

**JOHAN GALTUNG'S IDEAS ON
PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT**

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CERTIFICATE

30TH JUNE, 1993

This is to certify that the M.Phil dissertation entitled, "JOHAN GALTUNG'S IDEAS ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT" submitted by Mr. Duryodhan Sethi in partial fulfilment for the award of degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is his original work. This has not been published or submitted to any other university for any other purpose.

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DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER

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PREFACE

The history of development theory has been short and chaotic. It began four decades ago and after a brief period of stability under the dominance of conventional and neo-classical economic thought became split in a very critical perspectives. The conventional approach to development revealed itself as invalid. Yet radical development theory has not provided a clear or a unified or forceful alternative account. There have been appeared so many growth oriented development theory during last few years. But that they seem to constitute a development theology in which goal of growth remains intact while only the means vary. It involves no concern with what is being developed. It is still, however, an enigma for all those who are in search of "general theory of development". Just forty years ago all those who mattered in development like, international bodies, special commissions, non-governmental organization, universities, social scientist, planners, politicians and policy makers appeared to know what development meant and how to achieve it. But today success euphoria of the past has given place to despondency, confusion and stalemate. They all concede that development is not easy as they thought it to be. It is also realized that the road to development is too difficult and there is no panacea for underdevelopment. Many developmental theorist are not convinced that entire orthodox approach to development is fundamentally mistaken as cannot significantly improve the welfare of the most people in the

Third World countries. During sixties and seventies, there has also emerged another critique of development thinking drawing upon the dependency, ecological, basic needs, self-reliance and NIEO streams in a more holistic framework. It has not succeeded well accepted model because it lacks peace thinking in itself. It is true that thinking about development, whether in West or East, North or South has been dominated on the economist, who identified development with economic growth in terms of GNP. But mere economic growth of production does not mean overall development. The point of departure for a real concept of development should be for human beings. So development must therefore begin by identifying human needs. The object of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of people and to provide all human beings with opportunity to develop their potential. Man as the end of development. De-alienation of men from developmental process where he becomes the subject and not object. So the development objective must be stated in terms of fundamental humanistic values rather than in narrow techno-economic terms.

This study examines Johan Galtung's ideas on peace and development from a Third World perspectives. The two key concepts which have been used here to analyse developmental processes are "peace" and "development". Because peace and development is symbotically related to each other and they are two sides of same coins. The central theme of this study concentrated on peace intensive model of development which has been missing since 1950s. The Peace Research should also

concentrated on the positive development of behavioral alternatives. Today most of developmental theorist find it quite natural to think of development as not only an economic problem but also a political, social, cultural, ecological, ethical and human problem. In this study the main focus will be on the problem of violence, poverty, repression and environmental deterioration. This problem has been formulated positively as peace, economic well being, social justice and ecological balances. The theory of development as an interdisciplinary field of research with "peace" at the centre. Because peace stands for reduction/elimination of direct violence and development stands for reduction and elimination of structural violence. A true peace must denote condition or striving for socio-economic betterment of all people. So peace is universally desired. But how can it be achieved unless we work for the elimination of impediments to its realization. The peace research studies on the fundamental nature of the problems of peace and development in all the dimension. It was Johan Galtung - a Norwegian born mathematician cum social scientist - who pioneered this type of studies by founding a peace research institute at Oslo. Prof. Johan Galtung has distinguished himself by his prolific writings on this problem in trans-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary manner and by unfolding the multi-dimensional character of problem of peace and development. His contributions in developing "peace thought" and unique in many ways. He compared peace and development with help of structural violence and built a powerful intellectual base

for social theory of peace. Prof. Galtung's exposition corresponds to a Gandhian approach in some ways. He draws idea mainly from Gandhism and marxism in many of his construction in development theory. But he is liberal in his views and ideas. His ideas on peace and development provides a rich, ultra modern intellectual recourse - base., for all engaged in pursuit of higher learning including social science and international relations. Hence the importance granted in this study to Johan Galtung's normative framework of peace and development and its implication for public policy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

- **BASIC CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF GALTUNG'S ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**
- **PEACE AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE**
- **PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT**

Philosophically, Johan Galtung's consistent record of study of peace and development processes is the result of his preference for the particular normative framework by which Mahatma Gandhi concluded that existing models of liberal capitalism and state socialism have failed to realise true human development. It was unquestionably of central importance for Galtung to build his vision of a desirable peaceful society by adopting the Gandhian inspiration for "combining actor-oriented with structure-oriented analysis". As part of his overall approach Galtung accepts the Gandhian view that human beings both have a "free will" and are "willed by very strong structures"¹. It is also relevant to note here that Galtung's concern with international violence and intergroup violence do not proceed from any religious faith like in the case of Gandhi, but he learned from Gandhi how to make a conceptual reassessment of "peace" which would move it away from traditional paradigms to human self-realisation and human fulfilment.

The divergence with Gandhi also shows up as we study Galtung's development and peace thinking, particularly after his cognitive perspective is widened by the concept of "structural violence". Later he arrives at world order proposals which are developed on his basic assumptions

1. Johan Galtung, Essays in Peace Research, Vol V, Christian Ejlertsen, Copenhagen p.29

concerning "autonomy" as an imperative for most levels of problem-solving.² Johan Galtung was a trained sociologist and had drawn on both Marxism and Gandhism and on dependency theory in many of his constructions. Galtung also expanded the concept of peace into directions which neither the Americans Minimalist nor the radicals could conceive. The revolutionary peace researchers were trying to establish that capitalism has the monopoly of structural violence. Galtung made the concept of structural violence broad enough so that it is applicable in any social setting, including the academic one. It should be borne in mind that Galtung, in his bid to make positive peace as broad-based as possible, drew extensively on Gandhi. This is particularly true in the case of notion of structural violence. His quest for a holistic way of thinking.

It is worthwhile to look at the way Galtung uses his structural theories of "imperialism" "aggression" and "integration" to develop peace research findings and recommendations. In South Asia and in India the direction and priorities of foreign and domestic policies have not taken into account conflict-generating structures to the same extent as situational factors. There is need for clarification and debate on structural sources of conflict if narrow reading of options is to be transcended and peaceful management of change is to be ensured in the Subcontinent.

2. Johan Galtung, The True Worlds: A transnational perspective. (New York, Free Press, 1980, pp.92-94; 344-352)

Broadly speaking we may say that Galtung's theoretical framework may help in redressing the obvious imbalance in development analysis and peace studies in South Asia where peace and security thinking and development analysis have been segregated. The persistence of poverty and the widening gap between developed and developing countries are leading the world towards painful crises. Humanity has entered the final decade of 20th century without having devised a successful means of fostering equitable and sustainable development in the Third World. In the words of Johan Galtung, "There is a crisis in the world today. There is a crisis of violence and threat of violence. There is a crisis of misery and threat of poverty, there is a crisis of repression and threat of repression, there is a crisis of environment and threat of local breakdown of ecological balance. There are the major crisis, which is great obstacle to global peace and development.³ To Galtung peace is development and development is peace. But what constitute peace? Is it merely absence of violence? If not and if it is to be more positive concept, how is it to be related to that other great concern of our time, namely development? Does development, more rapid development, more resources being devoted to development necessarily enhance peace? How does one move towards a model of development that is also a model of peace? If positive peace is necessary how does negative peace (violence) occurs before and after

3. J. Galtung, The True Worlds, New York: The Free Press, 1980, p.1.

development? Should we say that development is anti-people or anti-nature or anti-peace? Is "Development" a label for plunder and violence, a mechanism of triage? If not, then what is the relationships between peace and development?

The overarching questions which guide this study are:

- to what extent and in what respects can Galtung's social vision (based initially on a Gandhian inspiration) contribute to our contemporary understanding of peace and development?
- What is available in the way of alternatives through Galtung's conceptions for peaceful changes in the international system?
- How could such an alternative approach be made feasible in the context of demilitarising international relations?
- What can be done by way of providing guidelines for North-South relations in terms of Galtung's general theory?
- How can development options and related regional challenges be tackled in terms of Galtung's normative framework?
- To what extent does Galtung's theoretical framework give rise to a paradigm change synthesising:
 - a) Institutional conflict resolution
 - b) development goals, processes and indicators
 - c) Human needs theory
 - d) Self reliance
 - e) Social transformation

PEACE AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE:

Theories are attempts by the human mind to reduce the immense variety and complexity of real world to simpler patterns and components, which the mind can grasp.⁴ A theory always has relationship with real world, but the beginning of good theory is the identification of significant classification of things in the real world. For example, economic theory studies how the world of human beings and their artifacts is organized by exchange, production, prices and so on. But in the last few decades a new discipline has developed known as "conflict and peace" which studies, how the world is organized through conflict, war and violence, non-violence and peace. Similarly peace theory begins with identification of significant classification of human behaviour and organizations, which can begin with the division of human activity into war and not-war, which might be called "inclusive peace". The main aim of peace research is thus reduction of war and the creation of peace. Unfortunately the history of humanity is a continuous record of war. The maxim of Von Clausewitz that war was a continuation of politics by other means is treated as axiomatic and almost as a basic law of human society in the chancelleries of the world. Along with that maxim, went the adage, "if you want peace, prepare for war".⁵

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4. K. Boulding, "Peace Theory" in Paul Smoker ed. A Reader in Peace Research, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1990, p.1.
 5. K. Subramaniam, "Imperative for Peace" in Strategic Analysis, New Delhi, Feb. 10(11), 1987, p.1243.

Many social scientists have, however, concluded that war is a learned trait, that is part of our cultural heritage. In this view, Violence is not necessarily an inborn drive or trait that makes war inevitable. Humans are certainly capable of aggression, but it is not inevitable that they should be aggressive. According to the Seville statement on Violence and War", there are five scientific proposition about human violence and war. These are:

1. It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature. Because the gene do not produce individual necessarily pre-disposed to violence.
2. It is scientifically incorrect to say that we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors. Because warfare is a peculiarly human phenomenon and does not occur in other animals.
3. It is scientifically incorrect to say that in course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behaviour more than for other kinds of behaviour. Because violence is neither in our evolutionary legacy nor in our genes.
4. It is scientifically incorrect to say that humans have a "violent brain". Because there is nothing in our neurophysiology that compels us to react violently.
5. It is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by "instinct" or any single motivation. Rather

we can say while war begins in the minds of men.⁶

From his Experiments with Truth, Mahatma Gandhi concluded that "man is distinguished from the rest of the universe by the fact that he is a spiritual being. Not the body but the spirit constitutes his essence. Since all men share a common spiritual essence, they are one. Individuality and particularity is an "illusion". All men are one, their relations can only be based on love and good will, not hatred and ill will. Love springs from and sustains human unity whereas hatred and ill will are divisive. Love is the "Law of our species", of our being. But use of violence is incongruous with man's spiritual nature and detracts from his dignity as a human being on spiritual being. But man need to kill non-human beings in order to live, as they sometimes need to do violence to one another in order to preserve social order. But in reality violence is evil and must be avoided in societal relationships".⁷

Galtung gave four unifying peace perspectives in his analysis of peace theory. These are the ecological perspective, the cosmology perspective, the entropy perspective, and the strategy perspective, and they helped

6. A. David, "Seville statement on Violence: A Progress Report", Journal of Peace Research, Oslo, Vol.26, No.2, 1989, p.124.

7. B. Parekh, Gandhi's theory of Non Violence: his reply to the terrorist in O'Sullivan (ed.), Terrorism, Ideology and Violence, Sussex, Harvester Press, 1986, p.183.

him to develop the essential conditions through which positive peace can be realised.

culture-adequacy

world-peace (active peaceful co-existence)

social - development

person - personal growth

nature - eco-balance

These are the essential conditions in which positive peace can be realized. In a comment on himself, "Galtung has said, I was actually brought into peace research by a concern for vertical relations, most of my early research in the late fifties and early sixties centred on what I still call "Rank" and with one basic problem" what would be the meaning of equality of an egalitarian society?⁸

So structural violence exists in all societies in which the various social relationships are based upon conditions of injustice and exploitation. Galtung defines "violence is present in the society when human beings are being influenced in such manner that their actual physical and mental realization are much below the level of potential realization."⁹ In other words, structural violence is present in any social order which permits a monopoly of resources in the hand of a few people and thereby enables

8. G. Pardesi, Contemporary Peace Research, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1982, p.4.

9. J. Galtung, "Violence, peace and peace research", Journal of Peace Research, vol.6, No.3, 1969, p.166.

them to control the state apparatus and use it to promote their own interests even though the majority of people may be deprived of even the necessities of life. Violence he says is not just somatic incapacitation (killing as an extreme form) of man by an actor (by the state or by an individual). He defines such incapacitation as personal violence and argues that if all these were all that about violence and if peace is seen as the negation of it, then too little is rejected when peace is helping us as an ideal. A war is one form of such incapacitation. A peace researcher however cannot and should not ignore the violence that originates from the structure of a society. As Galtung says "the potential level of realization is that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. If insights and resources are monopolized by a group or a class or are used for other purposes, then the actual level falls below the potential level and violence is present in the society."¹⁰

He has analysed the idea of peace into three principles:

- 1) The term "peace" shall be used for social goals at least verbally agreed to by many, if not by most.
- 2) These social goals may be difficult, but not possible to attain.
- 3) The statement of peace as absence of violence shall be retained as valid. In other words, what is intended

10. Ibid., p.169.

that the terms "peace and violence" be linked to each other in such a manner that peace can be regarded as absence of violence.

Defining Violence:

Galtung asserts that violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations. But the words above "actual" and "potential" need to be explained. Violence is here defined as the cause of difference between the potential and actual, between what could have been and what it is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual and that which impedes the decrease of this distance. Galtung gave a good example to clarify such distance. To Galtung "if a person died from tuberculosis in 18th century, it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable. But if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, violence is present. Similarly people dying from an earthquake today would not warrant an analysis in terms of violence, but the day after tomorrow, when earthquakes became avoidable, such deaths may then be seen as the result of violence."¹¹ In other words when the potential is higher than actual it is by definition, avoidable and when it occurs although avoidable, then violence is present. When the

11. G. Pardesi, Contemporary Peace Research, New Delhi, Radiant, 1982, p.96.

actual is unavoidable, violence is not present even if the actual is at a very low level. Violence may be indirect or direct. Thus when a war is fought there is direct violence since killing or hunting a person certainly put his "actual somatic realization" below the "potential somatic realization". But there is also indirect violence in so far as insight and resources are channelled away from constructive efforts to bring the actual closer to the potential.

Analysis of Violence:

In his analysis of violence Galtung uses six dimension of violence.

1. Violence can be physical or psychological
2. It can use negative or positive means of influence
3. It can have an object or not
4. It can have a subject or not
5. It can be manifest or latent
6. It can be intended or not

The first distinction to be made is between physical and psychological violence. Under physical violence human beings are hurt somatically to the point of killing. Psychological violence includes lies, brainwashing, threats etc. that serve to decrease mental potentialities.

The second distinction is between the negative and positive approach to influence. Thus a person can be influenced not only by punishing him when he does what the influencer considers wrong. But also by rewarding him when

he does what the influencer considers right.

The third distinction is by focussing of the object side whether or not there is an object that is hurt. For an example, when a person, a group or a nation is displaying the means of physical violence, whether by throwing stones around or testing nuclear arms. There may not be violence present in the sense that anyone is hit or hurt and there is no physical violence. The indirect effect of mental violence, however, is a characteristic of many types of psychological violence.

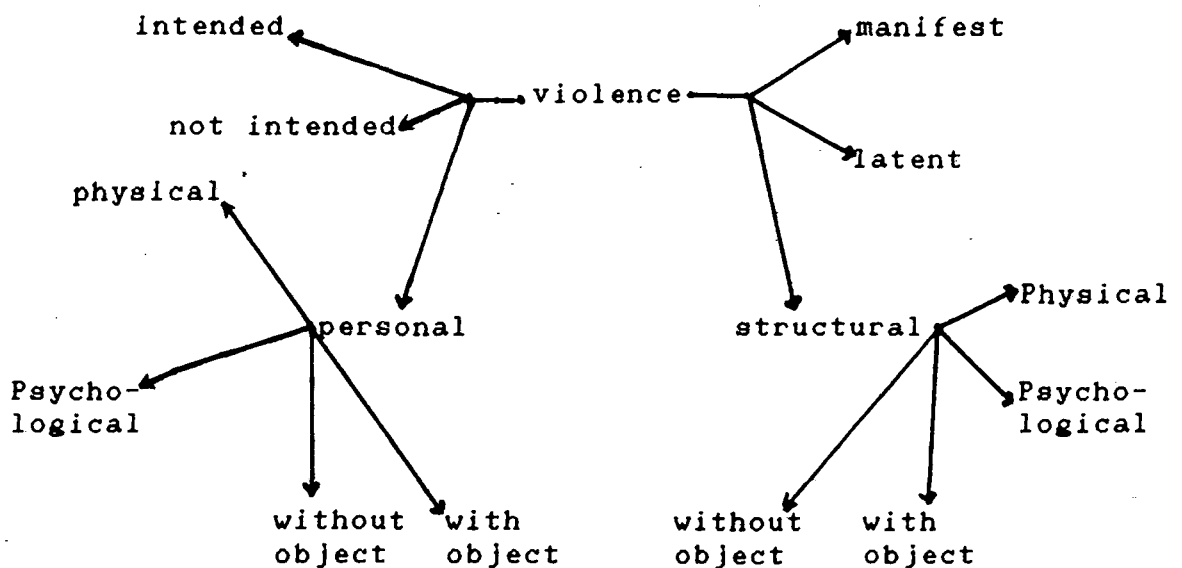
The fourth distinction to be made most important one is on the subject side. If people are starving when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is committed, regardless of whether there is a clear subject-action-object relationship. Violence with a clear subject-object relation is manifest because it is visible as action. It is personal, because there are persons committing the violence, both subject and object being persons. Thus when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence. But when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence.

The fifth distinction is between violence that is intended and that which is unintended. This distinction is important when guilt is to be decided, since the concept of guilt has been tied more to intention than to consequences.

The sixth distinction is between manifest and latent

The sixth distinction is between manifest and latent violence. Manifest violence, whether personal or structural is observable, latent violence is something which is not there, yet might easily come about. For personal violence this would mean a situation where a little challenge would trigger considerable killing and atrocity, as is often the case in connection with racial confrontation. It initiates a situation of unstable equilibrium. Similarly with structural violence; we could imagine a relatively egalitarian structure insufficiently protected against sudden feudalization or crystalization, into a much more stable or even petrified, hierarchial structure.

A typology of violence: - Figure - 1



 Source : Journal of Peace Research, Oslo, Vol.6, No.3, 1969, p.173.

In figure 1, Galtung gave more stress on personal and structural violence. To him, "structural violence without objects is also meaningful; The "violence" relationship can go so far as to eliminate both subjects and objects. Personal violence is meaningful as a threat or a demonstration, even when nobody is hit and structural violence is also meaningful as blue print, as an abstraction from without social life, used to threaten people into subordination.

Personal violence represents change and dynamism - not only ripples or waves but waves on tranquil waters. Structural violence is silent, it does not show - it is essentially static. In a static society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be experienced as natural as the air around us.¹² But in a highly dynamic society personal violence may be seen as wrong and harmful but still somehow congruent with the order of things whereas structural violence becomes apparent because it stands out like an enormous rock in a creek, impeding the true flow, creating all kinds of eddies and turbulences. In a different context, however, it is structural violence that shows a certain stability, whereas personal violence reveals tremendous fluctuations over time.

In the formation of feudal structure, Structural violence seems to be more "natural" than structural peace.

12. Ibid., p.173.

An egalitarian structure would bring out in open many new conflicts that are kept latent in feudal structure.¹³

Figure 2

Galtung's Model of Theory of Development,
Conflict and Peace

	Theory of Development	Theory of Conflict	Theory of Peace
Traditional Approach	Horizontal development growth, Average	Subjective goals, values symmetric parties	absence of direct violence
Modern Approach	vertical, structural development, justice participation	objective goals interests	absence of structural violence

Source: J. Galtung, "Feudal Systems, Structural Violence, and Structural theory of Revolutions" in proceeding of IPRA, Third Conference, Karlovary, 1969, vol.I, Philosophy of Peace Research, p.183.

