

EDucate!

A Quarterly on **E**ducation & **D**evelopment

EDUCATING *for*

societal learning
critical consciousness
collectiveness
wisdom
intellectualism
free thinking
hope
challenge
liberation...

SOCIAL CHANGE

morality
transformation
humanization
righteousness
courage
social equality
classlessness
social justice...

Education for Social Change

Editor's Note

It will not be incorrect to state that the world has dramatically changed since the last issue of EDucate! And it has certainly not changed for the better. All around us we see shattering impressions of despair, insecurity, fear, despondency; it is heartbreaking to experience the failure of human values and the indifference towards it. The global aftermath of 11th September has forcefully underlined the fact that there is a lack of solemn commitment towards initiating a course of action that would lead us to the culmination of a socially just world. Yet, there are many who have courageously questioned inequalities (both locally and globally) and retained hope and optimism.

We, at EDucate! also aspire to create a culture of awareness and understanding at all levels by "challenging ethically, morally and intellectually the inequalities in the existing paradigms of education and development in order to liberate people's thoughts and actions". This issue of EDucate! takes the readers through dynamic perspectives on education, development and global media; imperative concerns of present times. From the historical pre-eminence of colonialism to its embedded leftovers in our present-day society, we uncover the horrendous upshots of development. We have reflected how the growth illusion has spawned cultural genocide, plundering of resources and a strong sense of rejection for most of us. We have attempted to analyze the role of global media and the suffocating social control it exercises over the thought processes of its 'recipients' internationally. We have also presented various dialogues on the concept of education, and its responsibility to act as a liberating force for the creation of a dynamic learning society. A mere criticism of the current decay in the arena of education, development and media is not enough. Beyond identification and understanding, lies the will to restructure and rebuild. And this is exactly what we endeavor to convey through the content of EDucate! - a message to reorganize ourselves as a just society.

We are grateful for the support and encouragement we received for EDucate! from people all over the world. It reminds us that we are not alone in this struggle for social justice. That like us, many others are sensing this problem and want to do something about it. Even in Pakistan the mad-dash to develop and 'limiting' education have achieved many ill-gotten successes. Pakistan has been yet another naïve recipient of alien ideologies, which have permeated its social fabric. Consequently, a genre of submissiveness, indifference and disinterest has emerged. Its effects on our society are there for all to see; lack of indigenous pride, lack of preservation of cultural and religious heritage and lack of self-respect. This level of social control, where the masses readily undermine their talent, skills and economic status and the elite aspire towards immigration, is indeed disconcerting. Despite the seemingly despairing situation we believe that through collective efforts our disoriented social and moral values can be reclaimed.

We hope our readers will understand that EDucate! goes beyond geographical, social, cultural and racial boundaries. We hope that we and our contributors will not be judged by the color of our skins as the struggle for social justice is universal. The sojourn of EDucate! is not a softhearted one. It is not an ill-timed war fought without the force of reason. We have embarked on a course against the unjust anarchy of ideas and models that have resulted in utter failure of all sensibilities - of humanity itself. We intend to keep the spirit of learning alive. We intend to keep the truth intact. And the showdown has just begun...


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EDucate!

This pioneering magazine has been created to challenge ethically, morally and intellectually the inequalities in the existing paradigms of education and development in order to liberate people's thoughts and actions.

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Dear Friends,

Asalam-o-Alaikum,

I thank all who supported the first issue of EDucate! with their commendations, encouragement and intellectual input. All this has strengthened the resolve with which we conceived EDucate! and inspired us put together the second issue with redoubled vigor and zeal. To carry forward our endeavor of challenging today's social paradigms and initiating change we invite like-minded individuals and organizations to debate the issues and opinions expressed by the writers, and contribute by assisting us in the continuance of this mission.



In solidarity,

Anita Ghulam Ali



OPEN LETTERS

"It is a great pleasure to have a copy of EDucate!, a magazine which has enormous intellectual food for thought. It is a unique and radical magazine in a country like Pakistan. When we study the history of media in Pakistan, we cannot find much evidence of media trying to unveil the brutal face of harsh realities. It has always played a role in controlling the radical and critical thoughts of people and in manufacturing their consent. EDucate! has created a great opportunity for those who have critical views and want to unravel the atrocities of so-called development and education. I hope it will help such like-minded people to strengthen their intellectual basis and lead them towards a radical transformation. I congratulate you and your team on this great first issue of EDucate! with the hope that it will continue the intellectual struggle for seeking, speaking and spreading the truth."

Arif Tabassum, Editor "Aks-ul-Amal", IDSP - Quetta, Pakistan

"I have just finished reading the July issue of EDucate! and find it very interesting! I am a doctor and an educator and therefore it makes me a medical educationist. I strongly believe that education, which does not bring improvement in thinking and practices, is not acting at the higher level of cognition or affects. This is very much evident in medicine because the majority of health care professionals produced by us are not acting in a humane and emphatic manner. They are not acting up to the standards of "Maseehai" (Messiah) expected from them by society. I would like to offer myself for any support in matters of time and expertise."

*Syeda Kausar Ali, Associate Professor and Head, Department of Medical Education,
College of Physicians & Surgeons, Karachi, Pakistan*

"I saw your bulletin EDucate! in the hands of one of my bosses. I work for Shahmurad Sugar Mills, Jhok Sharif in District Thatta, Sindh. Too many people always claim to serve the poor and downtrodden, but despite their tall claims no one proves to be sincere. Your magazine published in English can please the high officials of the government but do nothing for the poor. Sindh needs sincere and devoted people who would work towards education and upliftment of the poor. In Sindh people can only dream of higher education, as education in the private sector is expensive and hence unaffordable. How is it possible for someone to provide better education to their children if they scarcely earn enough to fulfill their appetite? However if you are sincere and really want to serve the poor in spirit I offer my voluntary help."

Muneer Ahmed Memon, Thatta, Sindh, Pakistan

"You have done a good job in selecting the material for EDucate! especially the pieces on Helena Norberg-Hodge and Noam Chomsky. Such pieces not only help to broaden one's intellectual horizon but also inspire to unveil the fabricated benefits of the notions of development and globalization. The editorial Why EDucate? is really admirable and so are the Societal Learning pages. I would humbly suggest that you translate the magazine in Urdu as well, so that a large proportion of people would be able to read it and take part in this campaign for social change."

Asghar Soomro, Sehwan, Sindh, Pakistan

"I would like to congratulate you and your team for the excellent journal that you have produced. The articles are relevant, honest and thought provoking. The interview with Professor Anita was particularly welcomed, and shows that a difference can be made if the spirit is willing. Chomsky's article as well as Norberg-Hodge's were both very refreshing, particularly since we, as a nation, are so brain-washed by the World Bank/IMF philosophy of 'development'. I look forward to receiving more copies of your quarterly!"

Tauseef Hyat, Executive Director, Developments in Literacy (DIL), Islamabad, Pakistan

"I have read EDucate! with avid interest and I am inclined to think it rather amazing that my greatest inspirers - Tagore, Helena-Norberg-Hodge and Chomsky are all featured in your magazine. Indeed there seems to be much common cause. Hope to learn more about the tremendous work you all are doing."

Indira Vijaysimha, India

"I was pleased to see the first edition of Educate! which presents a marvelous look. It contains some brief articles and most of them were quite interesting and thought provoking. I would like to extend congratulation to the Chairperson Prof. Anita Ghulam Ali, you and your team for such a successful effort. You may include articles on the best practices of community participation and management in your publication. Good luck!"

*Muhammad Memon, Ph.D. Associate Professor & Head Professional Programs,
Institute for Educational Development, Karachi, Pakistan*



IQBAL

THE VISIONARY

Part 1

PROFESSOR UMME SALMA ZAMAN

Iqbal was a thinker, a philosopher and a poet. He lived at a period of history when his country was under British subjugation. His own poetic sensibilities had, from early childhood, reacted against this state of affairs and the poems he wrote expressed his deep sense of frustration. Even the poems he wrote for children 'The Wailing of a Bird', 'The Cow and Goat', 'The Mountain and the Squirrel', 'گائے اور بکری', 'پہاڑ اور گھگری', all reflect similar feelings which later on grew into soberly critical self-analysis in his collections; Asrar-I-Khudi, Ramoozay Baikhudi, Bang-I-Dara, Bal-I-Jibril, Zarb-I-Kalim, پیام مشرق, Payam-I-Mashriq, جاوید نامہ, Javed Nama, ضرب کلیم and other writings.

Poetry is an art, a divine gift like music, painting and sculpture. The poet with his delicate sensibilities looks into the depths and width of space and is greatly moved by it. A great poet is also a great visionary, capable of gazing into the vastness of the Universe and seeing glimpses of Truth, concealed and revealed. The Romans called the poet a Diviner, Foreseer, a Prophet. The poet's vision transcends the earthly domain and he looks into what normal human beings cannot ordinarily perceive.

"Poetry is the overflow of powerful feelings, recollected in tranquility," says Wordsworth. "The Poet is a legislator, a prophet," says Shelley, but "a beautiful and ineffectual angel, beating his luminous wings in the void in vain." But to Iqbal the poet is 'the wise sight seer of the nation' (دیدہ بینائے قوم)

بتلائے درد کوئی عضو ہو، روتی ہے آنکھ کس قدر ہمدرد سارے جسم کی ہوتی ہے آنکھ

بانگ درا، شاعر

The Eye - which discerns and sheds tears if any part of the body is in pain - a great sympathizer of the whole Body.

(Bang-I-Dara - The Poet)

Iqbal also reminds his people that poetry is a part of Prophethood, and the candle, while talking to the poet asks him to convey this message to the nation.

(Bang-I-Dara, Shama aur Shayar)

کہہ گئے ہیں شاعری جزویت از پیغمبری ہاں سنادے غفل ملت کو پیغام سرودش
بانگ درا، شاعر

Through his poetic and analytical study Iqbal had advised his people to:

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا، عدالت کا، شجاعت کا لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا
بانگ درا، طلوع اسلام

"Learn over again the lesson of Truth, Justice and Bravery" and he had prophesied that they will be entrusted with the grand task of the world leadership.

He was forestalling the duties of all the Muslim countries of the world:

جو ہوزدقی یقین پیدا تو کٹ جاتی ہیں زنجیریں

بانگ درا، طلوع اسلام

"Faith and confidence alone can break the chains of slavery."
(Bang-I-Dara, Tulu-e-Islam)

He coaxes his people to come out and sing the melodious tune (of freedom); it is not the time to stay silent. The twilight is already visible and the morning sky with the beakers of sunlight on its shoulders is now showing:

نغمہ بھرا ہو کہ یہ ہنگام خاموشی نہیں ہے سحر کا آسماں خورشید سے سینا بدوش
بانگ درا

The poet is in a state of inquiry and search. He meets Khizr and questions him about the various problems he has to face to which Khizr replies:

(Bang-I-Dara)

خواب سے بیدار ہوتا ہے کوئی محکوم اگر پھر سلا دیتی ہے اس کو حکمران کی ساحری

بانگ درا، خضر راہ

"Even if a subjugated people wake up from their slumber The magic of the Rulers puts them back to sleep":
(Bang-I-Dara, Khizr Rah)

ہے وہی ساز گھن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیرانوائے قیصری

بانگ درا، خضر راہ

"The democratic system of the West hides in its instrument the ancient autocratic tunes":

(Bang-I-Dara, Khizr Rah)

دیو استبداد جمہوری قبائیں پائے کوب تو سمجھتا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری

بانگ درا، خضر راہ

"The giant of tyranny struts about in the cloak of Democracy While you assume it to be the pretty fairy of freedom and liberty":

Khizr also unfolds to him

مجلس آئیں و اصلاح و رعایات و حقوق طب مغرب میں مزے بیٹھے اثر خواب آوری

بانگ درا، خضر راہ

"Constitution making bodies, reform acts, delegation of powers and rights are nothing but western medicines which taste sweet but induce sleep.

(Bang-I-Dara, Khizr Rah)

UR On...

Yousuf Jamal

An Interview for EDucate!

BY: MASHHOOD RIZVI

MR: What intellectual inheritance or wealth did our country receive after partition?

YJ: On a state level the intellectual content of civil society in Pakistan was derived from our ideology. Our founding fathers claimed that it was an ideological state and it was a unique experience in the sense that it was carved purely on the basis of religion. In terms of practical politics there was a defensive alignment between various vested interests. There was also a defensive regrouping of major vested interests starting with the landed aristocracy in this country and the industrial elite, which developed thereafter. There were those ignominious 22 families of the 60s representing the industrial elite. The third powerful group was the sectarian and military oligarchy. After dispassionate analysis from a real political angle, these powerful interest groups came to dominate the political grouping in Pakistan much to the consternation of the thinking segments of civil society. Since our discussion is on the educational paradigm, one can't say that the educational planners or educational managers existed in a vacuum from the rest of civil society. They are a part of the social system. What we find is that planning started soon after the inception of Pakistan. We had the first plan in the 50s and subsequently everyone paid lip service to educational planning. So one had this constraint of the political scenario existing and exercising a mitigating influence on our ideologues on education. As Ghalib said:

*Qatray mein dajla dikhai na dey aur juzve mein kul
Kheh lahdhoun' ka hooa, dida-e-bina na hooa*

Seeing a part of the perspective of the whole, qatray may dajla dikhai na dey or juzve may kul. You have to keep in view the totality of everything. So in the first few years after Pakistan came into being there was hardly any realization amongst the main policy makers.

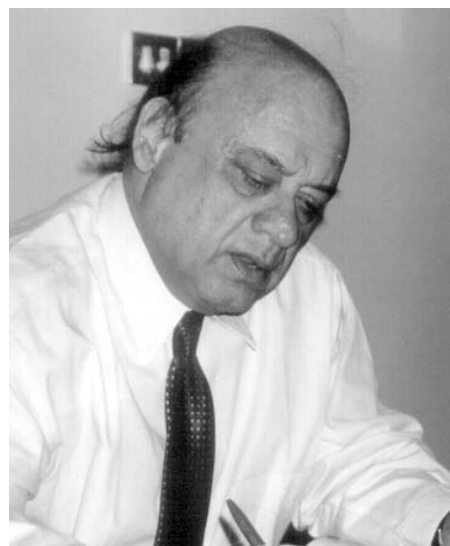
MR: Why was that realization not there?

YJ: As I said, because of constraints. The decisive influences were elitist in nature. They worked to the exclusion of the interest of the masses.

MR: Yes, but that was not supposed to be. So in a way what you are saying is our ideology was not strong enough to lead us towards a culturally and religiously grounded society?

YJ: Yes, this what I am saying. Though our ideals were lofty, the ideals of the founding father were lofty and were supposed to be based on social justice and merit. These were designed to ensure distributive justice and equality of opportunities. But when it came to real politics, vested interest had a stifling influence on educational planning. What I mean is that in their hidden agenda, the politicians were not sincere in their objectives. They knew that ultimately the spread of literacy is the spread of social discontent, the spread of social discontent means a change in status quo, change in status quo means change in power. As you mentioned education means empowerment of the people. Where is empowerment?

MR: But it is not only the politicians and feudal or elite. What we have seen is a process of indoctrination in the name of education. Moreover, it is created to be a submissive activity; it is not a liberatory activity. In my opinion, our education system, in totality, inherited the colonial model of education which was created to oppress and undermine



Yousuf Jamal

cultural and social knowledge and to undermine the inherent human ability to be free. We did nothing to change this. Instead we submitted to that model. We further strategised it and have continued with that exploitation.

YJ: You have taken a giant leap towards your generation. Let me be bit evolutionary. Following the feudal hold, the industrial aristocracy came up. In addition to these influences on our society, there were external factors such as colonialism and imperialism. Neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism affected the fabric of our society. From a feudal society we transformed ourselves into an industrial society. The industrial revolution had begun and so there was an awakening that education is an investment in human resource development. UNESCO said that at least 4% of GNP should be spent on education. This was the period of strong feudal rule. In Pakistan, during the 60s, we were spending only 1.2% of GNP on education. These are UNESCO's figures. Iran was spending 24% of their GNP. That was pre-revolutionary Iran of the 60s during the Shah's regime. Turkey was spending 3.6% and it was cited as a role model, while we were spending only 1.2%. During the 70s, 80s and 90s we had big educational plans. I have always said that all educational planning suffered from three major fault lines. Firstly, we have been too utopian in our outlook. The utopianism can partly be derived from the textbook. The ideologies were divorced from ground realities and these were not going to translate into reality. The second fault line in educational planning was that they were centripetal in character as against centrifugal. Centripetal means that although education was a provincial subject with provincial autonomy, there was always a hidden agenda of this 'white elephant' known as the Federal Ministry of Education. I don't know what they were doing over there. The third fault line of our educational planning has been that we are imbalanced in our inter-sectional allocations. By inter-sectional I mean the primary, secondary, higher secondary and university level. These are the four major recognised segments of education. Although we had some pragmatic forces at work, yet political will was lacking. Everyone has said that they have given priority to education as it is an investment in human resource development but at the same time we were not willing to provide adequate funds for the various sectors of education. The universities located in the urban areas of the country enjoyed the support of urban lobbies. Having cosmetic value they were able to get more funds by making the right noises in the right quarters. Therefore, primary education suffered. When we talk about the educational proliferation in Pakistan, we talk about educational proliferation of the people of Pakistan. The interest of Pakistan means the interest of the people of Pakistan not the elites, not the urban vocal upper middle class or the landed aristocracy or the sons and daughters of the industrial elite or the wards of the oligarchy. The result is that today everybody says that there are two

extremes of education in Pakistan. One for the privileged, the other for the under-privileged. One for the elite and the other for the non-elite. The public schools that taught in the English medium were catering to the defence forces. This is one extreme, totally diverse from the collective life of the people of Pakistan. The other extreme was for the under-privileged, the rural masses, the slum dwellers of the urban areas where you have Urdu medium. I am not denigrating Urdu medium in any way, but I will shortly come to why both have their relevant importance in today's world. So a schism was created consciously. Foresight and political will was never a hallmark of our educational planners.

MR: What is your understanding of political will?

YJ: In concrete terms, it means that the legislature did not express or assert itself. This should have been made mandatory under the constitution. We first had a constitution in 1956, then another constitution in 1962 given by a military ruler, and then the 1973 constitution which was supposed to be people-oriented. But none of these three constitutions mention that there will be a unified and integrated national education system. Education is the foundation of a state. 2,500 years ago Socrates, Plato and Aristotle said that the state is a university. Our Holy Prophet (PBUH) said that "the ink of a scholar is more sacred than the blood of a martyr". He said that "acquire knowledge even if you have to go to China". The Holy Quran opens with the word Iqra (read). The first Sura (verse) was "iqra biismi rabi al lazi khalaq" (Read in the name thy Lord Who created you). So even if you place ideological perspectives in our heritage, we have defaulted from these goals, making it mandatory upon the state to develop educational modules for the respective constituents of the state. The provinces should have had modules suited to their requirements and to the emerging context. But this did not happen. While I was working in Lahore as Deputy Secretary in the Education Department, we had people working under a unified command. They drew very good plans on paper. But again there was no political will to push for allocation of more funds for education or letting the educational plan evolve itself. In the 80s there was some sort of an ideological perversion, which we are still witnessing on the entire political horizon. During the 80s, we had the ideological blockheads to control our educational destiny and the irony is that one found a third stream developing - the dini madarasas (religious schools) and what you see today is the backlash of those dini madarasas threatening the very foundation of the country. President Musharaf has declared that our aim now must be to integrate these dini madarasas in the education system.

MR: Which some say are the worst forms of indoctrination.

YJ: Yes! This is the worst form of indoctrination. Taking people

back to the realms of obscurantism and dogmatic perversion. In fact, retarding all intellectual growth. We are finding its repercussions in our politics and in the international arena to the extent that Pakistan is becoming a pariah state. So this is the third stream.

Aik bakhiya udhaira, aik siya yoon oomar basar kab hoti hay

Faiz said patch work here, patch work there, is not the answer. Dr. Atta ur Rehman, the Federal Minister of Science and Technology has said that the computer scientists of the Silicon Valley should come back and we will pay them well. We are setting up these institutes for them to return to and paying luring packages; giving good money. Our academic institutions have become retail outlets like KFC, McDonalds and Pizza Hut etc. Someone said the other day that there are two universities in Islamabad, one is the Allama Iqbal Open University and the other is Quaid-e-Azam Close University! Now in these new, so called private universities anyone can become the chancellor. You will be surprised if I tell you from personal information that there are people who are whitening their black money by opening universities, by acquiring charters in clandestine manners. There were 39 applications for ordinances pending before the Sindh legislature, before it was dissolved and post-haste 17 universities were given recognition! I mention about AIOU and some other universities in Sindh, who are granting B.Ed. and M.Ed. degrees; I can assure you that these degrees are simply pieces of paper. No training has been imparted, so much so that some candidates when questioned, confessed that they had acquired these degrees through dubious means. The masters in education, could not distinguish between syllabus and curriculum, they could not distinguish between formal and non-formal education and distance education. These are elementary things. It is time to go back to the basics - the grass root level and develop a

module as Professor Anita Ghulam Ali (Minister of Education) has been saying. Here is a person who is very performance oriented and has been an educator all her life. She is one of the most prominent spokespersons for the student community in Karachi; she has been on both the sides - the student community and the teaching community. The four major players in any education system are the educational managers, the teachers, the students and finally the educationists who draft curricula.

MR: What about the people who established themselves as intellectuals outside bureaucracy?

YJ: There have been the odd voices here and there from outside the bureaucracy. I am glad you have discarded the bureaucrat, because the hallmark of a successful bureaucrat is loyalty to the government of the day. Those trying to outshine others were likely to be marginalized. So I am glad you are pardoning us! You are sharing with me this exercise in self-exoneration! But there are people outside who have been saying, for example, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, that a very broad socio-cultural paradigm should have been the power underpinning the entire education system. Likewise, there were others who wrote but again it did not suit the powers that be. There has been a defensive regrouping after every five or ten years throughout the fifty four years of our existence. The coherent philosophy could not come about. So what has been happening for the last 54 years? There has been social discontent and turmoil on the streets - in Karachi, Lahore and elsewhere. But look what happens every time - as Ali Sardar Jafri said before independence when British power was collapsing:

Aur phir shor utha, phir meray muqadar kay khuda Dast-e-aghyar mein qismat ki ana chor gayi

The Government realises that there is discontent, following which, there is defensive regrouping of vested interest. The interest of the people of Pakistan is compromised.

MR: Many people like Noam Chomsky who openly challenge the brutal forces of the world, have continued to write and speak, no matter how restrictive it has been. These people have continued to speak out and do not wait for a forum. They take a stand and do whatever is required of them in order to rise against injustice. Why are we not able to do the same?

YJ: Now let me be a bit candid about this. I want to be because you have raised a very important question with this idea. I did say that an education system operates in totality and it cannot be divorced from the hard facts of life. Now look at the political and economic scenario. Internally there are the vested interests; those who control the means of production in this country are linked to the global industrial powers. The result has been the hold of



the external multinationals and what has been called globalisation is actually "Mcdonaldisation" and "Coca-colonialism" Within the western societies you find the underprivileged people have started demonstrating violently in Seattle, Washington and Genoa - Italy. They were planning to hold the next conference in Doha but the present war against terrorism has postponed this conference indefinitely. But people say that ultimately the WTO people, the champions of globalization, will end up having their conference on a large aircraft carrier on the sea. The WTO conference on USS Enterprise! Besides the political and economic stronghold of neo-imperialists or the neo-colonialism, the other thing that happened to us and to your generation is the collapse the Soviet Union as a world power. We now have a unipolar system, where we have one sole spokesman for the world. Unipolar system where educational dictatorship has come in a big way and hence we are developing our satellites of western institutions. The preSeptember 11 scenario, saw American universities setting up their campuses here. Their directors have been visiting the five star hotels, holding whole day seminars or approaching the British Council or Pakistan American Cultural Centre for holding seminars. What are these seminars? They are exercising salesmanship - selling their product. So where is the education system, where is the ideology? As I mentioned earlier, retail outlets are being opened. How is education serving as philosophising or moralising means in society? Whatever they are going to impart to our youth will serve ultimately for the benefit of those colonial masters or neo-colonial masters or neo-imperial powers. They will not be serving our ends. A very good opportunity that the educationists in this country had was to dove-tail an educational plan with President Musharaf's devolution plan of local government.

MR: The whole concept of a teacher is that of a transformatory intellectual, which is completely non-existent, and they have instead become a big problem within the system.

YJ: They are socially discontented, disenchanted and frustrated people, who sometimes resort to irritation. Karachi University had a tough time when they changed their registrar last month. They hired another registrar from outside and within three days the Karachi University Teachers' Association said that we are not going to work with the registrar. Although the teachers had nothing to do with registrar directly, as this is an administrative position. The registrar is a glorified head clerk. They are not paying attention to the actual issue and instead they are indulging in irrelevant matters.

MR: What are the learning mechanisms in place which can produce teachers of class or moral?

YJ: I think it is only possible through commitment.

MR: Our generation hears stories of the model teachers of the past. What is so wrong now?

