

NOVEMBER 1995

# THE UNESCO COURIER

## PEACE

*a new beginning*



**INTERVIEW WITH  
YEHUDI  
MENUHIN**

## UNESCO prizewinners

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We invite readers to send us photographs to be considered for publication in this feature. Your photo should show a painting, a sculpture, piece of architecture or any other subject which seems to be an example of cross-fertilization between cultures.

Alternatively, you could send us pictures of two works from different cultural backgrounds in which you see some striking connection or resemblance. Please add a short caption to all photographs.

## Achilles' heel

1994, Smoke darkened  
Entraigues clay and raku  
by Martine Cazin

This group of ceramic sculptures evoking the death of Achilles, the legendary warrior and leading character in Homer's *Iliad*, belongs to a series entitled *Armures d'argile* (clay armour). During a recent visit to Japan, the French painter and potter Martine Cazin was fascinated by the sculptural possibilities of Japanese armour, and has since explored the theme in sculptures inhabited by "our ambitions and fears". "Empty armour," she writes, "illustrates the vanity of weapons."



# *a new beginning*

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pages 2-3 and 50-51.

## PREAMBLE TO UNESCO'S CONSTITUTION

The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare, that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races; that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives.

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

Adopted in London on 16 November 1945 and amended by the General Conference at later sessions.



## Month by month

On 16 November 1945, UNESCO's Constitution was signed by forty-one states. It came into force a year later, on 4 November 1946, after being officially ratified by the first twenty signatories.

The mission of the new organization was, in a word, to construct the defences of peace so as to make war redundant. As well as being a matter for international agreements, peace was to be instilled into people's hearts and minds, into their private and public ambitions and their daily lives.

This idea had been formulated by Kant in the eighteenth century, but until the immediate aftermath of the Second World War its expression was compromised by the almost total supremacy of national self-interest. It was not until 1945, when the world contemplated the monstrous consequences to which this had led, that the victorious democracies proclaimed the principle of an intellectual and moral solidarity that included all humanity.

In this respect UNESCO's Constitution broke new ground. It stressed "that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world." A more ambitious kind of peace was called for. States should seek to "develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples for the purposes of mutual understanding".

But another half century was to elapse before any real progress was made on this peace agenda. It took time—the years between 1945 and 1989—for the East-West confrontation between communism and capitalism to come to an end, and for the colonized peoples to attain political sovereignty and full membership of the international community.

The world scene has been transformed. The inegalitarian integration of economies and capital movements in a single market and the aggressive unification of technological standards and media networks have led to the development of paradoxical and explosive situations: growing cultural standardization at the same time as the exacerbation of tribal, ethnic and confessional reflexes; the rise of democratic ideals as well as the recrudescence of despotism.

In this general climate of instability in which countries large and small are tempted by introspection and isolationism, the struggle for peace is a far less straightforward process than it was. New dangers have appeared, but so too have new hopes.

The prospect of a global nuclear conflagration has receded. But while the threat of war has become less intensive it has become more extensive, in the form of internal conflicts within regions, countries, cities and even neighbourhoods. The great powers are less and less inclined to take action outside their own turf, but while this may encourage adventurism by petty local tyrants it may also foster self-expression on the part of peoples which are now freed from tutelage, as well as experiments in democracy and the invention of many new approaches to peace.

In such an open-ended context, the initiative of inspired and courageous leaders may bring an end unjust situations that have existed for centuries. The imagination and civic spirit of private citizens now count for much more than they did. Many things that once seemed inevitable, including war, have ceased to be so.

The world outlook has radically changed, bringing new fears and new promises. It is time for a new departure on the road to peace.

# A new beginning

by Federico Mayor



For many years world events moved slowly because the two super-powers took all the decisions, and it seemed that the rest of the world had been side-tracked away from decision-making. Now, suddenly, we realize that we are facing new threats for which we are unprepared—overpopulation, poverty, intolerance, the knowledge gap and the inability of different ethnic groups and cultures to live together.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations recently offered some ideas for consideration in his *Agenda for Peace*. The *Agenda for Peace* has two main facets: peace-keeping and peace-building.

## PEACE-KEEPING AND PEACE-BUILDING

Peace-keeping is at the very core of the UN mandate. It is implemented by the Security Council. Peace-building, on the other hand, is a more complex and long-term preventive activity to which all UN institutions and specialized agencies must contribute. We are sometimes successful at peace-keeping, but as yet we are unprepared for peace-building.

We are used to relying on force, and our budgets make provisions for the armed forces and their weaponry. Our war machines exist because we think that the hawkish inclinations of others can only be discouraged by our own capacity for destruction.

Some of today's peace-keeping operations require an investment of 1.5 billion dollars. Meanwhile, it is impossible to raise even 30 million dollars for peace-building operations because the latter do not yet fit into our order

of priorities and therefore do not form part of our budgets.

This is not a new situation. To take one example, we are willing to provide 526 million dollars in food aid to fight the effects of drought in Africa, but all this money remains in the North because that is where the industries that provide the food are located and so are the aircraft and ships that transfer it. But when we ask for a million dollars for endogenous capacity-building, to provide stricken countries with intensive learning programmes so that they can be better prepared for future droughts, we get a flat refusal. Why? Because we are not ready to provide that kind of peace-building operation.

Peace-building means taking preventive action. Not only must we be prepared to act when a conflict has broken out; we must also be able to detect warning signals early enough to nip conflicts in the bud. Just as we have smoke detectors in buildings, so we should have an early-warning system that would enable us to act in time, before conflagrations occur.

The problem is that preventive activities attract neither recognition nor thanks. If a conflict does not break out, nobody is going to congratulate you for having prevented it. The same thing happens in medicine. If you prevent an epidemic or stop a disease from spreading, parents are not going to come along and thank you for protecting their children, for the simple reason that there has been no outbreak of disease. If a surgeon removes a tumour, the operation is applauded as an achievement of modern

medicine. But if you manage to avoid surgery, no one will congratulate you. Decorations go to generals who win minor battles, not to those who avoid major wars. Preventive action produces intangible results; and we have not yet learned to invest in intangibles.

We are only used to tangible results that can be splashed across newspapers or television screens. If nothing happens—and this is exactly what we want—no one will accept that we are in any way responsible. We must be prepared to use the media to inform public opinion about how important it is to take preventive measures to stop problems from degenerating into conflict. In other

words to establish peace in hearts and minds. In culture.

### EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

With the growing power of civil society, the situation has rarely been more propitious. Every action, even the most trivial, counts. Creating a culture of peace is now everybody's business. Peace can no longer be regarded as an agreement between the powerful, as a state of grace that sometimes descends on a lucky country. It is a social condition to which every citizen can contribute at every moment.

It would of course be ridiculous to deny that this condition depends largely on decisions that only politicians can take. But the opportunities for individual and collective action on behalf of peace are certainly greater than is usually thought. The cause of peace must be defended in everyday life—at home, at school, in the workplace, in parliaments and cafés. Independent actions can interact and strengthen one another. In this way we shall gradually move from a culture conditioned by centuries of war to a culture existing in the name of peace.

The supreme expression of a society's culture is the behaviour of its members in their everyday lives. The framework of justice, dignity, equality and solidarity which is what I mean by the term "culture of peace" will be built, day in day out, by way of such behaviour, at last free from all interference and constraint. ■

*Constructing the defences of peace is not an exercise in damage limitation but a preventive effort to which every citizen can contribute*



Left, *The dream of an angel*, by 8-year-old Gao Yan (China).

# Our common home

by Edgar Morin

*We should abandon the Promethean dream of dominating the universe and aspire instead to live together on earth*

The preamble to UNESCO's Constitution makes the correct diagnosis that, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

Today, although the illusions and enthusiasms of 1945 are gone, we are again confronted, in an acute form, with the same fundamental problems that led to the establishment of UNESCO, the problems of peace and war, the problems of material, technological and economic underdevelopment facing the countries of the South and the East and the problem of psychological, moral and intellectual underdevelopment, which is universal.

As we look back over our millennium, the three questions raised by Kant two centuries ago come again to mind: "What can I know? What must I do? What can I hope for?"

## A WORLD IN DISARRAY

The planet is in turmoil: the crisis of progress affects all of mankind, everywhere creating disarray, causing old bonds to break and communities to turn in upon themselves; the fires of war are again being stoked; and the world is losing hold of the global outlook and the sense of the common good. Faith in science, technology and industry is everywhere running up against the problems that science, technology and industry are themselves causing. Science is not only a source of enlightenment, it is itself blind as to where the scientific adventure is leading, an adventure that is slipping beyond its control and beyond the reach of its conscience. Like the biblical tree of life, science is a tree of knowledge whose fruit contains both good and evil.

The vast apparatus we call science and technology produces not only knowledge and insight but also ignorance and blindness. Progress in the various branches of science has produced advantages arising from the division

of labour but also the drawbacks of over-specialization, compartmentalization and the fragmentation of knowledge.

With so many dramatically interrelated problems, the world would seem to be not just in crisis but on its last legs, in that violent condition where the forces of death grapple with those of life. Despite all our common interests, we are still one another's enemies, and the unleashing of racial, religious and ideological antagonisms continues to generate wars, massacres, torture, and humiliation. Humanity cannot overcome man's inhumanity to man. What we do not know yet is whether this is merely the death rattle of an old world, heralding a new birth, or whether these are really the world's death throes.

We had already lost sight of the principles that anchored us in the past; now we have lost sight of the certainties that guided our steps into the future. There is no law of history that automatically guarantees progress.

We are simultaneously experiencing the crisis of the past, the crisis of the future, and the crisis of transition. Contained within these crises are the crisis of development and the crisis of our era of planet-wide consciousness, comprising such increasingly grave problems as the urbanization of the world, economic and demographic disorder, lack of progress or reverses in the development of democracy, and the uncontrolled onward march of science and technology. Inherent in all this is the danger that civilization will become homogenized and cultural diversity will be destroyed, a risk inseparable from the equal and opposite danger that the nations will split up into small, conflicting communities, rendering a shared human civilization impossible.