Galtung provides a new interpretation of the feudal interaction structure with its top integration and bottom disintegration which serves as an instrument of structural violence. The Feudal system in theory of development may be efficient for bringing about horizontal development, development in terms of average for the population as a whole e.g. in terms of G.N.P. capital growth. But with this organization of society in general and work in particular topdogs will get much more out of interaction processes and

13. J. Galtung, "Feudal Systems, Structural Violence, and Structural theory of Revolutions" in proceeding of IPRA, Third Conference, Karlovary, 1969, vol.I, Philosophy of Peace Research, p.183.

the surplus will be transported upwards, and even if averages may look very impressive. The distribution of values produced by common efforts will be extremely inegalitarian.

Concept of Conflict and Peace - Class Versus Structural School:

While peace is the essential condition for maintenance of development, conflict may be necessary for either accelerated developmental change or retreat from the maintenance development. Peace can be of both positive and negative type, conflict also can be non violence and violent characters. Positive peace leads to progressive or revolutionary change, but negative peace accepts the situation of class and structural violence with certain reforms in a negotiated way. Non violent conflict accepts existing situation of class and structural inequality while violent conflict opts for radical or regressive change, depending on the character and strength of participating actors. The class concept of peace is based on the Marxist concept of dialectical and historical materialism while the structural concept of peace, based more on nordic and western intellectual traditions which have influenced Galtung's theoretical formulation.¹⁴ Social peace, under the conditions of dynamic and dialectical process and horizontalised action of both the mobilisational and participatory functions of all members of society, can assure achievement of the desired social goals.

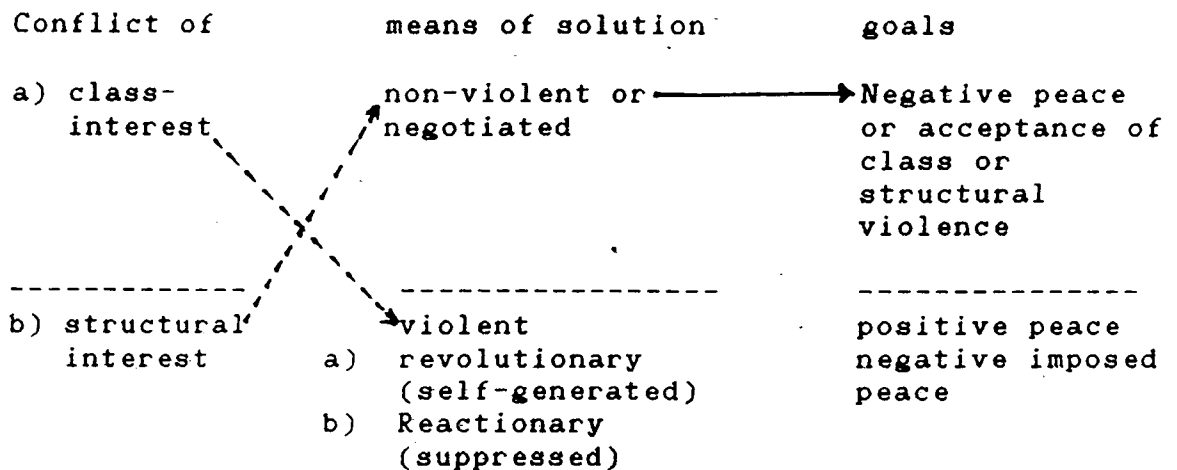
14. A. Guha, "Class Versus Structural School", Gandhi Marg, New Delhi, Vol.2, No.2, 1980, p.61.

From Conflict to peace:

Each of participating actors in conflict tries to prove and attain its superiority and rightfulness over the other or others, in logic and fact, theory and empirical analysis ideology and action. Before going to the deeper analysis of conflict formation and peace attainment, we should consider the following diagram here showing process from conflict to peace.

Figure 3

Inter-relation between Conflict and Peace



Source: Gandhi Marg, New Delhi, Vol.2, No.2, 1980, p.63.

Marxists believe that conflicts and contradictions come out of the differences in class and social interest and they get consolidated through ideology and action. Structuralists like Johan Galtung believes that conflicts and contradictions arise because of structural violence affected by the social elite or social top-dogs on the rest of social strata or social under dogs. They also believe that the elite, the decision-maker for the entire society have excessively,

centralised decision making and operational functions of society, in their own interest of power and privilege. The main actors of conflict and contradiction under the class concept are the "Haves" or the dominant classes, and the "Have nots" or the proletariat. The actors of conflicts and contradictions under structural concept are "more haves" or "less haves". The conflicts and contradictions of class interest cannot be solved in a negotiated way or non-violent way or under the condition of peaceful coexistence between and among classes. Hence, the means for solution towards attaining classlessness or equality or equity is revolutionary violence. If the revolutionary mass-forces win over the reactionary forces, we can term that stage as positive or attained peace. If the reactionary forces win over the progressive forces and a status quo also situation can be arrived at, we can term it as negative peace or imposed peace.

"Positive peace can be achieved only through a dynamic process of societal and human development, in which the society is to be understood as a collectivity. Poverty, Hunger, etc. which are fundamental problems facing the mankind and a vast part of our globe, need urgent attention for achieving positive and dynamic peace. But the Marxists of the socialist establishments have centred their efforts around the economic aspects of these fundamental problems and contend that the model of "development from above" for both the production and distribution will solve the problems.

Running after the development model of western growth economy, the Marxists of socialist establishments tried to find out solution of above basic problems, within their own societies on the basis of growing consumerism. According to Marxists, class struggle would lead to system change and then gradually to social change. But the social change takes a longer course and period after the system change caused by social revolution. If the ideological action gets the upper and over socio-economic development it will lead to social dissatisfaction and conflict. On the other hand if the action of socio-economic development proceeds ahead of ideological action and development, it will fall victim to window display of the western consumer society.

Economic factors, whether in the gaining or losing side are the fundamental reasons of social conflicts and contradictions. Economic rectification of these conflict through revolutionary means in the postive interest of the masses is the prime objective of social peace. Efforts like "Detente", "NIEO", "Just Social Order" can produce only temporary compromises or understandings and at most a peace-like atmosphere. But not a positive peace, until and unless gaps mentioned above are removed through dynamic action of mutual and equal interdependence. If we take the north-south issue it seems to generate divide and rule policies of industrialised and developed countries towards south. The South has become a market of arms from the North, while millions of south suffers from starvation, malnutrition,

ultimately death, its elite, the decision makers spends million of their national currencies for arms purchases. To put it differently, the main root of present day conflict lies in the fact that the goals of development and all other related concept have been transferred from human actor to non human actors from problems of masses to other areas. To avoid all this conflict we need to develop new relationships which proceed on the horizontal level, and which we can suffice to avoid catastrophical effects of both over development and under-development.

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT: WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP?

In Johan Galtung's work both peace and development have been re-defined and increasingly seen in terms of human self-realization. In contrast, Ivan Illich, probably in agreement with Galtung's normative approach to peace but defining "development" on more conventional lines, has stated: under the cover of "development" a world war on people's peace has been waged:¹⁵ Here a contradiction between development and peace is posited. By "peace" Illich then means the wish of people in periphery to be "left in peace" from the imposed development and the "peace-keeping" interests of political centres. According to B. Hettne the aim is that of identifying "Peace intensive models of development". Thus a certain kind of development is seen as a condition for peace, both in its narrow sense as absence of hot war and in its

15. I. Illich, "The Delinking Peace and Development", Gandhi Marg, New Delhi, vol.3, no.4, 1981, p.257.

broad sense, as positive peace.¹⁶ Following Galtung, we may contend that notion of development contains a universal dimension having to do with both the material needs of man and non-material needs of man. Development may then be said to imply satisfaction of these needs for individual groups in a way that is unharmed to other people and to nature. He identified four groups of needs. These are survival (as opposed to destruction), welfare (material needs), freedom right (as opposed to repression), identity (as opposed to alienation). In this way peace like development, becomes a permanent social process, aiming at developing security and securing development for the individuals and for all human beings.

The structural interlocking of 'peace' and 'development' is indicated in the following analysis.

Figure 4

APPROACHES IN PEACE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

	Growth and Modernization	Another Development
Negative Peace	A	B
Positive Peace	C	D

Source: Development and Peace Budapest, Vol.4, Autumn, 1983, pp.150.

16. B. Hettne, "Peace and Development - Contradiction and Compatibilities, Journal of Peace Research, OSLO, vol.20, No.4, 1983, pp.329.

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Box A, combining negative peace and growth strategies, here peace is defined as absence of war and is seen as an obvious precondition for development. But those who consider a strong defence capability to be best method of maintaining peace on the lines of the "realistic" theory in international relations tend to deny that armament processes are dysfunctional with regard to economic development. It is sometimes even asserted that military expenditures could be a stimulus to economic growth and that military organization and ethos could serve as a model for "modernization". But the disarmament school asserts that "re-allocation from military to civil investment - would provide more employment, less inflation and more growth".

Box B, combining, "negative peace" with "another development". It indicates the pursuance of national security through rearmament is a major obstacle to development goals such as basic human needs, local self-reliance, people's participation.

Box C illustrates the contradiction which was reflected in Illich's statement that the conventional development strategies mainly serve the interest of modern elite in control of central political structures while being a threat to "people's peace" in peripheral areas.

Box D possess, like those in Box A, a certain paradigmatic similarity. The idea of positive peace creates non-violent structures at various social levels from the

village to the global order. This structure can solve developmental problems through "Another Development" by Basic need strategies and self reliance.¹⁷

A major question seems to be what patterns of development stimulates direct and structural violence, i.e. war and repression and what patterns tend to create peaceful symmetric structures in which human self-realization is possible.

According to the Alternative development thinking popularized by the Dag Hammarskjold foundation "another development" should be defined as

- i) Need oriented (that is being geared to meeting human needs, both material and non-material)
- ii) Endogenous - (that is stemming from heart of each society, which defines in sovereignty its values and vision of its future)
- iii) Self-reliant - implying that each society realises primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members energies and its natural and cultural environment.
- iv) Ecologically sound - utilizing rationally the resources in biosphere without hurting man-nature relationships.
- v) Structural transformation - so as to realize the conditions of self management and participation in

17. B. Hettne, "Peace and Development" in Development and Peace, Budapest, Vol.4, Autumn, 1983, p.151.

decision making by all those affected by it, from the rural or urban community to the world as a whole, without which the above goals could have not been achieved and this is possible in peace-intensive model of development.¹⁸

18. M. Nerfin, (ed.), Another Development Approaches and Strategies, Uppsala, the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1977, p.10.

CHAPTER II

GALTUNG'S CONCEPTION OF PEACE AND ITS CONCOMITANT FOR HUMANISING DEVELOPMENT

- TOWARDS A NEEDS ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT THEORY
- HUMANISING DEVELOPMENT
- STRUCTURE ORIENTED AND ACTOR ORIENTED GOALS
- THE IDEA OF SELF RELIANCE

TOWARDS A NEEDS ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The concept of basic needs began to take shape towards the end of first U.N. Development decade and the beginning of the second when the inadequacies of the growth strategy were becoming apparent. Growth had accelerated somewhat during first decade, but this acceleration had been accompanied by an aggravation of social problems an increase in poverty, violence, social injustice and famine. Such problems become great obstacles to peace and development, where basic needs of the masses of population were still unsatisfied.

The concept of basic needs was adopted in October 1974 in the Cocoyoa Declaration. It contained the following provision: "our chief problem consists of reformulating the objectives of development. Development should not aim at production of material goods, but at the improvement of the human condition. Man has basic needs, food, shelter, clothing, health and educational services. Any growth process which does not lead to the satisfaction of these needs or what is worse, compromises their satisfaction is only a parody of the idea of development."¹

But the idea of basic needs had been incorporated into the theory of economic growth. Later in modernized form, it become a theory of a "new distribution" of income derived from growth. It was in the framework of this, latter theory

1. Iraida Alechina "The contribution of united system to formulating development concepts", Paris, UNESCO, 1982, P-57.

that the first effort was made to re-orient the objectives of growth, from purely economic to the satisfaction of basic human needs. About the mid 1970s, the concept of basic needs became very popular. It was put forward by the World Bank, by COMECON countries and by government circles in capitalist countries. This option was strongly recommended as the basis for the development strategies for the Third development decade.

To Galtung, the need objects or satisfactions may be anything; food clothes, schooling, medical care or protection from Hazardous of natural social environment. Galtung says "needs are basic in the sense that if they left unsatisfied for a long time, then some type of disintegration will occur non-satisfaction will show up somatically (as morality and morbidity) depriving human beings of health quantitatively- numbers of years lived, qualitatively interims of level of well being, it will be absence of feeling, the meaning of less life (These are three aspects of human beings are heavily interrelated.

But at the social level, it will show up as pattern of violence as a misery, as alienation and withdrawal, as apathy as mutiny and revolutionary action as a response to deprivation of freedom. Instead of "disintegration" one may talk about human and social pathologies as a consequence of non satisfaction of needs. The latter is then seen as not only a sufficient, but also a necessary condition for non-satisfaction, where there is human and social pathology at some point there is non satisfaction of basic human needs.

A more serious problem is why the basic needs of deprived groups of population are not met? Here two points of view are possible. The first holds that failure to satisfy the...of impoverished masses and to redress the social inequality resulting from this failure is due to bad income distribution, whereas the second explains them as the consequence of the prevailing social system as a whole.² Needs therefore constitute a rock bottom basis, a floor for any development theory in practice. It can be compared to an engine's need for lubricants. The engine may work for sometime but if need is left unattended for long time, the engine will "disintegrate". So needs are necessary conditions for human development. Any developmental practice that leaves them unattended will in long run be doomed to failure both at the human and societal levels. The satisfaction of basic needs leads to human development; the development of body as well as mind. According to J.Galtung peace research has served as a meeting place of social science disciplines. But more important perspectives on peace research today is problem oriented research effort, using interpretation of the concept of violence and peace as a conceptual bridge to new problem areas. The point of departure of all these problems has to do with human-self realization, not for state formation or national

2. Ibid, p.59.

aggrandizement.³ To Galtung, the point of departure for any study of politics in general and international or global politics and peace in particular must be human needs. He argued that, the basic assumption of present thinking on development is massed by one particular intellectual fallacy that is committed over and over again. The fallacy is that development has been conceived as the development of "things" "systems" and "structures". He takes the radical view that these are all "means", that the very purpose of the process of development must be some how concerned with "human beings" not to improve the quantity or quality of "things". System and structures have to be changed, but that is not the goal of development.⁴

Galtung analyzed human development with the help of three aspects. These are :

- i) Man
- ii) Society
- iii) Nature with the interaction of things, system and structures.

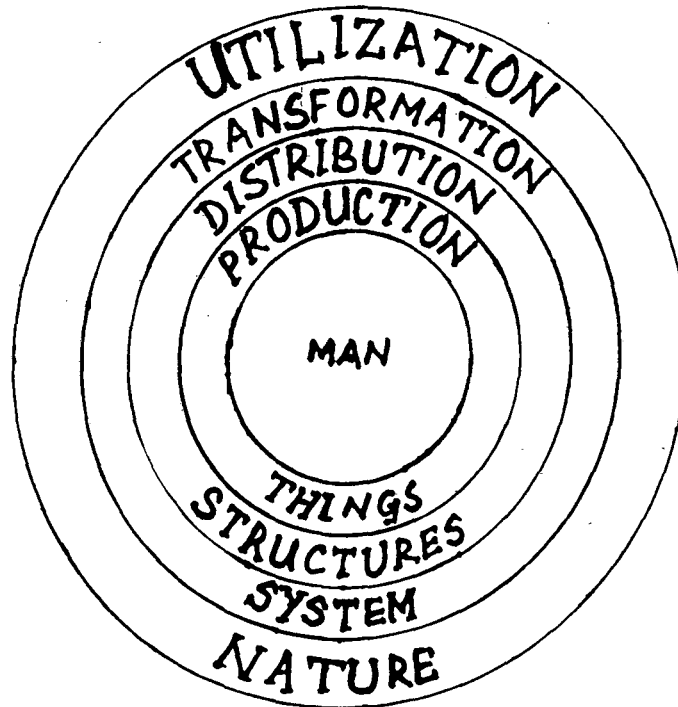
To Galtung (The thing means anything that is produced). The system means a system of distribution and the structure means interaction relations, bilateral or multilateral in society.

3. J.Galtung. "Peace Researchnal and Human needs", Bulletin of Peace Proposal, Oslo, Vol-7, No.1, 1976, p.148.

4. J.Galtung, "Human needs, human rights and the theories of development. UNESCO Workshop, 23 Jan, 1976, Thailand Bangkok, Document No.SHC/75/WS/55 p.8.

FIGURE - 2.1

The Foci of Development Theory by J.Galtung



Source: UNESCO Workshop, 23 Jan, 1976, Thailand, Bangkok, Document No.SHC/75/WS/55 p.8.

Explanation- The most important development theories in the post second world war period have focused on three intermediate circles, to the exclusion of real study of man and exclusion of nature. The focus has been on how one can utilize nature for production and distribution of what has been produced, without structural transformation. Galtung has suggested that the notion of development should include a universal dimension, having to do with material and non-material needs of human beings. Development means the satisfaction of needs for individuals and groups in a way that is unharmed to other people and to nature.⁵ He posits "groups of needs which help development of human beings.

5. Ibid p.8

These indicate welfare in terms of material needs, freedom that is opposed to repression, survival as opposed to destruction and identity as opposed to alienation. He said "an image of man needed is not only empirical man but potential man; the purpose of development is some kind of personal growth, development means development of society as whole in the sense of things, plus system, plus structures".

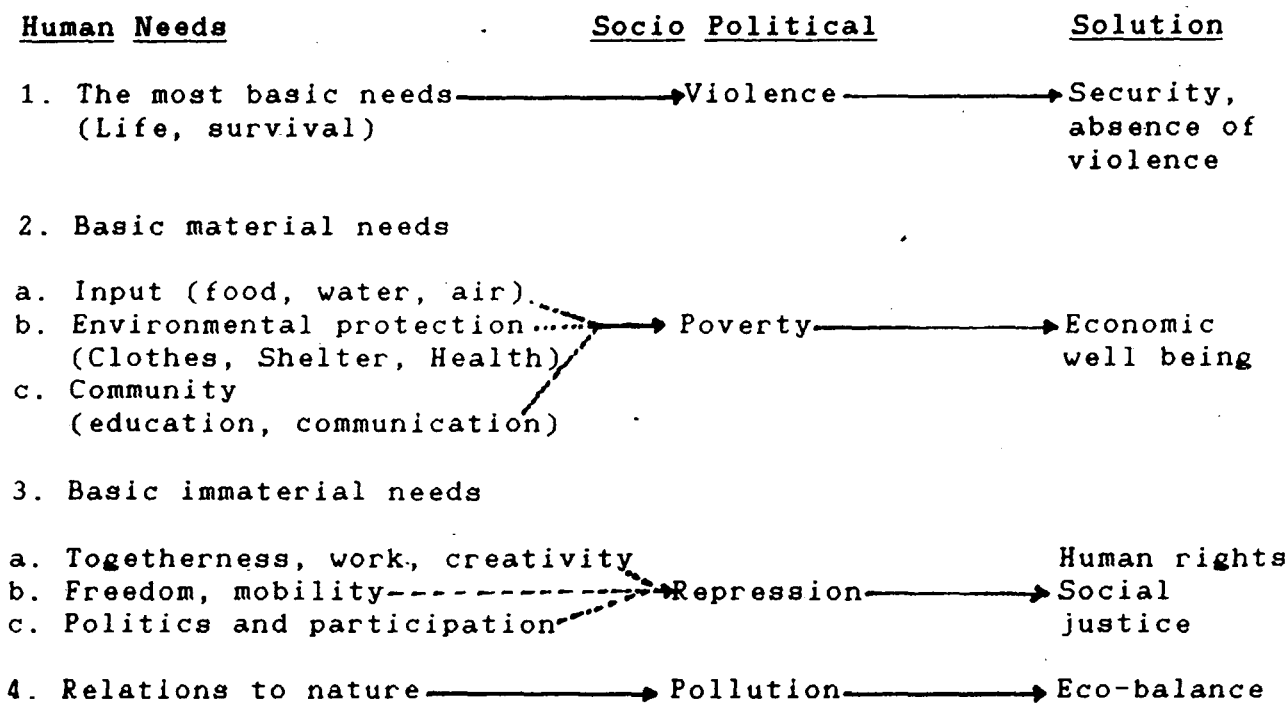
One way of creating an image of man is through an image of his needs. But development process should not fragment man even according to his needs. Accordingly he formulates two criteria to designate something as need.