YJ: It started in mid 60s. The whole moral fibre of society started collapsing. As I said earlier you cannot expect a teacher to be a missionary while all others are robbers. It is only for 5 hours in a day that the student is within the intellectual grip of the teacher. What happens to the remaining 17 hours? Out of those remaining 17 hours, 8 to 9 hours they are with their parents, 5 to 7 hours they sleep and 2 to 3 three hours they are on the streets. This is the modern day student. In the urban and semi-urban surroundings you have decent or indecent exposure to electronic and print media which is vulgar and it glorifies and legitimizes obscenity, violence, and crime. You cannot undo it in a 5 hour interaction with the teachers after all the pervasive negative influences of 8 to 9 hours a day. Practically speaking, I feel the young NGO network is the best pragmatic answer to our problems, rather than having a few people sitting in glass houses in Islamabad or in the secluded corridors of power in the four provincial capitals, and drawing up plans for Jaccobabad or Umar Kot etc. Therefore, the NGO networking should be strengthened.

MR: These private enterprises, NGO sector as well as private schools, they have a lot of influence on the media. Do you think that the public schooling system has been unnecessarily criticized by the media? Private schools as well as NGOs are literally available at every corner, providing absolutely the same or even lower quality of education and getting away with it. Do not you think that it is an intentional attack on the public sector?

YJ: Yes! They had their vested interest there but in a way I would say, that has put the public schools on guard.

MR: It has not. It has actually created absolute complacency. The NGOs made a lot of public schools dependent on them. Moreover, you simply cannot hold private schools accountable in any way any more. Under this government, Professor Anita Ghulam Ali started to place a basic level of accountability on the private schools, which caused absolute havoc; because they refused to work under any regulation. They don't even provide basic facilities, their teachers are not trained, they are ill-equipped, minting money; taxing the poor and getting away with it. Do not you think that this is public sector bashing which to many is the only sustained solution.

YJ: From their perspective, their counter argument is any regulation you bring in this country opens a door for corruption. What guarantee is there that the education inspector of today would not become money minters of tomorrow? How do you expel this apprehension from the people's mind? Again through education.

MR: But would you not say that they are involved in institutionalised corruption? They are exploiting the fact that the public sector is not performing.

YJ: I agree with you, but the point I want to make is that a monitoring system needs trained people. The nucleus of which is to have excellent teachers' training institutes. The so called curriculum extension wings have been failures. The superior science colleges and comprehensive high schools have been failures. The blame lies with the teachers training.

MR: It is said that from the education minister to the education secretary down to the field education managers, (a) they have little or no knowledge of the complex, dynamic and transformatory field of education - I am referring to the previous government - (b) even if they did, the administrative work was so much that they spent at best 0.1% of their time thinking about the actual course of education. Most of their time is spent on hiring, firing, that is running the "industry", rather than exerting all efforts towards child development.

YJ: Let me very frank. It is a misnomer to say that our education secretary is an education secretary. They are not education secretaries they are education managers. They are not educationists at all. In some countries academic giants occupy these positions - who spend years of their lives in a particular field. Unfortunately, we have inherited a bad legacy. One solution of the problem is to have eminent educationists as education secretaries and additional secretaries. Partly this exercise has been done in a sense that they have an Additional Secretary Education in charge of academic affairs. Officers from CSP cadre were supposed to be in charge of administration and finance. That is why the late Professor Eqbal Ahmed had a dispute with the faculty of the Quaid-e-Azam University that professors should not be involved in administrative affairs. Abolish all these overheads, perks

and activities which they have to arrange like "get togethers", hosting feasts for VIPs. Administration should be separated from education.

MR: To conclude, we seem to have come to a point where we can easily say that our social fabric has completely broken down. Education was supposed to play a central role towards rebuilding, which it has not. It has actually contributed to the devastation and further destruction of the social and moral fabric of our society. There is no leadership. There is no commitment. What can be done?

YJ: You are talking about very lofty idealism, very lofty objectives. This is very commendable indeed. The idealism, which would permit body politic to let it survive. Here we find a paradox; deterioration of moral values and yet a drive towards economic development. The government is talking about launching mega projects. The question is who is going to develop and manage these future projects? All our brilliant youth continue to go abroad. Who will be the managers, the business planners, the developers to run the public sector tomorrow and who will sustain this development? And where will this sustainable development come from? So, both from the materialistic and idealistic standpoints, education is on hold. We have to have a group of devoted, committed and motivated people to begin at taluqa or tehsil level, so that we have trained nuclei, a bunch of devoted people of all ages, willing to come forward to take the responsibility. The situation is not so pessimistic. As Iqbal says:

*Nahi hay Iqbal na umeed apni kasht-e-viran say
Zara num ho to yeh miti bohat zarkhaiz hay saqi*

About Khan Yousuf Jamal

Khan Yousuf Jamal has held various key government positions in the fields of education, information, culture and tourism etc. He has also worked in the private sector as general manager of a multinational and as management advisor to two large industrial groups in Karachi. He has been a close associate of famous poets and thinkers like Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Mustafa Zaidi. He is currently serving as a member of Sindh Public Service Commission.

RETHINKING DEVELOPMENT

An Interview with

HELENA NORBERG-HODGE

NERMEEN SHAIKH OF ASIA SOURCE

You have said elsewhere that one "has to go back to pre-colonialism to understand development. Colonialism is part and parcel of a process which was later on called development." Could you please elaborate on this? What precisely are you talking about when you say development?

I'm talking about development as it was conceived following the Second World War, a program that was designed to lift people out of poverty; this is how it was perceived by the general public as well as by its authors. But what development entailed was essentially pursuing the same policies that had started under colonialism: for example, encouraging production for trade, as opposed to production for home needs. What happened under colonialism was that powers from Europe moved across the entire globe in search of resources, and they used force, and as we know, even killing, slaughtering, enslaving people, or carrying them to another part of the world, to work in monocultures for export. In the Western world, we came to identify countries according to what resource they provided for the center; so whole countries became tin countries, coffee countries and so on.

These economic policies continued after the Second World War, following independence and formal decolonization, under the name of development. After independence, the colonial leaders left but they were replaced by a local elite who had been trained to pursue the same policies. So if we look carefully at what happened to resources, to agriculture, or to money, we will find that fundamentally the same basic formula was used: encouraging larger and larger scale monocrops and encouraging production for export and import. So what was thought at that time in the development era (as it is today in the name of globalization) was that if you promote export-import you'll be better off. This goes back to the belief that the principle of comparative advantage is accurate, that this is the way to create prosperity. On the surface it has a great deal of appeal for many reasons.

First, local populations around the world have always identified goods from the outside with luxury, quite understandably, because they were a luxury: it was once the case that prices reflected the fact that goods had been carried half-way across the world (whether it was fine cotton or tea in Europe or turquoises in places like Ladakh). These were considered as luxuries and local people were very happy to have them. So when you promote trade as a fundamental of economic development it is quite easy to persuade people that this is going to be in their interest.

Second, this makes a lot of sense because no part of the world can produce everything that it would like to have and so it appears as though increasing trade will increase prosperity and well being. However, we should have noticed, even after the colonial era, that such a fundamental restructuring of the economy, particularly in food, was actually very damaging and that it created a lot of suffering and a lot of poverty while generating wealth for a tiny minority.

Is it not the case that you base most of your assumptions about what constitutes development, and more importantly, what its consequences are, on your experiences in Ladakh. But Ladakh, you must concede, is rather an anomaly, in the sense that it was neither colonized nor had a very large or heterogeneous population. How can you extrapolate from that to the rest of the South?

What Ladakh can help us do is to see what an economy can look like when it hasn't been colonized. In this way Ladakh is very important because it shows that in an area of very scarce resources, there is a remarkably high standard of living. An area geared towards fulfilling the basic needs of its population, and relegating trade to a secondary position, creates a prosperous local economy, and trade adds to it, which is the way it should be (which is also why we are in no way opposed to trade; we are opposed to economies enslaving themselves to the traders).

Let me go back to what I said about development and colonialism. It is important to keep in mind that when this



HELENA NORBERG-HODGE
COURTESY: PAUL HILKENS

process of Europe moving out across the world and seeing the whole world as its resource-base happened, governments favored and worked with large companies that were already very powerful. But because governments worked with them and aided and abetted trade, they were aiding and abetting the traders. So what we had was a process whereby these giant corporations became so powerful that they were able to help encourage and shape policy.

In effect when local, regional, national economies keep favoring trade, they are favoring the traders at the expense of the local producers and consumers. And since traders are in a much smaller number than the local producers and consumers, they are actually favoring a minority. That minority becomes so mobile that it becomes very hard to control its activities and its accumulation of wealth. Structurally it is actually a very shortsighted and counter-productive policy for nation-states to pursue.

What Ladakh offers us is a living example of what is possible if a country focuses on helping itself and its own people and uses trade to benefit them rather than benefiting the traders. Ladakh is a remarkable and powerful example because it is an exceptional area. It is exceptional because it has very scarce resources, a harsh climate, and only a four-month growing season. Due to the harsh climate conditions, the yields in Ladakh in terms of agriculture were not as high as in many parts of India at the time that the conquistadors and colonials arrived. In India, there were areas where yields were as high as 10 tons a hectare; in Ladakh they were on average 3 tons a hectare. Ladakh proves that even in such difficult circumstances people were very well off because their economic priorities were different.

When I criticize development, however, I am in no way basing it just on Ladakh. I am basing it on a mass of evidence from around the world, of the poverty that has been created, of the hardship and the madness of promoting the same formula (of trade for the sake of trade) without considering its wider or long-term implications.

As I'm sure you're aware, a number of people argue that positions such as yours in fact deprive poor people of the "choice" to develop or not. Why would a subsistence farmer continue wanting to be a subsistence farmer if s/he could instead own a VCR, potentially quadruple household income, and move out of a rural area into a city. How do you respond to these sorts of critiques?

I think it's very important that we start taking responsibility for what policies and changes will benefit the majority rather than looking at what an individual would do under current circumstances. If I were a subsistence farmer, and I were offered VCRs and a nice standard of living in the city, I would certainly take it and I don't blame any farmer for opting to do that. What I'm talking about, whether in Ladakh or here, is that we, as societies and concerned citizens, need to look at where these policies are taking us collectively. I do find that even

subsistence farmers today respond when you provide information, which shows that moving into the city in search of the VCR is not leading to prosperity for the vast majority. The evidence is now so abundant - and frightening - because millions of farmers are being uprooted with the promise of having that lovely, consumer lifestyle and we know that in many cases, not even 10 per cent achieve that goal. The remaining 90 per cent, without any doubt, ultimately settle for a lower standard of living. When they leave the village, they are leaving a relatively secure source of food, water and community. Conditions are not ideal in most rural areas of the so-called "Third World" (terrible poverty following generations of colonialism, monocropping, an exploding population, to give only a few indicators), but they are vastly better than in most urban slums.

I think it is very important that we keep in mind now that by offering the dream of a consumer lifestyle to people we are being fraudulent because we know that the numbers do not add up. We also know that the consumer lifestyle is one that requires that you use more than your fair share of resources. This is a formula that can never fulfill its promise so we really owe it to ourselves and to other people to speak the truth: to say that if you choose to leave the village, you are leaving the security of being able to perhaps grow a few potatoes, have help from friends and family, and manage somehow. You are moving into a much more anonymous situation, a situation where even your food has to be imported. This means, for those of us who are concerned about the environment, that in slums, even the slum-dweller depends on imported food, which means that CO² emissions go up. With millions of people leaving their lands for the slums, CO² emissions are skyrocketing. We have to realize that the increase in CO² emissions in the South is the consequence of "slumification." By pursuing such policies, we are increasing the environmental burden and poverty at the same time.

Development policies today are fundamentally urbanizing. They are destroying the livelihoods of small farmers, fishermen, small-scale producers, and are responsible for centralizing them into these urban sprawls and slums. This is a consequence of policy, not a consequence of overpopulation. Overpopulation has nothing to do with urbanization because one has a better chance of building something that is workable in the village than in the city.

You have said elsewhere that, "the most important reason for the breakdown of traditional cultures is the psychological pressure to modernize." Could you please elaborate on this?

The breakdown of local economies and cultures occurs at two levels, the structural and the psychological. I see them as equally important and the problem is they operate simultaneously so that together they are a tremendous force on people.

At the structural level, government policies offer jobs, education, benefits, health care, and energy resources in the urban centers,

while in the villages, most of these facilities are not offered, or if they are, they are of inferior quality. So this attracts people into urban areas. At the same time, economic policies that promote trade for the sake of trade destroy marketing opportunities for rural people, destroy their economies so they are economically forced out of their villages.

Simultaneously, at the psychological level, you have media, advertising, even schooling, promoting the notion that the future is urban, the future is, in effect, a Western consumer lifestyle. This lifestyle is associated with looking like a white European, eating European-style food, wearing European-style clothes, and worst of all, having the skin color, eye color, manners, and language of a European. The end result is that young children are being made to feel that their own language, their own skin color, their own way of being is inferior. I have witnessed this very, very closely in Ladakh and it is in no way an anomaly. We have ample evidence that millions of people around the world experience it in the same way. They have translated my book and video, *Ancient Futures* into more than 35 languages; they use it regularly at the grassroots to raise awareness. Even though the book is about Ladakh, many people have responded by saying that the story of Ladakh is our story too.

This psychological pressure that I witnessed so closely in Ladakh literally led, in a very short time, to young people feeling that they, as individuals and as members of a culture, were inferior and inadequate. It was a tragedy to see that, particularly because it was so stark.

Ladakh again offers an opportunity to understand a process that in many parts of the world took many, many years, because in Ladakh they were shielded from the influence of the outside world and so it all happened very suddenly. When I first arrived and learnt to speak the language, the level of self-respect and dignity was higher than in any other culture I had ever experienced. There were all sorts of indicators that make this indisputable, for instance, the complete absence or low incidence of suicide, aggression, and depression.

But then very quickly, after a whole barrage of changes, (tourism, advertising, media), it became very clear that young people got the impression that in Western modern society, people had almost infinite leisure, almost infinite wealth, incredible power and they found the culture their parents were offering them silly, useless and backward. Everything in education and in the media was reinforcing this. So they developed a shame for being who they are and their skin color (young women now use a dangerous skin-lightening cream called Fair & Lovely). The sale of contact lenses around the world is going up everyday. Often advertisements in Thailand, South America, India, carry the message: "Have the eye color you wish you had been born with." That is blue, of course.

It is a disaster, a tragedy, and we need to work together and support each other in our identities. We also need to recognize that what I witnessed in Ladakh in terms of loss of self-respect

is just as serious in the heart of the Western world. In Sweden where I grew up, blonde, blue-eyed girls are developing terrible complexes, often around being slim. Eating disorders are increasing rapidly; six-year old girls are saying they hate their bodies. So this is a universal problem, which is why we must work together to understand that a homogeneous, consumer culture is denying all of us the right to accept ourselves the way we are. Right now the typical Coca-Cola advertisement takes great pride in promoting multiculturalism; often they have people with black skin color or black hair, and include Asian women, and white women, all together as one happy family. The imagery is still of a consumer lifestyle, and that is at the heart of the problem because human beings are looking at a standard of perfection they can't emulate. Children need to have real live role models because real live role models never have perfect eyes and perfect teeth and perfect bodies; they are just human beings.

You have also suggested that development policies as they are currently constituted cannot but amplify peoples' increasingly besieged sense of identity, thus creating the conditions for identity-based conflict (ethnic, sectarian, religious, etc.). Could you explain how and why this is the case?

Fundamentally there is a link between policies that promote trade for the sake of trade and policies that promote a centralization of the demographic pattern, or urbanization. As I mentioned before, the entire infrastructure is set up to contribute to both urbanization and globalization in terms of increased trade. If you have a completely decentralized population, it becomes, from the point of view of the traders, very hard to deliver Coca-Cola and McDonalds everywhere. Structurally the dynamic is to further this concentration of population.

Equally structural and endemic to the system is using more and more technology instead of human labor. Using fossil fuel and other forms of finite energy and fuelling more and more technologies to take the place of human labor.

These three factors together - policies that favor trade for the sake of trade, urbanization, and the use of technology instead of human labor - create a system (and this is particularly evident in the South), where small-scale producers, producing for a local economy, are being decimated economically and being shoved into slums. Simultaneously, as I mentioned before, their identities are threatened. In urban centers, jobs are very limited, space is limited (the price of land shoots up), so suddenly, these people find themselves in a highly difficult and competitive situation (people are forced to fight for accommodation, for jobs, etc.). The entire process is one of centralizing power and control.

In addition, what is happening everywhere around the world - I don't think there are any exceptions - is that the people in power will tend to favor their own kind. Now this still goes on in the West, but in the West, the boundaries of my own kind and others are not so clear. In the South people are often

associated with community identity, either ethnic or religious. These ethnic and religious divisions mean that people in power clearly favor their own group and the other groups become more and more disenfranchised and often more and more violent. I have seen this as a pattern in many places and I can report that whether it is the Buddhist government in Bhutan vis-à-vis Hindus, or the Muslim-led government in Kashmir, or the Hindu-dominated government in India, it is the same pattern. So it is very important that we don't identify particular ethnic or religious groups as being the problem and that we look instead at the structures and see what happens when power is centralized in this way.

Another factor is the centralization of jobs. This is true even in the West; if you want a job in America or in England or Sweden the job centers are diminishing in number. In England, for instance, jobs are centralized in London, Bristol, and a few other cities. As a result, populations are being pulled in that direction, some of them traveling four hours a day in one direction because they can't afford to live near their jobs.

There is another aspect to this problem which is that poor labor is pulled in to do the dirty work; again a pattern that I have seen in Sweden, in America and even in Ladakh, where the dirtiest jobs will be done by the most impoverished in the region, or from the periphery. In the case of Ladakh, there are Nepalis and Biharis coming to build the roads, clean the lavatories, etc. These are often people who have to leave their families, often young men, who come on their own, are often not very happy, will often drink more, and will often be those responsible for crime and violence. It is vital that we realize that this has nothing to do with racial or religious characteristics; it is simply a pattern among the marginalized in conditions of extreme structural inequality.

The systems of destruction must be understood so that we can find levers and points to change them and it is quite evident to me that we need to decentralize rather than centralize, localize instead of globalize. The economic dynamic we have now is leading to an uprooting and to displacement of populations at an ever-escalating rate.

Once you threaten a local population's integrity with enough instability and enough pressure from the outside, it will lead to conflict and friction. We must also not forget that this pressure is combined with very intensified competition for scarce jobs. This is making it impossible for people to coexist. I believe that most of the violence we are seeing in the world today has to do with this structural problem. It does not have to do with any group's innate tendency for friction or intolerance.

How do you think IMF and World Bank policies fit into all this? What is the impact of these policies on the South?

IMF and World Bank policies have been fundamental to this whole process. They were established to further this process of so-called development, i.e., furthering exactly the problems I've been talking about (centralizing jobs, particularly by

subsidizing and encouraging centralized energy infrastructures; aiding a process whereby technology is made artificially cheap and human labor is driven up in price and therefore human beings and their labor are marginalized; and encouraging urbanization and trade for the sake of trade). These are the structural features of their policies.

As fundamental to the process as the World Bank and the IMF was to the GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was set up at the same time, and was specifically intended to increase trade. What the World Bank was saying was helping to build up infrastructure and the IMF was helping to provide the money to keep this going. There have also been export-import banks, or ECAs (Export Credit Agencies), that have been helping this process.

At the same time, it is important to look at these policies without demonizing any individual institution or any individuals. The system we have inherited goes back so far that there are not very many people who have looked carefully at its dynamic; many people who have promoted this kind of development have sincerely believed that it was the only way to eradicate poverty. This remains true to this day.

However, after a while, one expects people in power to be willing to listen to the problems that these policies have created, and this is getting a bit frustrating now. The information gap is widening and in a way we have less communication than we used to. I am hoping there will be more public debates between people who favor continuing in the same direction and those who oppose it. We have found that it is difficult to get the real powers-that-be to engage in serious debates about such issues.

Does development have to mean destruction (to use your words)? What would a more socially, ethically, and environmentally responsible development consist in?

I certainly think we can reserve the word "development" for positive change, for something we would like to see. I think it is not only possible, but absolutely necessary, that people experience positive change which we can call development (particularly those in the South, who have been ravaged for so many years by destructive policies in the name of "development").

There are a few points I would like to make.

First, we must realize that institutions and elites in both North and South owe a debt to the poor. We need to move beyond this old analysis of North and South and understand that the peoples and structures that have furthered this development are now in both North and South.

Second, new policies need to look at reversing processes of centralization and urbanization (both prompted by an emphasis on trade for the sake of trade). We urgently need to be looking at a reduction in trade and emphasizing the building up of

healthy local economies, particularly when it comes to food and farming. This will lead to food security and diversified production so that local populations can have an adequate and wide-ranging diet. I am convinced that investing in local economies will cost far less money than current policies. It will require less energy, but it will require energy that is decentralized, so we need to build up decentralized energy infrastructures.

Third particularly in the South today, one of the most rapid transformations can be brought about if we help to build up a decentralized, renewable energy infrastructure. This must be done using renewable energy, emphasizing the fact that there cannot be one panacea, so we must look at the possibility of using water, wind and solar energy together. We worked for 20 years with that in Ladakh, we know it costs less money, we know it is feasible, but there is almost no funding for it anywhere in the world today. This is an urgent priority for a healthier development.

Fourth we also urgently need to realize that in order to build up such a decentralized development there needs to be more

attention paid to the fact that every eco-system, every village, every bit of soil is different from every other bit. So there needs to be a shift towards developing research, and science and technology, that is more related to place, that builds on diversity and strengthens diversity, while of course continuing international information exchange. The problem is that the information exchange we have today is essentially about exporting and imposing one standardized Western model. This model was based on having the whole world as a resource-base, so it is a completely unreplicable model, which is why, everywhere it goes, it can only create a tiny wealthy elite and poverty for the rest. The model that could work is one that builds on diversity. In Ladakh, for instance, just by introducing greenhouses, we managed to increase diversified production by a huge factor. They now have green vegetables in the winter, which they did not have before. So the potential for regions to produce a wide range of wonderful foods is enormous if we move away from this centralized, top-down model and help this more decentralized and diversified economic model to flourish.

فرہنگ

الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی
Innate	پیدا کی، مقامی	Literally	درحقیقت	Extrapolate	پہلو نکالنا	Colonialism	نوابادیت
Intolerance	تک نفرتی	Aggression	جارجیت	Relegate	جلاوطن، عہدہ میں تنزلی	Enslave	غلام بنانا
Demonize	بجوت بنادینا	Depression	مفلوہیت	Abet	اعانت، غلط کام میں مدد کرنا	Turquoises	فیروزہ
Panacea	ہر مرض کی دوا، اکسر اعظم	Disenfranchised	حقوق کی پامالی	Slum-Dwellers	پسماندہ علاقوں میں رہنے والے	Concede	تسلیم کرنا، منظور کرنا
Amplify	بڑا کرنا	Racial	نسلی	Sprawl	بے قاعدگی سے پھیلاؤ	Anomaly	بے ضابطگی، بے قاعدگی

About Helena Norberg-Hodge

Helena Norberg-Hodge is a linguist by training and a native of Sweden. She has been extremely critical of conventional notions of development. She first went to Ladakh in northwestern India in 1975. Three years later she founded the Ladakh Project, with the goal of providing Ladakhis with the means to make more informed choices about their own future. She is Director of the International Society for Ecology and Culture in Berkeley, California. For her work as Director of the Ladakh Project, Helena shared the 1986 Right Livelihood Award, otherwise known as the 'Alternative Nobel Prize'. She is the author of the highly acclaimed **Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh**.

More of Helena Norberg-Hodge's perceptive works will be printed in ensuing issues of EDucate!

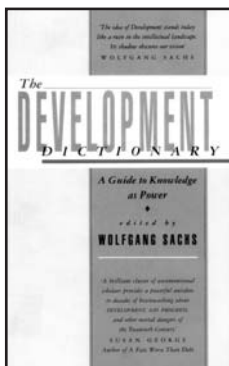
Societal Learning

**Books for a
BETTER
world**

SOMAIYA AYDOOB

The Development Dictionary A Guide to Knowledge as Power

EDITED BY: WOLFGANG SACHS



The notion of development is a Western myth and it is aptly shattered in the course of this book. The content, not only well conceived but also well configured, eloquently takes the reader through the maze of historical perspectives and ideological frameworks from which the whole idea of development took its contemporary form. The book untangles this maze step-by-step for the readers, so it can be safely said that it provides an exceptional

starting point for those new to the study of development.

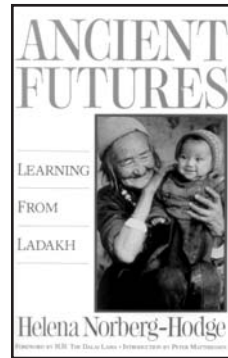
The book features writings of some of the most prominent writers, 'unconventional scholars' and critics of development like Majid Rahnema, Ivan Illich, Gustavo Esteva, C. Douglas Lummis, Marianne Gronemeyer etc. Their works and views are compiled as one integrated, exemplary collection of essays with the first one covering the very concept itself (i.e. development) and the succeeding ones being linked by the convincing agenda framed for readers in the brilliant introduction written by Wolfgang Sachs. All the essays present a meticulous analysis of intense issues like poverty, production, technology, resources, population, environment, socialism, etc; the primary concerns raised by those who believe in eradicating global injustice which has made mere survival grueling for millions of people all over the world. In short, the buzzwords of this century are comprehensively reviewed and critically presented in the context of the development story of the last 40 years. This book poses an intellectual challenge not only to our preconditioned mindsets but also to the whole ideology of the development era.

Year of Publication: 1992
Published by: Zed Books Ltd.

Ancient Futures Learning from Ladakh

BY: HELENA NORBERG-HODGE

Helena Norberg-Hodge is the first westerner in modern times to master the Ladakhi language. She has been working for the past seventeen years with the Ladakhi people to protect their



culture and environment from the devastating effects of rapid modernization.