Our planet is indeed, in keeping with the etymology of the word, a "wandering star". We are embarked upon a great adventure into the unknown.

## LIVING TOGETHER ON EARTH

The earth itself has lost its old familiar universe: the sun has shrunk to the size of a Lilliputian star among billions of others in an expanding uni-



verse; the earth is lost in the cosmos, its surface a small, tepid patch of living mould in a glacial expanse where stars and black holes devour one another with incredible violence. As far as we know at present, this small planet is the only place where life and consciousness exist. It is the common home of all human beings. We need to acknowledge our consubstantial link with it, relinquish the Promethean dream of becoming masters of the universe and aspire instead to living together on earth.

Instead of seeing “the universal” and our various “homelands” as opposites, we should link our homelands—family, region, nation—into a concentric pattern and integrate them into the concrete reality of our earthly homeland. We must stop contrasting a radiant future with a past of servitude and superstition. All cultures have their own virtues, their own store of experience and their own wisdom, as well as their shortcomings and areas of ignorance. It is in its past that a community finds the energy to confront its present and prepare for its future.

Since all humans are children of life and of the earth, “rootless cosmopolitanism”, which is something abstract, must be discarded in favour of “earthling cosmopolitanism”, citizenship of

our extraordinary little planet. The re-establishment of ethnic or national roots is justifiable as long as it goes hand-in-hand with a deeper re-rooting in our human identity as citizens of earth.

The distinguishing feature of mankind is *unitas multiplex*, unity in diversity, the genetic, cerebral, intellectual and affective unity of our species, whose numberless potentialities find expression through the diversity of cultures. Diversity is the jewel in the crown of human unity and, conversely, unity is the jewel in the crown of human diversity.

Just as living, ongoing communication needs to be established between past, present and future, so living, ongoing communication needs to be established between distinctive cultural, ethnic and national characteristics on the one hand, and, on the other, the concrete reality of one world, the homeland of all humanity.

### CIVILIZING THE EARTH

And so we must civilize the earth. This means not only creating a confederation of humanity, while respecting existing cultures and homelands, but also promoting democracy and solidarity.

Democracy presupposes and also fosters

Love, by 11-year-old Nadia El Saqed (Egypt).



diversity of social interests and groups and diversity of ideas. In other words it must not only cause the will of the majority to prevail but it must also acknowledge the right of minorities and protest movements to exist and express themselves, and allow heretical and deviationist ideas to be expressed. It requires consensus about respect for democratic institutions and rules, but also needs conflicts of ideas and opinions to make it lively and fruitful. Conflicts can, however, only fulfil that function if they comply with the democratic rules of conduct, which keep antagonisms in check by substituting the combat of ideas for physical combat and which decide the provisional victor among the contestants by means of debates and elections.

As to solidarity, a society cannot increase in complexity without an accompanying increase in solidarity, since more complexity means more freedoms, more opportunities for initiative and more possibilities of disorder, which can be both fruitful and destructive. Carried to extremes, disorder ceases to be fruitful and becomes mainly destructive; carried to extremes, complexity deteriorates into disintegration, the breakdown of a whole into its constituent parts. The cohesion of the whole can, of course, be maintained by reverting to coercion, but to the detriment of complexity; an integrative solution conducive to complexity can only be achieved by developing true solidarity, a solidarity that is not imposed upon people but that they feel within themselves and experience as fraternity. What is valid for any homeland, is now valid for the whole human community.

This brings us to the problem of reforming our thinking and of rethinking education. Awareness of all these issues can only be achieved when our thinking is capable of reconnecting concepts that have become disconnected and areas of knowledge that have been compartmentalized. The new areas of knowledge whereby we discover the place in the cosmos of the earth as humanity's homeland are meaningless as long as they remain separated from one another. The earth is not the sum of the planet, the biosphere and humanity. It is a complex physical, biological and anthropological totality wherein life springs forth from the history of the planet and humanity springs forth from the history of life on earth.

Piecemeal ways of thinking that split what is global into fragments naturally ignore the anthropological complex and the planet-wide context. But waving the global flag is not enough; the component parts of the global whole must be joined together in a complex, organized system of linkages, and the global whole itself must be put in context. The reform of thinking that is required is one which will generate attitudes that take account of the context and of complexity.

## A MULTIDIMENSIONAL WAY OF THINKING

As regards the context, we need to think in planet-wide terms when considering politics, economics, population questions, ecology, the preservation of biological and cultural diversities. It is not enough, however, to set all objects and events within a planet-wide "framework". What is needed is always to seek out the relationship of inseparability, interaction and feedback between any phenomenon and its context, and between any context and the planet-wide context.

As to complexity, there is a need for a way of thinking that brings together again that which has been put asunder and compartmentalized, that respects diversity whilst recognizing individuality, and that tries to discern interdependences. In other words, we need a multidimensional way of thinking, an organizing approach that takes account of the two-way relationship between the whole and its constituent parts, an approach that, instead of studying an object in isolation, examines it in and through its self-organizing relationship with its cultural, social, economic, political and natural environment, a way of thinking that acknowledges its own incompleteness and knows how to deal with uncertainty, particularly where action is involved, since action can only take place where there is uncertainty.

In the course of history we have often seen the possible become impossible, but we have also seen hopeless dreams come true and improbable events occur.

We now know that the potential of the human brain is still very largely under-exploited. Since the possibilities of social development are related to the brain's potential, no-one can say for certain that our societies' capacities for improvement and change are exhausted and that we have reached the end of history.

The anthropological and sociological possibility of progress re-establishes the principle of hope for the future, but without "scientific" certainty and without "historical" promises. It is an unsure possibility, greatly reliant upon raised awareness, willpower, courage and luck; the raising of awareness is therefore an urgent task.

We are engaged, on a world-wide scale, in life's essential undertaking, that of resisting death. Civilizing the earth and promoting solidarity, converting the human race to humanity, such is the basic, all-embracing aim of any project that aspires not only to progress for mankind but to its very survival. An awareness of our common mortality should lead us towards solidarity and reciprocal commiseration one with another, by all and for all. ■

### EDGAR MORIN

is a French sociologist who is emeritus director of research with the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). His most recent work published in English is *Towards a Study of Humankind. Vol 1: The Nature of nature* (1992).



**A** wonder tree,  
by 7-year-old  
Ulrike Terpetschnig  
(Austria).

# The road to 1945

by Chikh Bekri

*The long-cherished idea of creating peace in the minds of men took form in the watershed year of 1945*

UNESCO did not spring forth fully armed, like Athene from the head of Zeus, out of the smoking ruins of London one foggy day in November 1945. As British Prime Minister Clement Attlee said at the opening session of the London conference for the establishment of UNESCO, the idea of an intellectual organization to promote co-operation among the nations and serve the cause of mutual understanding between the peoples had been around since the French Revolution or even earlier.

The relationship between culture and peace has not always been obvious, however. It was only with the gradual establishment of democracy in the nineteenth century and the assumption of responsibility for public education by the state that the new concepts of the right to knowledge, equality of opportunity and education for all emerged.

## THE PIONEERS

In the late nineteenth century the Dutch educationist Herman Molkenboer wrote, with touching naivety, that "School is therefore the power to which the future belongs and teachers are the factors whose joint action should bring the fruits of the moral order in the universe to maturity", and the German educator Kurnig drew up a plan for peace through education.

These forerunners often found themselves swimming against the tide, without resources or supporters. At the beginning of the twentieth century they were drawn largely from associations of intellectuals and feminists. They learned to frequent the corridors of power and to lobby politicians. After the First World War, the Belgians Henri Lafontaine and Paul Otlet,

who had founded the Union of International Organisations in 1910, tried without success to persuade the politicians to create an international organization of intellectual workers. Fannie Fern Andrews, who established the American School Peace League in 1908, later worked on a project for an "International Education Bureau".

But these pioneers of culture for the sake of peace could not make themselves heard. Preparation for war was part of the training of the citizen, i.e. of culture, which, like education, remained the exclusive preserve of the state. The victors of the war made the vanquished pay dearly for their defeat, while the latter dreamed only of revenge, and thus the rise of nationalism was exacerbated by the confidence that comes from victory and the resentments that rise from defeat. The maxim "Let him who desires peace prepare for war" was quoted as a self-evident truth.

At that time, few countries paid any attention to intellectual co-operation, which was not regarded as an important, or even a useful, factor in international relations. Some governments even regarded this form of international co-operation as suspect. The Covenant of the League of Nations is silent on the subject of culture. Peace remained the preserve of politicians, diplomats and, in the last resort, the military.

## PEACE IN THE MINDS OF MEN

The Second World War was to change this situation and to win acceptance for the idea, set forth in UNESCO's constitution, that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", that "a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world", and that "the



peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.”

Most of the speeches made at UNESCO's founding conference took up this theme. The general atmosphere in London was neither one of rejoicing in victory over the forces of evil nor even one of relief at awakening from a nightmare but rather reflective and subdued. As Jaime Torres Bodet, who headed the Mexican delegation and was later to become UNESCO's second Director-General, put it, “the gratification of triumph would be madness if we were to neglect the immediate need of finding some guarantee against the recurrence of such perils”. The fear of a war that would annihilate human life on earth was in everyone's mind, and Archibald MacLeish, the leader of the United States delegation gave direct expression to it when he told the delegates: “We must choose to live together or we must choose, quite literally, not to live.”

### CULTURE FOR PEACE

Tribute was also unanimously paid to the courage shown and the sacrifices made by intellectuals and to their decisive contribution to the triumph of democracy. In her opening address, British Minister of Education Ellen Wilkinson, who was President of the Conference, referred to the part intellectuals had played in these words: “In every land which the totalitarians overran, it was the intellectual who was picked out first to face the firing squad—teacher, priest, professor. The men who meant to rule the world knew that first they must kill those who tried to keep thought free”.