- i) If it is necessary condition for the individual to exist, it is a need. In other words its non-satisfaction leads to the disintegration destruction and non-existence of human being.
- ii) If it is necessary condition to exist over longer time, then it is a need. In other words, Its non-satisfaction leads to disruption, disintegration on non existence of society, for instance through revolt, on non-participation, apathy or anomie.

This means that we are operating at two levels where the criteria are concerned but both are fundamentally linked to the human being as such, not to things, system structures or abstractions.

FIGURE - 2.2

Galtung's Model of Basic Needs Theory



Source: UNESCO Workshop, 23 Jan, 1976, Thailand, Bangkok, Document No.SHC/75/WS/55 p.22.

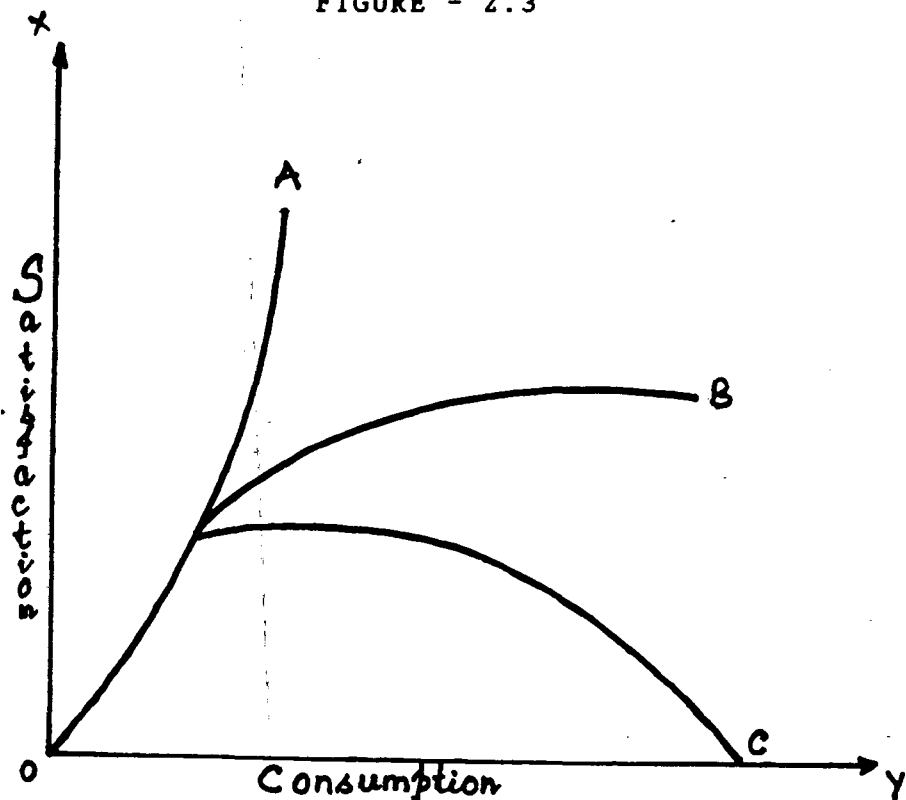
Galtung reinforced his argument by referring to the responsibility of scientists. They should give top priority to the type of science that produces constructive knowledge (not destructive knowledge) in the sense that it demonstrably leads to the satisfaction of most basic needs for those most in need, violence prevention research and no priority at all should be given to the type of research that produces knowledge on how to kill people. Peace is seen as a condition for human fulfillment, that is self-realization or personal growth. We should try to achieve self-realization by eradicating direct violence, eradicating poverty, eliminating social in-justice. Every society should feel free to

towards a higher level of satisfaction of needs.

The Perspectives of Basic Needs: Under development, Over development and Mal-development:-

According to Galtung needs are basic in the sense that they have to be satisfied for us to continue existing as human beings. They are human in the sense that they are at individual level. However much satisfaction manifests itself at the social levels.

FIGURE - 2.3



Source: I.Miles and J.Irvine ed. The poverty of progress Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1982, p.15.

Explanation- Three possible consumption satisfaction relations. 'A' is an exponential curve, which indicates a very high level of optimism: the more consumption that takes

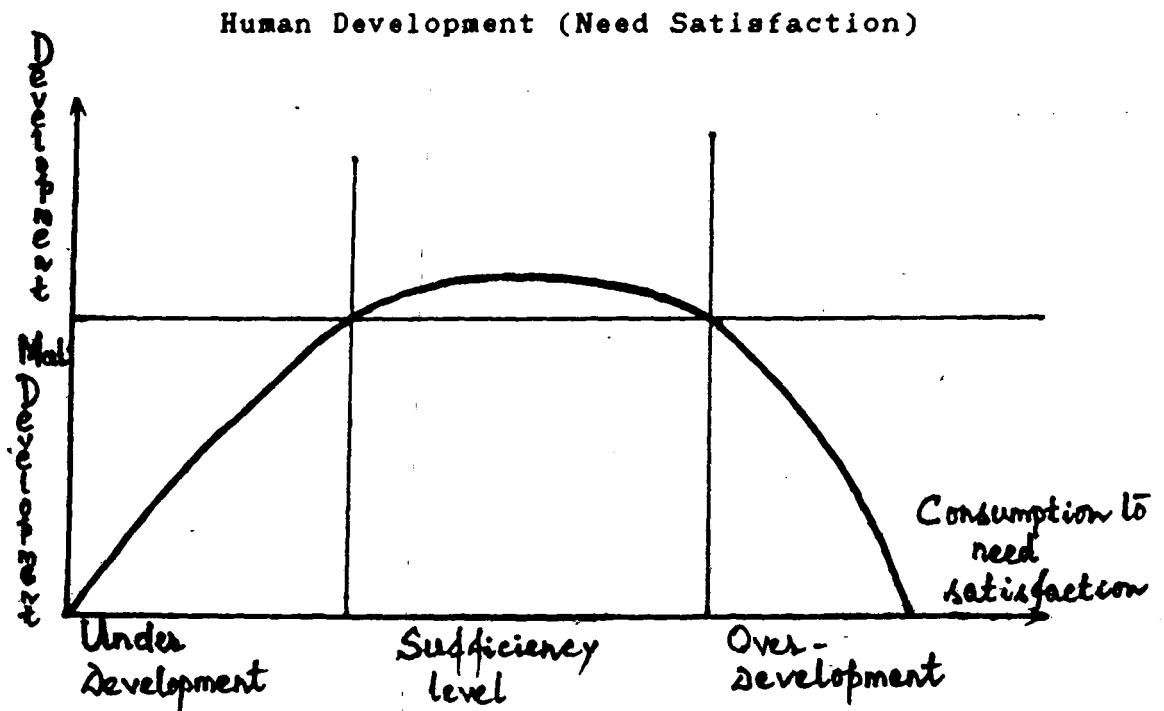
place the greater the satisfaction-indeed they are exponentially related. The B, logistic curve, as representing the real state of affairs. Here the notion of satisfaction level is implicit. After a certain level of consumption has been reached. There is no longer any appreciable gain in satisfaction. Curve C carries this mode of thinking still further not only does utility decrease after a certain level of consumption, but increasing disutility results from additional consumption.⁶

Example:- The consumption of food which at first highly useful for hunger-abatement, becomes decreasing useful and is then increasing again rather, rather other needs become dissatisfied through increasing consumption. Thus curve C the needs referred to on the vertical axis may not be the same as one ascends and descends the curve. It may be argued that curve C is the most typical of relationships between many human needs and the consumption of need satisfactions. But in industrial societies, the people have concerned themselves less with production for human development, than with production for its own sake, disregarding the fact that at some point the level of material production may start becoming less useful. Increments in consumption may mean progressively less for human development and eventually become counter-productive, when material needs increases impede rather than promote, human development. Thus we can

6. J. Galtung, Why concern with ways of life in, I.Miles and J.Irvine ed. The poverty of progress Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1982, p.15.

distinguish development from mal-development the latter consisting of both underdevelopment and over development in co-existence. It is only with uncertain range of consumption at a certain sufficiency level that we may classify a society as developed.⁷

FIGURE 2.4
(Relationship Between Human Development and Production Level)



Explanation:- In this figure, the particular need dialectic takes place around individual consumption. Production may go on for a very long time without leading to over consumption provided the products are well distributed. This means that people have access to enough "need satisfiers" to avoid under consumption, but not so many that they enter into over consumption. But mal-distributed system may take society

7. Ibid, P.17.

towards under-development and over development at the
sometime.

- i) One can not find oneself unlimited quantity of material
or non material needs, without having counter-
productive effects.
- ii) Nature has also its outer limits upset environment
balances without impairing the subsistence basis for
future generations.
- iii) Over consumption will tend to go in hand with under
consumption. Example if one person is over consuming
relative to one particular need, this will have a
negative impact for the same person on the need
dimension not only for today, but also have an adverse
impact on the future.

Galtung concludes that if society opts wholly or
partially for a pattern of development more centered on the
human being, putting human development in the centre of the
development problematique then the need concept serves as a
guide for the first steps. But only for the first steps,
there are unlimited reaches for human development beyond
satisfaction of basic human needs.

Need theory is only a part, although an indispensable
one, of development theory. It is individualizing, says
nothing about culture, structure and process. It only says
that there are necessary constitution for humans to be human.
It helps to develop a blueprint in our mind and creates a
social environment that can transcend war and violence.

HUMANISING DEVELOPMENT : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The innumerable studies published on development during 1950s are striking because of almost complete absence of any attempt to define the very notion of social and human development. The old theory reduced this notion mainly to its economic growth aspect and within the economic framework limited it to the concept of growth. During 1950s and 1960s the assimilation of development to economic growth had become a kind of dogma to such an extent that the notion of development was generally not defined. The 1970s were marked by a radical reappraisal of essence of the social development process. The earlier view of progress was rejected and this rejection formed the point of departure for the new approach. The new concept of development process marked a departure from the old one in two basic respects.

Firstly, the process was viewed in the unity of all its aspects-like environment, technical, economic and social.

Secondly - There was a very keen awareness of man as the central link and principal agents of the whole development process. This new understanding of the essence of development was reflected in two concepts. One is concept of integrated development. This is a new paradigm which implies the interaction of environmental, technical, economic and social aspects of development. The other one is development centred on man. According to this concept, development is seen from the point of view of man, who is central phenomenon in the whole process. As he becomes aware of his needs, man

determines the aims of development on the basis of these needs and subordinates the factors of development, to the achievement of the aims he has determined. This concept was first mentioned in Cocoyoa Declaration of 1974, which said that there should be development "not of things" but of man.⁸ This concept has been also been defined in various documents published by UNCTAD, UNEP, UNESCO and other publications of the UN system.

Man is certainly the central phenomenon of developmental process and it is he who determines its objectives. Johan Galtung led the attack against the old theory of development, which excludes men centered of development. He argued that development is development of the people and not of things. All these may be indispensable "social" means and conditions, but development as such is that of man, of members, of a society.⁹ He argued that "instead of being seen as the development of men and women throughout world Development was seen in terms of things, systems and structures. But such is not the aim of development. It may be called a false development."¹⁰ So the development of man and his need should be studied in connection with development of the means for fulfilling his

8. Iraida Alechina "The contribution of United Nation system to formulating development concepts in UNESCO's Different theories and practices of development. Paris, 1982, p.12.

9. Ibid p.13.

10. Ibid p.16.

needs and with changes in his environment and society to which he belongs. It is perfectly justifiable to focus the study of development of man but this does not mean that in development theory man is transformed into a purely biological being. The process of development centred on man must therefore of necessity, be a total multi-relational process, involving all aspects of life of a community, its relations with outside world and its awareness of itself. So the breaking up of development into economic, social, cultural etc make no sense since man is indivisible. Humanised development is that process of social change which has improved the quality of life for immediate as well as for long term goals. Development must therefore begin by identifying human needs. The object of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of people and to provide all human beings with opportunity to develop their potential. So the idea of development should give importance on man. Man as the end of development which is therefore to be judged by what it does to him. De-alienation of man and not object. Development objective must be stated in terms of fundamental humanistic values rather than in narrow techno-economic terms. Bringing out their creativity as potential is the means as well as the end of development. People must be involved in development process. Its decision making which affects them. Self-reliance and development of collective personality of man and woman naturally follow as a corollary of this new development strategy. The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in

the well being of individual and bestow benefits of all.

IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT:

Development is a value-laden concept, with historical, political, economical and ideological dimensions.¹¹ When we speak of development, we need to reflect not only what it is that we wish to develop and how we are to do it. But also the direction towards which we wish the process to lead, since the concept of development represents the application of general idea of progress in socio-political spheres. The idea of economic growth forms only one aspects of development because economic growth provides the means of producing the goods and services that are essential for material well being. Ultimately when we come back to the idea of development as change and progress steered and guided by the presence of an ultimate aim, a telos. All specifically human action is always guided by an intention, it sets itself goals that are for it, the expression of something that "ought to be ", an ideal of perfection that we must strive to achieve. In case of development we are in fact dealing with a large scale collective human undertaking. It therefore requires the explicit formulation of goals that must guide it and towards which it must be directed. When projecting a model of development, we should project goals and objective, according to a particular order of priority. It is in order to attain these objectives and priorities that other factors

11. E.Agazzi, Goals of Development, Paris, UNESCO, 1984, p.9.

will be brought in, as conditions and sub-conditions. The question is how can we seek to determine the objectives of development? Who is the subject? The promoter of development? Second, who is the object or the beneficiary of development? The answer is "Man" in both cases, for it is man who is supposed to be the beneficiary of development and who bears responsibility for it.

Development as the achievement of what is human. So development is the development of man, of man as a whole; Economics is only one aspect of development. Man must remain the master; he must exist before possessing or rather he cannot possess without existing. The Cameroonian philosopher E. Njon-Mohella draws an interesting distinction between what he calls, man as possessor and man as being. He concludes that possession should be subservient to being, to man, and not the other way round.¹² Here we may speak of a dialectic of being and possession, a dialectic in which, in the final analysis it is being, the human being, who must be in control. A dialectic of being and possession means that we possess because we have created our own free will; this means that we are able to create; this in turn means, first and foremost, that possession exists because we have so desired, because we have so decided; this in turn means that we act, hence we are not acted upon.

12. E. Agazzi, Goals of Development, Paris, UNESCO, 1984, p.129.

Development is therefore the achievement of what is human, of everything that is human in us. What is human in us will be achieved through the expression of our capacity for initiative in other words, our control over choice: what we produce is what we have chosen to produce because we see it to our own advantage because we have so decided. In other words, quantitative and qualitative choice must be placed under the banner of endogenous development, instead of being subservient to an exploitative trading economy. Development is movement, an depth modification of society in all its economic, social, and even physical aspects. It is the movement through which society changes, takes the decision to change and carries out this change itself. Over and above the better living conditions, true development should lead to a better quality of life the betterment of life itself. Betterment can be summed up as the achievement of progress by all men towards the ability to perceive their needs and their situation, to make choices and to take the initiative to bring about change and to create progressive activities.

According Johan Galthng - There are three possible fallacies of a man-centred development.

- 1) Antropocentrism
- 2) Eurocentism, and
- 3) Psychological reductioniam.

Before exploring human centred development, it is necessary to find out what are the possible fallacies prevailed in development theory since inductrial revolution.

Firstly - Europe has a very old tradition of anthropocentrism of man placed in centre of all things, which gives him dominant position over nature. Man is a part of nature and depends on it. A new concept of man centred development requires a new relationships between man and nature one that is less exploitatirs and domineering which we have practiced since industrial revolution. This concept is missing in earlier development debate.

Secondly - Eurocentism is accompanied by a claim to universalism. It means Europe values must be valid in all other parts of the world. So all the dominant theories of development can be shown to be Eurocentric in nature, a persistant tendency in which the world-system is observed from stand points within European that is Western domination of this system, and Third World countries are imitatiting them. But here is Humanistic thinking throughout Europe was ethnocentric. This is one of the fallacies in development of Human being.

A third fallacies is that of reducing the problem of development to the contribution made by the emancipation of the individual human being. This is similar to what epistemologists call psychological reductionism. Galtung observed - that producing things that may be useless are dangerous for consumer society. Even development represented by government may not be sucessful and the development should not state-centred. The development in science and technology that does not always brings happiness in human life, it makes de-dumanization of human beings possible. Galtung suggested

that development should be somatic, mental and spiritual. No development theory seems to be good at reacting to all three levels. The main focus on under development should be towards human beings, so there is no need to follow blue, red, green type of development. Development is defined as the degree of value realization. In his world order model project he has given four value realization model and problem statements. These are

1. Value	Problem statement
Peace	War prevention, reduction of resources of waste.
Economic Well-being	Elimination of world poverty. Satisfaction of basic needs. Reduction of inequalities and inequities, elimination of over consumption.
Individual and Collective Justice	Elimination of repression and denial of individual and collective human rights.
Ecological Balance	Reduction of pollution and Environmental damage, avoidance of excessive resource depletion.

But these value realization model are not so easy, and it is difficult to attain them in present day world politics. The existing world system is dominated by structure of exploitation and dominance which is consciously and actively maintained, particularly when challenged.

Hence by definition there are dominant and dominated sectors both within and among nations. This dictomy give rise to repression at home and imperialism abroad both sharing the common characteristics of exploitation by or on behalf of the privileged few over the many.¹³

He gave importance to personal growth. It is a fundamental value in the sense that all others are subordinate to it and is seen as a value in its own right but only as a necessary condition for the personal growth of all.¹⁴

Figure 2.5

CRITERIA OF THE DOMINANT AND PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

	DOMINANT STRATEGIES	PROPOSED STRATEGIES
Point of departure	The North is developed, the South is under developed.	Over and under developed areas and sections in both North and South, Globally the world is maldeveloped.
Levels of Analysis	States	Centre and peripheries Human beings.
Roots of under development	Poor, uneducated masses, gap between them and the sophisticates modern societies.	Domineering, exploitative forces from the rich centres creating growing inequalities within/among countries

13. Johan Galtung 'Measuring World Development-I Alternative, Butterworths, Vol-1, No.1, 1975 p.164.
14. J.Galtung "Measuring World Development-II Alternative, Butterworths, Vol.-1, No.4, p.593.

	DOMINANT STRATEGIES	PROPOSED STRATEGIES
Objectives of Development	Economic growth	Satisfaction of basic needs, material and non-materials, above a minimum level not beyond a maximum level.
Main priorities	Infrastructure, education, industry	Agriculture, industry, Health, Habitat, education.
Rise of Material goods	Primary of production	Primarily of distribution.
Relation to Nature	Exploitation and domination Antropocentrism	Harming and equilibrium
Relations of developing Units to outside world	Associative : increasing integration into existing world economic system	Dissociative :- Selective de-linking, counting one's own forces and using one's own resources.
Concept of structure	Respect for or limited reform, existing National and International structure.	Structural transformation reduce internal and International equalities.
Concept of processes	Engagemental and Compartmentalized approach to restricted sectors of development	Totality of process of development, intervention based on system analysis.
Time perspectives	Short-mid term promise development needed	Solidarity with future generation, mainly use of natural resources relating with environment.