In *Ancient Futures - Learning from Ladakh*, Helena Norberg-Hodge provides comprehensive evidence of the cultural and human destruction caused by 'Eurocentric' forms of development. She describes the changes that take place in this peaceful and strongly knit civilization after the ascendancy of

modernization and development. The reader is taken on a journey of Ladakh, a remote area in the Himalayan region of Kashmir, divided between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India. A place of few resources and a climate of extremes, it was home to a thriving culture for more than a thousand years; a society co-existing, sharing and living efficiently on scarce resources.

However, in the last two decades, Ladakh has become increasingly exposed to modern influences, brought on largely by tourism and development. Ladakhis are unquestionably adopting 'modern' ideas and practices projected by Westerners as the 'right way (the only way) to live'. The result, as Norberg-Hodge details, has been a shift towards a western life, giving rise to environmental and social problems. Its most destructive outcome has been the psychological disarray amongst Ladakhis, who now compare themselves with a glamorized media version of Western society. Ladakhi pride has been substituted by a lack of self-respect.

These and other effects on Ladakhi society have created a vital concern as to the 'actual' results of modernization and development. As the author critically reflects in her work, "development is the process of reducing all the diverse cultures of the world to a single monoculture. It is based on the assumption that needs are everywhere the same, that everyone needs to eat the same food, to live in the same type of house, to wear the same clothes. The same cement buildings, the same toys, the same movies and television programs find their way to the most remote corners of the world. Even language is becoming homogenized, since it is necessary to learn English to be part of the modern community".

In the last few chapters, Helena presents to readers her valiant efforts in the shape of a project in Ladakh. This project is helping Ladakhis in raising awareness for the need of a long-term ecological perspective on development which is also based on self-reliance and self-respect.

'Ancient Futures' is a chilling account of the contrast between Ladakh before and after development. The reader becomes entranced by the magnificent culture and practices of the Ladakhi people and shocked at the results of the development intrusion. This book is an eye-opener for countries around the globe that are paradoxically still experimenting with 'development' in order to progress.

Price: \$US 12.00
Year of Publication: 1992
Published by: Sierra Club Books

Societal Learning

Websites for a
BETTER
world

www.infed.org



Informal education has existed ever since people have grouped together and is regarded by some as the education of daily living. It is a progressive learning process; a way of helping people learn.

Home of informal education, this site contains everything one would want to know about the subject, right from a detailed introduction that answers questions like what is informal education, where does it happen, how has it developed, to an extensive look into the theories behind this process. The site also boasts a comprehensive encyclopedia; a major resource for those concerned with education containing over 200 articles on key thinkers, the theory and practice of informal education and lifelong learning. It also hosts an informal education forum where viewers can discuss and debate on various issues pertaining to education.

The text is simple and easy to understand so for first timers to the educational scenario, this site presents an uncomplicated and clear overview of informal education along with providing a valuable information resource for those concerned with the field of education.

www.progressive.org



Home to the progressive, this site contains selected articles and essays of its namesake magazine The Progressive comprises of articles promoting peace and social justice. Launched on January 9, 1909 by Wisconsin Senator Robert La Follette in the name of La Follette's Weekly as "a magazine of progress; social, intellectual, institutional", its name was changed to 'The Progressive' in 1929. The views of the magazine have remained remarkably consistent over the years. In all of its activities, The Progressive strives to put forward ideas that will help bring about a more just society and a more peaceful, humane world.

The mission of The Progressive is to be a journalistic voice for peace and social justice at home and abroad. The magazine, its affiliates, and its staff steadfastly oppose militarism, the concentration of power in corporate hands, the disenfranchisement of the citizenry, poverty and prejudice in all its guises, whilst championing peace, social and economic justice, civil rights, civil liberties, human rights, a preserved environment and a reinvigorated democracy.

Current contributors to the magazine include David Barsamian, Kate Clinton, Susan Douglas, Will Durst, Barbara Ehrenreich, Molly Ivins, June Jordan, Fred McKissack, John Nichols, Adolph L. Reed Jr., and Howard Zinn, to name a few. Viewers can also discuss articles leaving their opinions online for further discussions. ...Surely a site that will reform your thinking!!!

NISAR NIZAMANI

We have now seen over four decades of development and thousands of development projects, designed and implemented by local and expatriate, governmental and non-governmental consultants and volunteers. Yet everyone who has any familiarity with the Third World knows that poverty is well and thriving, that the numbers of the poor are not only increasing but their poverty is deepening. What is wrong?

A typical answer to these concerns used to be the general 'laziness' and 'non-participatory' nature of poor communities. Recently, some have started to argue that development approaches vis-à-vis projects have not been participatory in nature. This school of thought gave birth to yet another term - 'community participation'. As the popularity of the idea of involving communities in decision-making increased, 'community participation' started to become a widely accepted intervention strategy - a practical pre-requisite for community based activities. Still, there were/are those who remain highly skeptical of the phenomenon. For many, community participation is nothing more than a 'strategic tool' to justify imposition of all kinds of decisions and actions, even those which are against the interests of local people. Community participation, thus symbolizes both good as well as bad; inspiration as well as exploitation; learning as well as ignorance; participation as well as submissiveness.

In this essay, I seek to argue how the underpinning philosophy of a greater level of community participation could be the instrument of manipulation and submissiveness. I contend that our country's landscape is littered with the failure of development schemes not because we are 'lazy', 'ignorant', and 'uncivilized' people, but because development consists of a package, practices and ideas that came from the

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

A Time to Reflect

modern West and were alien to us. These efforts failed because our poverty and its causes have been captured from a position outside our ground and social realities.

I contend that our rich culture, traditions and norms can be perceived as 'backward', 'traditional', 'stagnant', and 'altogether lacking' only if one looks at them through arrogant and dismissive Western lenses. I feel that our indigenous knowledge and cultural diversity is increasingly being pressurized as the process of modernization

and development reaches every corner of our province and country. And, when we are cleverly instructed by the development agencies and their well-trained workers that we lack the ability to interact with each other, that we do not care for our collective future, that we are oblivious to our own problems, that we do not even care about our own children, I can only feel hurt.

On numerous occasions, my fellow community members (often labeled as 'uneducated') have shown superb analytical skills whilst discussing the inability of 'community workers' and 'development agencies' to identify the real issues confronting them. Also, as a community worker in many development schemes and as a participant in workshops and seminars, I have

"There is no use trying to help these people. These dirty, ignorant people are putting too many children into the world. They won't work; they have no discipline. They misuse every opportunity they get. Every time they get some money in their hands it all goes to drinking and senseless waste. All the help we give them is just an incentive to laziness, and another opportunity to produce even more children."

English Industrialist working in Norway, 1880s

been stunned on innumerable occasions by the sophisticated manipulation and indoctrination of community participation approaches. These have led me to conclude that the staff of support organizations has undergone training which states that the western 'scientific' way of thinking is superior to that of any other tradition. I have hardly seen a cohesive framework being presented by the consultants' that addresses the process of 'learning how to learn from the communities'. There has never been any appreciation for indigenous knowledge and institutions that is combined with empathy and also encourages a provocative dialogue with the communities in search for better alternatives. On the contrary, I have seen these agencies and training efforts ultimately geared to serve the purpose of dependence and domination. I have been a spectator to misdirected priorities, misleading incentives, and a painful lack of awareness and knowledge of development experts regarding the inherent participatory spirit of our people. I have also been a witness to the lack of cooperation, mistrust, fears, jealousies, and lack of participation amongst those who are propagating participation as the decisive ingredient of development.

After undergoing years of this deceitful drive towards development, if we as communities are collectively participating in the rejection of this 'imported' model, it comes as no surprise to me. We had (and many of us still have) an inherent voluntary spirit of helping and supporting each other. As one of the oldest civilizations of the world, the people of Sindh have had systems and institutions that bred and protected communal cooperation and selflessness, and were gifted with cultural diversity, a wealth of vision, concepts, techniques, customs, rituals and practices. Therefore, the concern is not of community participation. The real question is why have our local sensitivities failed to feature as community participation practices in the 'modern' developmental effort?

Anyone who has studied this region or even lived in it for a brief time can identify that the ethos and essence of participation, cooperation and support is deeply rooted in its socio-cultural fabric. If we look at Sindh only, a vast canvas on which a vivid picture of collective communal values is depicted, from the ruins of Mohenjo-daro to the sand dune dwellers of Thar, there emerges a history of community commitment:

- ◆ Hamarcho, ('Come together') is a song that is sung at the crop harvesting and cutting time in Thar. All the menfolk of the village join together to help their fellow men in sowing and harvesting the crop. This is done voluntarily and a sense of helping the fellow villager is so strong that they, out of happiness, begin to sing the Hamarcho song.
- ◆ If anybody dies, the whole community shares the immediate family's grief and suffering and help them in all possible ways. According to tradition, the family in mourning does not cook food for three days and it becomes the social and moral responsibility of the community to provide for all needs of the family during this time.
- ◆ When there is a marriage, the celebration of the event becomes the collective responsibility of the whole community. Puo (Nanuandra in Punjab) is a financial contribution by all community members to collectively share the expenditures of the marriage celebrations.
- ◆ Wangar is a collective, voluntary act to take on a task for a community member, either by building his home, constructing a mosque/Imam Bargah, or digging watercourses etc.
- ◆ Otaq in Sindh and Chopal in Punjab are the common communal meeting places where the village community sit together and enter into a participatory dialogue concerning their daily life and communal development. This forum acts as a court where minor and major feuds are settled with mutual consensus.

These are only a few examples of common voluntary and collective acts performed by the community. We used to embrace the concept of community participation at birth. Whenever a child was born, whether it be a boy or a girl, rejoicing took place in the family proportionately to its means. On the night after the birth, the mother's female relations assembled together, carrying a certain quantity of milk with them, paid her a visit reducing/eliminating any financial burden on the family. Also, it was a moment of the collective exultation and inherent sharing spirit of the people of Sindh. The impression that we lack the will as well as the intellectual ability to help each other, comes as an insult to us. I believe we must pause and ask whether a society so traditionally and culturally immersed in community participation needs any 'strategic' initiation of the same? This is the time to realize that we are people who are at the verge of losing all this in the name of 'development', and ironically we have succumbed to the seductive slogans of 'community participation' and are proud 'partners' in this destructive drive.

We must understand that instead of working 'with us', most community participation practices have tended to work 'against us'. Instead of cultivating and reviving our local voluntary mechanisms, contemporary community participation practices have uprooted and alienated us from our own cultural diversity. Instead of making us self-reliant, community participation practices have made us believe that we are incapable of learning anything - that we are sick, lazy, and unproductive - that if we are to be 'successful' and 'developed' we will have to be 'submissive' to western culture and its definition of 'development'.

قرینگی

الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی
Ethos	روایات	Skeptical	نا قابل بھروسہ، مشکوک
Dune	مچ ہوا ہوتا	Phenomenon	عمل
Exultation	خوشگوار، باعث مسرت	Litter	بچا کچھا، گرد و غبار
Immerse	کسی چیز میں اپنے آپ کو ڈبو کر لینا	Alien	بیرونی، ناواقف، اجنبی
Verge	حد، کونا	Indigenous	حقیقی، علاقائی
Succumb	مغلوب ہونا، شکار ہونا	Numb	سے حس، سنگدل
Ritual	رسم و روایات	Provocative	اشتعال انگیز

About Nisar Nizamani

Nisar is currently working at the Sindh Education Foundation, Karachi, Pakistan. He is Assistant Coordinator of the one of the largest Girls' Education Project of Sindh Province - The Fellowship Schools Model. Trained in Business Administration and Economics, Nisar has been an active community worker for almost a decade.

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DEVIL-OPMENT

Third World Development A Critical Perspective

TED TRAINER

What do you mean by Development?

Much of the confused and mistaken thought and practice regarding development derives from the fact that almost all people take for granted a particular and highly objectionable conception of what development is, when there are other and very different conceptions that are almost never recognized. The conventional conception of development sees the problem essentially in terms of increasing the amount of economic activity going on, i.e., the amount of production for sale. The key to this goal is to increase investment, so productive capacity can be increased. Therefore savings must be increased, loans sought, and foreign investment encouraged. Exports must be increased, in order to earn the money needed to import things that can't be produced yet, and to accumulate tax revenue needed to build the infrastructures such as power stations that foreign investors and local entrepreneurs need. Labor must be supplied to the new businesses and so people must be encouraged to leave their subsistence villages. In recent years there has been increasing emphasis on the importance of maximizing the freedom for individuals and firms to trade without regulation and interference with market forces. This is claimed to maximize the efficiency of economic processes, whereas government regulation can prevent capital from flowing to where it can be most productive.

The conventional development economist admits that this process will greatly increase inequalities, and the few with capital and access to education will get most of the benefit, but the claim is that in time there will be trickle down benefits to all. The concern in this paper is not about how badly this conventional approach to development has worked out, but it should be noted that it has been extremely unsatisfactory for most of the world's people. It has certainly produced a great deal of development, but almost all of it has only been of benefit to the rich few in the world. Most of the poorest people in the Third World have not only gained very little, many have lost the productive capacity they used to have as their economies have been developed only into those forms that serve the rich. Many are now actually getting poorer. The UN's 1996 Human Development Report emphasizes that one third of the world's people, 1.6 billion, are actually getting poorer from year to year. There is an increasing amount of literature saying that conventional development has failed and cannot solve the problems. Globalization is making this situation worse.

The concern in this paper is to make clear that almost all discussion of development is only about the capitalist conception of development when many other conceptions are possible. Conventional development must be understood as involving a theory and practice which allows development to be determined by what suits those with capital to invest. It is most unfortunate that many people have no idea that there is or could

be any alternative to this particular, warped and highly objectionable conception.

The situation

Only about 20% of the world's people live as affluently as we do in rich countries like Australia. Our average per capita income is more than 70 times that of the poorest half of the world's people, which is under \$2 per day. The poorest one third of the world's people live in terrible conditions. About 1.2 billion might be malnourished. Around 1.5 billion do not have safe water to drink. This severe deprivation causes the deaths of more than 30,000 children every day.

The gap between the rich and poor nations is getting bigger. In per capita income terms it has trebled since 1950. The UN's Human Development Report for 1996 emphasised that the poorest one third of the world's people are getting poorer each year.

Over the last 50 years large reductions in infant mortality and improvements in literacy and longevity have occurred. However it is glaringly obvious that satisfactory development is not taking place in the Third World. A great deal of development has taken place, but it has not benefited most people much, and in fact it has further impoverished large numbers of people. In other words it has not been appropriate development. It has been mostly development that has benefited the rich. The reasons for this are obvious when we look at how the global economy works.



TED TRAINER

The Causes

The poverty of most Third World people is not due to any lack of resources like land (there is more farmland per person in the Third World than in Europe!). It is due to the unequal and unjust distributions of available resources. Most Third World land for instance is owned by a few local rich people or by foreign corporations.

Most of the Third World's problems, most of the deprivation and poverty and the unsatisfactory development, is simply due to the fact that the global economy is a market economy. In a market, goods go to those who can pay most for them. That means that richer people can take them and poorer people can't get them. For example most of the world's oil is sold to people in rich countries. One of the most disturbing results is that while 1.2 billion people do not get sufficient food, one third of the world's grain production is fed to animals in rich countries.

Similarly when production is determined by what is most profitable in the market the inevitable result is that the wrong industries are developed. The most profitable industries are developed and these are never the industries that will produce what most poor people need. Foreign investors who go into the Third World never produce to meet the most urgent needs there. Production is of items that the urban rich will buy, and of goods to export to rich countries. As a result in many very poor countries like the Philippines half the best land grows crops to export to rich countries. This is what you must expect when the market is allowed to determine production and development.

Conventional development has therefore taken the productive capacity the poor once had and geared much of it to serving the interests of the rich. Their land and labor now work to produce coffee etc. for export and from this process they only receive very low wages (shirt makers in Bangladesh are paid 15c per hour). It would be far better for Third World people if they were able to put their labor and land into developing and

producing for themselves the things they urgently need, especially into building highly self-sufficient community economies. The global economy prevents this. It enables most of the world's people and productive capacity to be forced into producing for the benefit of the rich few. The beneficiaries of the system are the tiny elite classes in the Third World, the transnational corporations who own most of the big plantations and factories, and the people in rich countries who can shop at supermarkets.

We, in rich countries could not have our high "living standards" if the global economy was fair and satisfactory. We can only have them because we are getting far more than our fair share of the world's resources, and this is the inevitable consequence of an economy driven by market forces and profit. Such an economy only produces development in the interests of the rich. The global economy is massively unjust, but we in rich countries could not live affluently if it did not do these things.

Growth and Trickle Down

Conventional development is based on the assumption that the goal of development is to get more investment, production, consumption, sales and trade going; i.e., that economic growth is development, or at least the key to it. It is clearly understood that this will enrich the already rich few, but the claim is that in time the increased wealth generated, when those with capital invest to make more profits, will in time trickle down to enrich all.

It is glaringly obvious that in conventional development very little ever trickles down, and indeed more often, the wealth poor people had, gets taken from them by the rich. Even if there was significant trickle down it would be an extremely inefficient way of solving the most urgent problems, i.e., of improving the real living conditions of the majority. The best way to do that is to enable them to use the existing productive capacity in their locality, especially the land, to produce necessities for themselves. The present economy will not allow this to happen.

Development as Plunder

For these reasons conventional development is increasingly being seen as a form of plunder. It is a process which enables the rich to take most of the valuable resources in the world, to take resources that poor people once had, to take the markets they once had, and to gear their productive capacity to producing for the rich at minuscule return to the poor people who work in the plantations and factories. The resources and the productive capacity they once had have literally been taken from them, but not by military force. It has been taken by the normal working of the free market or capitalist economy which allows a few to own most capital and to develop only those things that will maximize their profits, and which allows resources to go to those who can pay most for them. It is by nature and inevitably a massively unjust economic system. It cannot be reformed; if we changed it, so that it didn't have these effects, it would then be a totally different system.

Globalization

Globalization is now rapidly worsening these effects, because it involves increasing the freedom of corporations to do what they like. Governments have decreasing capacity to regulate their economies to ensure that the right things are developed. Development now involves little more than the development that it suits transnational corporations to carry out. Governments have to minimize their "interference with the freedom of market forces."

Globalization is a stunningly successful grab by the very rich. It is enabling them to take even more of the world's income, resources and markets because it involves the elimination of the protection that people, economies and ecosystems once had. The goal now is to establish, via the WTO etc., new rules for trade and investment which give the corporations and banks the right to go where they like and do what they like without interference from governments. Inequality

is increasing rapidly as the rich benefit from globalization while the poor majority are further impoverished.

It should be obvious that satisfactory development is totally impossible without a great deal of regulation contrary to market forces, to make sure that the rich and the corporations do not grab all the wealth and distort development from doing what is needed (this does not have to mean big-state socialism).

Conventional development is only capitalist development

Conventional economists give us the impression that there can only be one way to develop, which involves encouraging those who have capital to invest, increase production, goods, sales, jobs incomes etc. It is very important to realise that this conventional approach to development is only capitalist development, and that this is only one form that development can take.

So what we have had in the Third World has only been an approach whereby those with capital are allowed to develop what will maximise their profits. In general there is a world of difference between developing what will maximise profits and developing what is best for people, their society and their ecosystems. In general capitalist or free market development is now resulting in immense and accelerating damage to people, societies and ecosystems.

Conventional development is impossible anyway!

The development literature almost totally overlooks the fact that conventional development for the Third World is not possible because there are nowhere near enough resources for all people to rise to the levels of resource consumption the rich countries have. In fact it will not even be possible for the rich countries to sustain these levels for very long.

Conclusion

Satisfactory development for the Third World is impossible in the present global economy, and it is impossible unless rich countries stop hogging most of the world's resources. Globalization, coming scarcities and ecological problems are very likely to bring increasingly serious poverty and breakdown of social order to the Third World in coming years.

Appropriate development

The form that a satisfactory approach to development must take is easily seen once conventional development thinking is scrapped. The key principles are:

1 Enable people to put their own labor and resources into producing basic necessities for themselves via small scale local farms and industries.

2 Do not strive for rich world living standards; these are impossible for all. Aim at very low but sufficient material living standards for all.

3 Totally reject economic growth as a goal. What matters is whether basic needs are being met, the quality of life is improving, social cohesion is strengthened and ecosystems are being regenerated. The goal must be a satisfactory and sufficient lifestyle, based on very low and stable levels of resource consumption, and therefore on self-sufficiency and frugality, not on affluence.

4 Do not let market forces determine what is developed and who gets things. There could be an important role for markets and private enterprise; i.e., small firms, but only if the economy is under social control of some kind. This does not have to mean a bureaucratic authoritarian state; the control can be via local participatory assemblies managing local development plans they have worked out.

5 Work cooperatively, to build what the community needs, not as individual entrepreneurs working for their own benefit. Villages should decide what they can get together to develop in order to yield maximum benefit to all. Working

6 bees should build and run the community gardens, stores, water supplies, forests, schools etc needed.

6 Build highly self-sufficient local economies, as independent as possible from national, and international economies. Focus on production within the region to meet the region's needs, using resources produced there. Do not try to meet needs by importing from outside the region, thereby having to export, and compete with everyone else. In other words do not depend much on trade. Do not allow foreign investors in, unless they agree to produce what you can't produce for yourselves, on your terms.

7 Use mostly simple, alternative and traditional technologies. These are usually quite adequate to produce all that is necessary for a high quality of life, given that you will no longer be competing against everyone else to win export markets.

8 Borrow little if at all; very little capital is needed for appropriate development.

9 Preserve culture and traditions. Focus on building community solidarity. Do many things collectively and cooperatively. If you pursue affluent Western living standards and define development as growth and become dependent on the global economy you will lose your traditional culture.

10 Plod along! Proceed at a relaxed pace. Relatively little development is needed to provide a high quality of life in simple ways. Avoid the rat race of industrial-affluent-consumer society. Avoid the trap of having to compete frantically against everyone else, and having to beat everyone else or die. In conventional development you must run with the fastest or be trampled. Instead get into the situation where you can just move along at your own comfortable pace, secure in the knowledge that you can always meet your own needs in your own ways. Work out the most easy pace for yourself, providing most of the things you need for a high quality of life, in control of your own fate, independent of the global economy and the rich world corporations and banks. Let the others race after higher GDP, the latest

technology, luxury consumption, the scarce export markets, and the most sophisticated fashions and sports cars. Those things are irrelevant to appropriate development and a high quality of life. The appropriate path will probably provide quite adequate material living standards and a good quality of life to all in five years at most. The evidence indicates that the conventional path will never do this for the poor majority of the world's people.

قرینک	
معنی	الفاظ
بہتات، کثرت، افراط	Affluent
فناپذیری، موت	Mortality
معزولی، محرومی	Deprivation
مادرائے قوم، قومیت سے بالاتر	Transnational
بدتمیزی	Hogging
متحدہ، تسلسل	Cohesion
کفایت شعاری	Frugality
تکلیف میں	Plod

About Ted Trainer

Ted Trainer teaches at the University of New South Wales. He is one of Australia's foremost environmental campaigners; "the good life is bad for the Earth. Trainer is trying to convince his fellow Australians that the standard of living they enjoy is at someone else's expense. The grounds near Trainer's house are littered with homemade contraptions and inventions - machines that generate power or pump water. Trainer made them to show how anyone with a little ingenuity can harness the wind or the tides to run machines cleaner and more efficient than engines that burn fossil fuels. He believes we must confront at least two major changes. One is to live much more simply and to consume less in our personal lifestyles. The other and more important one, is a radical change in the sort of economy we have. Trainer has called for a new movement toward eco-villages" as a way to teach the public about sustainable alternatives. He is also the author of many books that include, "The Conservative Society: Alternatives for Sustainability", "Towards a Sustainable Economy", "Nature of Morality", "Developed to Death", "Abandon Affluence!" etc.

Ted Trainer's powerful critiques on development can be perused in his regular contributions to EDucate!

PEOPLE-CENTERED DEVELOPMENT

NGOs: From Community Projects to Global Transformation

DAVID G. KORTEN

A Self-destructive Vision of Human Progress

Contrary to its promise, economic growth is not alleviating the conditions that define the unfolding global crisis. Indeed there is reason to believe that it is the single-minded pursuit of growth that is the cause. We face a dilemma. It has become an article of faith among much of the world's population that economic growth is the key to universal prosperity. People, the world over, expect their leaders to provide it. As the crisis places ever increasing pressures on them, these same leaders, who seldom have time for serious reflection, become increasingly obsessed with the need to take whatever action promises to add to national output statistics in the current year and to fight any action that threatens them. They fail to see that their actions only add to the crisis not to its resolution.

The favored short-run policies lead to the concentration of ever-greater economic power in the hands of the state and/or large corporate enterprise, each of which is in turn evaluated by society primarily on the basis of its contributions to economic output. In the pursuit of this mandate, these institutions seek ever greater control over economic resources, which they mine with an eye only to today's bottom line usually at the expense of those who are too weak to protect themselves. The greed of the wealthy is indulged while the poor and future generations are deprived of the means



David G. Korten

“The greed of the wealthy is indulged while the poor and future generations are deprived of the means of meeting their basic needs and reduced to a struggle for economic survival and stripped of their basic sense of humanity and community.”

of meeting their basic needs and reduced to a struggle for economic survival and stripped of their basic sense of humanity and community. Poverty, environmental destruction, and the communal violence that results from a breakdown of the social fabric are all a direct consequence. Contrary to prevailing belief, our world is divided not between the developed and the underdeveloped, but rather between the over and under-consumers of earth's available resources. Because these resources are finite and because total current consumption is at or beyond the ability of earth's ecosystem to sustain, we are forced to acknowledge that there is a direct link between the behavior of the over-consumers and the plight of the under-consumers. The despair of the latter cannot be overcome without curbing the greed of the former. The answer lies not in growth, but in a transformation of the values and

institutions that define how we use earth's bounty and distribute its benefits.