The founding fathers also knew that culture in itself was not enough to guarantee peace. The totalitarian ideologies had been thought out by philosophers before being put into practice by politicians, and the deadliest weapons—whose devastating effects conference delegates could see for themselves in London—had been devised and developed by scientists before being used by the military.

Knowledge cannot do without morality. War, even more than a matter of armies, is a matter of ideologies. As Léon Blum, Associate President of the Conference, said, the war “has shown us how education, culture (in the strict sense) and science itself may be distorted against the common interests of humanity. . . . Expansion and perfecting [them] are therefore not enough. These institutions must be steered in the direction of that ‘ideology’ of democracy and progress which is the psychological condition and psychological basis of international solidarity and peace.”

### FROM UTOPIA TO THE CULTURE OF PEACE

The British scientist Julian Huxley, who in 1946 became UNESCO's first Director-General, was asked to draft a document on the new organization, to which he gave the title *UNESCO, its purpose and its philosophy*. The goal that Huxley set for UNESCO was not only that of preserving the peace, which is obviously the ultimate aim of the whole United Nations system, but of contributing thereby to the fulfilment of humanity, of those unique beings who have still to explore and exploit all their possibilities but who are hindered in so doing by the obstacles they have themselves raised, in the form of beliefs, ideologies, cultures and so forth, which Huxley regarded as the root cause of the divergences between them, of conflicts and of wars.

Arguing from the viewpoint of an agnostic biologist, Huxley was convinced that it was not by integrating all cultures and all beliefs, with their differences and contradictions, that UNESCO could help to usher in peace as humanity's natural state, since it would be lacking that which he considered essential, a coherent overall philosophy in conformity with its ideal. No philosophical, religious, social, political or economic system in the world could of itself satisfy the ultimate purposes of the new organization. The dream of this scientist, whose view of humanity was both optimistic and utopian, was to lay the foundations of an organization that would “help the peoples of the world to mutual understanding and to a realisation of the common humanity and common tasks which they share, as opposed to the nationalisms which too often tend to isolate and separate them.”

But Huxley's ideas were rejected. Most of the delegates to the London conference wanted UNESCO to preserve the diversity of identities and cultures. As the French jurist René Cassin, the guiding spirit behind UNESCO's Constitution, was to say, summing up the founders' viewpoint, the new organization should not “affirm any uniform philosophy, which would strike a blow at the diversity of thinking, not only of nations but even of individuals”.

### NO SCIENCE WITHOUT CONSCIENCE

What sets UNESCO apart within the United Nations system is not only its intellectual nature but above all its moral basis. For the founding fathers in London, it was above all an ethical organization operating in a technical field: the conscience of the world, as Jaime Torres Bodet liked to call it. Its main task along the hard road to peace is to contribute to the qualitative improve-



**D**ream,  
by 7-year-old Xiao Han  
Qiu (China).

ment of humanity through education, science and culture, to put the relations between individuals and peoples on a moral footing, and to help to establish greater justice, fraternity, understanding and solidarity among them.

Paulo de Berrêdo Carneiro, another eminent figure in UNESCO's history, insisted that "We cannot regulate the human forces conducive to peace save by establishing above purely political authority a spiritual force common to all peoples".

### NO PEACE WITHOUT DEVELOPMENT

UNESCO's founders specified in its Constitution the paths it should follow in order to reach out towards the peoples, not over the heads of the states but through those in government. These paths are followed by educators, scientists, writers and artists, working under the aegis of UNESCO National Commissions and their committees, within non-governmental organizations, among the general population, young and old, within UNESCO Clubs and Associated Schools, in short, in the whole of civil society and among its

elites—a vast field of operations in which to sow the fragile seed of peace in the minds of men.

But culture alone is not enough, for the hungry have no ears to hear, and nothing is more terrible than culture when it makes educated people aware of their unjust situation as those whom fate has forgotten. The founding fathers knew and said these things. Torres Bodet ended his remarks with the following words: "The world is waiting for something more than the delimitation of frontiers and zones of influence, something more than a system of agreements for the exploitation and marketing of its products, something more, in short, than an interim system of security. It is looking for the establishment of a new kind of relationship between nations and between men. Hence the urgency of assigning a common denominator to its development. And that common denominator can be supplied only by the moral solidarity of mankind acting through knowledge and on the basis of education. ■"

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**CHIKH BEKRI**,  
of Algeria, was an Assistant Director-General of UNESCO  
from 1976 to 1987. He is the author of *L'UNESCO: 'une  
entreprise erronée'?* (Publisud, Paris, 1991).

# UNESCO's programme for peace

by Ahmed Saleh Sayyad

*A strategy to influence attitudes and act on the root causes of conflict*

Peace-keeping is a function of the United Nations Organization. Peace-building, an activity concerning the human conscience and the moral and intellectual foundations of human behaviour, is a task which is incumbent on UNESCO. The level on which UNESCO exercises these responsibilities is that of culture as it is expressed in everyday life. Culture must be inspired and informed by the ideal of peace.

The American poet Archibald MacLeish, who played a leading part in the drafting of UNESCO's Constitution, described what the idea of peace meant to him—and to UNESCO's founders—in the following words. "Peace . . . is a process and a condition," he wrote, "not a static objective periodically achieved and lost. It is a condition of mutual confidence, harmony of purpose, and co-ordination of activities in which free men and women can live a satisfactory life . . . in which war is affirmatively prevented by the dynamic and purposeful creation of a human and social order between the people of the world, in which the incentives to war are neutralized by the human and spiritual advances created and achieved."

Alfredo Cristiani, the President of El Salvador, believes that the culture of peace is simply the "culture of life", while UNESCO's Director-General, Federico Mayor, regards it as "a way of living one's everyday life".

## A NEW PERSPECTIVE

In the Medium-Term Strategy (1996-2001) being submitted to UNESCO's General Confer-

ence the culture of peace is defined as "all the values, attitudes and forms of behaviour, ways of life and of acting that reflect, and are inspired by, respect for life and for human beings and their dignity and rights, the rejection of violence and commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and understanding among peoples and between groups and individuals."

These are tasks that must be performed by all categories of civil society. But it is quite natural that teachers and intellectuals (poets, writers and creative artists) should play a leading role in developing the ideas and values underlying this process. They can also use their knowledge and creative powers to inform the rest of society and infuse these values into the lives of their contemporaries.

Peace, like war, makes its own demands. It implies a new way of looking at traditional modes of thought which still abound in warlike references—epic tales that extoll the courage of warriors, monuments commemorating battles, school books that teach children the illustrious exploits of soldiers, history books describing world wars, civil wars and holy wars.

## A LONG-TERM JOB

Peace also calls for a large-scale programme to eradicate the poverty, inequality and discrimination that give rise to the violence which fuels the conflicts of today. Many peoples and societies are familiar with a state of political and social instability that could lead to terrible racial, ethnic or religious confrontations. The gap is widening between the haves and the have-nots. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are too often scorned. These trends have led

UNESCO to take the initiative by contributing to national and international projects that promote the search for common ground and bases for compromise. These projects involve steps that UNESCO can take to isolate conflicts before they degenerate into violence, and in cases where they have already done so, to help contain them and to cope with their consequences.

This means creating an environment of justice and social harmony, building confidence between states and peoples, reflecting on the remote or immediate causes of conflicts and seeking solutions that short-circuit temptation to violence, by means of cultural activities, education, communication and legislation.

### IN THE FIELD

“A culture of peace cannot be imposed from outside. It must be a process that grows out of the people themselves and develops differently in each country depending on its history, cultures and traditions.” This statement from UNESCO’s Action programme to promote a culture of peace, launched in 1993, reveals the dynamics of a concept which is beginning to take practical shape.

UNESCO’s first steps in this field took place in El Salvador, where the “First International Forum on the Culture of Peace” was held in San Salvador in February 1994. The previous year a “Forum for Education and Culture of Peace” organized in the same country had led to a nation-wide programme the goal of which

was to contribute to the “country’s economic, social and cultural renewal”.

In Mozambique a “Peace consolidation programme” has been organized with the authorities, non-governmental organizations and local community associations. It covers a wide range of activities including adult literacy work, the social reintegration of demobilized soldiers, the promotion of folk culture, radio programmes and cultural exchanges between young people.

In Burundi a “National Symposium on the Culture of Peace” gave an opportunity for a broad spectrum of socio-professional groups, political organizations and associations to reflect on “problems connected with the interdependence of democracy, human rights, peace and development in the Burundi cultural context”.

Other experiences in the Congo and Somalia have enabled UNESCO to develop various steps by which bellicose attitudes can gradually give way to a spirit of compromise and reconciliation.

### A RECONCILIATION PLAN IN THE CONGO

A forum on the theme “Intercommunity dialogue for peace, democracy and sustainable development” was held in Brazzaville in December 1994. It was organized jointly by the government of the Republic of the Congo and UNESCO. Discussions focused on the questions of how to integrate the mechanisms for



*The earth weeps,*  
by 14-year-old Rita Yamashita  
(Japan)

## UNESCO'S CULTURE OF PEACE PROGRAMME

In response to the challenge of peace-building contained in the UN Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace, UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme is playing a dynamic role in three priority areas: conflict prevention, emergency assistance, and strengthening the process of post-conflict reconciliation.

### For further information, please contact:

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conflict-settlement that exist in traditional societies into the new democratic process, the role of democratic institutions in peace-building between ethnic groups and the ways in which political parties can support social integration.

The action plan "for promoting a culture of peace" that was devised after the Forum suggests a series of measures that could be adopted either to prevent conflicts or to encourage reconciliation. The plan is based on the mobilization of intellectuals, artists, educators and journalists. Among the measures it proposes are providing support for research programmes on pre-conflict situations and on the traditions of dialogue and past experience in solving conflicts; monitoring the ways in which different communities respect cultural, social and political rights; and upgrading road, rural radio and telephone systems to improve communications between rural and urban areas.