Source - J.Galtung, "Development centred on Human beings: Some West European perspectives", UNESCO's Different theories and prelifics of development Paris, 1982, p.102.

In the table, the dominant and proposed strategies are given in descriptive sense. They suggest growth and production oriented strategies, but such approaches have turned out to be anthropocentric, associative or compartmentalized. The table should not be read to mean that the two types of strategies are in all respects mutually exclusively. There should be humanization of development through out the world. Development should not be state-centric, nor it should be through transnational corporations. The real development is man-centred development.

John Galtung's Ideas Of The Blue, The Red, The Green And The Brown Type Of Development :-

1. **Blue Development**- It means economic growth spearheaded by an enterprenurial class. Unfettered by state control or initiative. Galtung perceives west is blue, the Western capitalist part of occident, where the social formation with capitalist corporation, predominantly private as to force motrice. That puts capital accumulation and captial turn over and profit and market share, not to mention growth rates all of these but in the centre of any analysis market forces dominate.¹⁵

2. **Red Development** - Where economic growth controlled and intiated by a state bureacracy codified in a plan. It came

15 J.Galtung, "The blue and the Red, the green and the Brown in the relation between peace liberation alternative movements" in K.N.Sharma le, Peace, technology and development, Jaipur, Rawat Publication, 1992 p.37.

as a response to the problems of blue model. The basic point of Red pole was the idea of substituting planning for the market as a mechanism for allocating goods and services to consumers. Instead of corporation aggrandizement, state aggrandizement, instead of accumulation of capital, accumulation of power, instead of focus of growth, focus on control.

3. Green Development based on more autonomy of local level and the virtues of the smaller economic cycles.

But much of current development debate is concerning with whether one has to suffer the contradiction of blue to become red, contradiction of each and both, stemming from the circumstances that they both lead to big systems. In order to become green. As many poor Third World countries still are to a large extent green, could they possibly better off strengthening that aspect, building on the top of it only, a relatively weak blue and red section? There are two basic models the liberal capitalist and marxist socialis. Both focusing on economic dimension in Blue, Red varieties respectively. One other leading to growth without control, the other to control without growth. So the crisis these two models, what is known as developmental crisis because man is ignored in both of process of development.

The Bureacratic - Corporate - Intelligentsia complex (BCI - Complex) - To identify western social formation with corporate capitalism only would be historically incorrect

empirically false and theoretically unfruitful.

Historically the state developed together with capitalism, after the demise of the medieval system. Empirically there were precursors of capitalism and state has played a role of its own in shaping the west at home and abroad through conquest and war and nation-building. Moreover, the intellegentsia with some few exceptions, the true intellectuals has been willing helper of both. For this reason we shall put state and capital, or more precisely the bureacretic -corporate intellegentsia complex (BCI - Complex) in the centre of the picture. It is the leading role of the C part, the corporations capital that makes the west blue and the correspondingly the leading role of B part, the state and bureacracy that makes the East red-state directed ministerial. But in spite of these variations the BCI - Complex, or complex of technocracy is the dominating force in both. The method used by BCI complex for its growth is expansion and exploitation. Exploitation then is seen as squeezing something as far as possible, even beyond its capacity of reproduction. What can be squeezing are nature and people. People can be divided into bourgeoisie and proletariat. But there is also a distinction between an internal and an external sector of the world. The external being treated ruthlessly, the internal sector being treated in soften way. In principle this leads to eight type of exploitation, but we shall simplify this typology into exploitation of external sector, then of nature, of self, or internal proletariat. To push beyond the capacity of

reproductive means something very concrete in all four cases. It means pushing a country in the external sector - meaning for all practical purposes a Third world country into hopeless dependency, depeleting/polluting nature, exhausting oneself and sinking the internal proletaniat into a swamp of morbidity and mortality. Self-reliant regeneration is impossible. All four forms of exploitation are not necessarily administred at the same time, but we leave that aside. Exploitation then leads to dependencies through assistance. The external sec tor gets development assistance nature gets environmetal assistance and so on. Because this is BCI - complex is capable of doing. Through exploitation it g- rows and by growing it becomes capable of exploiting more.

The deeper driving forces are located in the cormology of the Western civilization. One way of characterizing it would be as follows.

1. Space: Centre-periphery gradients with west in the centre.
2. Time: Ideas of progress and growth, with crisis and catharis
3. Epistemology: Dichotomous, atomoistic and inductive
4. Person-Nature: Herschaft over Nature, including animals.
5. Person-Person: Ventical, individual, competitive
6. Person-Transpersonal- Religions, ideologies claiming universality.¹⁶

16. Ibid page - 39

Taking this characterization of western civilization expansion and exploitation comes easily at the expense of an external periphery under to get at progress and growth with the methods given by western science and technology and legitimized by western religions and ideologies (2,3,6). Here cosmology acts as ideology. It is ideology built into structures and structures expressed as ideology; all of this reinforcing each other as long it works. When it no longer works it starts becoming more problematique. But there is also a rational for all this relentless activity which is securing a certain standard of living reffered to as bourgeoisie way of life (BWL). In BWL there is no manual work, there is only privitism, and there is security. The problem is that if more and more people are to do non-manual work, then somebody else have to do manual work needed, including that which is dirty, heavy and dangerous. For this total job corporation are not sufficient, the power of the state and of understanding produced by intellegentisia are also indispensable. And BCI has to transnationalize. But there is an exploitation of self in all this. While material comfort is going up and up and manual working force is dwindlling. There is also pollution related disease generated by this BCI-complex. Through privitism and security, there is rise of mental diseases too. And suicide increases and strains a certain "Chemical way of life" (CWL) emerges based on ever increasing consumption of alchohol. Tranquilizers and drugs, of tobacco and sugar and overeating. Self reliant breakdown and families break up through divorce

and separation of husband from wife and so on. There are certain mal-development signs also seen in the BCI-complex, these are :

Human Mal-development:-

Body -cardio-vascular; cancer, chronic disease,

Mind - Mental disorder, suicide.

Spirit - anomie, apathy, meaningless

Social Mal-development:-

Production - overproduction, under production, unemployment
distribution - inequality in cost of maldevelopment injustice
by age and gender.

Institution - too big and too sectorial, loss of faith,
growth of formal sector, decline of informal sector, young
people isolated, old people isolated, spectatorism .

Structure - global exploitation, domestic exploitation,
dependence on global trade, dependence on BCI-complex.

Culture - over acceptance of bourgeois culture, alienation
from folk-indigenous culture.

Nature Mal-development:- Instead by education of ecosystem
maturity depletion and pollution.

World Mal-development structure:- other countries as external
sector, aggressive marketing trade were

Survival - Wars and threats of war.¹⁷

These mal-development signs implies that there is a

17. Ibid, pp-43

process of increasing mal-development, the western social formation itself. According to Galtung "The destroyed nature, alienation from ones own culture a deformed society and a popultion with little "Physical, mental and social well being are heavy prices to pay for achievement of BWL, particularly when there is a threat of war on top of it all. This will make the political fight more intense in period of growth it shares benefits, in period of fall a struggle over life and death - we are not yet. The society becomes less blue or more blue, while depends on who controls it.

The Red Option - If the state is Red or pink they should reduce material exploitation of internal proletariat and shift the costs of decline upwards in society. But it is probably true that effots to finance a welfare state in period of economic decline by taxing rich more will not succeed. From that it does not follow that blue to tax them less either will succeed. The most difficult situation will come to the red state if the west at some time tries to reduce exploitation of nature and through environmtal management. The red option works for reducing internal exploitation towards basic need satisfaction. But in external sector, the red option will in principle go in for equity but in practice easily engage in in equitable international division of labour, if worker's standard of living is threatened. In short the red option favours the state and bureacracy. Johan Galtung says "It is not bad option, but it carries seeds of its own destruction by

leading basically same mal-development signs produced by blue option.¹⁸

The Green Option - The green option is strongly different from the main objectives of green option is to avoid pit falls of other two options. Its aim at amelioration to take care of suffering of the people in short run at social transformation at long run.

A Survey of Green Option.

Mainstream Characteristics

Green Options

Economic Basis

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Exploitation of Internal proletariat | Co-operative enterprise abolished buyer/seller difference, customers directly involved. |
| 2. Exploitation of external sector | Coexistence with Third world, only equity exchange relations. |
| 3. Exploitation of Nature | Ecological balance persons-nature. |
| 4. Exploitation of self | More labour and creative intensive, alternate technology. |

Military Basis

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Dependency of foreign Trade | Self-reliance, Self sufficiently in food, Health energy, defence. |
| 2. Dependence on formal Sectors, BCI-Complex | Local self-reliance, decreasing urbanization. |
| 3. Offensive defence policies | Defensive defers policies with less destructive technology non-violent defence. |
| 4. Alignment with Super powers | Non-Alignment even neutralism |

18. Ibid -pp 55-56

Structural Basis

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Buearcarcy, state and centralized | Re-centralization of local level, building federations of local units |
| 2. Corporation capital | building green economy, self-consumption, non-monetary exchange, production for local cycles. |
| 3. Intellegentsia, research strong and centralized | High level non formal education, building own forms of understandings. |

Bourgeoise way of life :-

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Normal work eliminating heavy, dirty and dangerous work | keeping the gains when healthy, mixing manual and non-manual. |
| 2. Material comfort, dampering fluctuation of nature. | keeping the gains when healthy, living closer to nature |
| 3. Privitism | Collectgive production consumption |
| 4. Security | Keeping security when healthy |

This green option focuses on more local autonomy, less urbanization and more intermediate technolotgy. In this way ecological self-reliance can be possible.

The Brown Option - The brown option is actually relatively clear. The brown movement seeks with all means to preserve the status que and (The crisis that is) of western social formation.

- Brown option - cosmology; Expansion
- doing something about mal-development
 - doing something about red option

- doing something about green option

But in structure and process it depends on local circumstances in which it can run better. It does not depend on bureaucracy or corporation.

It's correspondingly to red and green option with blue people there is little problem. The blue will go along with brown if it is seen as indispensable for blue politics to survive. Red and Blue have conflict of interest with green. So it can not be good model. But green model is real model which can help both developed and developing countries instead of red and blue.

Galtung concludes by saying that developing countries are in the dark, their elites, uprooted from their own tradition are blinded by ideological bombardment of the west. Some times they clutch at a red straw, at other time a blue or brown one to save their societies from drowning in the waves of expansion or exploitation. At worst they use these ideologies only to safeguard their narrow self interest. The aggressive pursuit of self-interest sows the seeds of discord and disrupts peace. Galtung hopes that the west should follow the green development and developing countries who are already in a green position (model) should not change their green environment by borrowing ideas from the experience of the red or the blue model.

ACTOR ORIENTED AND STRUCTURE ORIENTED GOALS

Johan Galtung observes that there are two basic perspectives on society: actor oriented and structure oriented. They should not be identified, respectively, with the liberal view and the Marxist view. But it seems that liberal view encompasses an actor oriented, perspective whereas Marxism tends more towards structure orientation.

According to the actor oriented perspective, societies are the sum total of the actors participating in them. Societies are the human beings that act, and the world is a set of countries unified in action. To act is to have a goal, outline a strategy and pursue it. Action presupposes the freedom to want what one wants, at least within a certain range. Actors are autonomous. According to this perspective, actors possess a certain amount of consciousness in their pursuit of goals and they may get into conflict with one another. A basic task of society, hence is to regulate this conflict so that it becomes a competition (e.g. for shares on the economic, political, cultural and military markets, leading to enterprise, parliamentary democracy, cultural-pluralism, and balance of power, respectively). For competition to be meaningful, it has to be free. But free competition produces very different results in open and closed systems. It is beneficial as long as system is open, but disastrous when the system is closed.¹⁹

19. J.Galtung, The True Worlds: A Trans-National Perspectives, New York, Free Press, 1980, p.41.

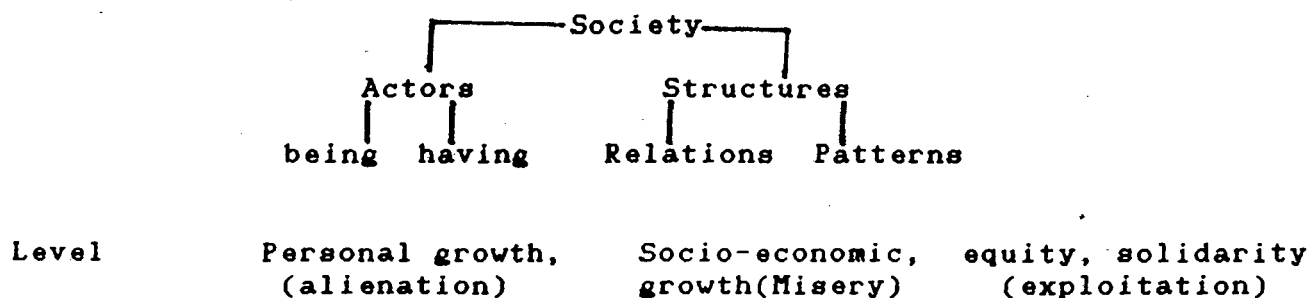
Because it denies the implicit autonomy assumptions, the actor-oriented perspective is structure blind, but structure oriented perspective is actor blind. Thus from the actor-oriented perspective a society consists of various kinds, equipped with distinct personalities, differing in intentions and capabilities and eagerly developing strategies in order to pursue their goals. From the structure oriented perspectives net value produced in the structure is always accumulating. The net value will be meaningless if there is no actor in the structure. In the same way no actor exists in a vacuum and we cannot understand an actor's behavior without knowing something about his position in relations to other actors. So both perspectives focus on human action and interaction. But whereas the actor oriented view relates action to the intentions and capabilities of the actors. the structure oriented view sees action as a function of the position of the actor, this lead to two entirely opposite views when it comes to the problem of evil. According to first view, evil is caused by evil intentions, particularly when held by the strong and active actor, according to second view, evil is caused by a bad structure. When an actor contributes to evil, he is guilty according to the first view, but according to the second, the structure of the society is bad.

In the first case there are several possible ways of improving behavior. By controlling his capabilities in general an attempt is made to lead his activities in the right direction. The actor oriented view would try to solve

problems through building an institution, through something continuous. But the structure oriented view demands a discontinuous disruption of the wrong structure known as the revolution. Actor oriented perspective assumes that what is good for the sub-system, (basically for individuals) is good for the system as a whole. The structure oriented perspective assumes that what is good for system is good for sub-system (i.e. for individuals). But how should both components should be integrated? Galtung make use of both, believing in the significance of intentions as capabilities as well as structures. But there are situations which he defines as vertical on account of object exploitation, where he gave primacy to the structure oriented view. Just as when there are more horizontal relationships, the action-oriented view seems most rewarding. In other words, the relative weight accorded to these views for understanding problems of power and development violence and peace must vary in time and space according to particular characteristics of the situation. There is no simple, general formula.

The following is useful for showing the relationships which activate "real development":

Figure 2.6



Dispersion - diversity (uniformity) equality (inequality) autonomy (penetration)

Relation - Social Justice (Social injustice) (penetration Marginalization)

Relations Between the Goals and the Concepts

Concepts	Personal growth	Socio-economic growth	Diversity, equality, Justice, equity Autonomy, soci, Participation
Development	Personal growth	Socio-economic growth	Social growth
Power	inactive power	Resource power	Structural Power
Violence	Direct violence to process	Direct violence to things	Structural Violence
Peace	Security	Security	Liberation

Source: J.Galtung- "The True Worlds A Transnational Perspective: New York, Free Press, 1980, p.71.

Power could be normative based on persuasion, be remunerative based on bargaining, or be punitive, based on force. But this does not give us a theory of the sources of power. Only theory of how power works if it works. It should be studied at its sources and not at the point of impact.

It can be analyzed in the following terms:

1. innate power (being-power) - actor oriented
2. Resource power (having power) - actor oriented
3. Structural power (positive-power) - Structure oriented

But development is not the opposite of power but the opposite of unequal power. Development implies reduction of power differentials. In the above figure personal growth is first dimension, socio-economic growth is second dimension and the last seven could provide parameters of social growth.

According to Galtung "social growth sometimes leads to a state powerlessness. Finally this equates power with means of destruction.²⁰ Instead of conceiving of power in a zero-sum way such that either A has power over B or B has power over A, power should be conceived as positive sum entity. A can have increasing power over himself. This is exactly the type of power referred to as autonomy. Galtung says that power over-others has to decrease to zero for power over oneself to start growing. The two are interdependent. For example liberation of underdog from domination by the top dog is at the same time liberation of top dog from the process of domination. To Galtung if development is to build, then violence is to destroy. Hence violence is anti-development. If peace is the opposite of violence, then peace must have much in common with development. Hence power and violence are on one side and development and peace are on the other. Violence can be also conceived of within both actor oriented and the structure oriented perspectives. Typically most of the thinking about violence has taken place within actor-oriented perspective with focus on violence person, not on violent structure, not even on the victims. The cause of violence has been found in person's evil intention or in the pathologies of his body, not in structure trying persons on countries together. Thus peace and development, become two ways of saying the same thing with different emphasis.

20. Ibid. p.65.

THE IDEA OF SELF-RELIANCE :

Self Reliance means Self Development. It is the path to good development. Since objectively, industrialized nations cannot take care of Third world development, the developing countries have to rely on their own means; hence the call for self-reliance. One need not repeat once more that self-reliance is not autarchy but a concept which should be defined positively and not negatively. It should be noted that the idea of self-reliance is not that of self-sufficiency but capability of self-sufficiency reliance on one's own forces so that in a crisis, an emergency, one is in fact-self sufficient. In ordinary periods, self-reliance does not exclude travel and exchange in general, But it does exclude the depending on such exchanges that would make the unit vulnerable to blackmail. It should be noted that the antonym of self-reliance is not only dependence on a centre, but also exploitation of a periphery. A self-reliant unit neither exploits, nor is it exploited.²¹

But at the general level self reliance simply means to rely on one self, including one's own economic factors (National Resources, including energy, capital, labour, research, organizations) for one's own Development. The "self" referred to can be individual or collective at the regional, the on the local levels. The concept stands for

21 J.Galtung and A.Wirck "Human Rights and Theories of Development" in indicators of social and economic change and their application social science reports and documents. UNESCO No.37

autonomy, self-rule, being master over one self, but not for isolating one self historically it is nothing but the way in which human beings used to live when human kind was mostly organized in the units of independent of each other, because there were few of them. As history proceeded pattern of dependency, with their concomitant. exploitation became the dominant aspect of the world system. Hence self-reliance today depends more generally of countering the power of others over oneself. This means countervailing normative power and punitive power. Self Reliance does not mean not to turn the power of other into subordination or convert others, or to make them economically dependent (counter penetration) or to outstrip them militarily. The approach is rather to build up more power over oneself through more self-respect meaning faith in one's own values and ideas through a minimum of self-sufficiency to satisfy basic needs and to attain a level of fearlessness high enough not to be frightened by the force of other. Thus this type of self reliance is self-respect together with self-sufficiency and fearlessness. It is a psycho-political rather than an economic category. One of its practitioners was Gandhi and through sarvodaya and swadeshi²².