Human society is locked into a mind-set that places it on a collision course with the limits of a finite planet and the psychological and social tolerance of its own members. The task before us is one of breaking humanity out of this pattern of collective self-destruction. This task takes us far beyond the traditional role of assisting the poor through village based development projects. It requires new ways of working and thinking, new organizational relationships, new strategies, and new skills.

Movements and Networks: How People Change Unresponsive Institutions

The small size and limited financial resources of most NGOs make them unlikely challengers of economic and political systems sustained by the prevailing interests of big government and big business. Yet the environment, peace, human rights, consumer rights and women's movements provide convincing examples of the power of voluntary action to change society. This seeming paradox can be explained by the fact that the power of voluntary action arises not from the size and resources of individual voluntary organizations, but rather from the ability of the voluntary sector to coalesce the actions of hundreds, thousands, or even millions of citizens through vast and constantly evolving networks that commonly lack identifiable structures, embrace many chaotic and conflicting tendencies, and yet act as if in concert to create new political and institutional

realities. These networks are able to encircle, infiltrate, and even co-opt the resources of opposing bureaucracies. They reach across sectors to intellectuals, press, community organizations. Once organized, they can, through electronic communications, rapidly mobilize significant political forces on a global scale.

Engaging in such processes is a new experience for most development oriented NGOs. Yet in growing numbers they are joining forces with and learning from the experience of established social movements. As we learn more about the nature of true movements, we realize that they are not defined by organizational structures. They are characterized by values-driven, action oriented flows of voluntary social energy, given shape and direction by a broadly shared social vision. Participation is driven by value commitments rather than by anticipation of financial or political rewards.

As our understanding grows, we see that strategic networks are the building blocks of social movements. A strategic network is a temporary alliance of individuals and organizations through which their resources are combined in pursuit of shared, defined and consequential goals that strengthen the movement's position in relation to major opposing forces. These alliances commonly reach beyond the formal voluntary sector to engage students, media, universities, agencies of government, and responsible business organizations. In many instances they link local, national, and international groups. Many of the participants in a strategic network may be acting on the basis of an immediate agenda or interest without perceiving themselves to be part of a larger social movement. As is true for the larger movement of which strategic networks are a part, each network may itself be comprised of countless shifting tactical networks formed around narrower agendas that contribute to the larger strategic objective.

While the success of strategic networks commonly depends on their ability to energize spontaneous voluntary action

on a considerable scale, they are seldom in themselves spontaneous creations. Usually one or more individuals or organizations assume critical and highly self-conscious roles as strategic network catalysts in their creation, maintenance, and direction. NGO experiences in the region provide rich insights into the nature of this role.

NGO Theory of Poverty: From Basic Needs to Development Vision

Tim Brodhead says that to be a development organization it is essential to have a theory of poverty that directs us to its underlying causes. Without such a theory the organization inevitably remains a relief and welfare agency, responding only to poverty's most evident symptoms.

Indeed many NGOs concerned with the plight of the poor did begin as relief and welfare organizations, and many remain so today. They see that people are unable to meet their basic needs and, without asking why, respond in the most direct and immediate way by providing food, clothing, health care, and shelter as required. They engage in first generation strategies.

The more thoughtful NGOs at some point find themselves asking, "Why are these people poor?" They begin, at least implicitly, to formulate a theory of poverty. They attempt to "look upstream," searching for the source or cause of the problem. Many NGOs that pursue this question conclude that the problem is local inertia, a sort of self-imposed and by implication self-correctable powerlessness resulting from lack of organization, political consciousness, belief in self, credit, and basic skills. Armed with an action theory that suggests this inertia can be broken through appropriate external interventions, they set about to intervene with community development programs. They reorient themselves to

second generation strategies.

When the theory of community inertia proved to be inadequate, some of us looked further upstream. This led to a realization that in large measure the evident powerlessness of the villager is not self-imposed. Rather it is externally imposed and sustained by policies and programs, often originating from the state and funded by foreign agencies, that deprive the poor of access to productive resources and maintain them in a state of dependency. Development projects, such as dams and industrial forest plantations, that displace the poor from their homes and means of livelihood are among the most obvious examples. Some NGOs have adjusted their theories accordingly and set about to advocate for changes in critical policies and to work with government through partnerships aimed at reorienting its

"The more thoughtful NGOs at some point find themselves asking, "Why are these people poor." They begin, at least implicitly, to formulate a theory of poverty. They attempt to "look upstream," searching for the source or cause of the problem."

programs in ways that strengthened local control and initiative. They moved to third generation strategies. NGOs are now taking another look still further upstream. What they see is deeply disturbing, i.e., many of the most devastating programs and policies are a direct consequence of the

way human society has come to define development itself. They are imbedded in a growth-centered development vision and in the institutions that we have collectively created to pursue it. We are now looking at the most fundamental driving forces of the global system and coming to realize the extent to which the poverty, environmental destruction, and communal violence experienced in the villages of Asia are symptoms of forces that have locked human society onto a self-destructive path that ultimately threatens the very survival of human civilization.

Many NGOs have become experts in consciousness raising at the village level. They defined the problem as one of an inappropriate mind-set. Now we see that though the problem was correctly

defined, its scope was seriously underestimated. Consciousness change is essential, but not only for the poor villager. It must be universal, including the power holders of global society.

To achieve changes of the scope and magnitude required, it is necessary to think of the NGOs people-centered development alternative not as a village project, but as a global people's movement for social transformation. The strategic networks are among the countless such initiatives that are giving this movement its vitality and direction. They represent, however, only a bare beginning. On a global scale thousands more are needed, each with their own catalysts. Hopefully our deliberations will lead us to insights into how they may be developed more rapidly and effectively.

This paper was prepared for the Asian Regional Workshop on Strategic Networking for Sustainable Development and Environmental Action, Bangkok, Thailand sponsored by the Asian NGO Coalition (ANGOC), the Institute for Development Research, the International Union of Consumer Organizations, and the People-Centered Development Forum. In March 1988, ANGOC held a landmark workshop on the theme of NGO Strategic Management. The workshop focused on what was then the cutting edge issue for Asian NGOs, the movement beyond village level projects to a concern with focusing the NGO's resources on clearly defined objectives to leverage national scale change.

فرہنگ

انگریزی	معنی
Environmental Devastation	ماحولیاتی تباہی
Pervasive	سراسیمہ کرنے والا، جذب ہونے والا
Communal Violence	مذہبی بنیاد پر اختلافات
Social Fabric	سماجی ڈھانچہ
Ecosystem	اگر در در کا ماحول
Plight	پستی کی طرف آنا، مشکل
Collision	ٹکراؤ، تصادم
Paradox	محمل بات، وہ بات جو نظام پر غلط ہو مگر حقیقت میں صحیح ہو
Coalesce	متحد
Embrace	گرفت میں لینا، پکڑنا
Co-opt	جین لینا، منتخب یا نامزد کرنا
Tactical	موقع کی مناسبت سے
Imbedded	دو چیزوں کو ملا نا
Inevitably	ناگزیر
Implicit	کامل عقیدہ
Encircle	احاطہ کرنا، طلقے میں لینا
Pre-eminent	جس کا کوئی موازنہ نہ ہو، غیر موازن
Consequent	انجام، نتیجہ
Earth's Bounty	دنیا کی نعمتیں

About David C. Korten

David C. Korten is Co-founder and Board Chair, Positive Futures Network, publishers of YES!, a Journal of Positive Futures and Founder and President of The People-Centered Development Forum. He has over thirty-five years of experience in preeminent business, academic, and international development institutions as well as in contemporary citizen action organizations. His work in South East Asia won him international recognition for his contributions to pioneering the development of powerful strategies for transforming public bureaucracies into responsive support systems dedicated to strengthening community control and management of land, water, and forestry resources. Korten came to realize that the crisis of deepening poverty, growing inequality, environmental devastation, and social disintegration he was observing in Asia was also being experienced in nearly every country in the world - including the United States and other "developed" countries. Furthermore he came to the conclusion that the United States was actively promoting - both at home and abroad - the very policies that were deepening the resulting global crisis. He is the author of "When Corporations Rule the World" and "The Post-Corporate World: Life After Capitalism". His publications are required reading in university courses around the world.

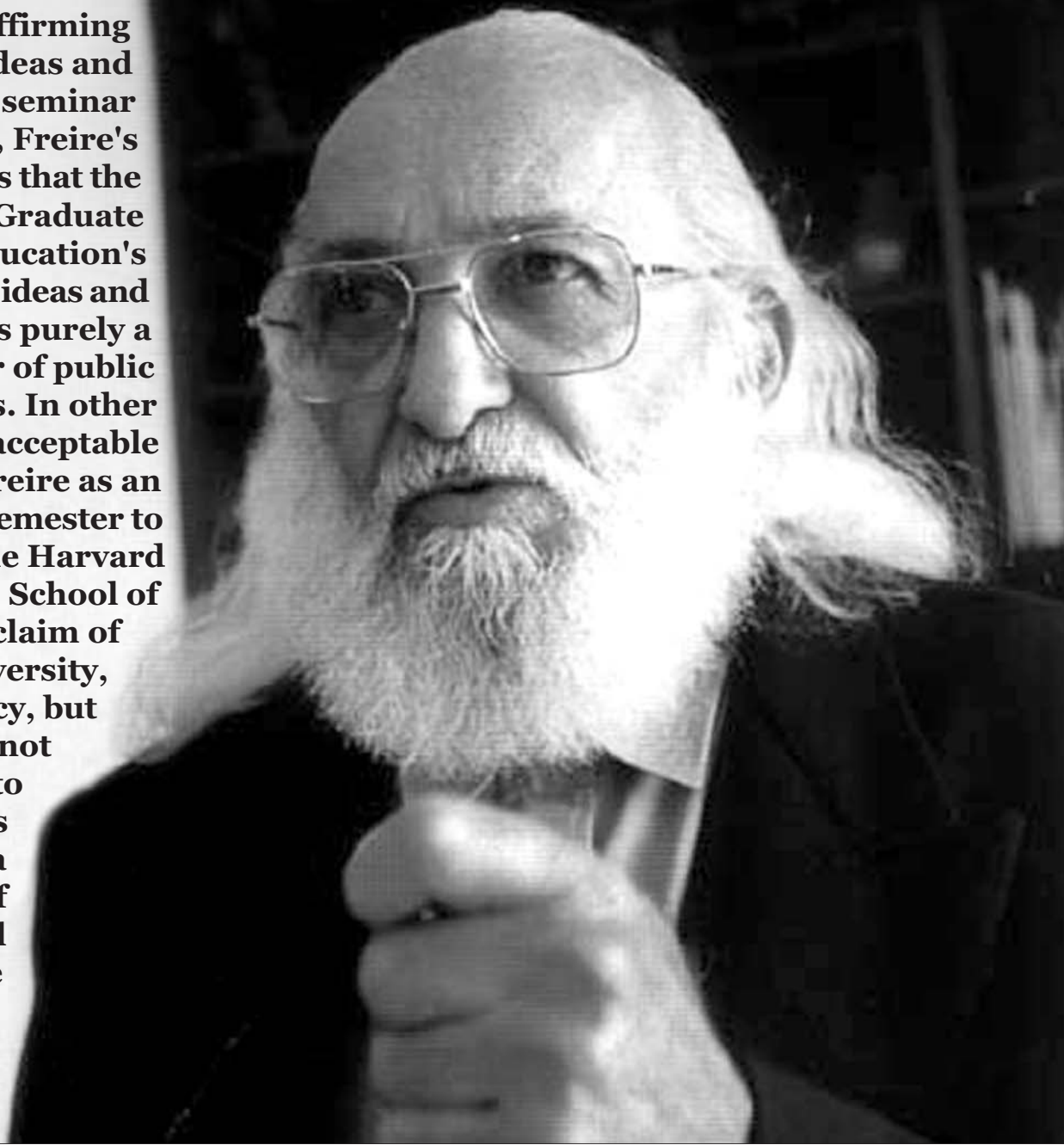
David C. Korten's expertise on Asia and the global role and rule of corporations will be reflected in his frequent contributions to EDucate!

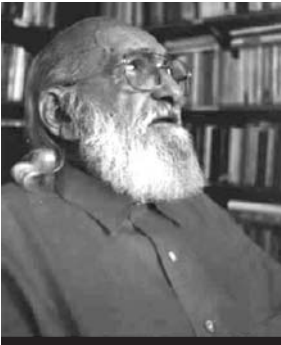
“On May 2, 1997, Paulo Freire died of heart failure. His death unveiled the hidden ideology that informs the conservative corporate empirical focus that shapes the Harvard Graduate School of Education, which reasserted itself when the school concealed the seminar on liberation pedagogy. Rather than affirming Freire's ideas and allowing the seminar to continue, Freire's death suggests that the Harvard Graduate School of Education's interest in his ideas and work was purely a matter of public relations. In other words, it is acceptable to embrace Freire as an icon for one semester to legitimize the Harvard Graduate School of Education's claim of openness, diversity, and democracy, but it is not acceptable to allow his ideas to become a part of general course offerings.”

Donalddo Macedo

Paulo Freire

ICON OF LIBERATION





Knowing Freire

BY: PETER McLAREN

With a "calm semblance, long gray hair and beard, medium height, slender body, eyes the color of honey" and a "strong, compassionate, profound communicating gaze and his always expressive gestures", Paulo Freire appeared the archetypical philosopher and eminence grise of academic letters - sensitive, erudite, and exuding a quaint other-worldliness. Generally considered the inaugural protagonist of what has come to be known throughout education and humanities as 'critical pedagogy', Freire was able to effectively recast on a global basis the link between education and a radical politics of historical struggles, a mission that he expanded into a lifetime project. Long before his fatal heart attack on May 2, 1997, at the Albert Einstein Hospital in Sao Paulo, Freire had acquired a mythical stature among progressive educators, social workers, and theologians - as well as scholars and researchers from numerous disciplinary traditions - for fomenting interest in and dedication to the way that education can serve as a vehicle for social and economic transformation. What is now termed as 'a politics of liberation' is a topic of pivotal significance among educational activists throughout the globe, and one to which Freire has made important and pioneering contributions...To a great extent than any other educator of this century, Freire was able to develop a pedagogy of resistance to oppression. More than this, he lived what he taught. His life is the story of courage, hardship, perseverance, and an unyielding belief in the power of love.

Freire's revolutionary pedagogical theory has influenced educational and social movements throughout the world. Freire began his literacy work in Brazil, but was forced into exile in 1964. During this time he lived in Chile (where he wrote his most important work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*), the United States, and Switzerland; he also coordinated literacy projects in Tanzania, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe. In 1980 he returned to Brazil to teach and later to serve as Secretary of Education of Sao Paulo. Freire's conception of education as a deeply political project oriented toward the transformation of society has been crucial to emerging traditions of critical pedagogy, popular and multicultural education.

Freire's revolutionary pedagogy starts from a deep love for, and humility before poor and oppressed people, and a respect for their "common sense," which constitutes a knowledge no less important than the scientific knowledge of the professional.

This humility makes possible a condition of reciprocal trust and communication between the educator, who also learns, and the student, who also teaches. Thus, education becomes a "communion" between participants in a mutually informing dialogue, rather than the unilateral action of one for the benefit of the other. Nevertheless, this does not amount to a celebration of the consciousness of the oppressed, in which the educator recedes into the background as a mere facilitator. Freire conceived of authentic teaching as enacting a clear authority, rather than being authoritarian. The teacher, in his conception, is not neutral, but intervenes in the educational situation in order to help the student to overcome those aspects of his or her world view that are paralyzing, and to learn to think critically.

Freire criticized prevailing forms of education as reducing students to the status of passive objects to be acted upon by the teacher. In this traditional form of education it is the job of the teacher to deposit in the minds of the students, considered to be empty in an absolute ignorance, the bits of information that constitute knowledge. Freire called this banking education. The goal of banking education is to immobilize the people within existing frameworks of power by conditioning them to accept that meaning and historical agency are the sole property of the oppressor. Within this system, the oppressed are characterized as marginal, pathological, and helpless. In the banking model, knowledge is taken to be a gift that is bestowed upon the student by the teacher. This false generosity on the part of the oppressor, which ostensibly aims to incorporate and improve the oppressed, is in fact a crucial means of domination.

Against the banking model, Freire proposed a dialogical problem-posing method of education. In this model, the teacher and student become co-investigators of knowledge and of the world. Instead of suggesting to students that their situation in society has been fixed by nature or reason, as the banking model does, Freire's problem-posing education invites the oppressed to explore their reality as a "problem" to be transformed. The content of this education cannot be determined in advance, through the expertise of the educator, but must instead arise from the lived reality of the students. It is not the task of the educator to provide the answer to the problems that these situations present, but to help students to achieve a form of critical thinking (or conscientization) that will make possible an awareness of society as mutable. Once they are able to see the world as a transformable limit situation, rather than an unthinkable and inescapable stasis, it becomes possible for students to imagine a new and different reality.

In order, however, to undertake this process, the oppressed must challenge their own internalization of the oppressor. The oppressed are accustomed to thinking of themselves as "less than." They have been conditioned to view as complete and human only the dominating practices of the oppressor, so that to fully become human means to simulate these practices. Against a "fear of freedom" which protects them from a cataclysmic re-organization of their being, the oppressed in dialogue engage in an existential process of dis-identifying with "the oppressor housed within." This dis-identification allows

“Freire believed that the challenge of transforming schools should be directed at overcoming socioeconomic injustice linked to the political and economic structures of society.”

them to begin the process of imagining a new being and a new life as subjects of their own history.

The concrete basis for Freire's dialogical system of education is the culture circle, in which students and coordinator together discuss generative themes that have significance within the context of students' lives. These themes, which are related to nature, culture, work and relationships, are discovered through the cooperative research of educators and students. They express, in an open rather than propagandistic fashion, the principal contradictions that confront the students in their world. These themes are then represented in the form of codifications (usually visual representations) which are taken as the basis for dialogue within the circle. As students decode these representations, they recognize them as situations in which they themselves are involved as subjects. Learning to read the codifications in their situationality, rather than simply experiencing them, initiates the process of critical consciousness formation and makes possible the intervention by students in society. As the culture circle comes to recognize the need for print literacy, the visual codifications are accompanied by words to which they correspond. Students learn to read these words in the process of reading the aspects of the world with which they are linked.

While this system of codifications has been very successful in promoting print literacy among adult students, Freire always emphasized that it should not be approached mechanically, but rather as a process of creation and awakening of consciousness. For Freire, it is a mistake to speak of reading as solely the decoding of text. Rather, reading is a process of apprehending power and causality in society, and one's location in it. Awareness of the historicity of social life makes it possible for students to imagine its re-creation. Literacy is thus a "self-transformation producing a stance of intervention." Literacy programs that appropriate parts of Freire's method while ignoring the essential politicization of the process of reading the world as a limit-situation to be overcome, distort and subvert the process of literacy education. For Freire, authentic education is always a "practice of freedom" rather than an alienating inculcation of skills.

Freire's philosophy of education is not a simple method but rather an organic political consciousness. The

domination of some by others must be overcome, in his view, so that the humanization of all can take place. Authoritarian forms of education, in serving to reinforce the oppressors' view of the world, and their material privilege in it, constitute an obstacle to the liberation of human beings. The means of this liberation is a praxis, or process of action and reflection, that simultaneously names reality and acts to change it. Freire criticized views that emphasized either the objective or subjective aspect of social transformation, and insisted that revolutionary change takes place precisely through the consistency of a critical commitment in both word and deed. This dialectical unity is expressed in his formulation, "To speak a true word is to transform the world."

Freire's educational project was conceived in solidarity with anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movements throughout the world. It calls upon the more privileged educational and revolutionary leaders to commit "class suicide" and to struggle in partnership with the oppressed. Though this appeal is firmly grounded in a Marxist political analysis which calls for the reconfiguring of systems of production and distribution, Freire rejected elitist and sectarian versions of socialism in favor of a libertarian vision of revolution from "below", based on the work of autonomous popular organizations. Not only does Freire's project involve a material reorganization of society, but a cultural reorganization as well.

Given the history of European imperialism, an emancipatory education of the oppressed involves a dismantling of colonial structures and ideologies. The literacy projects he undertook in former Portuguese colonies in Africa included an emphasis on the re-affirmation of the people's indigenous cultures against their negation by the legacy of the metropolitan invaders.

The originality of Freire's thought consists in his synthesis of a number of philosophical and political traditions and his application of them to the pedagogical encounter. Thus, the Hegelian dialectic of master and slave informs his vision of liberation from authoritarian forms of education; the existentialism of Sartre and Buber make possible his description of the self-transformation of the oppressed into a space of radical intersubjectivity; the historical materialism of Marx influences his conception of the historicity of social relations; his emphasis on love as a necessary precondition of authentic education has an affinity with radical Christian theology; and the anti-imperialist revolutionism of Guevara and Fanon undergird his notion of



PETER McLAREN

“Literacy, for Freire, was an introduction to a particular way of life, a way of living and caring for others.”

the "oppressor housed within" as well as his commitment to a praxis of militant anti-colonialism.

Freire's pedagogy implies an important emphasis on the imagination, though this is not an aspect that has been enough emphasized in writings about him. The transformation of social conditions involves a rethinking of the world as a particular world, capable of being changed. But the reframing proposed

"Freire's work has been identified with nearly dozen different movements or trends within education (popular education, adult education, educational change, and nonformal education etc.), yet Freire himself often actively resisted such identifications."

here depends upon the power of the imagination to see outside, beyond, and against what is. More than a cognitive or emotional potential, the human imagination, in Freire's view, is capable of a radical and productive envisioning that exceeds the limits of the given. It is in this capacity that our humanity consists, and for this reason it can never be the gift of the teacher to the student. Rather, educator-student and student-educator work

together to mobilize the imagination in the service of creating a vision of a new society.

Since its first enunciation, Freire's educational theory has been criticized from various quarters. Naturally, conservatives who are opposed to the political horizon of what is essentially a revolutionary project of emancipation, have been quick to condemn him as demagogic and utopian. Freire has faced critique from the left as well, however. Some Marxists have been suspicious of the Christian influences in his work, and have accused him of idealism in his view of popular consciousness. Freire has also been criticized by feminists and others for failing to take into account the radical differences between forms of oppression, as well as their complex and contradictory instantiation in subjects. It has been pointed out that Freire's writing suffers from sexism in its language and from a patriarchal notion of revolution and subjecthood, as well as a lack of emphasis on domination based on race and ethnicity. Postmodernists have pointed to the contradiction between Freire's sense of the historicity and contingency of social formations versus his vision of liberation as a universal human vocation.

Freire was always responsive to critique, and in his later work undertook a process of self-criticism in regard to his own sexism. He also sought to develop a more nuanced view of oppression and subjectivity as relational and discursively embedded. Freire's work continues to be indispensable for the project of conceiving a democratic and liberatory education, and the insights that it makes available will remain of tremendous value to all who are committed to the struggle against oppression and the creation of a just society.

1. Co-author, Noah De Lissovoy

2. Highlighted comments on Freire have been taken from Peter McLaren's *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution*, 2000

About Peter McLaren

Peter McLaren is Professor of Urban Schooling at University of California, Los Angeles. He began his teaching career in his hometown of Toronto, Canada, teaching in an inner-city school. McLaren completed his Ph.D at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, in 1983. In 1985 McLaren worked with Henry Giroux to create the Center for Education and Cultural Studies, at Miami University of Ohio, where he served as both Associate Director and Director. While at Miami he was awarded the title of Renowned Scholar in Residence, School of Education and Allied Professions. A Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Commerce, and Associate of Massey College, Professor McLaren is the author and editor of over 35 books. Professor McLaren lectures world wide and his work has been translated into 15 languages. His most recent books include *Schooling as a Ritual Performance*, *"Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture"*, *"Revolutionary Multiculturalism"*, and *"Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution"*.

Our readers will continue to find the powerful and analytical works of Peter McLaren in our future issues of *EDucate*!

Glossary

The following lists some of the common terms/old words together with their definitions used by Paulo Freire:

Alienation: Alienation is the separation of humankind from its labor.

Banking Education: In the "banking" method of education passive learners receive deposits of pre-selected, ready-made knowledge. The learner's mind is seen as an empty vault into which the riches of approved knowledge are placed.

Conscientization: Conscientization means breaking through prevailing mythologies to reach new levels of awareness - in particular, awareness of oppression, being an "object" in a world where only "subjects" have power. The process of conscientization involves identifying contradictions in experience through dialogue and becoming a "subject" with other oppressed subjects - that is, becoming part of the process of changing the world.

Critical Consciousness: This is a level of consciousness characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, through testing one's own findings with openness to revision, attempting to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and preconceived notions when analyzing them, receptivity to the new without rejecting the old because it is old. In striving toward critical consciousness, the individual rejects passivity, practicing dialogue rather than polemics, and using permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life.

Culture of Silence: The "culture of silence" is a characteristic which Freire attributes to oppressed people in colonized countries, with significant parallels in highly developed countries. Alienated and oppressed people are not heard by the dominant members of their society. The dominant members prescribe the words to be spoken by the oppressed through control of the schools and other institutions, thereby effectively silencing the people. This imposed silence does not signify an absence of response, but rather a response which lacks a critical quality. Oppressed people internalize negative images of themselves (images created and imposed by the oppressor) and feel incapable of self-governance. Dialogue and self-government are impossible under such conditions.