Steps are also to be taken to improve the status of women, who have often acted as conciliators in traditional African societies, and to educate young people by developing and distributing teaching aids and aiding schools and universities.

There are also plans to encourage disarmament and the disbanding of private militias, and to speed up the reintegration of young militia recruits into civilian life and the integration of

unemployed young people and disaster victims into society.

## RECONCILIATION IN SOMALIA

A Symposium on the Culture of Peace in Somalia, organized on UNESCO's initiative, was held from 17 to 20 April 1995 in Sana'a (Yemen). It was attended by about seventy Somali intellectuals and professional people (some living in Somalia, others belonging to the Somali diaspora), representatives of the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, a number of UN bodies, international organizations and donor countries. There were three main items on the agenda: rebuilding Somali society, rehabilitating the state and reintegrating the country into the international community.

The Symposium was part of a broader framework of activities deployed in Somalia by UNESCO, which in the last two years has organized 55 teacher training workshops (in many parts of Somalia and in refugee camps in neighbouring countries), printed 850,000 school books and handbooks for teachers, and distributed emergency teaching materials.

However, the war has caused incalculable damage. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed; families were destroyed; people displaced and children orphaned. All the traditional values of African civilization have been overthrown. The only schooling for young people was training in handling weapons. The elders who had settled conflicts in the past were no longer listened to. Many people sought protection in a clan. Despite the efforts of many villages, violent tribalism replaced the traditional mechanisms of peaceful dialogue between ethnic groups.

The participants in the Sana'a Symposium emphasized the need to combine tradition with modernity in order to build a new way of living together. Political pluralism, power sharing and a developing democratic system should find a source of ideas in certain kinds of traditional village democracy that still exist today.

As in the Congo and in any other country seeking the path of reconciliation, steps must be taken towards disarmament, administrative restructuring and educational reform. In short, Somalis must learn again how to live in peace. ■

### AHMED SALEH SAYYAD

is the permanent delegate to UNESCO of the Republic of Yemen and president of UNESCO's General Conference.





# Demilitarizing military service

by Anne Baer

## *Community service as a humanitarian alternative to military conscription*

In many countries the army is an organized and efficient structure and can play an important role in development. Both in the North and the South, young people who are called up to do military service have often done civilian jobs. They have built roads in Ethiopia and Yemen and bridges in Guatemala. In the United States they have joined in the war on drug abuse and taken part in inner city resettlement programmes. In Venezuela, Colombia and some other Latin American countries, they have taken part in literacy schemes. They have worked on environmental projects in the

**T**he good life on earth,  
by 11-year-old Prajird  
Sangthong (Thailand).



Himalayas and reforestation projects in the Algerian Sahara.

In most developed countries where compulsory military service still exists it is becoming increasingly unpopular. Each year more and more young people register as conscientious objectors. These countries are reducing troop numbers, partly because the Cold War is over and partly because their public finances are in a critical situation. They are also reducing the length of military service.

The notion of security has changed. It has assumed new dimensions. The main threats to security now come from within, in the shape of unemployment, poverty, environmental degradation and social exclusion. People are starting to hope for a form of security that would be guaranteed by sustainable human development and rooted in tolerance and solidarity and not in a balance of terror.

Exclusively military service could and should now be replaced by a form of civilian service which is not based on national defence but extends to social life, to the environment and the development of disadvantaged countries. Although the principle of compulsory military service would be maintained, its conception and practice would be rethought. The proposed range of activities would be so wide that it would stimulate young people's interest in national service and community life. Community service could be acceptable to the hundreds of thousands of young people who object to carrying weapons and refuse to perform military duties.

There are many solid social and economic arguments in favour of community service. The time spent by a conscript in the army costs money. This is why lack of financial resources is leading some armies to discharge more and more young people of military age and in some cases to abolish conscription outright. A conscript who does community service costs less than one who serves in the armed forces.



**Untitled,**  
by 16-year-old  
Destin Rolex (Haiti)

## War machines used for peace

In the last few months UNESCO has been helping young people and athletes in poor countries to benefit from contributions in kind and from services offered by the armed forces of the industrialized nations.

Tens of thousands of balls, shoes, shorts and shirts given to UNESCO by sportswear manufacturers like Nike and Adidas have been delivered free of charge by the French Navy and Air Force to Madagascar and Guinea, where they were handed over to children taking part in school-based and extracurricular "Sport for all" programmes. UNESCO and the International Military Sports Council are co-operating to extend the scope and range of operations of this type.

Meanwhile, the Swiss Army, via UNESCO's Special Fund for Youth, has made a gift of 31 jeeps and minibuses (worth \$160,000) that had been taken out of active service. These vehicles have been adapted for use in socio-educative projects in Madagascar, Uzbekistan and Romania.

Re-utilizing military equipment for peaceful ends is one highly practical contribution to a culture of peace.

Division of Youth and Sports Activities  
UNESCO ■

Another advantage of community service is that it offers young people useful openings that may guide them towards a career. Before embarking on an expensive course of studies that would perhaps lead nowhere, a conscript who opts for community service can acquire experience and skills that may be useful in a job. Community service, whether at home or abroad, is useful in itself and may lead to something.

The conventional type of military service, in which all conscripts are supposed to be on an equal footing, itself provides an exceptional opportunity for young people of different backgrounds to meet. Community service is an even stronger encouragement to become a full member of society, as well as being a catalyst for democratic mixing. The young conscript who opts for community service will come into contact with elderly people, delinquents, drug addicts and problem children. He will learn to cope with new situations, and will make plenty of useful contacts. Independent of environmental or development considerations, the demilitarization of compulsory national service may be a first tentative step towards a solution of such contemporary social and human problems as the crisis of solidarity, racism, exclusion, urban malaise, youth unemployment and drug abuse.

Conscripts who choose to perform community service in a developing country of the South must be thoroughly prepared beforehand. But this form of service is worthwhile because young people may become closely attached to the host environment and become a major asset to another kind of co-operation, involving more modest resources but bolder objectives, with local populations.

The provision of new forms of national service is certainly not risk-free. The availability of "free" human resources may lead to abuses. In various parts of the world large-scale public works projects supposedly of national interest have sometimes been carried out by dragging people in an arbitrary fashion. Other risks may appear on a smaller scale. A conscript attached to the civil service, a business firm or an association may be required to do jobs that are useful to an elected local politician and not to the community at large. Nor should young conscripts be asked to do work that prevents young people in the host country from doing the same type of job. In other words, there must be rigorous controls. ■

**ANNE BAER,**  
of Israel, is a UNESCO consultant who is currently preparing a doctorate in development economics.

# PEACE- MAKERS

HONoured BY UNESCO

1991

NELSON MANDELA AND FREDERIK WILLEM DE KLERK

1992

THE HAGUE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

1993

YITZHAK RABIN, SHIMON PERES AND YASSER ARAFAT

1994

JIMMY CARTER AND JUAN CARLOS I

The collapse of the two-bloc world system brought to an end a long period of immobility.

However uneasy and unpredictable the current situation may be, it is more open to individual human effort, especially on the part of remarkable personalities who, through their commitment to peace, have given new momentum to situations that seemed to be at a standstill. On the following pages are thumbnail sketches of some of these peacemakers who have been awarded UNESCO's Félix Houphouët-Boigny Peace Prize.

**Nelson Mandela, a giant of our time**  
*by Tahar Ben Jelloun*

**Frederik Willem de Klerk, a conservative revolutionary**  
*by Anthony Johnson*

**Shimon Peres, passion and patience**  
*by Charles Enderlin*

**Yitzhak Rabin, a hawk with the wings of a dove**  
*by Luc Beyer de Ryke*

**Yasser Arafat, the father of Palestine**  
*by Lotfi El-Kholy*

**Jimmy Carter, the pilgrim-president**  
*by Flora Lewis*

**Juan Carlos I, the democratic king**  
*by Ramón Luis Acuña*



# NELSON MANDELA

*a giant of our time*



In 1994, the year in which he was elected President of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela visited Robben Island where he had been imprisoned for many years.

**I**t requires great humility to write about someone who has spent his whole life on a long march in the name of dignity. First, there is the dignity of his people, which was fated to live under the laws of apartheid, one of the most barbaric systems this century has known. Then there is the dignity of the man himself, whose whole being is informed by passion and by the daily fight for freedom. Everything about him is redolent of the land, love of the land and love of justice. He is a tree as old as the sea; he is a forest as dense and as demanding as the urge for eternity. The blood that runs in his veins is neither black nor white but red, reminding us that there is no such thing as race, that it was invented by racists.

## THE DILEMMA OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Nelson Mandela has left his stamp on the twentieth century. More than that, he has given it a meaning. Human but not all too human, and obsessive in his respect for law and justice, he has succeeded in being a unique individual at the same time as the symbol of a people who recognized themselves in him before they had even chosen him through the democratic channel of the ballot box. In Africa and beyond, in the memory of those who suffer, those whose voices still carry the echo of a wound that has never healed, the voices of those tossed into the mass grave of ordinary massacres or suffocated in a jute sack thrown from an express train, Mandela exemplifies a determination that nothing could crush, a passion that nothing could discourage.

Prison, humiliation, petty harassment and attempts to undermine his morale did not succeed in shaking his

conviction that freedom could not be achieved without a struggle. And he had a particular kind of freedom in mind, not one that is deceptively packaged to look attractive, yet is actually full of illusions. In his eyes, freedom is a non-negotiable value inseparable from dignity and pregnant with responsibility.

That unshakeable conviction prompted Mandela, at a meeting in June 1961, after the half-failure of the stay-at-home strike, to address the question of armed struggle. He felt like a man attacked by a wild beast in a forest, and used an old African expression: "The attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted only by bare hands".