Self-reliance is not merely an abstract recipe, a way of organizing the economy with heavy emphasis on the use of local factors, but a fight against any

22. J.Galtung, Roy Preiswerk and Monica Wemegah "Development centred on Human being : some west European perspectives" in UNESCO - Different theories and practices of development paris, UNESCO, 98, p110.

kind of centre-periphery formation with the ultimate goal of arriving at a world where each part is a centre". As the essence of centre-periphery formation is vertical division of labour, with exchange across a gap in level of processing where trade is concerned, a gap of knowledge where science is concerned, a gap of initiative where politics is concerned, so on the difference between, the sender and the receiver, the leader and the led the basis idea of self-reliance is to get out of this type of relationship. Three supporting mechanisms (of exploitation) have to be attacked, penetration, fragmentation, and marginalization, which leads one straight into the practice of self-reliance as a way of fighting centre-periphery formation. Galtung argued that the Third World can not become self-reliant by imitating the first and second world, self-reliance cannot be attained at the expense of self-reliance of others; it implies the autonomy to set one's own goal and realization, as far as possible through one's own efforts, using one's own factors.²³

In general terms the way to fight penetration is not through counter-penetration, trying to do to the centre, what the centre has always done to the periphery, but through becoming autonomous. There is much evidence to indicate that this is best done in a process of struggle; that the struggle generates patterns of attitude and behaviour and new structures that not only serve to break-down ties of penetra-

23. J. Galtung, The true world's - A transnational perspectives, New York, The Free Press, 1980, p.400

tion but also to build true self-reliance. Self reliance is a dynamic movement from periphery. It is not something done for periphery basically it is something done by periphery. Self-Reliance ultimately means that the society is organized in such a way that the masses arrive at self-fulfilment through self-reliance in participation with others in the same situations²⁴

Another formula might describe self-reliance and autonomy together with equity and self-reliance, i.e. self-management combined with equitable relations with others. It is an effort to combat dependence and build a pattern of interdependence in a world where total interdependence is impossible.

The first and basic principle is to decide oneself, what one wants to produce, rather than simply try to produce things because others do it. The second principle is to do this by using one's own forces imaginatively, as far as possible, rather than trying to get products in exchange for functions in excess (by selling resources by selling labour, by selling capital by buying). The nation is to develop productive capacity, for this is more satisfactory than to have the products. This is necessary not only in order to have the capacity to produce commodities for exchange, but also to be non-manipulable in times of crisis and to benefit from all the positive effects from productive process itself.

24. Ibid, p.402.

The production process which satisfies the most basic needs is known as a self-sufficiently - productive process. Hence self-reliance is before everything else reliance on the people. The man relegated for a long time in the shadow of things springs upto fill the centre of the scene. Man reconquer's his legitimatly place in Development both as an agent and as beneficiary. Self-reliance helps to reshaping the economy and the society in order to meet basic needs. This reshaping of economy and society will gear most activities towards the "home market" at the expenses of the present patterns of foreign trade. In other words, it will produce "selective de-linking" from the centre of world order. This in turn will further the internal integration of national economy by liquidating "enclaves" and "dual economies" and the like, Development becomes self-united instead of being extroverted. Self-reliance is above all mobilization of energies of people and sees the people as the centre of development²⁵.

Galtung summarizes in a negative way by listing what self-reliance (SR) is not

1. Self-reliance is not an abstract, general formula self-reliance is a part of historical process, at the same time the fight against certain global and domestic structures and way of building a new one.

25. Ismail-Sabhi Abdulla" What is Development? A Third world view point" IFDA Dossier 13. November 1979.p.15.

2. Self-reliance cannot be led from above. It started from below where mass participation was possible at maximum strength.
3. Self-reliance is not same as national, local processing of raw materials-because national processing is entirely compatible with national capitalism and penetration of national periphery from national centres, just as local processing is compatible with local capitalism.
4. Self-reliance is not the same as producing for the satisfaction of basic needs of those most in need. Because it depends on masses, who are the real masters of their need satisfaction, not psychology of spending on the government for relief.
5. Self-reliance is not same as self-sufficiency on autarchy-because it implies a re-limitation and recomposition of trade and cooperation, not the building of tight walls around all units.

Galtung also provides thirteen hypothesis on for self-reliance to explain the contemporary world system.

1. Through self-reliance, priorities will change towards production for basic needs, for those most in need.
2. Through self-reliance mass participation is ensured.
3. Through self-reliance, local factors are utilized much better.

4. Through self-reliance creativity is stimulated.
5. Through self-reliance, there will be more compatibility with local conditions.
6. Through self-reliance there will be much more diversity of development.
7. Through self-reliance there will be less alination.
8. Through self-reliance ecological balance will more easily attained.
9. Through self-reliance important externalities are internalized on given to neighbours at same level.
10. Through self-reliance, solilanity with others at the same level gets a solid basis.
11. Through self-reliance, ability to withstand manipulation due to trade dependence increases.
12. Through self-reliance the military refers capability of a country increases.
13. Through self-reliance as a basic approach which brings centre-periphery on to a more equal footing.

He acknowledges five negative effects of self-reliance

1. Through self-reliance inequalities may yield but inequality will remain.
2. Through self-reliance at the collective level and at

national level, local exploitation may solidify because the basis is unchanged.

3. Through self-reliance organic ties between units will be reduced.
4. Through self-reliance mobility between units will be reduced.
5. Through self-reliance a new vertical distinction will be created between self-reliance and non self-reliant.

The self-reliant path of development creates a world of humans, living equitably in a world of social units, some big some small, none of them exploiting the other.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

- **PROBLEMS OF GLOBALISATION**
- **GLOBAL VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE**
- **DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS IN THE FIRST AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES**

PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The idea of development that informed much of thinking and analyses in the social sciences of 1960s and early 1970s is its way out. The view that development is linear, universal process involving different time lags for different "Developing Countries" is no longer academically respectable. Development theorists are no longer confident about the check lists of 'do's and don'ts they issued from time to time for the benefit of planners and policy makers in the so called under developed countries. There is loss of optimism and confidence in the model of development promised by developmental theorist. Development theory remains a theory till today. While books on the conceptualization of development proliferated in 1950s, 1960s and countless papers devoted to the perfection of method and techniques of comparative development were choking in spaces in professional journals. Poverty in Asia, Africa, and Latin America became both more acute and more intractable than even for these societies. In the course of last two decades the reality of under development has moved ahead of theory of development. The various dispensations sanctioned by the theory and administered by rich and powerful countries in the form of aid and advice and even arm-twisting, have proved counter productive for the very survival of the poor countries and their people. It has become an embracing situation which has induced development theorist to shift their ground and change their tone. With the abandonment of original expectation of "development for all", a new set of

the terminologies was introduced in 1970s in an attempt to preserve the political force of the original theory. Instead of growth, we hear now of "growth with distribution; instead of foreign investments, for stimulating endogenous factors of growth within the under developed countries, we hear now of interdependence and international division of labour. The academic discourse of 1960s on comparative development in which the social scientist of the third world joined in awe and expectation, now appears to have been wasted effort. Development is now increasingly perceived by them as a theory not about economic growth and elimination of poverty, but as an ideological and institutional device used by the rich and powerful nation to monitor economic power vis-a-vis underdeveloped countries.¹ Its meaning was distorted. It is used only for mean-ends nexus not as a human enterprise. It neglects ethical perspectives which have been closely associated with historical tradition. For example the Confucian ethic is also good because Japan, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan have also succeeded in developing their economies. China has made good progress. If for some reason, India's economy started to grow at accelerated rate, the Hindu ethic may also be added to this type of development.² But today economic growth is most ideology

1. D.L. Sheth, "Alternative Development as Political Practice" Alternative, Butterworths, vol.12, no.2, 1987, p. 156.

2. R.P. Misra, "Humanising Development: Promises, Problems and Prospects in Gangrade, K.D. and Misra, R.P. (ed), Conflict Resolution Through Non-violence, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1990, p. 79.

growth is most important ideology that governs societal behaviour in the developing countries. Apparently the developing countries chose a misfit model for their development. For a development model to be good or bad depends entirely on the situation and context in which it is applied. so it is not necessary to follow west as a model of development for third world countries development.

Development Debate - A Third World View

Developmental theory emerged as an important concern after world war II with the beginning of the era of decolonization and under the shadow of cold war. Its general ethos was one of the inevitable progress definable broadly as a movement from tradition to modernity, status to contract and from ascription to achievement. It used the idea of Thomas Kuhn, who had familiarised in terms of fundamental shifts in paradigms.³ The post war history of development studies offers clear evidence of these influences in formulations in the goals of development.

United States (first world) and USSR (second world) had won the war and both claimed to be models for so called third world. In the mainstream version, development was conceive as westernization or as Sovietization rather than as an effort to set in motion indigenous processes of change within the new nations on the potential of their own historical traditions. In the beginning, these process of

3. T.S. Kuhn, The Theory of Scientific Revolution in M. Blomstrom and B. Hettne, "Development theory in Transition", London, Zed books Ltd., 1984, p.3.

westernization and sovietanization were reasonably successful. Since middle 1970s, however, the replacement of indigenous by imported models only generated disappointments and tension. In different parts of the world indigenous resistance against imported models was set in motion. There was a crisis in developmental theory itself. There were misgivings about the new development model which United States presented which was a mixture of Rooseveltian idealism and pragmatism, inspired by the self-interest of the victorious superpower.⁴ The United States as well as Soviet Union developed their spheres of influence on the principle that whoever occupies a territory also imposes on its own social system. At the economic level the hegemonic position of United States was no longer what it is used to be, as American authority over the western economic system was eroding in 1970s. As newly industrializing countries entered the system, the international division of labour become more extensive and competition developed. The expansion of the system to the periphery nourished the nationalist self-interest in the centre. The post war supra national order which was designed for the western zone under the leadership of USA and was implemented by regulatory institutions such as World Bank, IMF, GATT and OECD has lost its effectiveness. The international Keynesianism embodied in this post war

4. E. Agazzi, Goals of Development, Paris, UNESCO, 1988, p. 38.

model had largely lost its spell.⁵ Although the Brandt Commission Report articulated a Keynesian solution to world poverty by proposing a Massive Resource Transfer (MRT). According to this theory the poor peoples of world are to function as the unemployed in Keynes' system. In using these financial resources to buy goods produced by the industrial countries the economic problems of the latter would be solved as well. The rich and poor countries were to move forward together rather than the poor countries being given benefits at the expense of the rich world which was strategy proposed for the new international economic order. At the Cancun summit (1981) on global developmental problems, the neo-liberal philosophy was translated into "global Reaganomics", while Keynesian strategy contained in the Brandt Report was tacitly buried. Evolutionism, implied among other things that modernization is a basically indigenous process, the realization of potential that lay dormant in all societies.⁶ Often there is a need for external factors in order to initiate the process, but the process is nevertheless immanent. So the modernization paradigm can be summarized as follows:

- a) Development is a spontaneous, irreversible process inherent in every single society.

5. Mats Friberg and B. Hettne, "The Greening of World - Towards a non-deterministic model of global process" in Addo Herb (ed). "Development as social transformation", Tokyo, United Nations University., 1984, p.206.

6. B. Hettne, "The greening of world Towards a non-deterministic model of global processes", in Addo Herb. ed. Development of Social Transformation, Tokyo, UNU, 1984, p.210.

- b) Development implies structural differentiation and functional specialization.
- c) The process of development can be divided into distinct stages showing the level of development achieved by each society.
- d) Development can be stimulated by external competition on military threat and by internal measures that support modern sectors and modernize traditional sectors.

The idea of Dualism was also central to the modernizers engaged in the problems of under-developed countries. It may appear that this idea signified the abandoning of the unilinear, evolutionistic framework, but this is not in fact case. Two sectors, the traditional and the modern, were conceived as of two stages of development, co-existing in time, and in due course the differences between them was to disappear because of natural urges towards equilibrium. Modernization policies were thus regarded as a developmental strategy through support for universal historical forces, analogous to the transition from feudalism to capitalism in western economic history. Under the direction of R. Prebisch in Latin America a group of sociologists and economists was formed, which did not perceive under-development as a consequence of tradition or as a failure of educated labour forces or even as a lack of capital. They viewed it as a consequences of too great dependency on the West. Under-development was no longer seen as a short coming in modernization on the part of developing nations, but as a

consequences of western penetration and dominance, first of colonial and later of a post colonial nature. The radical dependency school offered as a solution the de-linking of international relationships and ties with the outside world in order to promote national and authentic development. During 1970's the dependencial school underwent a radicalisation through the adoption of the marxist paradigm of unequal change and exploitation. According to this trend, true development was to be pursued through a switch to the socialist model. B. Hettne summarises the main features this analysis in terms of the following four points:

- a) The most important obstacles to development were to be not lack of capital or entrepreneurial skills, but were to be found in the international division of labour. They were external to under developed economy not internal.
- b) The international division of labour was analyzed in terms of relations between regions of which two kinds - centre and periphery assumed particular importance.
- c) Due to the fact that the periphery was deprived of its surplus, development in the centre somehow implied underdevelopment in the periphery. Thus development and under development could be described as two aspects of single global process. All regions participating in the process were capitalist. But a distinction between central and peripheral capitalism was made.

d) Since the periphery was doomed to under development because of its linkage to the centre, it was considered necessary for a peripheral country to disassociate itself from the world market and strive for self-reliance. According to A.G. Frank "dependency has now completed the cycle of its natural life. The reason is the crisis of the 1970s. To Samir Amin, the NIEO was a consistent logical program for getting out of the crisis, that reflects the interests and views of the bourgeoisie of the south". The world system approach maintained some of the most disputed tenets of dependency theory, for example that the world is capitalist and part of it has been so since the 16th century. From this time onwards there emerged a world system incorporating a growing number of previously more or less isolated and self-sufficient societies into a complex system of functional relations. The result of this expansion was that a small number of core-states transformed a huge external arena into a periphery. Between these core states and periphery, the world system theorists identified semi-peripheries. The world system is a social system which, according to Wallerstein is characterized by the fact that its dynamic implies an internalization of the external factor. It does not make distinction between development and under development or central and peripheral capitalism. There is only one kind of capitalism that is the world system.

PROBLEMS OF GLOBALISATION

There is no universal definition of global cooperation and there is no dismantling of the war system as far as Third World is concerned. In spite of a new global awareness, the political climate in the world which is marked by waves of the fresh arms races and international political tension which provoke distrust and aggravate all other problems facing humanity. This paper deals with global problems in the Third World countries.

1. THE ARMS RACE - A typical global problem affecting all countries, the one in which the political and economic factors are completely intermingled, is the arms race. It is of course true that the arms race representing a global danger because a nuclear world war would threaten human existence and the condition of life in general on our planet. Experiments carried out with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction causing serious damage in terms of pollution and degradation of the environment. The governments of both developed and developing countries continue to pour money into the arms race despite the fact that world's arsenals contain enough explosives to kill the world population several times over. World armament spending has now surpassed the level of \$1.5 million per minutes-for every minute of the year and military research and development employs about 60 percent of the world's physical scientists and engineers.⁷

7. Ervin Laszlo "Global Problems: Obstacle to Peace", in World Encyclopedia of Peace, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1986, p.382.

High level funding makes for the creation of huge military complexes which, because of their size and purpose, are un-economical and dangerous for all societies. They waste energy and resources, and provide relatively small scale employment while represent an excessive financial burden. About 40 percent of all financial resources devoted to Research and Development are for military purposes. Military research expenditures are still increasing rapidly in U.S.A. and the Western countries. The strategic factor in international relations does not permit economic rationality to regulate relations among states; it distorts the logical patterns of international division of labour. The arms race aggravates social conflicts and violence and endangers the stability of the entire world. The resources which are diverted from development to arms race strengthen war as an institution, and obstruct the modalities of and social, economic, political reforms which affects peace. There cannot be new norms for international co-operation unless disarmament as a peace strategy is gains visibility and importance.

The Rich Versus Poor :- The Problems Of Poverty -

The great masses of the Third World fall further and further behind the industrialized world in wealth and level of economic development. There is widening gap between rich and poor. Since second World War GNP per capita increased by US \$116 a year for the inhabitants of developed countries and just over US\$8 for developing countries. But increase of GNP in developing countries was less in reality. Because it

is concentrated in the hands of small number of power elites. The developing countries are responsible for less than one-fifth of total world trade and their share has been actually declining. Three-fourths of their exports are destined for the developed market economies. Four-fifth of all earnings from exports are generated in about a dozen commodities, excluding oil. At the time of production these commodities represent a total value about \$ 30 billion. After fabrication their value rises to as much as \$ 200 billion, the added value accruing predominantly to the developed countries.⁸ There is inflation, debt burden, unemployment, social violence and poverty in developing countries. The core criticism here is not that the few rich nations are indifferent to the situation of the poor nations and have made insufficient effort to assist them, but that western affluence is the direct cause of their poverty and that western commitments to high material living standards cannot be realised without depriving the third world of its fair share of world resources. Satisfactory development for most people in poor countries will not be possible until existing economic relations between rich and poor countries are radically atttered.⁹ The gap between rich and poor can be narrowed and development in poor regions can be accelerated by the end of the century, but not without far reaching

8. Ibid., pp.382.

9. F.E. Trainer Abandon Affluence London, Zed Books Ltd., 1985, pp.6.

internal changes of a social political and institutional nature in developing countries and not without significant changes in the world's economic order which will also affect the internal order in the developed nations. According to S. Dasgupta Development has made some countries of the developing world richer and more powerful than rest: it has also made in each nation some regions, some ethnic groups and ultimately a few families more affluent but has increased the poverty of masses and generated much violence in the pockets of growth, such violence frequently leading to civil strife has transformed the ecology of the new nations into a new theatre of violence. Development has thus been functional for a few and dysfunctional for rest.¹⁰ The Third World's most serious problems cannot be solved unless the rich nations shift to far lower per capita resource use rates so that the Third World can use more of the available wealth to produce the things it needs. It is seen that the global economic system works mainly in the interests of the rich and disadvantages the poor majority even the conventional economic theory encourages the rich countries to increase their consumption of resources in order to increase the export earnings of the poor countries. This process encourages Third World people to produce more and more unnecessary things which is not beneficial to them but only developed countries.¹¹ In short development is in the

S. Dasgupta, Problems of Peace Research: A Third World View, New Delhi, ICPR, 1974, p. 127.

F.E. Trainer, Abandon Affluence London, Zed Books Ltd., 1985, pg. 115.

interests of rich.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM:- The relationship between the environment and development has not been a happy one, development has often harmed the environment and the environmental harm has in turn adversely affected development. Pollution is undermining the basic biological systems upon which life rests on this planet. It took millions of year for these systems to be created.¹² Environmental problems are usually local in origin but have effects that almost always transand national borders. Some have global effects, the pollution of the oceans and the air, the reduction of the ozone layer and the cutting down of rain forests. There are results of malign human intervention in these areas creates global warming, alternation of weather patterns, the disappearance of multitude of species, and in the gradual desertification of enormous, formerly fertile land areas. Another cause of environmental pollution is due to the high material living standards and resource-expensive ways of living in the Western countries. There is need for a view ecological world view. If the West eliminated the production of unnecessary and wasteful things and if it we reorganised its unnecessary and expensive systems for producing and distributing food and disposing of wastes. The west could easily slash the total amount of production and waste and environmental impact in industrial societies to a

12. J.L.SEITZ, The politics of Development, New York, Basil Blakwell International, 1988, P.117.

small fraction of their present levels. The result would be an ecological balance in the sense that the production process did not interfere with the fundamental needs of human beings and man and nature could participate in the developmental processes without hindering each other.

THE THREATS FROM SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY:- Since the industrial revolution it has been considered that technology was a driving of economic development that would solve all problems with time and whose effects could only be beneficial from the social and political perspectives. But the relationship between technology and development is a complicated one. Technology can cause a society to change in some very unenviable ways. For example, all structural crisis in developing countries can be linked to science and technology. So it no longer a question of discovery and invention being always beneficial but also their misuse by reactionary or inhuman political systems for malign purposes. Today the vast majority of scientists and researchers in employment are working for the armament industry and military invention is their primary goal¹³. Science has been traditionally regarded as a problem solving factor. However the dialectic of our age shows that with the solution of old problems we create new problems and science propelled development is not leading towards a problem free world. The social impact of modern technology tends to be negative since

13. Jozsef Bognar "The global problems in an interdependence world" in studies on developing countries, No.116,1984,p.

it widens socio-economic gaps, endangers the environment and produces chronic unemployment. The high technology of west is a often very expensive. In Galtung's words, the western science and technology are the outcome of cosmology or rather a world view in which exploitation of nature and men is in built. The developed countries are at the centre of this developing scenario of international exploitation of peripheral countries and science and technology have provided them with the means of exploitation of man as well as nature. But the aggressive pursuit of self-interest sows the seeds of discord and disrupts peace. Peace and prosperity once great promises offered by science and technology are endanged by unremitting exploitation of man and nature aided and abetted by science and technology.¹⁴ It is upto man and society, the politicians and the industrialist to decide whether they will apply scientific and technological knowledge for human welfare or for human annihilation and omnicide.