Dialectic: Dialectic is a term referring to a dynamic tension within any given system and the process by which change occurs on the basis of that tension and resulting conflict. Based on the writings of Hegel, every concept implies its negation; that is, in conceiving anything (thesis), we must be able to imagine its opposite (antithesis).

Dialogical Method: The dialogical approach to learning is characterized by co-operation and acceptance of interchangeability and mutuality in the roles of teacher and learner, demanding an atmosphere of mutual acceptance and trust. In this method, all teach and all learn.

Empowerment: Empowerment is a consequence of liberatory learning. Power is not given, but created within the emerging praxis in which co-learners are engaged. The theoretical basis for this discovery is provided by critical consciousness; its expression is collective action on behalf of mutually agreed upon goals. Empowerment is distinct from building skills and competencies, these being commonly associated with conventional schooling. Education for empowerment further differs from schooling both in its emphasis on groups (rather than individuals) and in its focus on cultural transformation (rather than social adaptation).

Humanization: The central task in any movement toward liberation is to become more fully human through the creation of humanly-enhancing culture - in a word, "humanization." This historical task is countered by the negative forces of dehumanization which, through oppressive manipulation and control, compromise human values for personal gain and power. The task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and, in the process, liberate their oppressors.

Liberatory Education: Education which is liberatory encourages learners to challenge and change the world, not merely uncritically adapt themselves to it. The content and purpose of liberatory education is the collective responsibility of learners, teachers, and the community alike who, through dialogue, seek political, as well as economic and personal empowerment. Programs of liberatory education support and complement larger social struggles for liberation.

Mystification: Mystification is the process by which the alienating and oppressive features of culture are disguised and hidden. False, superficial, and naive interpretations of culture prevent the emergence of critical consciousness. Educational systems are key instruments in the dissemination of mystifications: e.g. unemployment is "mystified" as personal failure rather than as a failure of the economy, thus making it difficult for the unemployed to critically understand their situation.

Praxis: Praxis is a complex activity by which individuals create culture and society, and become critically conscious human beings. Praxis comprises a cycle of action-reflection-action which is central to liberatory education. Characteristics of praxis include self-determination (as opposed to coercion), intentionality (as opposed to reaction), creativity (as opposed to homogeneity), and rationality (as opposed to chance).

Problematization: Problematization is the antithesis of problem-solving. Problematization recognizes that "solutions" are often difficult because the wrong problems are being addressed.

Transformation of the World: To transform the world is to humanize it. All transformations do not result in liberation. Transforming action could dehumanize the world with an oppressor's curious and inventive presence (e.g. the development of the V-2 rocket in World War II).

فرہنگ

معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ
بہم سرحد، ملا ہوا	Abut	عالم فاضل	Erudite	چھپے، چھپا ہوا	Recede
خطرہ مول لینا	Imperil	پسینہ نکلنا	Exude	ظاہر، نمایاں	Ostensible
مشابہت	Semblance	عجیب، انوکھا	Quaint	انقلاب حیات کے متعلق	Cataclysmic
دلچسپ	Slender	مستاز شخص، کسی ناکیب کا خاص کردار	Protagonist	نشر و اشاعت کے متعلق	Propagandistic
رحم کرنا، غم خواری کرنا	Compassionate	مسئلہ پیدا کرنا	Fomenting	مشابہت، نسبت، تعلق	Affinity
بلندی	Eminence	دل کی بات، راز و نیاز	Communion	بیان، اعلان	Enunciation
				بازاری لینڈر	demagogic

RETHINKING EDUCATION

In Search of a New Paradigm of Quality Education...

MANISH JAIN & WASIF RIZVI

After a decade of focusing on access rates to schooling, the issue of quality of education was finally brought to the forefront of education debates at the World Education Forum in Dakar (Senegal, April 2000). It was recognized that access and quality cannot be separated from one another. Indeed, concerns about quality of education can be heard from several segments of the global population - if one is willing to listen closely. Whether it is the arrogant First World or the arrogantly dismissed Third World, educationists, teachers, parents and most importantly students, are increasingly becoming unsettled by the irrelevance and inadequacy of the educational services. In India, the Yashpal Committee Report (1993) made an insightful observation, (which has been ignored), that "there is a lot of teaching and training going on but very little learning or understanding". In other conversations in Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai, several business leaders have openly stated that, "Most college graduates, even IT students, lack the creativity, teamwork ability, communication skills and self-motivation to succeed in the fast-moving economy. We need to retrain them when they enter our organizations".

In Pakistan, parental observations like, "we don't understand the relevance of this schooling", have been voiced in PTA and community meetings within Sindh and Balochistan. Several parents in the rural parts of Pakistan and India have stated: "Schools have spoiled our children. They are not able to get a government job in the city, nor do they have any respect for our family work (labor), our local culture, our values, or our relationships. *Woh na ghar kai, na ghat kai*". Thinkers and public intellectuals from Pakistan and India, like Dr. Parvez Hoodbhoy, have quoted in detail, embarrassing stories about the best Pakistani science graduates, who were unable to solve elementary math and physics problem with their books open. Social reformers and spiritual leaders would add to this list a comment on the burgeoning destructive values: greed, selfishness, hatred, insensitivity, violence, consumerism, loneliness, insecurity, fear, laziness, etc. and emerging ethical dilemmas (e.g., artificial intelligence, biotechnology, cloning, patents) that threaten the well-being of society. The crisis of quality becomes even more poignant if one asks a young person "what he or she wants to learn". The answers tend to range from blank stares to "whatever you want to teach me" to "whatever is needed to pass the exam". Upon deeper interrogation, the vast majority of school graduates will readily admit that their school education was/is irrelevant to their daily lives. Of greater

concern, however, is that their natural capacities to be lifelong learners who can learn, unlearn and relearn throughout their lives have been rendered dysfunctional by their schooling experience.

"The illiterates of the future will not be those who are unable to read and write, but rather those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn.

Alvin and Heidi Toefler

In order to start improving the quality of education, we need to first understand where and why we have failed. Educationists from UNESCO, UNICEF, World Bank and established

NGOs have tended to focus on some combination of: building more infrastructure (such as classrooms, toilets, furniture); training more teachers in joyful activities and providing them with progressive child-centered' and gender-sensitive' textbooks and didactic Montessori teaching aids; setting up more Village Education Committees to raise funds and monitor schools; introducing more tests and minimum standards. Along with these reforms, there are those who believe that the quality conundrum can be solved by a few more 'add-ons' - value education courses, vocational training, hobby classes, GK (or good-for-nothing knowledge), random chunks of local knowledge, and computers. All of these interventions, however, remain within an extremely limited realm of vision and action, in that they continue to look at quality education through school-colored glasses. They function with a set of arrogant assumptions that reinforce the role of education as an instrument to mold and 'socialize' (that is, control and indoctrinate) human beings to fit within the institutionalized framework of the Industrial Nation State and/or the Global Free Market Economy limiting our roles to the obedient Worker, Clerk, Soldier, Citizen, Consumer. These assumptions include:

- ◆ Human beings are empty/deficient which implies that those who have not gone to school are ignorant;
- ◆ There are a few intelligent children and a lot of dumb children - this can be measured by IQ tests;
- ◆ Every child learns in the same way and this can be planned and standardized;
- ◆ Literacy is only about reading, writing and numeracy;
- ◆ Knowledge is inherently fragmented and can be de-linked from experience and context;
- ◆ Competition, pressure and discipline through rewards/punishments brings out the best in human beings;
- ◆ There exists a rational and objective truth which means that every question has a right or wrong answer;
- ◆ Meaningful learning can only take place in the classroom and through the instructions of a teacher.

Much research from diverse disciplines and from practical experiences in a wide range of countries has emerged raising many questions about the legitimacy of these assumptions. Continuing our thinking and action in education, based on these assumptions is extremely dangerous for humanity. Not only will such kind of homogenizing educational frameworks prevent us from comprehending the complex 'gray' areas in life and imagining new systems and approaches necessary to address the widespread societal and environmental breakdowns that threaten our planet, they will increase our difficulties by undermining and destroying diverse learning processes, multiple intelligences, reflective expressions, caring and collaborative relationships, intrinsic motivations, practical knowledge systems, wisdom frameworks and deep linkages with Nature. Unfortunately, we won't be able to see the magnitude of the damage to the resiliency, creativity and spirit of the human species until it is too late. The terrible irony is that many people still believe that schooling in its present form leads to sustainable forms of individual and community empowerment. Despite the fact that we have 10 different toothpastes, 40 TV channels and thousands of politicians to choose from, our real choices - sustainable choices - in life, livelihood, culture, Nature, health, media communication, political power, etc. are actually decreasing day by day. A first step in moving towards a new paradigm of quality education that nurtures human beings who can learn, unlearn and relearn throughout their lives is to strongly question one-sided claims (that have been based on dubious quantitative World Bank rate-of-return studies) about the economic and social gains made in society because of schooling and literacy and to conduct a serious analysis of the real gains and losses to our society from schooling.

A second step is to open up our mental models and start valuing opportunities for playing, working, praying/meditating, engaging with and creating different media, interacting across generations and communities and being with Nature as part of a larger seamless web of lifelong learning. But in recognizing this, we should be careful not to fall into the trap of once again seeing human beings as passive recipients in these environments. Rather, human beings dialectically interact with their social, biological, physical, and spiritual environments - these environments impact them but human beings can also purposefully create and reshape these environments. This happens when learners themselves start to consciously think about their learning aspirations, learning styles, learning contexts, learning resources, meaningful learning experiences as well as about how they can contribute to other peoples' learning. All this means that talking about 'good' schools alone is not enough if we seek quality education. The human mind, human knowledge, human wisdom, and learning in human communities are too complex. We must appreciate, value and negotiate this complexity rather than continuing to try to kill it. A third step, if we are serious about a new paradigm in quality education, is to start asking new questions - questions that allow us to critically interrogate economic, political and social systems and their linkages to education; questions that can open up new shared visions and possibilities for moving beyond existing systems; questions that are open to all learners to

reflect on - not just the 'experts'. Such questions might include: What is a good human being?; What is a healthy society?; What is progress?; What is social justice and equality?; What is knowledge, wisdom and truth?; What is peace and love?; What is interdependence?; What is diversity?; What are the limitations of historical analysis and scientific analysis?; What are the dominant power structures in place and who controls them?; How are different institutions and technologies reshaping what it means to be human? Such questions can help to open up new parameters for assessing quality education in any community. Despite what some might argue, there are not any absolute universal answers to all these questions. In fact, discovering and creating individual and collective meaning around these questions in different contexts is an essential part of the learning process.

A fourth, and perhaps the most critical step, is to create spaces for genuine dialogue on the above three. This means that we need to move beyond campaign and propaganda modes of public engagement. We need to get out of the culture of approaching each conversation as a debate to be won. We also need to give up a hierarchical mindset of superiority and inferiority. In advocating for new spaces for genuine dialogue, we do not mean that we should naively ignore the larger power games that are going on in society. However, we should recognize that playing the same indoctrinating game ultimately undermines the agenda of quality education, that liberates human beings. Lastly, we would vehemently disagree with those who believe that there has already been too much discussion on education in Pakistan and India, it is time get on to action. Genuine dialogue requires an atmosphere of trust and honesty, of active listening, of being open to questioning deep-rooted assumptions, of speaking with both the head and the heart, of breaking out of static roles and relationships, of allowing for and valuing mistakes. Such an atmosphere is lacking in schools and educational policy circles in both India and Pakistan today. Dialogue, action and reflection must go hand-in-hand. This is the essence of quality education.

About Manish & Wasif

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CRITICAL EDUCATORS

Education and the Struggle for Democracy and Liberation

MICHAEL W. APPLE

FREIRE, NEO-LIBERALISM, AND EDUCATION

In every nation in the world, there are those who recognize that education is not a neutral activity, that it is intimately connected to multiple relations of domination and subordination - and very importantly to struggles to deconstruct and reconstruct these relations. In every nation in the world, there are those people who have devoted their lives to creating new visions of educational possibilities and new practices that embody them. Yet, some individuals are able to generate insights that are so powerful, so challenging, so compelling, that they become teachers (and I use this word with the utmost respect) of hundreds, even thousands, of other people not only in their own nations but in many others.

I know of no one more powerful in this regard than Paulo Freire. My use of the present tense (the word know) here shows how difficult it is for me to think of him in the past. For he was that rarity - "teacher and friend." He was important to all of the many people in so many countries who recognize that our task is to "name the world," to collectively build an education that is both counter-hegemonic and is part of the larger terrain of struggle over what counts as literacy, who should control it, and how critical literacy (what he called *concientization*) was connected to real struggles, by real people, in real relations, in real communities. For him, an education that was not connected to the struggles for emancipation and against exploitation was not worthy of the label "education".

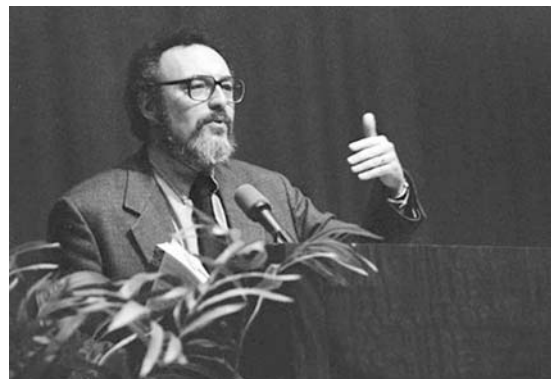
Yet all of this is too abstract for me right now. His death came at a time when I was beginning work on a lecture that was to be presented as an honor to him after his being awarded an honorary degree at the University of Lisbon in Portugal. His death makes me wonder what I now have to say, how I can honor the person for whom the lecture was to be presented and who will now no longer be able to hear or read it. These voids can never be filled. It is the mark of my respect for the man and what he stands (stood?) for that I can already recognize the space and already miss the eloquent voice. The time we spent in those large public conversations went by too fast; too much was left to say. Even the audience felt the same. I cannot say this about too many other people. In the process of these public and private conversations, I changed - but so did he. His willingness to take a radical intellectual and political position in times of grave danger - when everything is conspiring against you - and yet to change his mind, to see where one might have been wrong, is the characteristic of all

too few people. Because of this, Paulo will remain in me, as a model of radical commitment, as a model of what one does when better arguments are given than your own, as a model of combining theory and practice into a pedagogical/political praxis, and as a model of a fully human being.

The way to honor him is to live out the reality of what must never degenerate into an idle slogan: Don't mourn, teach and organize. Paulo would demand no less. Let us at least attempt to do the impossible - to fill the void left by his passing in a way he would want. There are hard questions to radically ask and to answer and educational work to be done. His life may be over, but his legacy remains a living presence within all of us who demand justice.

But how are we to honor that legacy? In what follows, I shall not do what so many others are doing. I shall not write a review of Paulo's ideas; nor shall I spend much time examining the contradictions found within them. This is not because I respect Paulo's ideas less than other people who have chosen to write about what he stood for. Indeed, there are few authors for whom I have greater respect than Paulo. Instead, because so many others have written or will write reviews of his arguments, I wish to change the focus. Since I assume that people are already familiar with the central core of his ideas, I want to demonstrate why - at this current historical conjuncture - his arguments and commitments are even more crucial than they ever have been. That is, I want to analyze the current ways our societies and their educational systems are being reconstructed, so that it becomes clearer why a commitment to radical social/pedagogical activity like that embodied in Paulo Freire's life and work is of such great importance now.

There are very powerful ideological transformations occurring in all of our societies. They are actually part of a large scale "educational project", a project paradoxically similar to what Paulo called upon us to do, to radically change common-sense. In this case, however, these ideological transformations are



Michael W. Apple

aimed in directions exactly the opposite of what Freire stood for. Whereas Freire's aim was to "reawaken" the individual and collective sensibilities of oppressed people through the processes of critical literacy, there is a new and quite powerful dynamic at work today. Rather than "naming the word and the world" as a site of structures of exploitation and domination and of self-conscious struggles to alter it, we are to embrace this new world.

Education and the Conservative Restoration

Education is a site of struggle and compromise. It serves as a proxy as well for larger battles over what our institutions should do, who they should serve, and who should make these decisions. This insight is especially crucial today.

The current rightward turn in education and the larger society what I have elsewhere called the conservative restoration has been the result of the successful struggle by the right to form a broad-based alliance. This new alliance has been so successful in part because it has been increasingly able to win the battle over common-sense. That is, it has creatively stitched together different social tendencies and commitments and has organized them under its own general leadership in issues dealing with social welfare, culture, the economy, and education. Neo-liberals are currently in leadership in this alliance to "reform" education and are most concerned with the relationship between schooling and the material and ideological conditions of economic life.

Neo-Liberalism, Education, and the Market

Neo-liberals are the most powerful element within the conservative restoration. They are guided by a vision of the weak state. Thus, what is private is necessarily good and what is public is necessarily bad. Public institutions such as schools are "black holes" into which money is poured and then seemingly disappears but which do not provide anywhere near adequate results. For neo-liberals, there is one form of rationality that is more powerful than any other - economic rationality. Efficiency and an "ethic" of cost-benefit analysis are the dominant norms. All people are to act in ways that maximize their own personal benefits. Indeed, behind this position is an empirical claim that this is how all rational actors act. Yet, rather than being a neutral description of the world of social motivation, this is actually a construction of the world around the valiative characteristics of an efficiently acquisitive class type.

Underpinning this position is a vision of students as human capital. The world is intensely competitive economically, and students (as future workers) must be given the requisite skills and dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively. Further, any money spent on schools that is not directly related to these economic goals is suspect. In fact, as "black holes," schools and other public services as they are currently organized and

controlled waste economic resources that should go into private enterprise. Thus, not only are public schools failing our children as future workers, but like nearly all public institutions they are sucking the financial life out of this society. Partly, this is the result of "producer capture." Schools are built for teachers and state bureaucrats, not "consumers." They respond to the demands of professionals and other selfish state workers, not the consumers who rely on them.

The idea of the "consumer" is crucial here. For neo-liberals, the world in essence is a vast supermarket. "Consumer choice" is the guarantor of democracy. In effect, education is seen as simply one more product like bread, cars, and television. By turning it over to the market through voucher and choice plans, it will be largely self-regulating. Thus, democracy is turned into consumption practices. In these plans, the ideal of the citizen is that of the purchaser, not the worker. The ideological effects of this are momentous. Rather than democracy being a political concept, it is transformed into a wholly economic concept. The message of such policies is that of what might best be called "arithmetical particularism," in which the unattached individual, as a consumer, is deraced, declassed, and degendered. This serves as an attack on the very basic understandings that underpin any Freirian-inspired strategy.

There are varied policy initiatives that have emerged from the neo-liberal segments of the new hegemonic alliance. Most have centered around either creating closer linkages between education and the economy or placing schools themselves into the market. The former is represented by widespread proposals for "school to work" and "education for employment" programs, and by vigorous cost-cutting attacks on the "bloated state." The latter is no less widespread and is becoming increasingly powerful.

There is increasing empirical evidence that the development of "quasi-markets" in education has led to the exacerbation of existing social divisions surrounding class and race. There are now increasingly convincing arguments that while the supposed overt goal of voucher and choice plans is to give poor people the right to exit public schools, among the ultimate long term effects may be to increase "white flight" from public schools into private and religious schools and to create the conditions where affluent white parents may refuse to pay taxes to support public schools that are more and more suffering from the debilitating effects of the fiscal crisis of the state. The result is even more educational apartheid, not less. There is a second variant of neo-liberalism. This one at times is willing to spend more state and/or private money on schools, if and only if schools meet the needs expressed by capital. Thus, resources are made available for "reforms" and policies that further connect the education system to the project of making "our" economy more competitive. Thus, under a number of variants of neo-liberalism not only are schools transformed into market commodities, but so too now are our children. In this way, students are seen in two different ways, both as exploitable and replaceable future workers and as current consumers who themselves can be bought and sold to the highest bidder.

The attractiveness of conservative restorative politics in education rests in large part on major shifts in our commonsense about what democracy is, about whether we see ourselves as possessive individuals (consumers), and ultimately about how we see the market working. Underlying neo-liberal policies in education and their social policies in general is a faith in the essential fairness and justice of markets. Markets ultimately will distribute resources efficiently and fairly according to effort. They ultimately will create jobs for all who want them. They are the best possible mechanism to ensure a better future for all citizens (consumers). Because of this, we of course must ask what the economy that reigns supreme in neo-liberal positions, most especially those used to justify many policies and programs, that seek to more closely connect education to a "more competitive" economy, actually looks like. Yet, far from the positive picture painted by neo-liberals in which technologically advanced jobs will replace the drudgery and under- and unemployment so many people now experience if we were to only set the market loose on our schools and children, the reality is something else again.

In the case of neo-liberal policies, democracy is now redefined as guaranteeing choice in an unfettered market. Schools are to be driven by "private" needs. Education is to be a "private good" and is to incorporate the skills, knowledge, and values "needed" to perform in a manner that enhances the competitiveness of the private sector. The responsibility of the "public" is limited to enhancing the project of competitiveness. Anything else, and especially anything that has its roots in social criticism and the long history of emancipatory educational projects, is inappropriate government intervention. In essence, the state withdraws.

In essence, neo-liberals have engaged in a vast "educational" project. They have sought to take the intuitions of criticism that many people have of education, its bureaucratic intransigence, its unequal results, its failure to listen to the voices of "the people" and have turned these intuitions into warrants for a rightist reconstruction. They have combined both value and sense legitimation to win active consent for their agenda among many people (but certainly not all). If "we" can think of ourselves as "consumers" not as members of collectivities, active consent can be won. The new alliance knows that to win in the state, you must win in civil society. Any attempt to employ Freirian forms to interrupt these tendencies must face these profound transformations that are occurring in commonsense honestly. Ignoring them will not make our job any easier.

Freire, Neo-Liberalism, and Critical Educational Practice

In reading the previous section of this essay, it is important to realize that it too was written from a particular position. Although I have spent a good deal of time living and working in what some people arrogantly call "the third world," I speak from the perspective of someone from the United States. Not only are the social and ideological conditions and history here the

product of a specific constellation of race, class, and gender relations, but the ways in which education has historically been financed, controlled, organized, and struggled over are also products of that particular constellation of relations and help re-produce and transform them. Because of this, I do not assume that everything I have said here about neo-liberalism is the same elsewhere. Nor do I assume that the history of radical education is the same as the US even in those nations with similar economic patterns and histories. However, it is becoming ever more clear that neo-liberal ideological positions and policies have aggressively interrupted more progressive critiques of schools and the development of movements aimed at more critical forms of popular education in many nations. It is equally clear that the arrogant policies of the conservative restoration, and most especially neo-liberal attacks, have had a truly major impact on countries throughout the world. Thus, while I do not assume that all the points of my analysis are generalizable, I do assume that there are enough similarities across geographic borders that you will recognize similar tendencies from your own experiences.

Freire himself clearly saw the dangers associated with the development and widespread acceptance of neo-liberal beliefs and practices. In his recent book, *Letters to Cristina* he commented on what he saw happening all around him. He took the following statement that he originally had written in his "letters":

The dominant class, deaf to the need for a critical reading of the world, insists on the purely technical training of the working class, training with which that class should reproduce itself as such. Progressive ideology, however, cannot separate technical training from political preparation, just as it cannot separate the practice of reading the world from reading discourse.

He then added a commentary on it based on what was happening in the 1990s, a situation he called "reactionary postmodernism."

Perhaps never before has the dominant class felt so free in exercising their manipulative practice. Reactionary postmodernity has had success in proclaiming the disappearance of ideologies and the emergence of a new history without social classes, therefore without antagonistic interests, without class struggle. They preach that there is no need to continue to speak about dreams, utopia, or social justice...The postmodern reactionary...suggests in his pragmatic discourse that it is now the duty of capitalism to create a special ethics based on the production of equal players or almost equal players. Large questions are no longer political, religious, or ideological. They are ethical in a "healthy" capitalist sense of ethics.

For Freire, then, the equality promised by "we are all consumers" and its accompanying depoliticization and its creation of the possessive individual needs to be rejected. A pedagogy that focuses on production and consumption "without any preoccupation about what we are producing, who it benefits, and who it hurts" is certainly not a critical pedagogy. But in

saying this, he was not an apologist for the past. For him, the task was clear. We need to recognize the mistakes that progressive forces may have made in the past. By this he meant that such things as dogmatic and overly aggressive discourse, mechanistic proposals and analysis, an inflexible and teleological sense of history that removed or ignored historical specificity and human agency, pedagogies that limited "the marginalized classes' universe or their epistemological curiosity about objects that have been depoliticized all of this was to be critically and radically examined. Yet, at the same time as we were to question what we have too often taken for granted, we must not let ourselves become enchanted by the present neo-liberal ideology, "an ideology of privatization that never speaks about costs, the costs are always absorbed by the working class".

Freire's position raises crucial questions about critical pedagogic work. How do we interrupt common-sense? How do we create pedagogies that are deeply connected to the daily realities of people's lives and to struggles to overcome exploitation and domination in a time when the right has already understood how such connections might be creatively (albeit manipulatively) made? Who is this "we" in the first place? How do we avoid the possible arrogance of a position that assumes that "we" know the best and only paths to emancipation and we will bring it to "you"?