At that time he realized that a policy aimed at creating a non-racial state by non-violent means had failed, that his comrades were beginning to lose confidence, and that they were flirting alarmingly with the idea of terrorism. Mandela, who has been compared to Gandhi, yielded to the reality principle; he preferred to forego the non-violence which he would have preferred, but which had proved inadequate in the context of a state founded on total racial segregation and great brutality.

Yet he did not wish an extension of violence. He knew that "with civil war racial peace would be more difficult than ever to achieve. . . . How much longer would it take to eradicate the scars of inter-racial war, which could not be fought without a great loss of life on both sides?"

## WESTMINSTER IN SOUTH AFRICA

At the time when he accepted the need for armed resistance, Mandela was already thinking about later developments—the need for reconciliation and the possible shape of South African democracy. He opted unequivocally for a Western parliamentary system: "I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world," he said, "and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration." He disagreed unbendingly with those who thought that system could not be adapted to Africa, who preferred a one-party, totalitarian regime on the grounds that it was what Africans needed, and who rejected the universality of such values as freedom and the rule of law in order better to impose forms of apartheid that suited them. Soon after he had been released from jail, Mandela reportedly said to a journalist: "Yes, I want Westminster here in my country!"

**TAHAR BEN JELLOUN** is a Moroccan-born novelist and poet who writes in French. Several of his works have been published in English translation, including *The Sacred Night* (1989), which won the 1987 Goncourt Prize, *Silent Day in Tangier* (1991) and *The Sand Child* (1987).

# by Tahar Ben Jelloun

Mandela has never allowed the demands of the collective struggle to take precedence over the need to respect the rights of the individual. Individuals are singular entities, whether they live in London, Paris, Cairo or Soweto. They need freedom in order to exist. It may be a commonplace to say so, but that simple fact is not to everyone's taste. In the past, people took to the streets because they were hungry. Today, they demonstrate and risk their lives for principles. The notion of the individual is a value that is beginning to take shape in many countries where clans or tribes have so far had it their own way, and where people's rights are trampled on and violated in the name of the community. The emergence of the individual heralds the beginning of self-fulfilment for the peoples of those countries: they will increasingly endow themselves with sound political structures and reject those providential "fathers of the nation" who are very soon intoxicated and corrupted by absolute power—and have an unfortunate tendency to regard the coffers of state as their personal property.

Mandela realized very early on that the best way to neutralize the political parasites who are so quick to rob peoples of the fruits of their struggle was to make the system universally democratic. What holds for whites naturally also holds for blacks. It is a simple equation, yet it took decades of fighting and tens of thousands of deaths for that notion of equality between human beings to carry conviction with the South African leadership. That Mandela never doubted that it would, even at the height of a relentless struggle, even in the loneliness of his prison cell, is the most miraculous thing of all. The South African people were doubly fortunate in having Mandela to guide them during that struggle and Frederik de Klerk to play for the very high stakes of reconciliation within an equal society.

## A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

The fact that mammoth tasks remain to be carried out does not in any way diminish the magnitude of the two men's achievement. The decisive step came with the abolition of apartheid and the arrival in power of a former prisoner who was capable of showing his jailers the road to freedom. By way of conclusion to his autobiography, Mandela writes: "It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and

black. . . . A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. . . . The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity." What a prodigious reversal of the situation, where a man who emerges from the long night of imprisonment decides that those who held him prisoner should also be freed.

Mandela is an awe-inspiring historic figure. He has become so strongly identified with his people that anything he experiences personally, whether it be victory, honours or happiness, is immediately passed on to his people as though they were its natural recipients—to those faces which have escaped attempts to enslave them, to those hands which have thrown off the shackles of unhappiness, to those anonymous bodies that run through the streets of shanty towns in search of work and self-respect. Mandela is a very unusual statesman in the extent to which he is a man of his people; he has both emerged from his people and symbolizes them. That is why he is one of the giants of the twentieth century. He would probably reject the description, but it is no exaggeration. ■

A jubilant Nelson Mandela on 2 May 1994 after the announcement of the victory of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa's first all-party democratic elections.



# FREDERIK WILLEM DE KLERK

*a conservative revolutionary*

by Anthony Johnson

**F**rederik Willem de Klerk must be one of the few leaders in the world of politics to have voluntarily set in motion events resulting in the inevitable surrender of his personal power and the demise of his government. Just a few short months after he became leader of the then ruling National Party (NP) in South Africa in 1979, he embarked on a bold gamble which ushered in an era of rapid transformation which saw the nation reinventing itself after more than three decades of apartheid rule.

The decision of the former State President in early 1990 to unban political parties representing the majority of unenfranchised South Africans, release Nelson Mandela and hundreds of other political prisoners and follow the route of peaceful negotiation, virtually ensured that he would become South Africa's last white president.

By playing a pivotal role in breaking the mould of race-based politics, De Klerk paved the way for South Africa's peaceful revolution at the very time when many observers believed the country was headed for a period of unparalleled strife and inter-racial conflict.

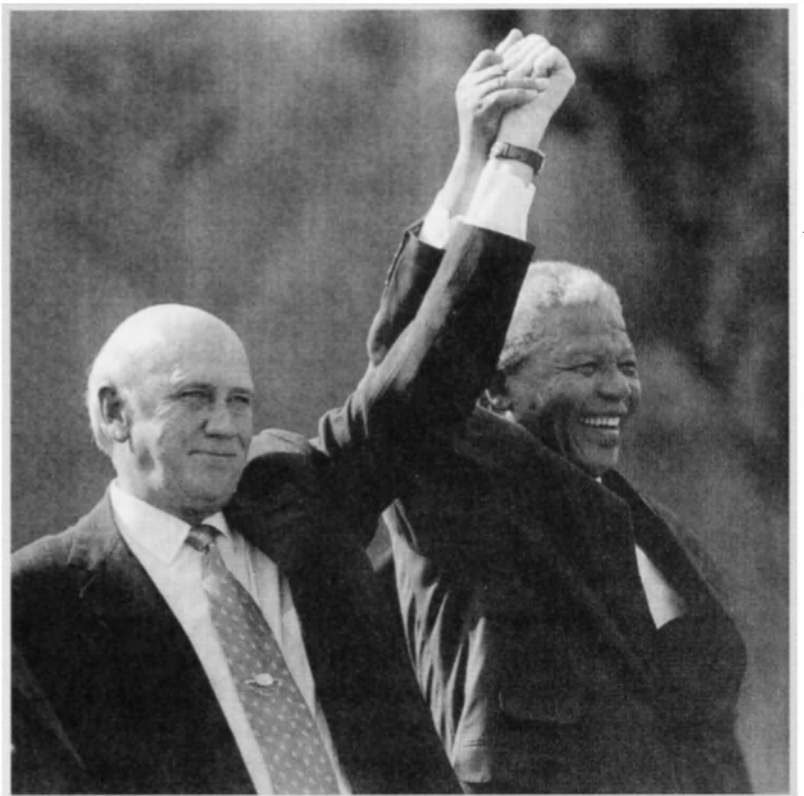
The fifty-eight-year-old politician—now deputy executive president in South Africa's government of national unity—is still confronted with the fears and grumbles of NP supporters grown used to the security and patronage that comes from having forty-five years of virtually untrammelled power.

Despite his demotion as a result of the sweeping election victory won by the African National Congress (ANC) in the country's first democratic elections, in April 1994, De Klerk maintains that his job satisfaction is as high as ever. He emphasizes that he does not lie awake at night worrying about whether he has chosen the correct course.

To this day, however, many political observers and even colleagues find it hard to explain how a man with the political background and track record of F.W. de Klerk was capable of the momentous changes which transformed the very fabric of South African society.

## LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON?

De Klerk comes from a family environment in which the conservatism of traditional white South African politics is deeply ingrained. His great-grandfather was a



Vice-President Frederik de Klerk and newly-elected President Nelson Mandela on 10 May 1994.

Senator, his grandfather stood twice for the white parliament unsuccessfully, and his aunt was married to NP Prime Minister J. G. Strydom. In 1948, the year when the NP swept to power in whites-only elections on an apartheid ticket, F. W. de Klerk's father, Jan de Klerk, became secretary of the NP in the Transvaal province and later rose to the positions of cabinet minister and President of the Senate.

After receiving his early political training in the youth section of the NP, De Klerk became a Member of Parliament in 1972 and was appointed to the first of his many cabinet portfolios in 1978. Significantly, he became leader of the NP in the politically conservative Transvaal province in 1982—the year when a split in the ruling party resulted in the formation of the far right-wing Conservative Party.

During his eleven years in the cabinet before becoming NP leader, De Klerk demonstrated that he was a highly effective politician but showed few signs of being a great reformer-in-the-making. When political scientists and analysts categorized cabinet ministers during the 1980s into those who were hardline or enlightened in their thinking on racial matters, De Klerk was rarely placed in the latter grouping.

In Parliament De Klerk assumed the mantle of the champion of "own affairs"—a euphemism for apartheid—and he betrayed very few liberal tenden-

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**ANTHONY JOHNSON**, a South African journalist and university teacher, is the political correspondent of the *Cape Times* newspaper in Cape Town.

cies in his handling of the many portfolios with which he was entrusted. But his colleagues recall that De Klerk was a wily political operator who refused to become too closely identified with the ideological camps that emerged during the frequent debates over the future of the country. This no doubt gave him greater room to manoeuvre when he took over the leadership of the NP at the end of the past decade from an ailing P.W. Botha.

## A BURST OF REFORM

The courage and speed with which De Klerk as new NP leader and State President went about transforming the apartheid state left many observers wondering whether he had undergone some sort of religious, Damascus-Road-type of experience. De Klerk has always denied that the burst of reform that he ushered in—culminating in his opening address to Parliament on 2 February 1990 in which he summarily ended the thirty-year ban on political movements representing the unenfranchised black majority—was the result of a sudden revelation. He has endeavoured instead to spread the credit for the changes, insisting that the new NP was really born in 1986 when a special federal congress of the party approved, in broad principle, the concept of political power-sharing between whites and non-whites.