GLOBAL VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE:- Collective violence in twentieth century has been of a qualitatively different nature to previous eras in history. It is no longer just limited to acts of physical coercion on the battle field or elsewhere. Nor is just a matter of structural violence in the form of slavery or patriarchy within and outside the family. But the collective violence of our time in terms of both war and structural violence has witnessed an

14. K.N.Sharma, Peace, technology and development studies in the sociology of peace, Jaipur Rawat Publication, 1990, pp.1.

estimated sixteen million deaths in the Third World conflicts since the second world war. Human collectives today practice violence against nature through ecologically damaging technologies, against animals in the form of vivisection in medical research, against traditional cultures in the name of modernization and even against knowledge systems to establish the "universal truth" of modern science.¹⁵ The methodology of accelerating and "smashing" nuclear particulars may not at first glance appear to be violent in the strict sense of the term, but it symbolizes the quest for conquering nature by dismembering it to examine each of its constituent parts. All these are discrete acts of collective violence, together they form a violence system which runs through Western intellectual political, economic, cultural, social and productive pursuits. This violence system is at work, continuously and inexorably. The post-second world war area is littered with examples: South American Indians, Ibos, Armenians Australian Aborigines, East Timores, Kurds and other such as the Palestinians and the Asians in East Africa are denied identities and when they do not fit into the national design statelessness..¹⁶

The process of nation and state building in the plural societies of Third World invariable involves a degree of

15. Giri Deshingkar "Arms Technology, violence and the global military order" in D.Senegha, Varyaynen and Schmidt (ed.) The Quest for peace London, Sage Publication 1987, p.260.

16. Ibid., pp.261.

violence. This concept of nation building was taken from Europe primarily for war purposes. When it transferred to Third World, the process of nation-building has involved a more significant remand for political loyalty to the centre over and above loyalties to the ethnicity, religion language and culture. Moreover, at the expense of everything else, there is a single commitment to build a strong state which implies a greater degree of complicity from the margins. Often this process of nation building leads to the adoption of development strategies which involve forced capital accumulation, the import of polluting and damaging technologies and the imposition of alien concepts of science which condemn all local knowledge to be regarded as a superstition culture. Sooner or later, state violence meets with counter-violence by the affected people and in the process the state, society and culture becomes militarized and coercion becomes the preferred instrument for dealing with external and domestic problems.¹⁷ In a militarized world, peace keeping and order are primarily achieved through coercive means. At the lowest level there is draconian laws and the use of a repressive law and order machinery to maintain domestic order. At the highest level, there is the international arms race and above all a relentless process of cultural destruction is at work. In the North, consumerism, television, the advertising industry and the welfare state and the nuclear family which has destroyed social cohesion and social solidarity. Such cultural destruction has

17. Ibid., p.262.

impoverished human civilization. Violence is a sign of institutional failure and system overload in plural societies of Third World. The rapid socio-economic change also give rise to violence among groups and individuals within Third World societies.

THE ROOTS OF VIOLENCE:- Violence in the Third World occurs due to its experience of colonial domination and the circumstances of de-colonization for those countries that gained their independence by armed struggle, the fight for independence gave legitimacy to the use of violence. Most of quarrels and conflicts in the Third World were submerged but not resolved during the colonial period and have re-emerged and often, burst into violent conflict after independence.

Poverty is not necessarily a cause of violent conflict, though many argue that it is in itself a form of violence. It can be seen as such when it is product of maldistribution of resources and denial of opportunity and exists in the midst of plenty. Poverty is usually the result of social and economic relations that can only be maintained by the threat of use of violence. One main feature of recent decades has been the growing self-assertiveness of poor and traditionally powerless groups. In some cases groups of people have managed to move up the economic ladder, though many have met with violent resistance on the way. However it is not poverty but attempt to breakout of poverty that generates violence both as a tactic and as a response.¹⁸

18. Soedsatmoko "Violence in the Third World" in R. Vayrynen(ed.), The quest for peace London, Sage, 1987, pp.291.

The process of development itself is always a source of turbulence and often a source of violence. Developmental success inevitably brings about structural change upsetting traditional hierarchies and often generating violent reactions. The failure of development lead to even greater strains on the social fabric. The global recession of the early 1980s, the debt burdens of many years to come, the drawing down of the financial and ecological capital of whole nations have created intolerable strains. In many parts of third world communities are on the verge of breakdown. Societies are beginning to come apart at the seams as the despair, frustration and rage of the "have nots" clashes with fear, reluctance and intransigence of the "haves" and erupts into religions, ethnic, tribal, racial and class violence. The conflicts of new values over old values creates more violence in the Third world societies.¹⁹ The fragility of young states in the face of internal turbulence and external pressure leads many governments to attempt to centralize power and to rely upon the armed forces to maintain stability. The ease with which this tendency slides into a cycle of militarization repression and internal conflict is all too familiar to students of Third World political development. Many of today's violent conflicts are products of the inability to manage change. No region has quite mastered the dislocations of twentieth century, with its dizzying growth of populations and massive movements of

9. Ibid., p.291.

people, its instant communications, alienating technologies, shrunken spaces and horrifying destructive power.

There is also a psychological sense of belonging to the Third World, which arises from the recognition that the international system is dominated by and exploited for the primary benefit of countries that exclude the third world from decision-making and a fair share of the benefits. The resulting sense of vulnerability and exclusion and the often angry sense of injustice that accompanies it-gives the countries of the Third World some sense of solidarity despite their differences and leads them into conflict with the North. This kind of conflict has not often been pursued through armed conflict between states, but it undoubtedly feeds the atmosphere of confrontation that leads to isolated acts of violence. An isolated act can all too quickly fall into a pattern of mutual escalation of violence with states entering into conflict as patrons, sponsors or perpetrators of terrorist incidents, punitive responses, campaigns of destabilization and covert intervention. Uncontrolled, indiscriminate and self-perpetuating cycles of violence are thus set in motion. The sources of violence in the Third World are thus an a mixture of internal pressures resulting from rapid change and external pressures resulting from the clash of outside interests. Efforts to minimize and control violence must recognize that these two aspects require rather different approaches. The effort to minimize internal violence must focus on ways of increasing the resistance of societies; the effort to minimize external violence must

focus on restraint in definition of and response to threat.

VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE:- There are different kinds of violence within Third World countries: 1) violence that reacts to change ii) violence that attempts to force change, iii) Violence that adjusts to the lack of change without any positive program iv) violence that attempts to prevent change. Another type of violence is militarization. If thus the concept of national security on its head, as the armed forces become primary source of instability, insecurity for substantial regiments of the population. There are also subnationalism movements from below and transnational processes from above which often create violence. The pursuit of national security has come to place excessive reliance on the use of force, to the neglect of economic, social and political factors that determine a nations vulnerability. Violence is very difficult to bring under control once it starts; weapons are too easily available and the polity is too alienated from the existing system; rival groups become too easily and polarized violence becomes a simple means in the struggle for survival and an instrument in endless political conflicts. Colonial and imperialist penetration in particular contributed to the formation of structurally heterogenous economies and societies and in the extreme cases to the split of dependent countries into monocultural enclaves and a traditional sectors. This colonial heritage is still to be felt in most developing societies and it has made genuine development processes extremely difficult. The

conflict potential of developmental process are too high, direct violence occurs on a large scale and violence become a persistent social phenomenon in the Third World countries.

So the transcending of collective violence through a change in the mode of thinking will be major task if mankind is to survive.²⁰ Development policies should meet the challenge of the most serious problems of Third World Countries through legitimized institutional procedures. There are two possible in which human beings may be able to transcend collective violence and conflict. The first is to seek to change the hearts and minds of those who operate the violence system. The second is to change the perception of their conflicting interests. Galtung puts special emphasis on the cumulative processes by which global violence can be reduced and militarisation of human society can be controlled of all levels.

20. Dieter Seneghas "Transcending collective violence the civilization process and the peace problems in R. Vayrynen (ed.) The Quest For Peace, London Sage, 1987 p.3.

DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS IN THE FIRST AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

In 32 years (1945 to 1976) there were 120 armed conflicts in 84 countries. The average number of works for any given day in this period was 11.5. The most outstanding characteristic was that only 5 of these wars took place in Europe, the remaining 115 took place in the Third World. About 80 percent of the war activity was clearly antiregime with foreign participation. Most of them were interventions on the side of developed capitalist countries. This was related to development issues. Just as efforts to maintain "World Peace" have been a flagrant failure in the light of the wars that have taken place the effort toward "development" after World War-II are equally a failure. The only vantage point from which it looks less dismal would be some positions in the first world. The first world has not served as the war theatre, nor as a stage for the tragedies of famine, epidemics and mass misery in general. But even these pictures are changing with increasing "terrorism" political violence has also made its entry into the first world with increasing identification of civilization diseases and with sign of disorientation, the first world is becoming a less happy island in a sea of chaos.²¹

The World System : A Likely Scenario

Galtung offers a scientifically grounded method for understanding cultural, social, political and economic

21. J. Galtung, "Global process and World in 1980's", in W.L. Holsti and J.N. Rosenau (ed.) World Structures, London, Sage 1981, p.113.

aspects of the world system:

Culturally, the transfer of technology is at the same time a transfer of the hidden social code, the social cosmology behind that technology. This is not the place to argue the matter. It is only stipulated that this transfer effects a more effective westernization of the world than would colonialism and Neo-colonialism under which the Third World by and large could retain its cultural and cosmological orientations as long as economic factors could be provided for the first world.

Socially, It is important because it will change the social formations in the countries receiving the technology. So that those who can handle capital, do research and administer intensive technology will strengthen their position. This is a circular process. The technology can not operate without capitalists, research and bureaucrats, so as the technology gains a foothold, it will generate more members of the CRB Complex. As this complex grows more technology will follow.²²

Politically It is important because it will homogenize the world elites, making them increasingly similar to each other both within and between countries and thereby increasing the grip they have on each through channels of interaction. Effective self-reliance thus become less probable. This development both increases military risks and facilitates military action.

22. Ibid., p.114.

Economically, It is important because it opposed to artisanal mode of production, will increasingly spread to the Third World. It divides the world into a trade blocs, more particularly a Third World area and first world area.

SOME CONSEQUENCES IN THE FIRST WORLD - The overdeveloped and developing countries economics with higher percapita gross national product or gross national income are categorised by the United Nations as the first world. These are countries with a high rate of economic growth and prosperity, high possession of capital and technology as well as consumer goods and high levels of production and consumption as well as percapita income.

The class theory contends that the ever-increasing ownership pattern over the means and ends of production based on lassiez-faire principles of growth combined with both an offensive and defensive military and armament structure, has enabled certain countries to become the dominant first world at the cost of and deprivation of the poor countries. Structural theory and analysis suggest that both growth and exploitation characteristic of the first world are the result of structural process and mechanism as well as structural violence.²³ The administration, military, police, economic political, social power structures and their working are all related in such a way that the structure holds the power. They are all in all in the power system. Even political

23. A Guha "Mal-development", in world encyclopedia of peace, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1986, p.562.

parties can not do anything for them. The structural approach contends that the concept of class alliance is not really operative and effective in contemporary capitalism. So it is unrealistic to expect class revolution in contemporary modernized capitalism.

But there are grim scenarios that the first world is proceeding towards an acute economic, political and social crisis in the near future. The first world will encounter difficulties in procuring non-renewable raw materials, that is minerals for their own industrial needs, since their own resources are either exhausted or are on the way to being exhausted, because of long term irresponsible use. The democracy of the first world can no longer be regarded as popular democracy since it is a guided and structured democracy, where it reduces the rights of the citizens considerably. There is no participation of masses in such democracy. At the social level, affluence has created frustration. It increases drug abuse among a section of frustrated youth. Monetary culture has gradually infiltrated into the entire social life of the first world, which seems to have become far too impersonal so that the monetarising of even family life has generated large scale alienation.²⁴ The huge military research and developmental expenditure and armament production which are socially unproductive and socially unstable, but whose burden is borne by society do not contribute to GNP and are of no social use or benefit.

. Ibid., p.562.

SOME CONSEQUENCES IN THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES :- The post-1950 colonies and semicolonies, which are economically underdeveloped and have been trying to be self-reliant in respect of satisfying basic needs of their people and upgrading the average standard of living from below subsistence to the sub-sistence level are defined as the Third World. They have feudal, underdeveloped capitalist, neo-colonized, as well as semicolonized and vague - social ideological system, with low average income. But most of Third World countries are quite rich in the socio-cultural field. Even first world is dependent on Third world in many respects. For example, in non-renewable materials. But rich developed countries by means of capital, superior technology, sophisticated means of production, and with linkage with Third world rich elites drain away humans resources to their countries. So third world countries need to work out a development strategy which is based on the proper and horizontal relationship of the utilization of human and material resources in order to be self-reliant and self-sufficient as far as possible and to be able to meet fundamental material and non-material social needs. They have hitherto followed defective goals of development, for example to catch up with living standard of first world. But these efforts of third world are based on a false hypothesis. They should understand that the first world economics are not static ones, their rate of growth is high and so highly dynamic and thus it is not rational to try to compete with

them.²⁵ The Third world should not copy the mode, the standard of living, and the consumerism of the first world. They should rather base their development strategies and goals on their own values, needs, possibilities and potentials, traditions and customs and satisfaction of their own national and social needs. If the third world countries were grouped on a regional basis for co-operation and development for mutual horizontal interests and equity as well as equity, they could themselves, solve their own developmental problems. Industrialization involves not only more but also less welfare on some counts. It has effects which make the realization of non material aspects of development more difficult. for example at the social level, industrialization creates hierarchy, top-dogs and under-dog, where the former get a much higher share of benefit of industrialization than the latter. Many of the under-dogs get jobs in industry that are not desirable. The level of exploitation is often rather high for the underdogs. In the one hand industrialization satisfies material needs but on the other hand it is a direct threat to the welfare of the masses. But third world countries are so keen on achieving industrialization as far as possible that they are prepared to incur high costs - costs in terms of dependence, exploitation, pollution etc.

Through his meticulous observations Galtung shows that when a developmental process is based on imbalances, whether

25. Ibid., p.564.

from class or structural view points, social goals are related neither to global nor to internal peace. He calls attention to the phenomenon of mal-development, which creates wrong goals and values, which generates ill effects like, mal-production, mal-consumption and mal-distribution.

Towards a new International Development Strategy:

1. The New International Development Strategy aim at two key elements of self reliance in Third World and eradicate to obstacles facing them sustainable production of domestic food supplies and endogenous capacities of developing, acquiring and adopting the technology.
2. It should provide the concept of development with new and different cultural roots by drawing upon alternative modes of civilization.
3. It should incorporate demilitarization as a development objective and should initiate moves towards a step-wise and time bound programme of disarmament and demilitarization; for without progress on this front progress on economic and political aspects of development, the environment, the achievement of collective self-reliance and transformation towards new international economic order will always remain problematic.
4. It should aim at full participation by Third World people in the management of global development and decision making process.

5. It should aim at satisfaction of basic needs beginning with eradication of poverty at the local level.
6. Its aim should be alternative science and technology for another development.
7. It should redefine international resource transfers and ensure their automatic financing.

In short, the development of Third World countries will remain an unfulfilled goal, if they remain unable to secure a share of resources commensurate with their development needs, due to unfair competition from industrialised countries and conversely, the western life style and their demonstration effect on the south must be restrained if maldevelopment is not to become globalized. There is need for a system of international accountability of each state for impact of its national development or maldevelopment on development of other nations. This again is especially relevant rich and powerful countries having disproportionately access to and use of world resources and pursuing a life style and technology that produce the bulk of environmental hazards of the world. This becomes obstacles to international development strategy.

CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS OF MILITARIZATION

- GLOBAL VIOLENCE AND MILITARIZATION : THE EPIDEMIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES
- ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ARMS RACE
- PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SWEDEN AND INDIAN EXPERIENCE

MILITARIZATION : A CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN GLOBAL PROBLEMATIQUE

Before focusing on Third World Militarization and underdevelopment, a few preliminary observation may be made regarding global violence in which militarism is deeply rooted.

The dawn of the nuclear age at Hiroshima and Nagasaki led Albert Einstein to warn mankind: "The release of atomic energy has so changed everything that our former ways of thinking have been rendered obsolete. We therefore face catastrophe unhead of in former times. If mankind is to survive, then we need a completely new way of thinking. This warning has become increasing more compelling today. We live in a period of transition characterized by exponentially increasing threats to Human Life and Health and diminishing opportunities to stem the drift towards Armageddon.¹ Even without the outbreak of general war, global militarization inflicts unacceptable epidemiological consequences. Yet the magic irony of our time persists. Security is pursued in a manner that guarantees "insecurity", peace has become continuation of war by proxy. Herein lies the modern security problematique, a cluster of interwoven and interacting conceptual, normative, psychological and structural variables that together sustain and explain the maladaptive behavior of perusing peace by preparing for war. Security is still narrowly defined as a function of military power. This one dimensional image of

1. Samuel, S.Kim The Quest for Just World Order, Boulder Western view Press, 1984, p.95.

security confuses the power to kill with the power to win, as shown in the "body count mentality" of U.S.A. in Vietnam. Security is defined anachronistically as if the global reality had remained unchanged. This outdated view assumes that one nation's security can somehow be assured without regard to security of other nations, or even by increasing the insecurity of other nations - a manifest impossibility. Yet this so called realistical conception of National Security is sanctified in official pronouncements. As Richard Nixon put it in his 1972 state of the world message "American (Military) strength is the key stone in the structure of peace."² Security is still defined in parochial and laissez - faire terms as if there were no connection between the state of nation and state of the planet. This condemns Humanity to a multiplicity of mutually insecure states, a global system of collective-in security. The process of global Militarization centred on nuclear Arms race between super powers and disseminated via arms transfer from the advanced countries to the third world is now an urgent issues of survival. In this Chapter our main focus would be on the epidemiological aspect of global violence, which relates militarization to the under-development of the Third World countries.

GLOBAL VIOLENCE AND MILITARIZATION : THE
EPIDEMIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES - The minimization of global
violence in both a narrow and broad sense is what a just and

2. Ibid., p.96.

human world order is all about. Violence can be defined as a pathological force that destroys or diminishes life - sustaining and life enhancing process. Violence may be direct, killing swiftly through war or indirect killing slowly and invisibly through poverty, hunger, disease and repression. Indirect violence is as inhuman as direct violence from the victims' standpoint. Yet it is generally a secondary concern in the traditional world order thinking. Violence like disease is inherently anti-life and anti-thetical to the establishment of a human world order. We need positive peace free from structural violence.³

TABLE - 4.1 The epidemiological model of world order

Health (Value)	Disease (Violence)	Agent (Militarism)	Effect (Human Life)
Peace	War	Arms Race	Threatens of Human survival (Life Destroying)
Economic Well-being	Poverty	Resource Re-allocation	Threatens of Human needs (Live-diminishing)
Social Justice	Injustice	Marital Rule	Threatens of Human Rights (Life-Devaluing)
Ecological Balance	Pollution	Military activities	Threatens of Human Safety (Life-degrading)

Source: Ibid., p.96.

3. Ibid., p.96.

Focusing on violence as system wide disease with militarism as an agent. There are some assumption of the epidemiological model.

1. Violence as a social (man-made) disease is not a natural or inevitable feature of the Human condition and it is an avoidable evil.
2. Violence as expressed in modern arms race is a Human problem, it can not be explained as a necessary or unavoidable by produce of expanding technology beyond Human control.
3. Violence has multiple causes and consequences: domestic, external and internal.
4. Violence is expressed in various forms of ranging from direct killing to indirect killing.
5. Violence has structural "trickle down tendency, generally moving down wards on the ladder of social stratification as an instrument of social control and dominance.
6. Violence like disease, hits hardest at weak, defenseless, and sub-ordinate Human groups in both domestic and international settings.
7. Violence thrives in a weapon culture.
8. Violence can be measured by the extent to which social norms and structures have become militarised.