These of course are difficult questions. And our answers to them may be partial, flawed, contradictory, or temporary. Yet, only by asking the hard questions, as Paulo did, can we continue the never-ending struggle of what Raymond Williams (someone whose theoretical work was independent of but had major parallels to Freire's work) so poetically called "the long revolution."

While these questions are difficult, they do have immense theoretical and practical implications. We should not pretend that they can be answered by one person, although Paulo Freire comes as close as anyone in our time to providing the outlines of answers to many of them. However, we do have partial answers - many of which have clear similarities to Freire's emphases - to a number of the practical issues embedded in these questions about interrupting neo-liberal policies and practices in education.

Conclusion

I have spent time on this issue of practice in part because of what I said earlier about why Paulo Freire was so widely respected. Not only was he among the most powerful writers and theorists on "the long revolution" in the history of radical education, but he went further. He took seriously the importance of struggling (and it is a constant struggle) to answer the question of what practices come from our eloquent criticisms. He asked how his theory could be informed by the practice of critical education, of conscientization. He demanded that we maintain the dialectical connections between theory and practice - in a word, praxis. This very word signifies one of the reasons why we must never assume that now that he is no longer among us physically, Freire's work is no longer essential. Instead, we need to return constantly to Freire, not because

he provided us with "the answers," not for easily reproducible models of pedagogical techniques that can be applied in each and every case, and certainly not as part of the mobility strategies of the upwardly mobile academic who seeks to convert the "cachet" of Freire into valued capital in the status market in the university. Rather, we need to return to Freire as part of a larger process of the restoration of collective memory. In these neo-liberal times, we need to return to him to remind ourselves of the ethical and political concerns that should animate our social and ideological criticism, to remind ourselves of the importance of engaging in truly critical education, to reconnect with the dreams, visions, and, yes, even utopian hopes that are denied in a society in which profits count more than people. And we need to return to him both because his ideas remain so articulate and because his call for praxis gives us sustenance in the long night of the conservative restoration.

Of course, we need to do all this with appropriate respect not only for Paulo, but equally for the criticisms his work generated among other progressive movements and scholars. While some of these criticisms were overstated and were sometimes not based on a serious reading of his work, others did illuminate theoretical, political, and educational silences in his arguments. We should welcome these progressive criticisms, even when we disagree with some of them. Surely, the mark of the greatness of someone's insights is the seriousness with which people take them up, extend them, refine them, and even go beyond them at times.

Because of the seriousness of his legacy and of his project, I believe that we need to constantly take seriously a number of questions. Given the ideological transformations associated with the conservative restoration - in how people think about democracy, about alternatives to dominant economic and political forms, about the past and the future, about themselves as historical actors and as individual and collective persons can an unreconstructed Freirian pedagogy provide "the" answer? Given his own constant search for more adequate responses to changing historical conditions, he would not have been totally satisfied to remain still. He too might have asked something like, "Given the fragmentation of a unifying discourse and project on 'the left,' what might an array of critical pedagogies look like that both rejects the subjectivities of the conservative alliance and respects the diversities and differences and identities of progressive struggles?"

Thus, in answering these questions, Freire himself provides a model. Paulo himself constantly took in, reconstructed, and reworked both his own ideas and those of others. He forged a new synthesis while standing on the shoulders of those he drew upon. This, it seems to me, is our task as well. We, too, must take Paulo Freire in, with all of his work's complexities and contradictions, rework him in light of new and emerging historical circumstances, and stand on his shoulders. We must recapture him from the grasp of those who would make him of only academic or theoretical interest, at the very same time as we continue on the theoretical, political, and pedagogic paths he forged.

Of course, in my mind the best way to do this is to reinsert ourselves into the daily struggles and social movements forming and re-forming the institutions in which we and others live and work. Utopias and dreams are crucial points of reference here. But, unless we personally commit ourselves as living, breathing actors to the multiple emancipatory projects currently underway, there can be no doubt what will happen. Neo-liberals, in concert with neo-conservatives, authoritarian populists, and upwardly mobile fractions of the new middle class are already mobilizing. They are reconstructing common-sense now. Sidelines may be comfortable places to sit during athletic events, but what is happening to millions of people in all of our nations is no "game." The lives and futures of the majority of our citizens (not as "consumers" or commodities for sale, but as Freire saw them - as agents of social and cultural transformation are at stake here. There is work to be done.

This is a shortened version of a longer paper. An expanded version of this paper appears in Michael W. Apple, *POWER, MEANING, AND IDENTITY* (New York: Routledge, 1999)

About Michael W. Apple

Michael W. Apple is the John Bascom Professor of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. A former elementary and secondary school teacher and past-president of a teachers union, he has worked with educational systems, governments, universities and activist and dissident groups throughout the world to democratize educational research, policy, and practice. Professor Apple has written extensively on the politics of educational reform and on the relationship between culture and power. Among his books and articles are "Ideology and Curriculum", "Education and Power", "Teachers and Texts", "Educating the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God and Inequality", etc. His books and articles have won numerous awards and have been translated into Japanese, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Chinese etc. He has recently been awarded a Lifetime Achievement Award by the American Educational Research Association. He was also awarded the UCLA Medal for outstanding academic achievement.

We will be honored with the contributions of Michael Apple, as he regularly joins EDucate! through his works on education and democracy.

What is "Neo-Liberalism"?

Rich grow Richer and the Poor grow Poorer

The beneficiaries of neo-liberalism are a minority of the world's people. For the vast majority it brings even more suffering than before: suffering without the small, hard-won gains of the last 60 years, suffering without end.

"Neo-liberalism" is a set of economic policies that have become widespread during the last 25 years or so. "Liberalism" can refer to political, economic, or even religious ideas. "Neo" means we are talking about a new kind of liberalism. So what was the old kind? The liberal school of economics became famous in Europe when Adam Smith, an English economist, published a book in 1776 called *THE WEALTH OF NATIONS*. He and others advocated the abolition of government intervention in economic matters. No restrictions on manufacturing, no barriers to commerce, no tariffs, he said; free trade was the best way for a nation's economy to develop. Such ideas were "liberal" in the sense of no controls. This application of individualism encouraged "free" enterprise, "free" competition - which came to mean, free for the capitalists to make huge profits as they wished. The capitalist crisis over the last 25 years, with its shrinking profit rates, inspired the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism. That's what makes it "neo" or new. Now, with the rapid globalization of the capitalist economy, we are seeing neo-liberalism on a global scale.

The main points of neo-liberalism include:

1) THE RULE OF THE MARKET. Liberating "free" enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the government (the state) no matter how much social damage this causes. Greater openness to international trade and investment. Reduce wages by de-unionizing workers and eliminating workers' rights that had been won over many years of struggle. No more price controls. All in all, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. To convince us this is good for us, they say "an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone."

2) CUTTING PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES like education and health care. **REDUCING THE SAFETY-NET FOR THE POOR**, and even maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply - again in the name of reducing government's role. Of course, they don't oppose government subsidies and tax benefits for business.

3) DEREGULATION. Reduce government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job.

4) PRIVATIZATION. Sell state-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, schools, hospitals and even fresh water. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs.

5) ELIMINATING THE CONCEPT OF "THE PUBLIC GOOD" or "COMMUNITY" and replacing it with "individual responsibility" Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of health care, education and social security all by themselves - then blaming them, if they fail, as "lazy." Around the world, neo-liberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

AN ILLITERATE'S DECLARATION TO THE LITERACY PREACHER

SHRI DAYAL CHANDRA SONI

CHAPTER 2: If The Schooled People were really Educated, we would not need such a large Police Force!

22. Dear Literacy Missionary, My Brother! I am sorry to say that you do not know the real definition of education. That is precisely the reason why you consider yourself to be educated.

23. Real education is not about changing one's attire or their spoken language. True education is that which clarifies and elevates one's moral conduct and one's character.

24. The educated person would not consume without himself taking part in producing. The educated person would not only selfishly seek to acquire things; he would also give or contribute something. The educated person would reduce his needs and necessities to their bare minimum.

25. The educated person would first serve to others before feeding himself. And he would not desert his tired and exhausted companions. He would seek to care for them.

26. The educated person would not pose to be a valiant hero in the presence of a weak person, nor would he be submissive to a person stronger than himself.

27. Learning consists of doing one's duty with devotion. Learning is to strive to attain Truth, Auspiciousness and Beauty (Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram) in life.

28. Learning is not limited to the acquisition of knowledge or skills, nor does it lie in a collection of certificates or the passage of exams.

29. Real learning cannot be evaluated within the short period of three hours, which are allotted for answering the questions asked in an examination. The real test of learning extends up to the time when a person breathes his last breath.

30. An educated person does not require a watchman to stop him from doing anything immoral. He is his own watchman to guard himself from wrong-doing. He sticks to truth as his protector of morality and does not waver from it.

31. A person who is trustworthy and illiterate is far more educated than one who is not trustworthy but literate.

CHAPTER 3: The School Destroys our Innate Cooperative Spirit

32. The course of school education is opposed to the innate nature of children. They come with a longing for play and outdoor activity. That is why children are not enthusiastic about the school.

33. But having realized that the children are not naturally interested in the school course, the school management mercilessly uses the whip of competition and rivalry to motivate friends in the same class. Thus, in the absence of genuine interest, the school creates an artificial interest around the curriculum, interest which is based more on anxiety or fear than on the passion to learn.

34. That is why whether or not he learns anything in school, a schooled student is destined to get caught up in a vicious cycle of rivalry and competition.

35. In this manner, each student is made a secret enemy of his other classmates. Thus, mutual love, trust and the spirit of cooperation are killed and buried in the grave of competition.

36. A sense of equality and the virtue of contentment get burned in the oven of the school.

37. The schooled person of course knows how to get served by others but does not know how to serve others. He is endowed only with a cynical logic and rationality, with which he tries to degrade and minimize the contribution of others.

38. The school motivates its graduates to run over others, to abandon all sensitivity and compassion for others.

39. Let me eat while the others cook, let me speak while the others listen. Let me measure, weigh and judge others but let not anyone else measure, weigh and judge me. Such is the attitude of the schooled person.

40. Only I matter and I am important. Others are neither important nor do they matter. Let the crops of the others be destroyed without irrigation but let my garden be green and flourish. This is how the schooled person behaves.

41. The real problem of today's society is not that the working class is illiterate. In fact the real problem is that the schooled people of our society are averse to work, particularly to any sort of physical labor.

42. O my Literacy Teacher, had you been successful in removing the anti-manual labor mentality of the schooled folk, you could also have succeeded in removing the illiteracy of the laboring class.

43. The school not only inculcates a hatred for physical labor among its participants, it also inculcates in them an attitude of not working seriously, even in their academic or official commitments.

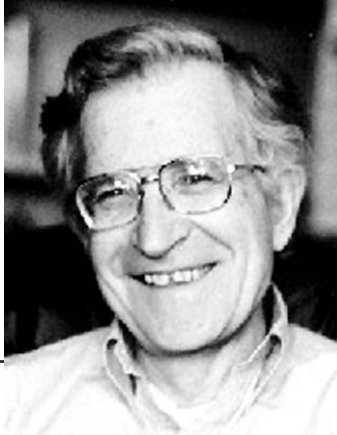
44. The schooled person feels that all of the serious work that he should do in his life, he has already completed by preparing for and passing his school or college examinations. Therefore, he has no incentive or will to use his mind outside of what is prescribed by the education authorities.

THE CHOMSKY ARCHIVE

Mass Media, Globalization, and the Public Mind

An Interview with Noam Chomsky

Noam Chomsky is one of the leading intellectuals of our time. He is also regarded as one of America's most prominent political dissidents. A renowned professor of linguistics at MIT, he has authored over 30 political books dissecting such issues as U.S. interventionism in the developing



world, the political economy of human rights and the propaganda role of corporate media. Chomsky, has most kindly allowed EDucate! to reproduce from the plethora of his internationally acclaimed works. This section will therefore present from his writings and opinions every quarter.

Q: How important is it for the mass media, to control the public mind?

CHOMSKY: We always have to ask: important for whom? For the public, it's important that they do not control the public mind. For the public, it's important for them to prepare, to present a free arena for discussion and debate and an honest account, as much as one can, of issues that are important and significant. But that's for the public. For the media themselves, that is the owners, the managers, their market, which is advertisers, and other power systems in the society, control of the public mind is extremely important.

And that's not a hypotheses. They've been very clear about it for 70 or 80 years. In fact, this became a matter of really open and public discussion, both in England and the United States. Around the time of the First World War, 1920s, around then, that was a period when the franchise was extending. Uptil then, most voting was limited pretty much to people with property rights. And it was extended. There's a lot of popular struggle in the late 19th century and early 20th century and many rights were won, including voting rights and that raised a serious problem both in England and in the United States, the two major democracies. And the response was the same in both. We can't control people by force any more. At least not as well as before. So we'll have to spend more energy on control of their beliefs, their attitudes.

Q: You've argued that the media intentions, like managers and journalists, were to keep people apathetic and divert them from meaningful participation in the political process. How do you consider their intentions? Are they really conscious of their actions, or do they just conform unconsciously to the mainstream ideology? What's the main dynamic at work here?

CHOMSKY: Depends who you're talking about. If you're talking about media leaders, theoreticians, leaders of the public relations

industry, public intellectuals who write about democracy and so on, it's quite conscious. If you talk about people involved in the system,

it's mostly unconscious. Not completely. Many people know what they're being forced to do and in fact struggle against it. But by and large, you only make your way into the system with any success if you've more or less internalized the values. That's what a good education is about. That's not only true of the media, it's also true of scholarship and intellectual life, and in fact, what me might call ideological institutions altogether.

Q: Is it possible to, as you say, make our way in those kinds of media businesses. Can it be changed from the inside? When we see CNN, UPI, Associated Press, those big information businesses, is it possible to change it by being with them or do we have to start some alternative things on the side ?

CHOMSKY: Both. And those are not the only means. Any institutions, even fascist states, are susceptible to public pressure. And certainly media in relatively free societies are. And in fact there have been substantial changes, some of them for the better in the past thirty years as a result of extensive public pressure, largely the ferment that developed out of the 1960s and continued. That has noticeably changed the media, not only in the way they deal with topics but also who works inside them. Many people now inside them went through those experiences and that changed them. So there are things that can be done and many journalists with real integrity are very much aware of these constraints and pressures. And they're in fact much more cynical than I am because they have direct experience and try to find their way in the spaces that are open. Sometimes they succeed. I have some close friends who are distinguished reporters who just quit because they couldn't take it any more.

Q: Do you see concentration of the press as a problem or is it just the same structures but with a new owner?

CHOMSKY: It's a serious problem. Press concentration has been going all through this century. And as the press has concentrated, it of course, cuts back such diversity as there is. The restriction to commercially owned media, big mega-corporations, corporate media, that brought about a very sharp concentration. So for example in the United States, as recently as the 1950s, there were about 800 labor-based newspapers that reached maybe 20 or 30 million people a week. They were getting a very different picture of the world. And if you go back earlier in the century it was far more diverse. The recent wave of concentration is reducing global media to basically a few mega-corporations. And of course, the effects of that on freedom and democracy barely have to be discussed. They're obvious.

Q: Another subject that comes up quite often in the media these days is the IMF reform projects. We're calling it a new Bretton Woods. I know that the Bretton Woods accords interest you quite a bit. What do you think of these new developments in the IMF?

CHOMSKY: Well, the Bretton Woods system basically broke down about 25 years ago at the initiative of the United States with the support of other major financial centers. And since then, we have not been in a Bretton Woods system. The liberalization of financial capital, which took place in the seventies, is exactly contrary to the Bretton Woods system which called for regulation of international capital exchanges. And that has had an incredible effect on the whole economy, a very harmful effect in fact, except for small sectors of pretty wealthy people. But it has also led to extreme volatility of exchange rates and of markets. It's been well known for a long time that financial markets are subject to panics and kraches and hysterias as the standard phraseology puts it. And that's causing plenty of problems. By now, the problems are even reaching the rich and wealthy and they're getting worried about it. Which is why we're hearing about reform.

Now there are counter-tendencies going on. Within the IMF, and in fact from the US treasury department, which sort of dominates the IMF, the effort is to try to increase liberalization of finance even further. On the other hand, they're trying to push that through the IMF charter, which would be a radical change. Look at the World Bank, they're opposed to it. And many other sectors of quite conservative institutional power are opposed to it because they're afraid of it.

Q: In the context of the globalization of markets, what do you see as the role of the State today?

CHOMSKY: It depends on which countries you're talking about. In the rich countries, the OECD countries, the role of the state has actually increased over the past twenty years, relative to Gross National Product (GNP). That's been reported by the World Bank for example. On the other hand, in poor countries,

like sub-Saharan Africa, or Latin America, the effort has been to minimize the State. Take the Western Hemisphere, the richest country of course is the United States, where the State plays an enormous role in economic development and actually, it always has. But since the Second World War, it's extensive, it varies somewhat, so it expanded during the Reagan years, it's substantial now and so on. Turn to Haiti. Well there, the condition on returning president Aristide to power was that he accept a super neo-liberal program which opens Haiti up totally to what are called market forces. Which means for example that Haitian rice producers have to compete with US agribusiness, which happens to be very highly subsidized. So they get about 40 percent of their profits from government subsidies. I mean to call that a free market isn't even a joke. And naturally, Haiti is devastated. So there, the role of the State is very limited. In fact, the State hardly functions. In the United States on the other hand, the State is very strong.

Q: You talk a lot about the United States and the western world in general. We feel sometimes that the wave of neoliberalism that we've experienced since maybe the mid eighties is like something that is inevitable. That we have to go through this to get some kind of economic prosperity. And in this, we sometimes have the feeling that democracy is not that much of a concern for companies or economic big players on the political scene. What do you see as the future for democracy when economics takes up so much place?

CHOMSKY: Well, first of all, there are a lot of questionable assumptions in what you've said. Maybe you're told to believe that neoliberal programs are the way to prosperity. But that has not been the historical fact. And it is not the fact in the United States right now for example, nor has it ever been. So if you're taught to believe that, that's a technique of ensuring your subordination to external powers. You don't have to believe what you're told to believe. You know that's what we have minds for. And in fact, it's a very bad idea. And in fact, you can see that by the fact that the rich and powerful don't pursue it for themselves, never do, nor have.

I think that the question about democracy and private power is a different one. Private power is enormous and growing. So the power of private corporations and financial institutions is growing and extending but not through neoliberal doctrines. I mean, they insist on and receive ample protection and support from powerful states. Furthermore, they're involved in what are called strategic alliances with one another, even alleged competitors, to administer markets. And they would like a powerful state but one that is directed to their interests. So not wasting money on programs that are just of benefit to the general population. And that of course does minimize democracy as their power increases. The power of the general population declines. But this is nothing we have to accept.

Q: You talk a lot about unions and people organizing. Do you think it's the role of local people to get organized or do we have to have a kind of elite in society that gathers people around? Is it really a movement that has to start from down below, or is it something that can come from people in universities or people who know a little bit more about political and current affairs?

CHOMSKY: If the movements that develop will be run by elites, they'll be run in the interest of elites. Therefore, if the movements are to have democratic and humane goals, they'll be popular movements in which there is no elite. I mean, maybe somebody in the university knows something, maybe I know something, maybe you know something, and we should contribute our knowledge and also recognize that we want to learn from others. But that's contributing your own skills and whatever you have along with plenty of people who have other ones, and maybe better ones than yours. That's the way serious organizing takes place. If it reflects an elite structure, a managerial structure, we can predict pretty well what it will become.

Q: Do you have any hopes for the future, any progress you see coming up along the way as the end of the century nears? Do you see any progressive movements out there doing some good work?

CHOMSKY: There's plenty of progress. Take for example the Multilateral Agreement on Investments, which was a major effort to give corporations the rights of States. They had already been given the rights of persons. That's enormous power, with extremely dangerous effects. They hoped to ram it through in secret. It was blocked primarily by activism that started in Canada. Canada was by far the most active center of protest. And then that spread elsewhere. And in fact, they were unable to ram it through largely because of public protest. That's a tremendous victory.

In fact, if you look at the financial press internationally, they were in panic about what they called the horde of vigilantes who had prevented agreements from being negotiated in secret and rubber stamped by parliament as in the good old days. When you look at the array of forces on the two sides, it's an amazing victory. I mean, on one side you had the concentrated power of the world. I mean the most powerful states, the most powerful corporations, financial institutions, banks and the media of course, all on one side. On the other side, you had people like Maude Barlow. And they won, at least temporarily. It's got to keep going. It's not the only case but it's a very encouraging victory. People should take heart in it and learn from it.

فرہنگ

معنی	الفاظ
مفروضہ، بے دلیل دعوئی	Hypothesis
ووٹ ڈالنے کا حق، استعداد پیش راستے دہی	Franchise
بے حس، جس پر جذبات کا اثر نہ ہو	Apathetic
کسی احساس، روئے یا عقیدے کو اپنی سوچ کا حصہ بنانا	Internalize
فسطائی اصولوں کا پیروکار	Fascist
متاثر ہونے والا، اثر قبول کرنے والا	Susceptible
تحرک، رجحان	Ferment
دیانت داری، ایمان داری	Integrity
رکاوٹ	Constraints
خود پرست، (ذاتی) مفاد پرست	Cynical
مخصوص، غیر معمولی	Distinguish
حسیت (آزادی) پسند ہونا	Liberalization
خوف، دہشت	Panick
ہوش و حواس کھو دینا	Hysteria
لکھنے اور بولنے کا مخصوص انداز	Phraseology
عالمگیریت	Globalization
مالی امداد دینا، رعایت	Subsidize
برباد، اجڑا ہوا	Devastate
الزام دینا، دعوئی کرنا	Allege
قوت سے دے مارنا	Ram
بڑا مجمع، گروہ	Horde
پہرہ داروں کا گروہ	Vigilantes



David Barsamian

ALTERNATIVE NEWS

An Interview with the Creator & Producer of Alternative Radio

Alternative Radio is an hour-long, weekly public affairs program heard around the world on community and public radio, presenting views, perspectives and analyses that are ignored and distorted by the dominant corporate-controlled media. Programs most often include talks by or interviews with notable political, economic and cultural critics like Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, Howard Zinn, Helen Caldicott, Michael Parenti

and Philip Agee. Alternative Radio was conceived by David Barsamian, who continues to produce and distribute it across continents by satellite each week. This interview, conducted by Jason McQuinn, took place in Boulder, Colorado in July, 1995.

BY: JASON MCQUINN OF ALTERNATIVE PRESS REVIEW

Jason McQuinn: What I'd be most interested in asking you about is your experience with starting your radio show, getting it syndicated and dealing with other radio stations. And maybe partly since this magazine is really dedicated to fostering alternative media and helping people get their projects organized and done better - maybe you could give people some hints about the problems you faced, your original inspiration and how you got going?

David Barsamian: Well, I think first of all I don't come from any background in journalism. I have no training in radio. My skills are rather modest to say the least. I started this quite haphazardly, quite serendipitously. I moved to Boulder. The local radio station just started and they were looking for people to do programs and I started to do a world music program, which I politicized fairly quickly.

JM: When did you start that?

DB: 1978. And there was a lot of interest in my program locally. I was able to develop the skills that I have today, pretty much doing that local program - on-air skills to engineering, mixing, editing, interviewing, the whole thing - with no news sources, and not a lot of talent. I'm not being humble here. I'm not a tech whiz. I mean even today I'm not online. But I'm being pushed to get online. They want to order tapes, they want to deal through email. I'd rather hear your voice quite frankly. I'd rather talk to people. I'd rather meet them whenever possible like this. Imagine us doing this interview by email. I'm digressing here for a second, but there's a certain sterility to that, which in an era of increasing dehumanization I find not good. We need more contact, not less contact.

JM: More direct contact, less mediation.

DB: Yes, everyone's going to be in front of a screen. If not the television set, with its sex trials and scandals, there are the other screens. The smart people are in front of computer screens, and everyone else - the masses - are watching television. People started locally asking for my programs. And I'd give

them the tapes free of charge. I was pleased, you know. This continued and, because of my experience at a very small bilingual community radio station that I was the first program director of in Alamosa, Colorado, I figured out the satellite system, that there was this whole network. No one told me about it. I didn't know about it. There was no way to find out about these things. KGNU, incidentally, didn't have a satellite. Nobody knew about it. But I figured out what it was, how it worked, and how cheap it was - extraordinarily cheap, ridiculously cheap. I said, "Well, why don't I distribute some of these programs?" And that was my start. You know, a real hesitant first start. I had no idea what I was doing. I made a huge blunder initially. But I learned from these mistakes and pretty soon, by the late '80s I was doing more and more independent programming.

And then in 1992, I went weekly and that's when things really turned around for Alternative Radio, because then stations saw me as a regular, real entity. You know, it's like publishing a magazine. For radio broadcasting, scheduling is crucial. You have to know in advance. Also I made it available free of charge, which was a political choice on my part. NPR, for example, charges for its programs. So does Public Radio International. So does Pacifica. My programs are free, because again, there's less mediation, it's direct to the listener. So the whole project is supported by people like you that hear a program and order a transcript or a cassette, and then get my catalog, and hopefully order more things. So it's entirely supported by listeners. There's no foundation money. There are no grants. There's no underwriting. I don't seek any. I make a joke of this: the only thing I'd accept is a MacArthur, which I'm very unlikely to be nominated for. But you know, that's the dream grant, because there are no requirements. There's no accountability. You can do anything you want.

So since I went weekly with this one-hour program it's gotten on more and more stations. In Canada, particularly, I'm on in every city from Halifax to Victoria, from coast to coast. Because Canadians are very interested in the world and they're very interested in what's going on with their giant neighbor to the south.