However, De Klerk confidants and party insiders say the NP leader realized when given the responsibility of office that the white minority and its surrogates could wage an eighty-year war in a bid to stave off black majority rule but would eventually lose.

A series of other momentous events on the international scene—the demise of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and also the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola—no doubt created a climate in which reform in South Africa was seen by the NP hierarchy as less threatening. Whatever the complex dynamics which spurred De Klerk and other political leaders in South Africa to opt for peaceful negotiations instead of naked confrontation, the international community was anxious to assist the process and acknowledge those leaders who had the courage to choose the peaceful options.

## WHAT PRICE PEACE?

De Klerk lists the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with Nelson Mandela) as one of the important milestones of his political career. Nevertheless, he is adamant that the fateful day in 1989 when he became the leader of the NP was the proudest moment in his public life. He notes that none of the dramatic changes which followed in the ruling party would have taken place when they did had he not been entrusted with the leadership of the NP. He certainly could not have had a better foil than the hard-nosed and authoritarian P. W. Botha, who ran the party with an iron hand.

During his steady rise in the NP, De Klerk was even regarded as something of a fence-sitter. On the other

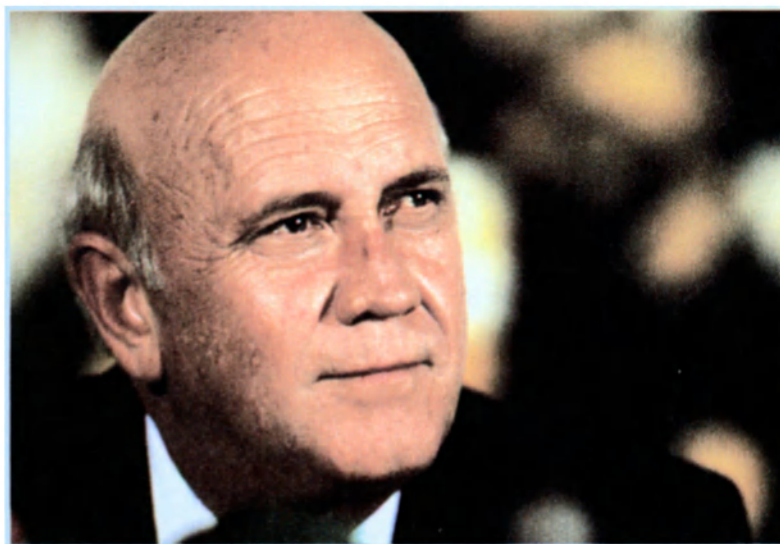
hand, his undoubted intellectual ability—as well as his logical and relatively unemotional approach to problems—was highly regarded in party circles. Colleagues are fond of recounting how after hours of often divisive and heated discussion De Klerk would be invited to summarize the feelings of the meeting in a few crisp sentences or a resolution. This he was almost invariably able to do, leaving colleagues wondering what they had been arguing about for so long.

These skills in finding compromise solutions and maintaining a clear head during the heat of debate stood De Klerk in good stead during the years of multi-party constitutional negotiations and bilateral talks with the ANC that preceded the April 1994 elections. At a time when a number of his colleagues were suffering burn-out under the intense pressure of rapid change and his supporters were voicing grave reservations about the course of the talks, De Klerk remained unflappable and maintained his faith in the negotiation process.

A number of the four million voters who backed De Klerk and his party in the April 1994 elections are uncomfortable with the comparatively low profile he has adopted since becoming one of the two executive deputy presidents in South Africa's government of national unity (the other being Thabo Mbeki). They would also like him to be more strident in his criticism of the ANC, which many have been brought up to regard as "the enemy".

Because of the hectic schedules of President Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, De Klerk is often required to chair cabinet committee meetings and is also the chairperson of the hugely influential cabinet security committee. He dismisses criticism that he is a spent political force or has lost interest in politics since surrendering office to Nelson Mandela. He insists that he has as great a role to play in forging the new South Africa as ever, and remains upbeat about the course the country is following. He told Parliament recently that despite a number of problems confronting South Africa, the country remained well placed to develop its "rainbow nation" into a successful co-operative society. ■

Frederik de Klerk, then President of the Republic of South Africa, during a visit to Paris in 1990.



# THE HAGUE ACADEMY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

One of the world's most prestigious centres for the study and teaching of public and private international law, The Hague Academy of International Law is distinguished by a spirit of freedom and respect for others which is very close to that of the great international organizations and especially to the United Nations and its judicial organ, the International Court of Justice.

Founded in 1913 in Paris, it began its work in 1923 in The Hague, at the Peace Palace, which is also the seat of the International Court of Justice. Its aim is to spread and deepen knowledge of international law in order to promote peace and goodwill between peoples and to help to ensure that disputes between states are solved through negotiation and not through violence.

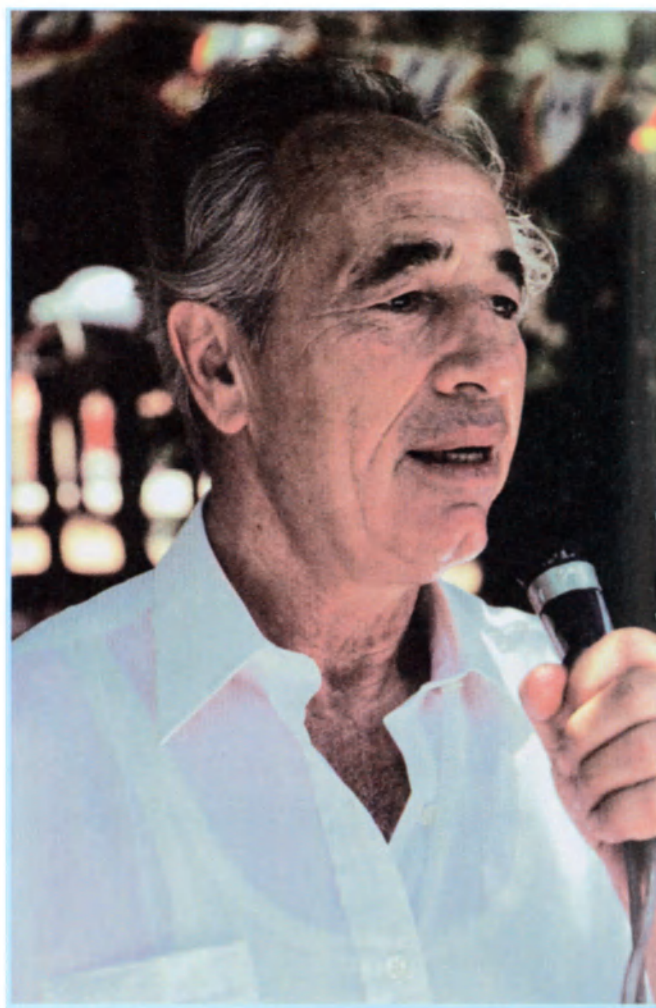
Lectures are given at the Peace Palace by well-known lawyers from all regions of the world and cover the theory and practice of international law as well as international legislation and jurisprudence.

The *Collected Courses* of the Academy, amounting to over 230 volumes, form a unique collection which enjoys very high prestige. In co-operation with the United Nations University (UNU), the Academy has organized workshops on major themes of concern to governments all over the world.

The Academy's external programme enables it to extend its promotional activities in international law in support of peace and human rights to Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The working languages of the Academy are French and English. ■

Shimon Peres,  
Prime Minister  
of Israel's  
government of  
national unity  
in 1984.



In February 1981, a few months before the general election, Shimon Peres, then head of the Israeli Labour Party, was optimistic. At last all the polls put him in the lead. Secretly, with a few advisors, he began preparing his programme. His first hundred days as prime minister would transform Israel and the Middle East. He left for London where a secret meeting had been arranged with Jordan's King Hussein.

The two men already knew each other. They had met several times since the end of the October War<sup>1</sup>. But the chances of a real breakthrough now seemed much more likely.

After the London meeting, Shimon Peres left for Casablanca via Paris where the French authorities had arranged a secret meeting with King Hassan II of Morocco. The Israeli Labour leader told Hassan II that if elected he would propose placing Jerusalem's holy mosques under the joint responsibility of Saudi Arabia and Morocco. When he returned to Israel, Peres believed that at last things were going to change.

But the election campaign proved to be one of the hardest ever fought in Israel. The right threw waves of turbulent supporters into the midst of election rallies for Peres, who more than once had to beat a retreat under a hail of tomatoes. He lost the elections. Demoralized, he went through a dark period that was made



# SHIMON PERES

## *passion and patience*

by Charles Enderlin

worse by the war in Lebanon<sup>2</sup>. He emerged from his depression only in 1984 on the eve of a new general election.

### A STATE OF GRACE

When the campaign opened, opinion polls gave the Labour Party a twenty-four-seat lead. But once again Peres's enemies were unrelenting in their attacks, and each day the polls showed that Labour's lead was slipping away. The final result was a draw between the coalition of rightist parties—the Likud—and Labour. They decided to share power. Peres would be Prime Minister for just over two years, and Yitzhak Shamir would be his Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then they would swap places until the next elections.

At long last, Peres became prime minister. Although his hands were tied by his deal with Likud, he could still prove his worth. Within a few weeks he had launched an economic programme that drastically reduced inflation. His Minister of Defence, Yitzhak Rabin, directed the Israeli retreat from Lebanon that had begun in July 1983. The army redeployed in a security zone ten kilometres deep along the Israeli border in Lebanese territory. Things quietened down. This was a period of grace for Peres with Israeli public opinion.

He next tried to get peace negotiations going again. He made secret contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). A senior Israeli official was sent to Tunis to sound out Yasser Arafat's intentions, but the PLO was not ready and so Peres turned to his old idea of a compromise with Jordan. To King Hussein he proposed setting up a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that would negotiate within the framework of an international conference. But neither the king of Jordan nor the king of Morocco could commit themselves to negotiations with Israel with only a few months remaining before Yitzhak Shamir took over the Israeli leadership. Another opportunity was lost.

