain are in the Third World, which means that a dichotomy First World/Third World may not be analytically – and for that reason not practically – very fruitful.
72. This is very much emphasized by Irma Adelman, op. cit.
73. Or both, one may add, in order not to be the victim of false dichotomies.
74. There are cultures that instill a sense of restraint, and there are cultures that do not: Buddhism on the one side and present western civilization on the other might be good examples.
75. For an analysis in such terms see Johan Galtung, Tore Heiestad, and Erik Ruge, "On the Decline and Fall of Empires: the Roman Empire and Western Imperialism Compared" (Papers, Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, 1978).
76. See Johan Galtung and Monica Wemegah, "Overdevelopment and Alternative Styles of Life in Rich Countries" (GPID Project, Geneva, 1978).
77. See Johan Galtung, "Poor Countries vs. Rich: Poor People vs. Rich: Whom will NIEO Benefit?" (in Towards Self-reliance and Global Interdependence, GIDA, Ottawa, 1978).
78. See Johan Galtung, Roy Preiswerk, Peter O'Brien, eds., Self-reliance (Georgi, Lausanne, 1978).
79. At the conference in Quebec, October 1945, establishing FAO there was this passionate plea from Lord Boyd-Orr: "The hungry people of the world wanted bread and they were given statistics. No research was needed to find out that half the people in the world lacked sufficient food for health." Lord Boyd-Orr resigned in 1948. Most hungry people are still given statistics.
80. But "Over 40 per cent of the population of the underdeveloped world have completely freed themselves from hunger through their own efforts [the socialist countries]," Collins and Lappe (op. cit., p. 393).