And the point is that this can be done by anyone. I'm not a genius. And I have no money. I entirely went into the red. In fact, every program I do goes into the red. I have to produce the program. I have to rent the satellite time. I have to distribute it. I have to Fed-Ex the tapes to the satellite uplink. And I do all these things - it's all expenditures - in the hope that enough people will buy the cassette and the transcript to justify it, to cover for it.

JM: In your opinion what are the reasons why there aren't a hundred different people and groups doing some kind of political programming that has some sophistication and intelligence to it? Why is it totally absent?

DB: Well, I think it's lack of information. People don't realize how easy it is to do this. And how economical it is, radio being supremely a media of economy, unlike TV where you have astronomical costs and distribution costs. Radio is relatively simple. Just sit down with someone with a microphone to do an interview and put it on the air. I was just in Chicago in June and there's a group there that wants to start a community radio station.

JM: ...and then there have historically been battles of control for Pacifica stations and other stations around the country - there's this huge pressure to become more conservative and I'm wondering if you're noticing that it's a widespread phenomenon? Is that something that's going to cause problems for you at all?

DB: Well let's take the example of KOPN. Alternative Radio used to be broadcast there on a regular basis, on a weekly basis, free of charge. As far as I'm aware the last two years, maybe longer, they're not putting the program on the air. Now why? Is that because I charge them? No, it's free of charge. So there must be something in the content of the programming that they find objectionable. And I wonder what that is? And yet you tell me that they had money and interest to broadcast Marketplace. It is grotesque. It is the business report of corporate capitalism. It's really obnoxious.

JM: Is there anything that people can do on a local basis for their radio stations?

DB: Yes, they can get actively involved. These radio stations are supposed to have community advisory boards. They can become members of those advisory boards. They can attend the board of directors meetings.

JM: Do you need more help for what you're doing to get Alternative Radio together on a bigger scale? Or do you have adequate support in your community here? Do you have any economic or organizational problems?

DB: Well, I'm not very organized, believe it or not, even though I do a weekly satellite program. That forces me to be organized. I've got to produce a tape every week. There's no two ways about that. But I don't have a mailing list. I don't have a donor's list, like a Fortune 500 list that I can dip into. And I definitely need help with computer skills so that I'm able to identify people that are interested in something, like say, environmental issues or indigenous issues and alert them that I've got these

two new programs out, would you be interested in hearing them? I'm not that organized at this point. I'm a two-person organization.

JM: And nobody's coming forward to say, "Hey, can I get involved?"

DB: That hasn't really happened too much. I've got one person working for me, and then I do a lot of it. I answer the phone a lot. What has changed in the last couple of years though, it's been very positive, is that I've developed a network of producers around the country who are sending me tapes. I'm also a hunter and gatherer. I'm out there hunting stuff, bringing it back and cooking it - producing it, and then distributing it to a wider audience. I'd rather encourage people. It's easy to throw up your hands in despair and say, "The odds are overwhelming. I can't possibly make a difference." Well, if that's what you subscribe to, then indeed that will be the result. And you'll never even have the satisfaction of resisting, of trying to create a genuine alternative, to posit something that's outside the corporate domain, that's really proactive rather than reactive.

JM: Why do community radio stations not have talk radio programming?

DB: It has a lot to do with corporate capitalism and corporate control of the media. Would you put me, if you were a Capital Cities/ABC - which owns Limbaugh incidentally..., would you give a program to someone who would undermine your position of power and authority, who is saying that corporate capitalism leaves a lot to be desired, that corporate control of media is anti-democratic and is narrowing public debate? It's very unlikely. And if you did, you'd probably lose your job at the next board of directors meeting when the shareholders would turn out and vote you out of office for your insane decision of hiring a radical.

JM: If you could suggest one format or approach to somebody else starting something similar, working up towards doing a weekly show that could be carried by satellite, what would it be?

DB: Call-in. Absolutely. A live call-in show with an 800 number. Get the disenchanted. Get the disaffected on. Get the right-wingers on and challenge their assumptions, that the media for example are run by left liberals, that welfare cheats are destroying the country. And engage them in dialogue. You can't turn away from these people. The reason I love being on... some of these other mainstream stations, is because I am reaching the non-converted at that point... I mean, you and I are sort of kindred spirits, and I don't want to ignore you. I want to share the information I have with you. But if it only stays with you, if it doesn't get to your grandparents and parents who may have completely different political views, and I suspect they do if they're like mine, then I haven't really expanded the spectrum. I'm talking to myself. You know, "I'm great." "You're great." "Terrific." "Good work." "Love your journal." "Like your program." That's good too. I'm not dismissing that. We need that. We need encouragement.

JM: Especially when you're not getting much help doing the things you're doing.

DB: And the converted need information. They need analysis, too. They can't just be left dangling. But at the same time I think we need a broader strategy to reach a wider audience... You have Alexander Cockburn writing in the Wall Street Journal for ten years. He wrote a column every three weeks. Did he change corporate capitalism? Probably not. But that's not a reason not to do it. We need to have a multiplicity of these voices in these types of areas. And there are a lot of other people... I don't think there's a lack of talented people. There is a lack of opportunity. I think there's somewhat of a lack of imagination.

JM: That's what I always perceived as the main problem, is a lack of imagination, a lack of audacity to go out and try something, maybe beyond what they might have thought they could do, but to work up to it.

DB: Yes. I mean it requires an enormous leap of faith here. That's how Alternative Radio happened. Not because I looked at the books and said, "Okay, I've got to generate X amount of income to pay for X amount of expenses." I didn't even know anything about it...It grew and expanded. Not to say to be oblivious to those considerations. You have to be aware of certain things. But that shouldn't be a driving factor. If you're thinking about obstacles, you'll come up with a million of them. And the people you're working with will come up with another two million. So, it's more about solutions. It's more about doing things, and more about activism. Also I think these have enormous effects psychologically in a very positive way. To do something proactive is very empowering to you as well as to others. And that's very salutary. I'm talking about mental health and the spiritual well-being of a community. It's important that people are given meaningful work and are doing things that matter. I think that's vital. And a lot of the dysfunction that you see - postal clerks shooting their supervisors and husbands beating their wives until they're black and blue and those kind of things, I just picked two random things - is partly a result of a lack of meaningful work, work with integrity.

JM: A lack of meaningful work, it would seem to me, along with a lack of genuine, direct communication

among people. Getting your own voice out to people, and not just completely being bombarded by commercial media.

DB: Images. We need to create what Gramsci called a counter-hegemony. We know what the hegemony is. We know what the paradigm is. It's corporate capitalism. It's unadulterated, unfettered consumerism and materialism, way beyond anything described in the Old Testament, which was considered sort of the milestone of that kind of thinking. And we need institutions. Progressive people in this country need institutions. We don't have institutions.

JM: Institutions of what sort?

DB: Institutions of learning, colleges, universities, think tanks, radio stations, TV stations, cable access, computer networks and bookstores. We need those things in order to grow. Otherwise we're completely fragmented. Otherwise we're just that leaf on that branch next to the top of the tree there, not connecting to anything else. See that's also a part of the genius of thought control, the manufacture of consent, and the kind of engineering of opinion that goes on, that you are told through the media, mainly through TV, "Go for it", "Do your own thing", "Concentrate on that", "What feels good, go for it". Right? So if you're interested in one particular subject, you focus on that. You start a support group. If you've got desktop publishing skills, you start a newsletter. And you don't connect with anything else. So forever, you remain that leaf on that branch of the larger tree that never connects to the rest of the trees of the forest.

JM: There's no community left so people look for false communities.

DB: It's my community. There aren't bridges being built to other groups. So then you just get into your cocoon. And that I think has had a very debilitating effect. I mean there are more newsletters now than there have ever been before. There's no shortage of newsletters. You don't even need two people any more to get a newsletter out. So those kinds of structures need to intersect with others. There need to be alliances. I'm doing that through the programming I'm trying to get out to the stations. E.M. Forster said it best: "Only connect."

This is an edited version. The complete version can be accessed at www.altpr.org

About David Barsamian

David Barsamian is the founder and director of Alternative Radio - an award winning weekly radio program. Alternative Radio is broadcast to more than 125 public radio stations around the world and presents information and perspectives that are either ignored or distorted in the corporate-controlled American media. Barsamian is regarded as an "ace interviewer" and "an ingenious impresario of radical broadcasting", and was presented the award of "Top Ten Media Heroes of 1994". Barsamian's socially challenging interviews and articles appear in the Progressive, the Nation, ZMag and other leading journals and magazines. He is the author of numerous books with Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Eyal Ahmed, Edward Said and Arundhati Roy. His latest book with Chomsky is "Propaganda & the Public Mind".

David Barsamian has graciously offered the printing of his interviews with prominent revolutionaries in EDucate! He has also recently provided manuscripts of his most famous dialogues, to be condensed and printed for our readership.

Global Media for Global Control

ROBERT W. MCCHESNEY

A specter now haunts the world: a global commercial media system dominated by a small number of super-powerful, mostly U.S.-based transnational media corporations. It is a system that works to advance the cause of the global market and promote commercial values, while denigrating journalism and culture not conducive to the immediate bottom line or long-run corporate interests. It is a disaster for anything but the most superficial notion of democracy, a democracy where, to paraphrase John Jay's maxim, those who own the world ought to govern it.

The global commercial system is a very recent development. Until the 1980s, media systems were generally national in scope. While there have been imports of books, films, music and TV shows for decades, the basic broadcasting systems and newspaper industries were domestically owned and regulated. Beginning in the 1980s, pressure from the IMF, World Bank and U.S. government to deregulate and privatize media and communication systems coincided with new satellite and digital technologies, resulting in the rise of transnational media giants.



R. W. McChesney

How quickly has the global media system emerged? The two largest media firms in the world, Time Warner and Disney, generated around 15 percent of their income outside of the United States in 1990. By 1997, that figure was in the 30-35 percent range. Both firms expect to do a majority of their business abroad at some point in the next decade. The global media system is now dominated by a first tier of nine giant firms. The five largest are Time Warner (1997 sales: \$24 billion), Disney (\$22 billion), Bertelsmann (\$15 billion), Viacom (\$13 billion), and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation (\$11 billion). Besides needing global scope to compete, the rules of thumb for global media giants are twofold: First, get bigger so you dominate markets and your competition can't buy you out. Firms like Disney and Time Warner have almost tripled in size this decade.

Second, have interests in numerous media industries, such as film production, book publishing, music, TV channels and networks, retail stores, amusement parks, magazines, newspapers and the like. The profit whole for the global media giant can be vastly greater than the sum of the media parts. A film, for example, should also generate a soundtrack, a book, and merchandise, and possibly spin-off TV shows, CD-ROMs, video games and amusement park rides. Firms that do not have conglomerated media holdings simply cannot compete in this market.

The first tier is rounded out by TCI, the largest U.S. cable company that also has U.S. and global media holdings in scores of ventures too numerous to mention. The other three first-tier global media firms are all part of much larger industrial corporate powerhouses: General Electric

(1997 sales: \$80 billion), owner of NBC; Sony (1997 sales: \$48 billion), owner of Columbia & TriStar Pictures and major recording interests; and Seagram (1997 sales: \$14 billion), owner of Universal film and music interests. The media holdings of these last four firms do between \$6 billion and \$9 billion in business per year. While they are not as diverse as the media holdings of the first five global media giants, these four firms have global distribution and production in the areas where they compete. And firms like Sony and GE have the resources to make deals to get a lot bigger very quickly if they so desire.

Behind these firms is a second tier of some three or four dozen media firms that do between \$1 billion and \$8 billion per year in media-related business. These firms tend to have national or regional strongholds or to specialize in global niche markets. About one-half of them come from North America, including the likes of Westinghouse (CBS), the New York Times Co., Hearst, Comcast and Gannett. Most of the rest come from Europe, with a handful based in East Asia and Latin America.

In short, the overwhelming majority (in revenue terms) of the world's film production, TV show production, cable channel ownership, cable and satellite system ownership, book publishing, magazine publishing and music production is provided by these 50 or so firms, and the first nine firms thoroughly dominate many of these sectors. By any standard of democracy, such a concentration of media power is troubling, if not unacceptable. But that hardly explains how concentrated and uncompetitive this global media power actually is. In addition, these firms are all actively

engaged in equity joint ventures where they share ownership of concerns with their "competitors" so as to reduce competition and risk. Each of the nine first-tier media giants, for example, has joint ventures with, on average, two-thirds of the other eight first-tier media giants. And the second tier is every bit as aggressive about making joint ventures.

We are the world

In some ways, the emerging global commercial media system is not an entirely negative proposition. It occasionally promotes anti-racist, anti-sexist or anti-authoritarian messages that can be welcome in some of the more repressive corners of the world. But on balance the system has minimal interest in journalism or public affairs except for that which serves the business and upper-middle classes, and it privileges just a

few lucrative genres that it can do quite well, like sports, light entertainment and action movies, over other fare. Even at its best the entire system is saturated by a hyper-commercialism, a veritable commercial carpetbombing of every aspect of human life. As the C.E.O. of Westinghouse put it (Advertising Age, 2/3/97), "We are here to serve advertisers. That is our raison d'être."

Some, once posited, that the rise of the Internet would eliminate the monopoly power of the global media giants. Such talk has declined recently as the largest media, telecommunication and computer firms have done everything within their immense powers to colonize the Internet, or at least neutralize its threat. The global media cartel may be evolving into a global communication cartel.

But the entire global media and communication system is still in flux. While

we are probably not too far from crystallization, there will likely be considerable merger and joint venture activity in the coming years. Indeed, by the time you read this, there may already be some shifts in who owns what or whom.

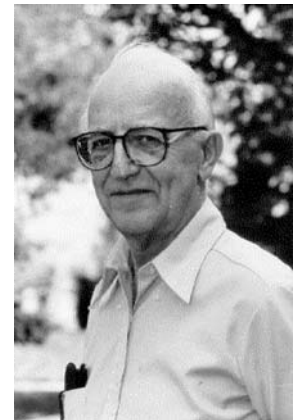
What is tragic is that this entire process of global media concentration has taken place with little public debate, especially in the U.S., despite the clear implications for politics and culture. After World War II, the Allies restricted media concentration in occupied Germany and Japan because they noted that such concentration promoted anti-democratic, even fascist, political cultures. It may be time for the United States and everyone else to take a dose of that medicine. But for that to happen will require a concerted effort to educate and organize people around media issues. That is the task before us.

THE GLOBAL MEDIA GIANTS - FIRMS THAT DOMINATE THE WORLD

Time Warner

\$25 billion - 1997 sales

Time Warner, the largest media corporation in the world, was formed in 1989 through the merger of Time Inc. and Warner Communications. Time Warner is moving towards being a fully global company, with over 200 subsidiaries worldwide. Time Warner expects globalization to provide growth tonic; it projects that its annual sales growth rate of 14 percent in the middle 1990s will climb to over 20 percent by the end of the decade. It is a major force in virtually every medium and in every continent. Time Warner has zeroed in on global television as the most lucrative area for growth. Unlike News Corporation, however, Time Warner has devoted itself to producing programming and channels rather than developing entire satellite systems. Time Warner is also one of the largest movie theater owners in the world, with approximately 1,000 screens outside of the United States and further expansion projected. The Time Warner strategy is to merge the former Turner global channels - CNN and TNT/Cartoon Channel - with their HBO International and recently launched Warner channels to make a four-pronged assault on the global market. HBO International has already established itself as the leading subscription TV channel in the world; it has a family of pay channels and is available in over 35 countries. CNN International, a subsidiary of CNN, is also established as the premier global television news channel, beamed via ten satellites to over 200 nations and 90 million subscribers by 1994, a 27 percent increase over 1993.



Edward Herman

Time Warner selected holdings

Majority interest in WB, a U.S. television network launched in 1995 to provide a distribution platform for Time Warner films and programs. It is carried on the Tribune Company's 16 U.S. television stations, which reach 25 percent of U.S. TV households; significant interests in non-U.S. broadcasting joint ventures; several U.S. and global cable television channels, including CNN, Headline News, CNNfn, TBS, TNT, Turner Classic Movies, The Cartoon

Network and CNN - SI (a cross-production with Sports Illustrated); more than 1,000 movie screens outside of the United States; twenty-four magazines, including Time, People and Sports Illustrated; Warner Music Group, one of the largest global music businesses with nearly 60 percent of revenues from outside the United States.

Disney

\$24 billion - 1997 sales

Disney is the closest challenger to Time Warner for the status of world's largest media firm. In 1995, Disney made the move from being a dominant global content producer to being a fully integrated media giant with the purchase of Capital Cities/ABC for \$19 billion, one of the biggest acquisitions in business history. It has already included the new Capital Cities/ABC brands in its exclusive global marketing deals with McDonald's and Mattel toymakers. Disney's stated goal is to expand its non-U.S. share of revenues from 23 percent in 1995 to 50 percent by 2000.

Its first order of business is to expand the children- and family-oriented Disney Channel into a global force, capitalizing upon the enormous Disney resources. "The Disney Channel should be the killer children's service throughout the world," Disney's executive in charge of international television states. With the purchase of ABC's ESPN, the television sports network, Disney has possession of the unquestioned global leader. In Latin America the emphasis is on soccer, in Asia it is table tennis, and in India ESPN provided over 1,000 hours of cricket in 1995.

Disney selected holdings

The U.S. ABC television and radio networks, ten U.S. television stations and 21 U.S. radio stations, U.S. and global cable television channels Disney Channel, ESPN, ESPN2 and ESPNNews; several major film, video and television production studios including Disney, Miramax and Buena Vista; theme parks and resorts, including Disneyland, Disney World and stakes in major theme parks in France and Japan, consumer products, including more than 550 Disney retail stores worldwide.

Viacom

\$13 billion - 1997 sales

C.E.O. Sumner Redstone, who controls 39 percent of Viacom's stock, orchestrated the deals that led to the

acquisitions of Paramount and Blockbuster in 1994, thereby promoting the firm from \$2 billion in 1993 sales to the front ranks. Redstone's strategy is for Viacom to become the world's "premier software driven growth company." Viacom's growth strategy is twofold. First, it is implementing an aggressive policy of using company-wide cross-promotions to improve sales. Second, Viacom has targeted global growth, with a stated goal of earning 40 percent of its revenues outside of the United States by 2000. Since 1992 Viacom has invested between \$750 million and \$1 billion in international expansion. "We're not taking our foot off the accelerator," one Viacom executive states.

Viacom's two main weapons are Nickelodeon and MTV. Nickelodeon has been a global powerhouse, expanding to every continent but Antarctica in 1996 and 1997 and offering programming in several languages. It is already a world leader in children's television, reaching 90 million TV households in 70 countries other than the United States. MTV is the preeminent global music television channel, available in 250 million homes worldwide and in scores of nations. In 1996 Viacom announced further plans to "significantly expand" its global operations. MTV has used new digital technologies to make it possible to customize programming inexpensively for different regions and nations around the world.

Viacom selected holdings

Thirteen U.S. television stations; U.S. and global cable television networks, including MTV, M2, VH1, Nickelodeon, Showtime, TVLand and Paramount Networks; film, video and television production, including Paramount Pictures; 50 percent stake in United Cinemas International, one of the world's three largest theater companies; Blockbuster Video and Music stores, the world's largest video rental stores; book publishing, including Simon & Schuster, Scribners and Macmillan; five theme parks.

News Corporation

\$10 billion - 1996 sales

The News Corporation is often identified with its head, Rupert Murdoch, whose family controls some 30 percent of its stock. Murdoch's goal is for News Corporation to own multiple forms of programming - news, sports, films and children's shows - and beam them via satellite or TV stations to homes in the United States, Europe, Asia and South America. Viacom CEO Sumner Redstone says of Murdoch that "he basically wants to conquer the world."

News Corporation operates in nine different media on six continents. Its 1995 revenues were distributed relatively evenly among filmed entertainment (26 percent), newspapers (24 percent), television (21 percent), magazines (14 percent) and book publishing (12 percent). News Corporation has been masterful in utilizing its various properties for cross-promotional purposes, and at using its media power to curry influence with public officials worldwide. Although News Corporation earned 70 percent of its 1995 income in the United States, its plan for global expansion looks to continental Europe, Asia and Latin America, areas where growth is expected to be greatest for commercial media. Until around 2005, Murdoch expects the surest profits in the developed world, especially Europe and Japan. News Corporation is putting most of its eggs in the basket of television, specifically digital satellite television. It plans to draw on its experience in establishing the most profitable satellite television system in the world, the booming British Sky Broadcasting (BSkyB). News Corporation can also use its U.S. Fox television network to provide programming for its nascent satellite ventures. News Corporation is spending billions of dollars to establish these systems around the world; although the risk is considerable, if only a few of them establish monopoly or duopoly positions the entire project should prove lucrative.

News Corporation selected holdings

The U.S. Fox broadcasting network; twenty-two U.S. television stations, the largest U.S. station group, covering over 40 percent of U.S. TV households; Fox News Channel; a 50 percent stake (with

TCI's Liberty Media) in several U.S. and global cable networks, including fx, fxM and Fox Sports Net; ownership or major interests in satellite services reaching Europe, U.S., Asia, and Latin America, often under the Sky Broadcasting brand; some 132 newspapers (primarily in Australia, Britain and the United States, including the London Times and the New York Post), making it one of the three largest newspaper groups in the world.

Sony

\$9 billion - 1997 sales (media only)

Sony's media holdings are concentrated in music (the former CBS records) and film and television production (the former Columbia Pictures), each of which it purchased in 1989. Music accounts for about 60 percent of Sony's media income and film and television production account for the rest. Sony is a dominant

entertainment producer, and its media sales are expected to surpass \$9 billion in 1997. Sony hopes to capitalize upon its vast copyrighted library of films, music and TV programs to leap to the front of the digital video disc market, where it is poised to be one of the two global leaders with Matsushita. Sony also enjoys a 25 percent share of the multi-billion-dollar video games industry; with the shift to digital formats these games can now be converted into channels in digital television systems.

NBC (GE)

\$5 billion - 1996 sales

General Electric is one of the leading electronics and manufacturing firms in the world with nearly \$80 billion in sales in 1996. Its operations have become increasingly global, with non-U.S. revenues increasing from 20 percent of the total in 1985 to 38 percent in 1995, and an

expected 50 percent in 2000. Although NBC currently constitutes only a small portion of GE's total activity, after years of rapid growth it is considered to be the core of GE's strategy for long-term global growth.

NBC owns U.S. television and radio networks and 11 television stations. It has been aggressive in expanding into cable, where it now owns several cable channels outright, like CNBC. The most dramatic expression of GE's media-centered strategy is its 1996 alliance and joint investment with Microsoft to produce the cable news channel MSNBC, along with a complementary on-line service. From this initial \$500 million investment, NBC and Microsoft plan to expand MSNBC quickly into a global news channel, followed perhaps by a global entertainment and sports channel. NBC and Microsoft are also developing a series of TV channels in Europe aimed at computer users.

فرہنگ

معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ
حقیقی، واقعی	Veritable	جاری ہونا، منتگلوکی روانی	Flux	یکجا کرنا	Conglomerate
مقصود، تخلیق	Raison D'etre	سرزجیب دینا	Orchestrate	خاص حصے پر توجہ مرکوز کر دینا	Niche
قسم، طرز، انداز	Genre	بننا ہوا، نکلتا	Nascent	نسل پرست	Racist
فرض کرنا، مان لینا	Posit	جست و گمان	Leap	جنس پرستی	Sexist
		خیالی، فرضی	Myth	فسطاطیت	Fascist
		انہما ناخوف	Specter	تجارتی شدت	Hyper-Commercialism

About Edward S. Herman

Edward S. Herman is a Professor Emeritus of Finance at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania where he was teaching micro and macro-economics and financial regulation for 30 years. He has written extensively on economics, political economy, foreign policy and media analysis. He has a regular "Fog Watch" column in the monthly Z Magazine and has published numerous articles in many professional and popular journals. He has published 22 books, some of them are: "The Political Economy of Human Rights (with Noam Chomsky)", "Corporate Control, Corporate Power", "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (with Noam Chomsky)", "The Myth of the Liberal Media: An Edward Herman Reader" etc.

About Robert W. McChesney

Robert McChesney is Research Professor at the Institute of Communications Research and the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His work concentrates on the history and political economy of communication, emphasizing the role media plays in democratic and capitalist societies. McChesney has written and edited books, including the award-winning "Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935", "Corporate Media and the Threat to Democracy", and, with Edward S. Herman, "The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism" etc. McChesney has also written around 100 journal articles and book chapters and another 110 newspaper pieces, magazine articles and book reviews. His work has been translated into ten languages.

Edward Herman and Robert McChesney's superb analysis of global concerns like media, globalization and foreign policy will be presented in future editions of EDUcate!

DEVELOPMENT DIARY

ZULFIQAR ALI

It has been well said that the problem of the new century is 'development' rather than 'underdevelopment'. The era of development, globalization and the information technology revolution was supposed to offer great opportunities to poor nations and their people to rise from the doldrums of poverty. The reality, by contrast, has been sombre. In quantitative terms, the number of poor countries has actually risen from 52 in 1965 to 102 in 1995; qualitatively, after almost fifty years of an aggressive development campaign, most of the world is underdeveloped and faced with severe poverty and hunger. Why? Although I am not an expert of the 'complex' field of development, I can easily draw a commonsensical (basic mathematical) conclusion:

Development \propto Underdevelopment

(The greater the development, the greater the underdevelopment.)

What puzzles me is the inability of our 'experts' and people to surmount such a basic equation. Let us try and solve the 'puzzle of development' through an imaginary dialogue taking place in an average Pakistani household:

Amma: *Madeeha and Ghazali* where are you both?