Applauded for his management and fêted by the Israeli public and many foreign friends, Peres left the premiership to become Minister of Foreign Affairs. Furthering the peace process remained his main objective, but he had to pursue it by more devious means.



Shimon Peres with  
Yasser Arafat in  
Brussels in  
November 1994.

On 11 April 1987 he had another secret meeting in London with Hussein of Jordan. The two men reached a three-part agreement on the calling of an international conference on the Middle East, the creation of bilateral regional commissions, and the procedure for talks. The London accord was submitted to the Reagan administration, which sent it to the Israeli and Jordanian governments as if it were an American initiative. But Likud rejected the proposals out of hand.

### TIME TO THINK

A few months later, in December 1987, the *Intifada*<sup>3</sup>—the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories—began. Shamir was in favour of letting the storm blow over, but Peres was convinced that only peace negotiations would bring a return to calm. He began preparing for the next elections, due to be held in 1988. Labour presented a plan for a partial retreat from Lebanon. Likud accused Peres of wanting a sell-out.

Events were not on the Labour Party's side. Forty-eight hours before the election, a Jewish family died in an attack in Jericho. There was a backlash. Shamir's party won forty seats; while Labour captured only thirty-nine. Once again a coalition government was formed, but this time on Likud's conditions. Shamir would not share the premiership. Peres tried to bring down the government with a no-confidence motion in parliament but in the ensuing crisis proved unable to

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**CHARLES ENDERLIN** is a French journalist who reports from Jerusalem for the French television channel France 2. He is the author of *Shamir* (Olivier Orban publishers, Paris, 1991).

form a new government. On 11 June a right-wing government was presented to the Knesset<sup>1</sup>, and the Labour Party went back into opposition.

They remained in opposition for another two years—time enough to think, and time enough for the situation in the Middle East to change, after the Gulf War, and the Madrid Peace Conference which opened in October 1991. In the meantime Shimon Peres was challenged by his long-time rival Yitzhak Rabin, who supported his bid for the Labour Party leadership with the argument that three failures at the polls were more than enough. The party activists opted for Rabin, and Peres became the party's second in command.

In 1992 Labour based its election campaign almost uniquely on Rabin's personality, emphasizing that he had been the victorious general in the Six Day War<sup>2</sup> and the Defence Minister who had contained the *Intifada*. For the first time in fourteen years Likud went into opposition. Peres again became Minister of Foreign Affairs, and most important of all relaunched peace negotiations.

On 16 November he went on an official visit to Egypt. He asked his hosts to let the PLO know that he was ready for a new dialogue. Even Prime Minister Rabin did not know of this. On 1 December the Knesset repealed a law that forbade all contact with the PLO. Three days later Ya'ir Hirschfeld, a left-wing Israeli university professor, met a PLO official, Abu Ala', in London. The two men decided to begin secret discussions in Oslo, Norway. The meeting began on 20 January 1993. Peres was informed a few days later. He in turn informed Rabin, who decided to let the discussions go ahead, although at first he did not think they had much chance of success.

## THE BREAKTHROUGH

The big moment came on 19 August, and Peres savoured it to the full. Late at night without the presence of reporters and recorded on film only by Norwegian security guards with a home-video camera, he was present at the first signing of the Oslo Agreements, by Uri Savir and Abu Ala'. Shimon Peres's obstinacy had brought about a fundamental change in the Middle East. Less than a month later the breakthrough was officialized in Washington, this time with the cameras turned on Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin. ■

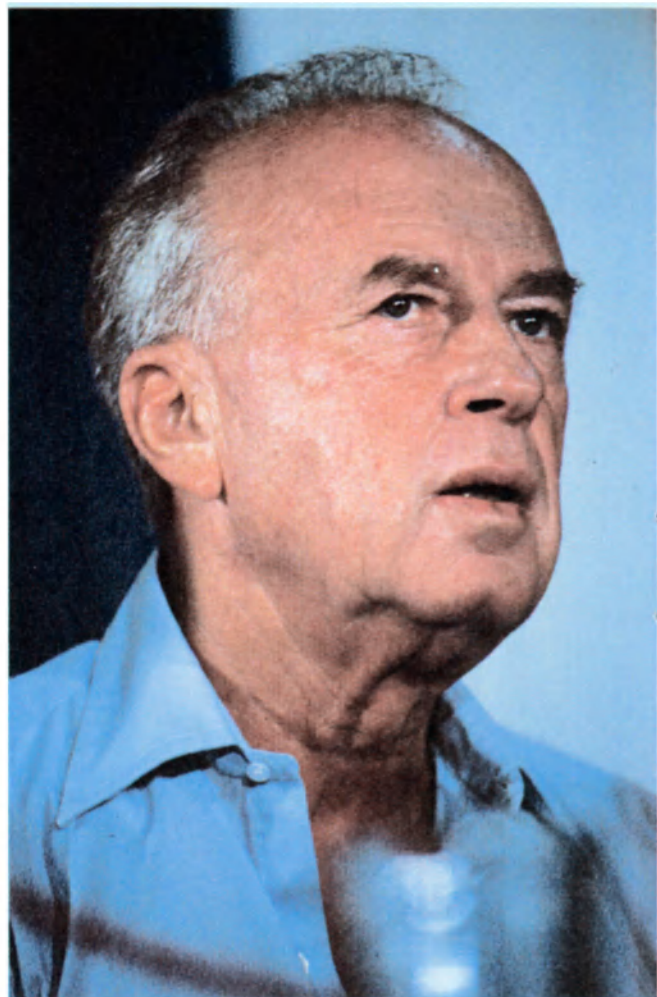
1. On 6 October 1973 Israeli positions were attacked by Egyptian forces in the Suez Canal sector and by Syrian forces in the Golan Heights.—Ed.

2. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon on 6 June 1982, known as Operation "Peace in Galilee".—Ed.

3. Arabic for "uprising".—Ed.

4. Israel's parliament.—Ed.

5. From 5 to 10 June 1967, Israel occupied Sinai, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan, the eastern sector of Jerusalem and part of the Syrian Golan Heights.—Ed.



Yitzhak Rabin  
in 1985.

Close friends of Yitzhak Rabin say mischievously: "When he was a teenager Yitzhak was ginger-haired. There's a slang word in Hebrew to describe the temperament of people with ginger hair: *gingi*, which means inflammable. *Gingi* people flare up like tinder."

When still only a young man, Rabin was quite prepared to clash with Ben Gurion. He cut his teeth in the Palmach, the commando troops secretly formed during the British mandate. Once Israel had gained independence, Ben Gurion disbanded the Palmach and Rabin became a "regular" soldier. But he kept in touch with his former comrades—more so than Ben Gurion would have liked. As a result, Israel's patriarch felt a mixture of resentment and esteem. He found himself dealing with a *sabra*<sup>1</sup> who stood up to him and used familiar forms of language when addressing him. It was enough to irritate Ben Gurion, but no more than that.

It may seem surprising that someone like Rabin, whose responsibility when he was Defence Minister was to put down the *intifada*, should subsequently be the man who made peace with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—particularly since the *intifada* eventually ran out of steam. But Rabin realized that running out of steam is not the same thing as disappearing entirely. When he recognized the PLO, Rabin was not renouncing his belief in Zionism. On the contrary, the man who, after Ben Gurion and Begin<sup>2</sup>, can lay claim to the title of king of Israel, is determined to hang on to what he has achieved. If the war continues,

# YITZHAK RABIN

## *a hawk with the wings of a dove*

by Luc Beyer de Ryke

it will prove an ever-increasing drain on resources. More seriously, if it is hard to keep law and order in the streets of the Occupied Territories, it is impossible to prevent children from being born: the Palestinian birth-rate will eventually threaten Zionism.

During the First World War, the French socialist Marcel Sembat proclaimed: "Make war or make a king." The French did both: in Georges Clemenceau, known as "the Tiger", they found a republican king who waged war and won it. Rabin is just as tough as "the Tiger". But making war does not preclude hard thinking. Rabin may be quick-tempered, but he also has a methodical and well-ordered mind. Indeed, he is sometimes criticized for being almost too rational. If you go to war and lasting victory eludes you, it is as if you had lost the war. The important thing for Rabin is to be able to guarantee Israel's security and, as a result, the survival of Zionism. The journey from the icy waters of Oslo Fjord to the White House was a psychological ordeal for him. But it was necessary and he made it.

### HARD BARGAINING

Rabin is familiar with Washington. He spent years there as ambassador and knows the workings of American politics inside out. He has had to deal with people like Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. His main interlocutor was probably Kissinger. Relations between the two men were marked by a combination of mutual understanding, disagreement, friendship and complicity as each fought to defend the interests—at once convergent and divergent—of his country. One of the reasons why Rabin's political rival, Yitzhak Shamir, lost the 1992 elections was probably that he and the White House were no longer on the same wavelength. Begin had gradually loosened the traditional ties between Israel and the United States. Shamir soured relations even further. In the end, while Israel expected much of Rabin, so did the United States.

But did the Israelis realize, when they elected Rabin, that the hawk would sprout the wings of a dove?

It remains to be seen just how far Rabin is now prepared to go. The peace accords are being implemented with only lukewarm determination. The letter and the spirit of the law are two different things. The trammels of occupation have been eased in Gaza and Jericho, but they remain firmly in place in the rest of the Territories. To be sure, the Palestinians are now in charge of education, health and tourism in those areas,

and that is already something. But, as an Israeli journalist has pointed out: "In the Territories, you open your newspaper and read reassuring headlines; then you open your window and see an Israeli patrol driving past." As for Palestinian prisoners, many are being released, but even more remain behind bars.