9. Violence tend to be self-destructive in the long run.

THE DYNAMICS OF GLOBAL MILITARIZATION - The post war militarization is unprecedented in the magnitude and scope of its threats to basic Human Rights and values as well as in the multiplicity of the epidemiological consequences. This is the first time in human history that a single person or small group of war movers hold doomsday power to bring about a global catastrophe. The arms race permeates the human environment. The destructive forces of weapons systems has reached a "Megadeath" level threatening to insist irreversible damage to life-supporting eco-system. Global militarization dominates both great and small, old and new states.

IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION - Contrary to Daniel Bell's declaration of "end of ideology" about three decades ago, ideology plays as potent role as even in world politics. Now-a-days militarism has achieved the status of a global ideology. The Third World countries have become militarized as a by product of super power rivalry. In this way Third World countries decision making process from top to bottom have also become militarized. Militarism like opium is habit of forming in Third World countries.⁴

STRUCTURAL DIMENSION - In sociological sense the sentimental dimension of global militarization include the relative size, status, and role of one influence of militants

4. Ibid., p.97.

sector of the societies. The super powers play the dominant role in global militants spending, militants R and D, arms population, arms travel on transition one and militant training. The linkage between the local (Third World) and global great power, militarization is made and sustained through arms travel and training. The globalization of East-West, super power conflict has been the most powerful agent for the post war militarization of social, political, economic and cultural process at different level of governments. Social conflict is a breeding ground for militarization and used a legitimate means of resolving social conflict. But in reality militarism can not solve the social conflicts only it encourages social conflicts.

THE EPIDEMIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF GLOBAL MILITARIZATION -

The numbers principle of crime against humanity can be applied holistically to assess the effects of global militarization on human life.⁵ Conventional peace and world order thinking has focussed too narrowly on the visible effects of warfare and thus has become an inadequate and even misleading response to unconventional global militarization to Humanity. Above table clarifies the linkage between and among the effects of violence on Human life in four value domains. Given the scope and magnitude of its vertical and horizontal contagion violence has become an assault on Human survival. Human needs, Human right and Human habitat. The main assumption in this epidemiological approach is that the

5. Ibid., p.102.

wages of violence go beyond. Human casualties in war including indirect, invisible effects on life-supporting and life-enhancing process. The failure to see this pervasive violence as a common point to humanity is in itself a major cause of growing violence.

The human arms race increases international tension and structural violence in the Third world countries. The global militarization is due to changes in the international power structures in which super power rivalry census with horizontal and vertical struggles. The spread of global militarization is a structural phenomena and is a product of global transformation process. So the only development theory which accommodates militarization must therefore represent a pseudo-theory of development. We can recall R. Macnamara's speech which he delivered in 1968 which the emphasised importance of development over military security. He underlined the fact that security is development and that without development there can be no security. As development progresses, security progresses and when people of a nation have organized their own human and natural resources to provide themselves with what they need and expect out of life and have learned to compromise among completing demands in larger national interest, then their resistance to disorder and violence will increase. To sum up: Galtung's theoretical formulations contribute to the awareness that militarization endangers human survival. His problem-solving mode of thought is a challenge to the strategic is a challenge to the strategic communities in both advanced and developing

countries who continue to exert pressure for more sophisticated armaments. He refutes the logic of nurturing the military establishment at all levels through systematic thinking about the 'epidemiological model', which reveals the global problematique of militarization.

ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ARMS RACE: TEN PROPOSALS FOR CONCRETE PEACE POLITICS.

In the light of broad conceptualisation of Peace and Development that the more limited issue of disarmament to which so much intellectual efforts seems to have been devoted needs to be conceived. A mood of pessimism has pervaded the campaign for disarmament over last 25 years writing and pleading about it has seemed futile exercise, failing to connect with world of those who make action. The whole efforts of promoting disarmament has gone on in an unrealistic manner; in a manner that is historically naive and conceptually empty still there is lack of comprehensive and holistic perspective and strategy on disarmament. But J. Galtung says, "Disarmament does not seem to be the road to peace. But peace may be road to disarmament. The military race has to be measured in terms of destructive capacity achieved not in terms of budget in the article "From offensive to Defensive Defence, Johan Galtung argued that the most important cut in the range of possible reaction to an attack is not between weapons of mass destruction and conventional defense, nor between military and non-military defense, but between offensive and defensive means of

defence. Defence weapons systems are defined as those that have a limited range and destruction area and for that reason can only be used on one's own territory; offensive weapons system are all others. Three types of defensive defence are then described: conventional military defence, paramilitary defence and non-military defence. So a good non provocative or in offensive defence should then be based on all three types of Defensive Defence.⁶ The major arguments in favours of three type of defense that a defence of this kind is not provocative since it cannot be used for an attack, hence should not lead to any arms race within this type of defence doctrine it would be entirely possible for both parties to have not only a high level of security, but also a relatively equal level of security. It provides maximum possible to cooperate with each other.

Basic to the whole theory of defensive defence, with systems that cannot be used for attack is the distinction between territorial. social approaches, violent and non-violent approaches. The main assumption is that how the whole territory of a country can be defended non-violently.

All three approaches have a certain common structures, based on small defence units, that are autonomous locally supported, well distributed all over the national territory. It is a non violent type of defence. The Defensive Defense

6. J. Galtung, "Transarmament: From offensive to defensive defence", Journal of Peace Research, Oslo, vol.21, no.2, 1984, p.129.

can provide best defense for a country. Because this type of defence is inner directed and more self-reliant. Because defensive defence:

- a) Presupposes a high level of national self-reliance in defence matters.
- b) a policy of defensive defence presupposes a high level of local self-reliance
- c) a defensive defence is vulnerable to an enemy, who attacks the system with offensive arms from his own country
- d) A policy of defensive defence is not offensive against outside adversary. But could be higher offensive, against an inside adversary.
- e) There is no cross purposes of three types of defence⁷

So, the defensive defence does not reduce anybody's security. Nobody is threatened and nobody becomes more insecure. There is no provocation effect leading to endless chains of action are reaction, an endless army race such as we have today.

Galtung suggested, what has to be eliminated is not all measures of defence, but only those that are offensive in the sense that they also can be used for an attack. There should be complete elimination of offensive weapons systems. To Galtung, the driving force behind an arms race is ofcourse; not only found in the relation between two or more parties

7. J. Galtung, "Transarmament from offensive to Defensive Defence", Journal of Peace Research, Oslo, vol.211, no.2, 1984, pp.136, 139.

but also within country itself. In its military-bureaucratic-intellegentsia-corporate complex (MBIC) so it is the offensive capacity, which stimulates the arms race not just any military capability. The offensive weapon systems which encourages and creates wars should be eliminated first. After that one may continue in a more peaceful world, less dominated fear. The defensive defence system have a very short range or work locally one very precise and limited destructive effect. Galtung argued military means of defence is unnecessary one that all resources would be converted to civilian purposes.

TEN PROPOSALS -

1. The best defence a country can have is to be as invulnerable economically as possible and have, only defensive means of defence. This is the basis of the swiss defence system. It is self-sufficient in times of war and in such basic fields as food and energy that there will be no temptation to pursue aggressive policies with intervention in neighbouring countries and rapid deployment forces for action all around thw world. This types of defence does not export war and other people's territory, which is what Ex-Soviet Union (now Russia) tries to do with the system of buffer states and the U.S. tries to do with her "modernization" of the European Theater.⁸

8. J. Galtung, Alternative to Nuclear Arms Race, Bulletin of Peace Proposal (Oslo), vol.12, no.4, 1981, p.363.

- 2) A non-aggressive defence is fully possible: It consists of a combination of conventional military, para-military and non-military defence. (Example Swiss and Yugoslavia; they are probably both among the safety country in Europe today because their defence system do not threaten anybody.
- 3) Military blocs can hardly be abolished all of a sudden, but more countries who are members of the bloc could become more independent and become protest countries rather than client countries:- Both France and Romania are good examples of countries that are not automatic followers of superpower line. They both played historical role in 1960s in bringing about defence one may play such role again. But Netherland and Poland de-facto are protest countries rather than client countries.
- 4) Neutral countries in Europe should play a much more active role in the non-alignment, also in development questions, to bridge the gaps. The non-aligned movement consists mainly of countries trying to escape from the pattern of underdevelopment. They are offered only two models of development, capitalist or socialist. The superpowers seriously watch that a country sticks to the correct model what is desperately needed in the world today would be countries capable of developing a third, or forth or even fifth development model so as to be not only non-aligned in a military sense but also in development politics in general.

- 5) Organic-peace-building and war-avoidance conferences without superpowers or with superpowers as observers only. To entrust the peace process to superpowers is not only totally unrealistic, it is catastrophic like entrusting the control of traffic in narcotics to the major narcotics dealers. On the contrary, it is the neutral countries in Europe and the protest countries who should take initiative in organizing new types of conferences not dominated by superpowers objective and thinking.
- 6) As an example of peace-building measures: New forms of cooperation. The cooperation between countries should not be economically unbalanced. No one should be dependent or in debt burden. There should be mutual cooperation between countries for peace-building.
- 7) Examples of war avoiding measures a UN surveillance Satellite crimes are being committed everyday against the people of Europe and other countries as well by superpowers and some of their allies who target their missiles on human beings anywhere, preparing genocide. These crimes should not pass unmasked. Each side knows through its system of spies and spy satellites more or less where the other side has its weapon of mass death. We the possible victims, are entitled to share in this knowledge, to reveal it, to unmask it. The proposal made by French in special session of UN should be supported in this direction.

- 8) Examples of a war-avoiding measure UN troops between East and West. War can be avoided if UN peace keeping forces would be stationed in Buffer zones between NATO and others countries in Europe.
- 9) Local municipal councils represent a new force in peace movement and could build up the support for nuclear free-zones and also for alternative forms of defence.
- 10) Eventually, the action by people themselves is indispensable as peace factor and the most solid factor on which to build.

So, let us liberate our politicians from their thought prisons they are prisoner of their own much too simple logic. The situation is dangerous, difficult but not yet hopeless. What has been mentioned above is completely possible as can achieved in realistic manner.

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO SWEDEN AND INDIAN EXPERIENCE

In the sixties - the decade when the post-war economic boom in the west reached its peak and we were on the threshold of a phase of detente between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the military front. There was no peace and development. In the early eighties - with the economic crisis of the West entering its second decade and amidst a new cold war between East and West - the problematic has been reversed: disarmament is seen as a precondition for development, spend more on development and less on arms in order to achieve real development. The possibility of peace is closely related to the kind of development pursued by groups of people, on local, national and global levels. This is exactly the starting point adopted by some recent contributions which draws on peace as well as development research (example: Hettne, B., 1983). The aim is that identifying "peace intensive" models of development. The basic argument of these contributions is that conflict and armament and fed by conventional, mainstream models of development aiming at modernization and growth, while peace and disarmament may be promoted by the development path conceptualized in counterpoint development thinking aiming at another development.⁹ There can be no uniform development

9. G. Sorensen, "Peace and Development: Looking for Right Track", Journal of Peace Research, Oslo, vol.22, no.1, 1985, p.70.

path applicable to all countries, there can be no final definition of what development is the purpose here is to identify models of development that breeds peace as well as development. The main focus would be on three models of peace and development. (i) The conventional (ii) the reformist and the alternative in terms of their structural context, the context in which they have emerged and their supportive political forces. The comparison will be on India and Sweden's experience in the field of peace and development.

The Context of the Models:

Security, growth and modernization -

As far as the structural context is concerned the conventional model presents the world as an interstate system consisting 160 nation states, each state being a sovereign nation. State also have a sovereign unit controlling the territory, counting upon the loyalty of its people and defending its territory against all other nation-states. In practice, of course, the defence system of a particular state is designed to withstand attacks from a limited number of states. However, each state conceives of the international system as an anarchy. Conflicts, wars thus happen. So it is necessary to be militarily prepared for war. This conception of security strong military defence against an anarchy like and threatening international environment provides strong motivation for armament, since balance of power and more recently deterrence are seen as the only guarantee for

peace.¹⁰ Every nation state is also a functionally organized national economy, distinguishable from all other national economies who compete among themselves on the world market. As they find out their on the comparative advantage they become more and more socialized. The trade and specialization create links between the states that support peace and counter the inbuilt tendency towards conflict. Obviously the model does not quite operate in this way. Serious dysfunctions have emerged and the model is on its way to breaking down. For example, nation building process in the Third World. Violence is used and resources are spent on maintaining state structures with little viability, particularly in Africa. At the same time, many of the problems facing the industrialized world cannot be effectively dealt with because of the nation-stage strait jacket. Example of such problems are the environmental crisis, the enormous loss of resources represented by the rearmament process, the economic crisis and psychological diseases inherent in the industrial civilization. It is becoming more and more evident that social paradigm of problems solution tend to add more problems rather than solving them.¹¹

10. B. Hettne, "Three Models of Peace and Development with Special Reference to India and Sweden" in Narinder Singh (ed.), Peace and Development, New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, p.83.

11. Ibid., p.84.

In the field of national security where peace is maintained by the threat of ultimate destruction. The pretext for this is the concept of balance of power, which is a meta physical concept. In reality, there is no balance of power exists, there is only superiority. The more recently security policy of deterrence, only applicable to the east - west confrontation, is no less metaphysical. Our analysis of conventional peace and development model support this view. The system of autonomous states struggling among themselves got "development and security" has no future. The states beset with external and internal security problems are developing towards "national security states" a tendency undermining both peace and development, as well as preventing a national use of world's resources. Still the steps towards a peaceful world seem as difficult to take as if the holocaust were preferable to radical structural change, including the reconsideration of many received truths a reformist model has been developed, the purpose of which is to eliminate the dysfunctional excess of the conventional model.

Disarmament, development and common security:

The reformist model tries to tackle some of the dysfunctions of the conventional model. The excesses in the armaments, the economic stagnation, the rising unemployment and the polarization between rich and poor within the nation-states and within world system. The model contains three crucial elements: First of all, the level of armament

must be lowered, but with the balance of power maintained. Secondly, the resources released by disarmament should be transferred to the "developing countries: so that the purchasing power of these countries is increased. Thirdly, the growing demand that results from the massive transfer of resources will create growth and employment in the crisis-ridden industrial society.¹²

The model presupposes a stronger commitment on the part of nation-states to Joint Planning in order to manage the system of global inter-dependence. A new detente between East-West is necessary to halt the global rearmament process, a similar change in attitudes between north and south is one basic pre-condition for the establishment of NIEO. Detente, Disarmament and Development, NIEO, interdependence and common security are thus some of the keywords of reformist commission report, the palme commission report and the UN study on disarmament and development, the rich countries have preached the theme of interdependence and a common destiny to all mankind. They links world poverty to the question of world peace, in order to ban war, mass poverty must also be banned. The concept of common security is based on the idea that the process would reduce security rather than increase it. Even the nation-state were created with the purpose of providing security, which is a rather idealized interpretation of violent process of state formation and

12. Ibid., p.85.

nation building. For peace and development, disarmament is thus a general solution to the development problems both in rich world and in the poor.

Another Development and Alternative Security:

The alternative model in contrast, is a fundamental re-interpretation of the current peace and development conceptions. According to this model, development means creating a sustainable society that fulfils basic human needs and where the relationship between society and nature is non-exploitative. It contains the vision of positive peace and to realize this vision. It negates the nation-state in this negation lies the essence of the utopian vision, a vision expressed both by Karl Marx and the counterpoint tradition in western politics, as well as in the resistance against the imposition of the nation-state on the people in non-European world. It also negates the dominance the functional economy over the territorial systems.¹³

What would then a development-strategy conducive for alternative security look like in positive terms? According alternative development thinking, development should be defined as:

Need-oriented

Endogenous

Self-reliant

3. Ibid., p.87.

Ecologically Sound

Based on Structural transformation.

Thus development strategies based on this approach would be more "peace intensive" than mainstream strategies. Basic needs strategies would reduce the need for international competition, endogenous development, would create conditions for the survival of regional cultures and ecologically sound development eliminate tensions generated by resource scarcity. It could also be termed as authentic development which would also imply more, creativity, confidence and consciousness and higher mobilization potential.¹⁴

Alternative security takes its point of departure in a critique of the conventional concept of security. Another threat of security lies in particular the vulnerability of modern industrialism. J. Galtung mentions three reasons for this vulnerability: dependence on foreign trade, bureaucratic centralization, and high degree of urbanization. Galtung also stresses that modern industrial states tend to build their defence on offensive weapons. A vulnerable industrial society tries to export its wars. In this case it is not so much the conception of national security that creates the problem but the ways of achieving it. A method that combines defensive weapons. Civil resistance and guerilla war would be more suitable to the principles of a sustainable society and will provide more security in broad sense of the word.

14. Above model was given by, The Dag Hammansksold Foundation, Uppsala in 1977.

The defensive policy must also contain the actual struggle for defence. If this struggle conventionally is military and violent. The alternative defence would logically be non-military and non-violent. Such a defence policy would thus rely less on military weapons and more on society's institutions.¹⁵ It is obvious that a civilian-based defence can do nothing against a nuclear attack. But its potential should rather be seen in its preventive effects. A country with a civilian based defence policy and without nuclear weapons should be far less likely to be targeted by nuclear powers. Similarly a process of thesis armament towards more defensive policies in which a civilian-based defence component must be crucial would reduce the present international tension and likelihood of nuclear war.

A Strategy for Peace and Development:

It is necessary to the problem of compatibility between the three models in terms of content as well as supportive forces. Are the three models compatible on conflict? To what extent are they complementary? Can specific ideas from the models be combined into strategy for peace and development. These are the basic developmental problems will be focused here.

The Conventional model has become usefulness what proponents of other the models tend to agree on. On the other hand, it disagree on the usefulness of the two basic

15. B. Hettne, Themes Models of Peace and Development in N. Singh (ed.) New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, p.89.

institution of western system, the state and market. The reformist believe in what sometimes is called "the management of global interdependence" in the common interests of all States, whereas proponents of alternative model put more faith in radical decentralization and autonomous people's power.

The idea of disarmament and development and common security should not primarily be seen as analytical tools, but rather as ideological concepts meant for a mobilizing myth. Even in Palme Commission. Brandt commission has been far from realization of peace and development. So disarmament is not a pre-condition for development. Because the mainstream pattern of development is the creator of internal and external conflicts that breed and feed the arms race. Thus without a change in dominant development paradigm. It is difficult to see how stable peace can be secured.

Growth with Modernization

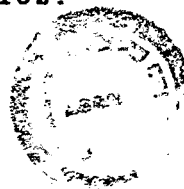
Another Development

	A	B
Conventional security	The Conventional Model	
	C	D
Alternative Security	The Reformist Model	The Alternative Model

(Models of Security and Development Combined)

Source:- B. Hettne's Three "Models of Peace and Development", in N. Singh (ed.) Peace and Development, New Delhi, Lancer International, 1991, p.102.

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Explanation:

The conventional model of Peace and Development is made up by the combination of Conventional Security/Growth and modernization (A) and the Alternative model by Combination of Alternative Security/Another Development (D). These are theoretically "Stable" combinations in the sense that there is consonance between the respective conceptions of security and development. In a more substantive sense the conventional model is inherently unstable in a longer perspective because of expansionary tendencies with destructive consequences, whereas the alternative model is defined by its presumed stability in the longer perspective. Two other combinations (B and C) are dissonant from a more paradigmatic view. From substantive point of view also they seem to be imbalanced even from A to B or from A to C is not real model for peace and development. The only reformist model as a first step towards alternative to peace and security. This model tries to create alternative security arrangements without changing the mainstream pattern of development. It can only be (A to C to D). From A to B may be only possible transition. However, if the pattern of development does not change in the direction of self-reliance, horizontally and symmetry, this route with similarly end up at a strating point (A to C to A). Thus the long run goal must be to move towards the alternative model (B & D). This model will be real solution to world crises,

conflicts and underdevelopment.¹⁶

The Case of Sweden and India:

Comparing Sweden and India, Sweden is a dwarf in the first world and whatever model of peace and development it chooses would probably have less impact internationally and even regionally than India's choice of development path and security strategy. However, there is a certain "likedmindedness" in the two cases as far as their international outlook is concerned, Sweden being a neutral country, speaks neutralism in sometimes, whereas India being a founder member of NAM also speaks neutralism.