The children in chorus... We are making a jigsaw puzzle in Baba's room.

Amma: (*while entering the room*) Can I help?

Madeeha: *Amma*, we have been trying to solve (make) this puzzle for quite a while but we just can't seem to be able to solve it.

Baba: (*while reading a book*) Instead of wasting your time and energy, first carefully try and find out why the puzzle can't be solved.

Ghazali: What do you mean, *Baba*?

Baba: Have you tried counting the pieces. It is possible that a piece or two may be missing. At times the shopkeeper gives the wrong box and the picture on the box does not match the picture in the puzzle?

Amma: Hey, what's this!

Baba: What happened?

Amma: You are right! Some pieces of the puzzle are missing; this is not a complete puzzle. This cannot be solved!

Baba (*laughing*): This is precisely how time and energy is wasted in the name of development worldwide. You seem to be doing exactly the same thing!

Madeeha: *Baba*, what do you mean?

Amma: Yes, how about explaining what this development puzzle is all about?

Baba: Ok, so hear me out. As far as I have understood, there are some people in the world who claim to work towards the development and prosperity of the poor by arranging easy

Amma : Mother , Baba : Father , Baita : Child

access to education, employment and health facilities for them. But, despite all the work done, the realization of these claims has become more difficult than ever. It is surprising that countries like ours, which have received so much development aid, are riddled with social and economic problems. I distinctly remember that even when Pakistan was in its teething stage, life was much better for poor people like us. Lately we, the lower middle and middle class, have been literally crushed. Yet we hear and read that huge amounts of money came from and rich countries to make our lives better. But have our lives improved in any way? Of course not! To me it has become obvious that there is a big game going on - the 'Development Game'. I believe that the lending countries provide money only to burden us with a load of problems so that they can continue to dominate the world. This is just like the shopkeeper giving you the wrong picture for the puzzle. The rich countries give us pictures of a beautiful world through the television and media but provide us with the incomplete or wrong pieces and we, like fools, keep on dreaming of that beautiful world without realizing that some of the pieces are missing and that even if we finally complete the puzzle, it does not match the one on the box.

Ghazali: *Baba*, who are the people playing this jigsaw puzzle development game and why are they doing this to us?

Baba: *Baita*, the players of this development game are those who just want to protect their own interests. They don't want anybody rising up to them thus they want the people in the developing countries to remain deprived. There are many faces of such people. At times they are from abroad and at times our own people are responsible for our miseries.

Suddenly there is a blackout.

Amma: See, due to this development there is more darkness than light.

Baba: Load shedding is also a gift of development for our country, as well as other countries like us and this is only a small example. In the last 56 years, WAPDA has spent millions of rupees in order to provide us with electricity. Despite this, the bills have sky rocketed and the problem persists. Our ancestors, without any development, slept peacefully in candlelight and went about doing all the other chores of life with ease. But this development has snatched away our peaceful sleep and, even after paying thousands of rupees, we cannot enjoy the utility we pay for. Wherever in the world development took place, people not only lost their peace of mind but actually started leading a more miserable life.

Madeeha: *Baba*, did we benefit in any way from development?

Baba: Try to understand this with an example; sometimes while solving a puzzle, a portion of the puzzle is completed, and that too, only by chance and pure luck, yet the entire puzzle remains incomplete. Just like the Internet. In this game of development which people can access a whole treasure trove of information. The Internet is not an invention. It happened by accident. Nowadays, America and England are fighting over who invented the Internet. But the reality is that the Internet is not owned by anyone, especially not by the developed world. That is why it has provided a lot of poor people with opportunities to improve their lives. But who knows who will eventually benefit the most from it; is it the masses, who the Internet will help in accessing previously inaccessible information or the exclusive coterie of those who have been the key players in this development game? Yes, development has been beneficial but certainly not for those who should have been benefiting the most from it; it has not made life any better for the poor. In fact, it has further deprived them of their resources and of their self-sufficiency. Countries like ours have plunged into the depths of despair because of this development. We have plunged into the pits of debt in order to develop and yet we remain disadvantaged. In fact, we are worse off than before because we are not only economically deprived but our moral value system has also been destroyed in the name of progress and development. Development has only benefited those who were already more privileged than the rest; therefore, it has made the poor poorer and the rich richer than ever before. This makes one wonder whether development was a maneuver on the part of the rich to gain control over the remaining resources of the world, multiply deprivation, and to create two distinct classes of humans; one superbly privileged and over-fed and the other largely dying of hunger or the injustices inflicted upon them by the dominant elite. I leave the answer to you.

VOICE OF THE VOICELESS

MUHAMMAD KHAN

For this issue we gathered opinions of people regarding the media:

Which news source do you trust and why?

The Results . . .

"Pakistani news is total propaganda. They give importance to unnecessary events. BBC news is good."

"Since this war has started we have been listening to BBC. So we trust BBC a bit and think they give the correct news. We have no interest in PTV news. I like 'Umat' newspaper best and read it daily; I am satisfied with it because it publishes the truth without any fear."

"I don't listen to news anymore. First I used to listen to BBC but now they have started taking sides with America; which is why we have stopped giving importance to it. I read almost four newspapers daily: 'Jung', 'Evening Special', 'Express' and 'Umat'. The statements in most of these newspapers are usually wrong but in 'Umat' the news is usually correct."

"Sometimes I listen to the news. First I used to listen to BBC but I think their news is not correct anymore. I often read 'Zarb-e-Momin'; its my favorite newspaper and it publishes correct statements. I don't watch PTV news."

"I listen to the news. I listen to BBC London and like it a lot. I don't read newspapers."

"I like Pakistani news and I think it is correct. Not all newspapers publish correct news but I think 'Umat' does."

"I do listen to news but I don't trust any of the news channels. Whether its CNN, BBC or PTV, they all give news of their own country and not of the world; like what is happening in Kashmir or Afghanistan right now. It is all one-sided news and not balanced. I read newspapers like 'Express', 'Jung', etc, but they are also one-sided. Government newspapers give their own news and private ones their own."

"I used to listen to BBC first but now it doesn't convey news like it used to. Now, they support Christians a lot and not the Muslim countries. Same is the case for all other channels; they only support their own country and not others. 'Umat' is a good newspaper as compared to the rest."

"BBC is good news. All the newspapers lie."

"I don't listen to Indian news. I listen to PTV and BBC and think that BBC gives correct news. The newspapers confuse people because we don't know whether the news is true or not."

"I listen to BBC with interest and feel they give correct news. I do read newspapers but I feel our media has failed to respond to the propaganda published by the Indian newspapers regarding Pakistan."

"I do listen to the news. I trust BBC fifty percent but I also feel they are biased towards the Western countries. CNN only presents American news which benefits American people and

is against the Muslims. PTV only projects what the government wants it to convey. BBC is the only organization in the world which can be trusted by 40% of the people for its news. I read three or four newspapers daily but I feel 'Umat' gives comparatively correct news. The rest of the Pakistani newspapers either belong to some political association or to the government so they publish whatever the government wants and they don't give importance to other political parties."

"I listen to BBC news. All Pakistani newspapers lie."

"I listen to all news channels but I feel BBC gives correct news. 50% of the Pakistani newspapers lie but 'Zarb-e-Momin' is a truthful newspaper."

"I like CNN news. I think 25% of the newspapers publish correct news and 75% of them lie."

"I like BBC news. Most of the newspapers lie even if they have a little bit of truth in them."

"I like BBC news and I think the rest of them are useless. I read 'Jung' newspaper and feel it is good."

"Usually PTV gives correct news but mostly it is BBC. What can I say about the newspapers, they all publish news on their own so its difficult to give an opinion about them."

About Muhammad Khan Zada

Muhammad Khan (Driver) is an integral member of our team. Although not 'literate' in the conventional sense of the word or 'educated' by the standards of the privileged few, he has the brilliance and motivation to handle perhaps the most sensitive section of our magazine

Final Analysis

MASHHOOD RIZVI

"Never in history has violence been initiated by the oppressed. How could they be the initiators, if they themselves are the result of violence? How could they be the sponsors of something whose objective inauguration called forth their existence as oppressed? There would be no oppressed had there been no prior situation of violence to establish their subjugation. Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons - not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized."

Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1972

The second edition of *EDucate!* is being released when we, once more, find ourselves caught in horrifying acts of global violence and terror. Once more, the nefarious basis of the global village, democracy and peace, has been unveiled. Once more, world powers have looked away from the real causes of violence and unrest. Once more, the global media has proven to be a spineless servant of the relentless powerful, blatantly refusing to fulfill its responsibility of investigating and conveying the truth to the masses. Once more, the educational institutions of the world have remained silent, failing to educate and re-position society for a 'just' solution to the soaring problems of global inequality and social injustice. Once more, a large majority of so-called intellectuals of global society have failed to delineate 'symptoms' from 'problems'. Once more, the events of 11th September (I say 'events' as innumerable horrendous, dehumanizing acts of violence and war crimes of the past 50 years are yet to be recognized as 'terrorist' acts/attacks) have warned us of the devastating consequences of 'oppression' and 'subjugation'. Once more, we have been reminded of the power of the human instinct to be 'free'.

According to the 'best selling' Oxford Dictionary, oppression is 'a prolonged harsh or cruel treatment of control'. This is precisely what most of us (the so-called 'Third World') have experienced since World War II - a prolonged, ever increasing misery. The gulf between the rich and the poor is unparalleled in history.

This gap between the rich and poor has taken different shapes and forms. It is not only about money anymore; it's about 'power'; power to control and suppress, power to annihilate challenging and provocative learning processes - especially those which may expose the functioning of the most unjust world that human history has ever encountered. We are witnessing an age of monumental repression in which institutions (Global Media and Education Systems) are given the strategic, complex and critical task of 'thought-control'. Thought-control is crucial for illegitimate political and economic systems to pillage the Earth and humanity on a global scale, as any efforts that might challenge authority and domination must be continuously marginalized and destroyed. The appalling outcome has been the powerlessness of most of the world's population to control their own affairs and function as independent human beings consequently causing frightening escalation of grueling oppression and social control.

Yet a deep and thorough analysis of the current context must be followed by faith in and hope for change. The long history of suppressing human freedom has a series of glittering examples of resistance and the reclamation of dignity. These examples range from the battles against colonial invasion to profound provocation against the instruments of indoctrination. In our age, a number of thinkers, leaders and activists like Allama Iqbal, Tagore, Shariati, Freire, Chomsky

and Said represent the morality of the human spirit and its instinct to liberate itself from forced domination. History teaches us that individual and collective consciousness forms the core of optimism and fuels the struggle to challenge the forces of legitimized evil. As Iqbal describes, "consciousness is the towering testament to the nobility of being human, which leads to an existence of disdain for materialism and to a genuine concern for others".

This is the onus that education must bear - empowering and liberating people. It is time that the educational institutions came into the picture and developed intellectual, social and educational understanding of oppression. Only by educating ourselves of the real causes of oppression can we intelligently distinguish between acts of terrorism and liberation struggles. Only by educating ourselves can we begin to scythe through the blatant lies and relentless propaganda imposed by the media. And, only by educating ourselves can we differentiate between the 'oppressor' and the 'oppressed'.

As educators and as agents of social change, we should learn from the thinkers and intellectuals who articulated the will of countless sufferers by addressing paradoxically simple issues: the inhuman categorization of people, the rights to privilege, the self-proclaimed superiority of western values, functional inequality, the quest for greed, the concentration of power and wealth, morally and

environmentally abusive consumerism, and the value of each human soul. Perhaps it is for this reason that, despite the seductive power of the media and perpetual educational indoctrination - which has tried to devalue or confuse their messages - these thinkers are still able to generate an enormous response from all corners of the world. Such responses provide indisputable evidence of the reflexive human will and hope to be free, regardless of relentless assaults from the managers and instruments of thought-control.

The processes generated by raising such questions have galvanized many cultures and civilizations to respect, value and regenerate a democratic learning spirit, to understand the mechanisms of exploitation and to construct a challenge based on the principles of morality and justice. They have done so by exposing the rhetoric of systems of abuse, which have falsely projected themselves as righteous and fair. A recent effort in this direction can be found in the Iranian Revolution, which was highly demonized by the global media. Shariat's vital role as an educator motivated the Iranian people to reclaim the moral roots of their

civilization, thereby creating the foundation for a longstanding struggle against tyranny. This struggle was nurtured in indigenous, voluntary and spiritually motivated spaces for dialogue and reflection. The moral anchors for this dialogue were the spirits of 'Huq' (truth), and 'Sabr' (patience and sacrifice). Such discourse provides the ground for values to be actualized in an individual, and for a society to liberate itself from the fundamental immorality of the abuse of power. In a similar vein, Edward Said emphasizes the popular role insurrection plays to challenge the ruthless oppression of Palestinians. Such uprisings of people represent the unflinching struggle of the human spirit to de-legitimize brutal occupation, regardless of massive global propaganda and thought-control.

Many would think that I am trying to legitimize violence; I think I have done exactly the opposite. We are faced with ghastly situations and acts of violence on a daily basis. Very seldom (or perhaps never) do we try and create social relationships between oppression and violence. I strongly believe that whilst considering violence, we must consider greater acts of violence and subjugation.

We have continued to treat violence as a problem instead of realizing that it is actually one (of many) symptoms of a huge problem - the strangulating problem of social control. In concluding this issue of EDucate!, I vehemently urge that the struggle between justice and tyranny cannot and should not be reduced to 'rich vs. poor', 'white vs. black' or, for that matter, 'West vs. East'. This has transpired in the past and is an extreme detriment to the advancement of dialogues. Instead, the key to understanding monumental injustice is the knowledge of the 'hows'; the mechanisms that subjugate and bewilder the innate moral instincts in all of us. This critical awareness underscores the most important course of future actions: to develop reflections and capacities for communities around the world to engage in serious institutional analyses, which penetrate into the very core of our daily lives. Nurturing understandings, which unravel the deceitful claims of the elite to righteousness, is the most critical step towards launching a serious global challenge to this oppressive control. This challenge is always there but so is the promise and vision of a 'just' world.



In 1997, \$17 billion were spent on pet food in the USA & Europe; \$50 billion were spent on cigarettes and \$105 billion dollars on alcohol in Europe; \$400 billion were spent on drugs, \$780 billion on military spending and \$1 trillion on advertising worldwide.



Women account for 70 percent of the 1.3 billion people recognized as living below the threshold of absolute poverty.



In its 1994 report, the UNDP states that 'Assistance more frequently goes to strategic allies than to poor countries.' Israel for example, an American strategic ally in the Middle East, receives \$176 in US aid for each poor person while Bangladesh receives only \$1.70.



The developing world now spends \$13 on debt repayment for every \$1 it receives in grants.



Approximately 790 million people in the developing world are still chronically undernourished, almost two-thirds of whom reside in Asia and the Pacific.



If all countries followed the industrial example, five or six planets would be needed to serve as 'sources' for the inputs and 'sinks' for the waste of economic progress.



English is used in almost 80 percent of all websites, although less than one in 10 people worldwide speak the language. Meanwhile, the number of computers with a direct connection to the Internet rose from under 100,000 in 1988 to over 36 million in 1998.



Only 33 countries achieved a sustained annual growth rate of at least 3 percent per capita between 1980 and 1996. During the same period, per capita growth declined in 59 countries, mainly in sub-Saharan Africa, the former Communist nations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.



A few hundred millionaires now own as much wealth as the world's poorest 2.5 billion people.



The income gap between the richest fifth of the world's people and the poorest fifth increased from 30 to 1 in 1960, to 74 to 1 in 1997.

Inspirations



When I tell the truth, it is not for the sake of convincing those who do not know it, but for the sake of defending those that do.

William Blake



Where I grew up, learning was a collective activity. But when I got to school and tried to share learning with other students that was called cheating. The curriculum sent the clear message to me that learning was a highly individualistic, almost secretive endeavor.

Henry A. Giroux



To educate a man in mind and not in morals is to educate a menace to society.

Theodore Roosevelt



If we don't believe in freedom of expression for people we despise, we don't believe in it at all.

Noam Chomsky



When you are right you cannot be too radical; when you are wrong, you cannot be too conservative.

Martin Luther King Jr.



Learning from programmed information always hides reality behind a screen.

Ivan Illich



Education is not preparation for life; education is life itself.

John Dewey

The Sindh Education Foundation

Vision

"To empower disadvantaged communities towards social change by creating and facilitating new approaches to learning and education".

The Sindh Education Foundation (SEF) was established in 1992 as a semi-autonomous organization for the improvement of educational facilities in the under privileged areas of Sindh. The SEF works in strong collaboration with non-government organizations (NGOs), leading educational institutes and the Department of Education, Sindh to create firm public-private partnerships through community-based initiatives. Since its inception, the Foundation has grown under the visionary leadership of Professor Anita Ghulam Ali, a distinguished educationist and currently the Provincial Minister for Education.

The Foundation's key objectives are:

- To evolve programs for raising the standard of education,
- To conduct research and surveys, hold workshops, conferences, and symposiums to study the educational system, identify its shortfalls and make suggestions for its improvement,
- To provide financial help under soft terms and conditions.

SEF holds a dynamic educational portfolio - its projects and programs have been tested by various agencies and donors and are acknowledged regionally. These projects include revitalization of government primary schools, adult literacy (women), education and management of child labor and parental involvement in the educational process. The most prominent projects of the Sindh Education Foundation are:

- Adopt-a-School Program
- Community Supported Schools
- Fellowship Schools Program
- Women's Literacy and Empowerment Program
- Child Labor Education Program
- PTA Applied Research Study
- Database of 1000 NGOs & CBOs

Data Processing and Research Cell

Vision

"To create critical and intellectual spaces for reflection and action to conceive and implement transformatory ideas and innovative concepts of Educational Development."

The Data Processing and Research Cell (DPRC) has been established within the Sindh Education Foundation to undertake research and publication activities in key issues in education and development.

1 Educational Research: This component has been designed to inspire and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education and community participation. Its purpose is to foster an exchange of ideas and research findings to expand knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of education and development. Under this component, the DPRC undertakes qualitative and quantitative studies on varying facets of educational development.

2 Publications: DPRC develops and disseminates challenging periodicals to stimulate a meaningful and constructive discourse on the theories and practices of varied educational and developmental efforts, locally and globally. Through these publications, the DPRC hopes to create an environment of critical consciousness and liberatory education to intellectually mobilize the masses in a collective movement for social change. These publications are particularly useful for the citizen sector and student body of the country.

3 The Sindh Education Foundation's website (www.sef.org.pk) offers a comprehensive view of the range of its educational initiatives; their concepts, implementation mechanisms and outreach. Beyond information, visitors can engage in a global dialogue on rethinking educational and development practices. The website has been rated as one of the top Pakistani sites by the leading Internet magazines of the country 'SPIDER - Pakistan's Internet Magazine'.



EDu - Educational Research Journal Sindh Education Foundation

EDu will feature DPRC's research studies on Parental Involvement in Children's Education, Quality Education and Financial Management & School Sustainability. The Research Journal will be launched in December 2001.

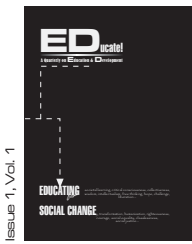
For subscription information please contact us at:
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dprc@cyber.net.pk

فرہنگ

معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ
خاص علامت	Patent	ریاست، علاقہ	Realm	بغیر جوڑ کے	Seamless
پیشہ دارانہ	Vocational	آمرانہ انداز میں درس و تدریس کرنا	Indoctrinate	علم الکلام	Dialectic
افسردہ	Poignant	شرعی، حلال	Legitimacy	معاشرتی حالات گردش میں آ جانا	Societal Churning
غور سے دیکھنا	Stare	بنیادی، حقیقی	Intrinsic	تختی سے	Vehement
عبرت آموز، ہوش افزا	Didactic	لچلدار	Resilient		
چوڑا ٹکڑا	Chunk	غور و فکر کرنا	Meditate		

معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ
خیالات کو عملی شکل دینا	Embody	نازک وقت، اتفاق	Conjuncture	آزادانہ، آزاد	Unfetter
خالی جگہ	Void	جدید حریت پسندی	Neo-liberalism	پھوڑنا، پھڑانہ، بری کرنا	Emancipate
شیریں کلام	Eloquent	نہایت اہم	Momentous	اگرچہ، البتہ، حالانکہ	Albeit
طریقہ تدریس	Pedagogy	مخصوصیت	Particularism	مقامی زبان	Dialect
میراث، مالی متروکہ	Legacy	کمزور کرنا، برباد کرنا	Debilitate	لامکان، خیالی، مثالی	Utopian
		مشقت کرنا، محنت کرنا	Drudgery	غلط کام کے لئے راستہ پیدا کرنا	Forge

معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ	معنی	الفاظ
بے ترتیب	Haphazardly	اجرام فلکی کا	Astronomical	پاگل پن، پاؤلا	Insane
غیر متوقع طور پر	Serendipitously	بد نما، عجیب، بے سروہا	Grotesque	دل برداشتہ ہونا، ناخوش ہونا	Disenchanted
انحراف کرنا، بھٹک جانا	Digressing	ناخوشگوار	Obnoxious	مخالف حکومت	Counter-hegemony
غیر انسانی	Dehumanization	جڑ کاٹنا، تباہ کرنا	Undermine	الگ الگ ہو جانا	Fragment
		کھیل تماشے کے منتظم	Impresario	ناقابل یقین حد تک، قابل تسخیر	Ridiculously
		اجلاس، مجلس	Syndicate	وساطت، توسط	Mediation



...what 'They' say about EDucate!

"It (EDucate!) looks excellent. I'm naturally highly appreciative of your contribution and concerns."

Noam Chomsky, world renowned linguist and America's foremost social critic. He is Institute Professor in the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is also the author of numerous books and a candid speaker on social and political issues across the globe.

"A powerful vehicle for liberation struggles."

Peter McLaren, Professor of Urban Schooling at University of California, Los Angeles. He is the author of "Between Borders: Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies", "Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter", "Politics of Liberation: Paths from Freire" etc.

"It (EDucate!) looks very interesting - stimulating, politically and educationally serious, and deals with important issues...Since the critical educational project in all of our nations is a COLLECTIVE project both nationally and internationally, it is important that we all stand together."

Michael W. Apple, John Bascom Professor of Curriculum and Instruction & Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison & author of "Ideology and Curriculum", "Education and Power", "Democratic Schools", "Educating the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality" etc.

"He (Edward Said) wishes you and the magazine much success."

Sandra Fahy, on behalf of **Edward Said**, Professor at Columbia University and author of "Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography", "Beginnings: Intention and Method", "The Question of Palestine", "Culture and Imperialism", "Orientalism" etc.

"A valuable contribution to discussion about education and development which are at present dominated by very conventional and misleading perspectives."

Ted Trainer, author of "The Conservative Society: Alternatives for Sustainability", "Towards a Sustainable Economy", "Nature of Morality", "Developed to Death", "Abandon Affluence!" etc.

"Very impressive and worthwhile in the struggle for economic and social justice."

Dave Hill, University College Northampton. He is the co-author of "Changing the Future: Redprint for Education", "Rethinking Education and Democracy: A Socialist Perspective", "Red Chalk: On Schooling, Capitalism and Politics" etc.

"Your journal looks very impressive indeed. I hope to see an increasing emphasis on the need for counter development. The corporate pressures that are foisting a consumer culture on youth worldwide are so overwhelming and insidious that they require an ongoing, active and vigilant rebuttal. Keep it up!"

Helena Norberg-Hodge, author of "Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh."

"Your new publication (EDucate!) is important and very necessary."

Howard Zinn, professor, historian and progressive political theorist. He is also the author of "The Pentagon Papers: Critical Essays", "You Can't Be Neutral On A Moving Train", and the highly celebrated "A People's History of the United States: 1492 to the Present."

"It (EDucate!) is interesting and ambitious."

Wolfgang Sachs, editor of "The Development Dictionary". He is the fellow at the Institute for Cultural Studies in Essen, Germany.

"We must hope for the future and an unshakeable belief that the power of ideas can, and ultimately will, transform the world into a better place for all. EDucate! seeks to keep alive the spirit of idealism and the desire for positive social change, and is therefore, a significant effort."

Pervez Hoodbhoy is Professor of Physics at The Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan and Editor of "Education and the State - Fifty Years of Pakistan."

"...Sindh Education Foundation's move to publish EDucate! is a courageous one...One hopes that EDucate! will play a positive role in inculcating a new outlook towards education in readers and policymakers..."

Zubeida Mustafa, *The Daily Dawn, Pakistan.*

"...I compliment the excellence of the Sindh Education Foundation's contribution to the nation's most critical need i.e. education for development and social change."

Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, *Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare & Special Education*

"The layout of the magazine is outstanding. It definitely has the potential to become a torch-light for social change, through intellectual interactions and will definitely dispel shadows in human minds."

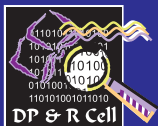
Sarfraz-ul-Haq Beg, *Commissioner, Afghan Refugees, Punjab*

"Good to see so much initiative and enterprise."

Stella Jaffery, *Advisor, IUCN Regional Program*

"...EDucate! speaks loudly of its aims...it is a dire need of the day that our educationists and intellectuals must come forward and explore the ways and means to educational content...I hope EDucate! will be a great help for the intellectuals to groom the masses in the right direction to realize the dreams of the Quaid-e-Azam (for Pakistan)".

Col. Retd. S.K. Tressler, *Ministry of Minorities, Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs, Islamabad, Pakistan.*



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