To start with Sweden, her security problems must obviously be seen in European context. But Sweden is far from above problems. Its model of development and its defence is unique in the world. It does not follow offensive means of defence. She realized the defensive means of defense is the real solution to peace and security. She perceived that, without alternative defence, self-reliable would not be possible.

It follows non-violent model of defense. The Swedish model stresses the time sequence of different forms of defence. The military defense will take the first line and if this line is broken ; there will be a guerilla type

16. B. Hettne, "Three models of Peace and Development in N. Singh (ed.), New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, p.103.

struggle. As a third stage civilian resistance will take up momentum as the occupation of territory has become an established fact. The Swedish Commission emphasizes that the development of non military resistance is not a disarmament initiative but on the contrary a method to strengthen the total defence system.

India as the dominant power in a sensitive region with superpowers involvement, border problems (India-Pakistan, India-China) which have led to major wars (1947, 1967, 1965, 1971) and internal tensions with security - implications (The Sikh problems, The Tamil problems). India takes a "realistic" position with regard to her security problem. At the same time she has strong political traditions as far as the other two models are concerned. Where Nehru was strong supporter of Alternative Model, not only in terms of defence strategy but also its preferred socio-political organization (self-reliance, decentralization, a minimal degree of strangeness").¹⁷

But the Gandhian approach has never been taken seriously in India. They took Gandhian approach as a mode of political struggle for social change. That's why bloody birth of India and Pakistan and its subcontinent locked in destructive relationship hate and fear. This traumatic event destroyed the base for a Gandhian model of peace and development. Similarly Nehru approach weakened after Indo-

Ibid., p.109.

Chinese confrontation in 1962 and Indo-Pakistan war in 1971. India is not like Pakistan. Pakistan is war morigening country. Example "we may eat grass but we will make bomb first". But India has combined a strong defence and a cautious attitude towards external world with a strong concern for global peace initiatives in this regard. India and Sweden are not so dissimilar in spite of their different geopolitical positions.

So there is need for Alternative Strategy for peace and development. Even Lenin, Stalin model in short run they succeeded but in long run, as we know all they failed.¹⁸ Even western model is not also suitable for Developing Countries. It is argued that a sustainable order of peace and development can be brought about only if an alternative security arrangement and alternative development model are synthesized and implemented. There can no conflict with this proposition. All human institutions are capable of improvement and betterment and therefore theoretically it is possible to bring about day a radical decentralization and autonomous people's power.¹⁹

18. K. Subramaniam, "In search of Peace and Development: A non-escapist approach" in N. Singh (ed.), New Delhi: Lancer International, 1991, pp.145.

19. Ibid., p.146.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

- **GALTUNG'S NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR
PUBLIC POLICY**

PEACE-BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT

In recent years in India and in other developing countries there has been a lively debate on how development can result in stable peace. In India democratic forces have prevailed but elsewhere in the Third World totalitarian and authoritarian forces have very often dominated the political process. The reflections on Galtung's work as a peace researcher which have been developed in this study can help to bring policy thinking and principles of social and political action into sharper focus. Mechanistic theories of development have not helped to explore the processes which have created a quagmire of overt and structural violence in the Third World. Without suggesting that Galtung provides an exhaustive thematic coverage of the problems of peace and development, it is possible to claim that his prescriptology can in the policy domain introduce innovativeness and flexibility in the direction of humanisation of inter-group and international relations. Galtung owes his deeper understanding of the changes in the political discourse to Mahatma Gandhi, but his attempts to generalise about future directions of the flow of events, and the dangers and opportunities that lie ahead follow from a broad spectrum of conceptual categories,

a) INSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Galtung offers a theoretical paradigm of institutional conflict resolution which makes a key contribution to his general theory of peaceful cooperation. The problems of South Asian cooperation and security have been exacerbated,

especially in the rural and peripheral regions because of the absence of "relational thinking" and the underestimation of the threat systems created by counter-productive military, political, economic, ideological and cultural policies. Galtung's recommendations are always intended to move towards a "peace structure". In the context of the new approaches to regional policy like SAARC, the wider perspective would be obtained by adopting systems analysis for the resolution of South Asian conflicts with the help of a "mechanism" which would be "deeply rooted in the norm structure" of the South Asian people. Clearly Galtung would recommend a "regional system" which could require symmetry between the cooperating parties, a degree of homology or structural similarity between them, interdependence, international institution building and dispersion of cooperation on as many fields and frameworks as possible.

b) DEVELOPMENT: GOALS, PROCESSES, INDICATORS

Galtung's work suggests that qualitative and quantitative approaches to development are quite different. He reconceptualises the central themes of development for policy making in terms of the overall need for humanisation. He does not agree that the preconditions for development of modern forms of social organisation and consciousness is to accept the "western" system as a normative framework. He has been specially concerned with social science investigations at low levels of organisation which can be applied to situations at higher levels of organisation. An important implication of his attitudinal preference is that

bureaucratic factors never provide the compelling rationalisation for development decisions in his model. Development goals should enhance stability and permit adjustment whenever required in the interests of equity. Development process should complement political and social developments which should be geared to fulfill the criteria of peacefulness. According to Galtung, vertical interaction patterns are one of the main success of inequality in the world; his indicators of development exclude factors which lead to deprivation and intensification of social problems on account of dominance structures.

c) SELF-RELIANCE

The themes of "self-reliance" and "autonomy" frame discussions of peace and development in Galtung's discourse. A important strand of the discussion which is relevant to the current debate on developmental alternatives is his emphasis on the economic and ecological aspects of autonomy with together with social and cultural autonomy should work at all levels of social structure formations. This leads him to a combination of "independence" and "interdependence" which can be a central starting point for the new world order at a time when pluralism is being encouraged everywhere although the specifics of the transition are still uncertain. In his social planning for peace and stability. Galtung has been concerned with both the openness and closedness of structures and the arguments he put forward for self-reliance recalled Gandhian perspectiveness of powerful action.

The questions of creativity and autonomy are basis to the new tenor of relationships which have to be built when advanced technologies and management experience have to be rapidly absorbed in the process of radical economic transformation by a developing society. Hopefully, Galtung analysis can help to advance a coherent set of policy goals.

d) SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION THROUGH SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Galtung has identified many reasons why peace movements and other social and cultural manifestations of "participatory democracy" are necessary instrumentalities for the establishment of "pacified social spaces". Intractable problems which cannot be dealt with by ordinary societal processes require new commitments, rules and obligations which can only be fulfilled by socio-political movements. Galtung would not allow economic difficulties to stampede him into agreeing to the withdrawal of social activism. Creative instability and turmoil is preferable to iron-curtained hindrances, since the diversity and pluralism of the "autonomic" world needs to be preserved. In the context of politics and alignments in the Third World, Galtung would not pin extravagant hopes on configuration of power among elite groups but emphasise a holistic approach to social practices and cultural practices in favour of "peaceful existence and competition, not dominance".

e) ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM FOR DEVELOPMENT

The field of scholarship in which Galtung has specialised has added a breadth and depth to the reflections

on development values. The creation of broad concepts and terms like "structural violence" and his formulation of the theory of the centre and periphery have provided him with significant leverage in influencing academic opinion and peace activism. In the post Cold War period, development policies confront the need for a sophisticated approach which can cope with the new sanitation in which the world military-political landscape has changed radically. The betterment of the human condition in the Third World can hardly be achieved through trial and error methods within the existing paradigm for development and passive responses to hunger and famine and the general environmental crisis. What makes Galtung's ideas on "autonomy", "self-reliance", "resilience", so timely is not only their relevance to a new social cosmology. There are new theoretical and analytical insights in the study of information, and communication technology, and the study of techno-economic paradigms for developing countries, which illustrate more clearly some issues on which Galtung had focussed.

f) TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The intricate and complex relationships which has emerged after the end of the Cold War has shown that the peace agenda cannot be controlled by those who are intellectual committed to hierachical power structures. These decision makers have failed to create institutional mechanisms which can seriously ameliorate deep rooted conflicts. Similarly peace processes cannot succeed if they

are the result of incoherent policies in sectors like arms transfers. Galtung's thinking on peace and his suggestions for building new forms of cooperation are based on individual and collective self-definition. In an era where the peace dividend seems to elude everyone, a fruitful path to the transformation of the international system may lie through developing new skills in conflict resolution, promoting knowledge of peace opportunities and strengthening grass roots movements for peace building. Galtung provides tools and hints which help in steering a safe course between the Scylla of the pressures of uni-polar world and the Charybdis of parochial and atavistic Third World protests. Galtung's model can provide for the possibility of greater participation by new actors in the international arena in the post-cold War environment. Unlike some other analysis of "alternative to war" he does not have much use for coercive diplomacy and would recommend extensive policy changes for a benign and more accountable role for the remaining superpower: the United States.

g) DEMILITARIZING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Galtung's definition of Peace and his conceptualisation of "defensive defence" helps him to conceive of the defence system of a country in way that would not be suitable for attacking any other country. From this starting point many factors would contribute in shaping the perceptions of decision-makers in the direction of demilitarisation of international relations. The primacy of the world military

order rests, ultimately on the epidemiological consequences of the formidable importance of the military factor in the socio-political context. From Galtung's normative foundations with regard to both technology choices and conformance with social norms, a well defined trajectory of demilitarisation can be perceived. Collective learning about the assessment of the world military order can help to develop ideas of adequate defence in the changed international environment. In most Third World countries doctrines of unilateral military security actually weaken the innovative potential of the defence establishment.

Galtung's approach can stimulate international interactive learning and can hopefully pave the way for reduction of defence budgets while retaining the ability to resist aggression.

h) DYNAMIC OF NORTH SOUTH RELATIONS

Galtung's ability to map the entire field of North South relations follows from his unique philosophic positioning. His analysis is helpful from both the historical and cross-cultural sense and fills a void by providing a more systematic analysis of the political role of North's economic strategies towards the South. His theory does not help develop any new utopias; but it does forcefully raise the question of how structural contradictions within the North give rise to conflicts with the South and vice-versa. It is also possible on the assumption of his theoretical basis to examine the current

manifestations of the political dynamics in North-South relations which have been adversely affected by the information-control processes which under the hegemonic control of the North. Galtung also blends a range of theoretical, historical and sociological approaches which help the North and South to utilise their "power potentials" to resolve structural contradictions and to utilise a new range of opportunities for shaping peace and development in global society. Galtung of course does not adequately explain why "western" political leaders should initiate policies whose ultimate consequences would threaten their power base in the North.

1) DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS IN SOUTH ASIA

The considerable literature produced by Galtung displays a diversity of approach and does not provide a single mould for considering development options for an area as large as South Asia. Yet if policy lessons for sustained development in the 1990s are examined healthy structural changes could be accomplished with criticism and evaluation of current modes of thinking. Galtung's wide range of theories on development, structural violence, international relations and peaceful cooperation can provide prescriptions cooperative relationships and effective international institutions. He has emphasised time and again the need to focus on research which can help to discard old "malign" equilibrium and find ways how to stabilise new "benign" equilibrium. This approach would seem to be essential true in

the case of South Asia which has a plethora of conflicts which appear to be both pathological and irrational Galtung can indeed help South Asian decision-makers to make a cost-benefit estimate for regional action to change from malign to benign interaction. Finally Galtung presents a comprehensive view on mutual interdependence and examines closely the question of authority in any supersystem. His recommendations have particular meaning for confidence and security building measures which would be grounded in both empirical and theoretical investigations.

j) GALTUNG'S SOCIAL VISION

Apart from introducing a new way of thinking about international relations, Galtung's doctrines and ideas represent a social vision. At a time when the advanced countries appear to be shrinking in their acceptance of responsibility for the pervasive stagnation of the Third World, Galtung brings a cross cultural perspective which provides high visibility to norms and suggests appropriate behaviour for pervasive social improvements. His insight into norm structures makes him a bold guide to policy making at all levels - local, regional and international. It cannot be said that his development model is without flaws since both his work and that of the Latin American dependencia theorists could lead to neglect of certain sources of innovation and growth. It is, however, a unique achievement of Galtung that he has converted his objectives and methods of peace research into a universal narrative against violence

and in favour of peacefulness. His complete social vision on peace and development has as its point of departure the simple idea that violence is the result of denial of four basic areas of human need: (1) survival, (2) welfare, (3) freedom and (4) identity. This study would have served its purpose if it has shown that Galtung's efforts in peace studies can help to channel the course of change in a benign direction.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace (U.N. General Assembly Resolution 33/73, part 1 (1978).

The General Assembly

Solemnly invites all States to guide themselves in their activities by the recognition of the supreme importance and necessity of establishing, maintaining and strengthening a just and durable peace for present and future generations, and, in particular, to observe the following principles:

1. Every nation and every human being, regardless of race, conscience, language or sex, has the inherent right to life in peace. Respect for that right, as well as for the other human rights, is in the common interest of all mankind and an indispensable condition of advancement of all nations, large and small, in all fields.
2. A war of aggression, its planning, preparation or initiation are crimes against peace and are prohibited by international law.
3. In accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, States have the duty to refrain from propaganda for wars of aggression.
4. Every State, acting in the spirit of friendship and good-neighbourly relations, has the duty to promote all-round, mutually advantageous and equitable political, economic, social and cultural cooperation with other States, notwithstanding their socio-economic systems, with a view to securing their common existence and co-operation in peace, in conditions of mutual understanding of and respect for the identity and diversity of all peoples; and the duty to take up actions conducive to the furtherance of the ideals of peace, humanism and freedom.
5. Every State has the duty to respect the right of all peoples to self-determination, independence, equality, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of States and the inviolability of their frontiers, including the right to determine the road of their development, without interference or intervention in their internal affairs.
6. A basic instrument of the maintenance of peace is the elimination of the threat inherent in the arms race, as

well as efforts towards general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, including partial measures with that end in view, in

accordance with the principles agreed upon within the United Nations and relevant international agreements.

7. Every State has the duty to discourage all manifestations and practices of colonialism, as well as racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, as contrary to the right of peoples of self-determination and to other human rights and fundamental freedoms.
8. Every State has the duty to discourage advocacy of hatred and prejudice against other peoples as contrary to the principles of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation.

APPENDIX II

TOWARDS NEW INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT:

The changes in the development theory and practice currently taking place have to be accompanied by corresponding changes in the indicators of development. The conventional indicator, GNP in terms of economic growth only served purposes. If the development is to be identified with such components as

- Satisfaction of human needs for all
- Human centre development
- Equality and social justice
- Level of autonomy or self-reliance with participation of all
- Ecological violence
- Militarization machines towards more peaceful human societies

PEACE AND GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION

Dimensions	Ecological (Conflicts over Natural Resources)	Economic (Global Economic Crisis)	Military (Militarisation Process R&D, Militarism)	Political (Role of the State & Inter-governmental Agencies)	Socio-cultural (Violence, Human Rights, Basic Needs)
Ecological		Trend: The issue of scarcity of resources: actual scarcity, of some resources over the long range vs. perceived and artificial scarcities in the short and medium range due to profit stockpiling by some countries, leading to decline in availability and rising costs of resources for development and for basic needs, e.g. food, energy; prospects of large-scale starvation of the poor as against determination by the rich to maintain existing living standards, if necessary by force.	Trend: Over-riding military priorities in extraction and use of resources; preparation for armed conflict over resources; increasing stocks of dangerous wastes from military production; use of chemical warfare agents e.g. defoliants, tear-gas; cornering of strategic resources by some and denial to others; military encroachments on fertile lands	Trend: Inter-State conflicts over areas (e.g. seabed, continental shelf) containing resources; increasing conflicts over non-material resources, e.g. radio frequencies, satellite orbits; demands by industrial countries for internationalisation of resources; increasing spread of agro-business in Third World countries	Trend: Deforestation, desertification, alienation of tribal lands, and pollution of soil, water and atmosphere; all of this leading to forced migration and forced urbanisation in the South; alienation and anomie of mass-production and consumerism in the North; growing man-nature imbalance caused by technology; perpetual struggle for survival
Economic	Counter-trend: Rising pressures from below for sustainable, ecologically viable and decentralised development; national and regional attempts at delinking from global conflicts over resources		Trend: Growing global and national military expenditures, arms production, arms transfers/trade, military R&D—all leading to distortions and decline in the economy	Trend: Erosion of State autonomy by corporate and supra-national financial agencies; internally, erosion of local autonomy by the penetration of State agencies; both leading to destruction of community economies	Trend: Growing destitution, hunger, unemployment with lavish lifestyles for a few; widening urban-rural differentials; rising educated unemployment and distress migration of the poor in Third World countries leading to endemic social violence and breakdown of order thus inviting State repression
Military	Counter-trend: Possible UN role in checking nuclear wastes; opposition to nuclear testing by some governments, e.g. Japan, South Pacific States; popular movements against nuclear power, radiation pollution, noise-pollution by aircraft and against appropriation of land for military uses	Counter-trend: Growing economic constraints on military expenditures; growing awareness that higher military expenditures have produced more insecurity and less development; realisation of the role of militarisation in the global economic crisis; movements for conversion e.g. in Britain		Trend: Reassertion of military alliances; growth of military bureaucracy and strategic intellectuals; increasing incidence of military regimes in the Third World; rising tendency towards regional hegemony; aid by some States to insurgency in other States	Trend: Spreading war-psychosis and culture of repressive violence; growth of paramilitary forces to deal with socio-cultural problems; national chauvinist cults fostered through education and mass-media; expanding definitions of 'national security'; distorted priorities in scientific research
Political	Counter-trend: Assertion of national sovereignty vis-a-vis INCS; attempts at joint resource management in some regions; rising popular demands for shifts in State-planning priorities and against such policies as export of resources, building of large dams, ecological industries, etc.	Counter-trend: Growing assertion by the Third World for control over resources (the OPEC phenomenon); demand for NIEO; growing Third World unity in North-South cooperation; popular movements for participation, decentralisation and self-management in economic decision-making everywhere; serious quest for alternative development strategies	Counter-trend: Disarmament activities including under the UN; attempts at regional security arrangements outside military blocs; proposals for peace-zones and nuclear weapon free zones; proven examples of demilitarisation, e.g. Japan, Austria, Costa Rica; growth of non-alignment; pressures within governments against higher military expenditures; movements for democratic rights in military-ruled and militarised countries		Trend: Increasing bureaucratisation and rise of authoritarian tendencies of the State; growing politics of manipulation through use of mass-media; rising priority of national interest over basic human rights; erosion of community autonomy and ethnic identities, sweeping westernisation through one-way information flows; education for indoctrination and functional skills, not for cultivation; growing problem of refugees
Socio-cultural	Counter-trend: Rising demands for alternative humane technologies; increasing acceptance of simpler lifestyles and limitation of wants; growing organic food movements and spread of vegetarianism; growth of conservation consciousness and attempts at recycling of 'wastes'	Counter-trend: Rise of groups for preservation of indigenous resources; demands in industrial countries for changes in labour process, product types, and for end of producer alienation due to State-planning; anti-consumerist movements and thinking on alternative strategies; role of UN in all this	Counter-trend: Opposition to military ideology and quest for non-violent resolution of conflicts; growth of popular peace movements in the North; declining legitimacy of and growing opposition to military governments and militarised regimes in the South	Counter-trend: Growing preferences for indigenisation; growing demand for political rights, local self-determination and participation; rise of feminism; assertion of religious traditions and quest for alternative politics; quest for a new international order and demands for autonomy of communications from international and State monopolies	

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