It is hard to decide what degree of generosity should be shown when it forms an integral part of political bargaining. It is a difficult game to play, and there are many players. There are Palestinians, Jordanians and Syrians, not to mention Israeli public opinion, which probably approves Rabin's policies, though nowadays only halfheartedly.

For the time being, Rabin wants to stick to the Accord, whether it ends up being called the Oslo, Washington or Cairo Accord. The agreement implies, in his eyes, a refusal to accept a Palestinian "state". But Rabin-watchers think he may shift his ground if the peace process works. If this turns out to be the case, a Palestinian "state" would no longer have the explosive repercussions which the Israelis fear today.

Fresh elections are due a year from now, and for the first time the Prime Minister will be elected by universal suffrage. It is thought that Rabin intends to stand. Were he to win, Israel would get a taste of a republican monarchy of the kind experienced by the French under Charles de Gaulle and François Mitterrand.

If Yahweh and the electorate smile on him, that election will mark the official consecration of Yitzhak Rabin as king of Israel and, perhaps, a new stage in the long road towards peace. ■

1. The name given by Israelis to those born in the region of the modern state of Israel.—Ed.
2. Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel from 1977 to 1983. Joint winner, with President Anwar El Sadat of Egypt, of the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize.—Ed.

**LUC BEYER DE RYKE**, of Belgium, is a journalist with his country's French-language radio and television service (RTBF). He is the author of several books on political subjects, including two about Africa, and an autobiography.

In September 1993 demonstrators in Tel Aviv-Jaffa show their support for the policy of seeking agreement with the PLO.



# YASSER ARAFAT

## *the father of Palestine*

by Lotfi El-Kholy

“**T**his is the most difficult situation that we’ve ever had to face,” Yasser Arafat told me one day in 1982. We were in his little hotel room overlooking the sea, a few kilometres outside Tunis, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had recently gone into exile after the war in Lebanon. “And yet,” he went on, “there is a glimmer of hope because we now know that we must choose between existing or not existing.”

Suddenly he broke into a smile and said, “Have you heard the latest one about Abu Ammar?” Sometimes he talks about himself in the third person. “They say that one day he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. When it came to his turn to stone the devil by throwing the customary seven rocks at him, Abu Ammar only threw six. When somebody asked him why he hadn’t thrown the seventh rock, Abu Ammar answered, ‘Do you think I’m crazy enough to cut off all my links with the devil?’” And he burst out laughing.

I said I was surprised to see him laugh at a joke that made him look like a common opportunist. Still laughing, he answered, “It’s a long time since I was upset by accusations of opportunism. Because of the secrecy that surrounds them, some of our decisions can only be understood by a small number of leaders. But that’s not the most important thing. What counts is whether or not a leader can face up to his conscience

every night before he goes to sleep—when he has the opportunity to sleep!”

I think that this is one of the keys to Yasser Arafat’s personality. The revolutionary rushes impetuously to the edge of the precipice and then at the last minute stops himself from tumbling into adventurism and, political animal that he is, gets ready to take one or two steps backwards, open up an escape route and then return to the logic of revolution by another route, or else open up a new avenue for political action to harvest the fruit of revolutionary action.

### FROM REVOLUTIONARY...

In the early days of his combat he believed in the total liberation of Palestine, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, by force of arms. He talked in terms of permanent revolution, and his watchword was that Palestine could only be recovered at gunpoint. With experience, more direct contact with reality and growing awareness of the real power struggles between Arabs, between Arabs and Israelis, and between Arabs and the rest of the world, the political animal began to mature, merge with the revolutionary activist, keep an eye on him and calculate what the revolution could accomplish in material terms. His goal shifted from the liberation of the whole of Palestine to establishing a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

Yasser Arafat (centre) at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris during the ceremony at which he received the Houphouët-Boigny Peace Prize. Beside him is Federico Mayor. At left and right, the two other prize-winners, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin.





On 1 July 1994  
Yasser Arafat  
returned to Gaza  
after a long exile.

He stopped defending the hijacking of aircraft and terrorist operations against Israeli civilians, and focused armed operations exclusively on Israeli military targets. Later, he refused to let the *Intifada* use weapons, insisting on the use of civil disobedience, strikes and stone-throwing against the Israeli security forces. After being admitted to the United Nations, he made it increasingly clear that he was determined to recognize Israel within its pre-June 1967 borders in exchange for recognition of the Palestinian people and the PLO.

He also refined the strategy of harassment and political cat and mouse with the Arab regimes without ever going so far as to break with them. He has often said that "Breaking off ties with an Arab country is a luxury that beleaguered Palestine can ill afford, no matter what insults or personal grief are involved."

He has survived ten or more assassination attempts and has always found out for himself who was behind them. He has always stopped short of throwing the seventh rock at the devil, be he Arab, Israeli or Palestinian.

He is constantly meditating on the lessons of his experience and records all his thoughts and conversations in small notebooks that are never far away. No matter who he is talking to, he never hesitates to pull out a notebook and jot down anything he thinks is important. By now he must possess more than four thousand of these notebooks, numbered in chronological order.

The late Abu Iyad<sup>2</sup> often told me about Arafat as he was in the late 1940s when they were both members

of the Palestinian Students' Union; of which Arafat was the president. "He was full of vitality. We members of the executive board would meet and divide up our activities for the week. Two days later, we would be called in to see that Yasser Arafat had done all our jobs by himself. He would ask us to discuss what he had done and give our approval. We would accuse him of trespassing on our territory. But he would say, 'Why? What harm have I done? Go on. I'm ready to be judged.' We would ask him why he had acted on his own. 'The opportunity presented itself,' he would say, 'and I didn't want to let it slip by. I assumed my responsibilities as president.'"

Something of this activism survived in Abu Ammar when he became chairman of the PLO. "It's true that Abu Ammar sticks to the collectively decided policy line," Abu Iyad told me. "But just as he did when he was president of the Palestinian Students' Union, whenever he can he takes the initiative to put the collective policy line into action. He can never wait. He moves faster than other people."

### ...TO POLITICIAN

As a result, he has often been accused of exercising personal power. This charge has even been made against him before the Palestinian leadership, and frank, sometimes stormy, exchanges have taken place, with Arafat by turns silent and combative. But these meetings have always ended with almost unanimous renewal of confidence in him. The man who has given everything to the revolution—his life, his time and his personal wealth—has become the symbol of the Palestinian cause.

One day in 1993, at a time when he was the target of considerable criticism, it was reported that he had been killed in a plane crash. At once Palestinians everywhere began to mourn, and when it transpired that Abu Ammar had survived the crash unharmed, the mourning spontaneously changed into a tidal wave of joy.

Abu Ammar is not the only name given him by his companions and the children of his people. They also call him the "father", the "master" and the "*khtiare*" (wise old man). After the landmark agreement between Israelis and Palestinians had been reached, Professor Edward Said, who had been one of Arafat's closest friends, made a violent attack on him in the press. When he read Said's article, Arafat immediately dictated a telegram which read: "My dear Edward, I have read your article. I want to tell you that I'll be returning to Palestine in February 1994. Come and join us and help build it on the ground. Your brother, Yasser Arafat." ■

**LOTFI EL-KHOLY**  
is an Egyptian  
author and political  
essayist. Since  
1988 he has been  
Secretary-General of  
the Afro-Asian  
Writers' Association.

1. Abu Ammar is Yasser Arafat's *nom de guerre*.—Ed.

2. Abu Iyad, a leading PLO member, was killed in 1991.—Ed.

# JIMMY CARTER

## *the pilgrim-president*

by Flora Lewis

**W**hen Jimmy Carter left the White House in 1981 after one term as president of the United States, he was not popular with Americans. Since then, more and more of his compatriots have come to say, "Carter is the best ex-President we've ever had." He had chosen neither to retire in sour resentment at the electorate's ingratitude nor in fading but leisurely eminence, but to dedicate himself with undiminished energy to the causes that grip him. They cover a broad spectrum, and usually he pursues them quietly. But now and then there are spectacular, news-making bursts.

His trips to North Korea, to Haiti and to Bosnia in rapid succession in 1994 were so startling that cartoonists were inspired to draw a desolate, hopeless war scene or even a furiously quarreling husband and wife over a caption that said some version of "Send for Jimmy Carter." A miracle worker? A meddler? A righteous, naive moralizer? He was accused of all, and he didn't seem to care.

In those three mediations, he brought spectacular results in one case—Haiti—where he persuaded the governing military junta to depart peacefully, permitting the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to return under protection of an American invasion force without a shot being fired. In North Korea, he also defused an imminent threat of war, on terms acceptable to the U.S. government but criticized by its domestic opponents as giving insufficient guarantees that Pyongyang was abandoning its ambition to build nuclear weapons, the issue of the crisis. In Bosnia, he achieved no more than a tenuous four-month cease-fire, less than fully observed but still bringing more respite

than dozens of previous cease-fires and providing breathing space for more negotiations which may or may not get anywhere. This is a mixed score, but in all cases lives, perhaps a great many lives, were saved. Problems were left, of course, but he had achieved the purpose of giving peace a chance.

Mr. Carter has been embarking on such missions for quite a while, and he brings to them not only his stature and prestige but an accumulation of techniques and attitudes developed by hard, and sometimes negative, experience. He explained some of them in an interview in the *New York Times* magazine with Jim Wooten, an American journalist who had written his biography.

For one thing, he isn't afraid of failure. This was critical in Pale, where he made clear to the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic that he would just walk away empty-handed if minimum terms weren't accepted. He had no personal stake in the appearance of success. Further, he was aware that Karadzic had already lied to him, as so often to others. That encounter had begun when a delegation of American Serbs called on him in his home town of Plains, Georgia, with an invitation from Karadzic to take part in peace efforts. "I knew he wanted to use me," Carter told Wooten, "so I told them I'd consider it only if the Serbs would agree to a cease-fire."

### DOING THE RIGHT THING

Word came back that Karadzic would go much further. He would end the war, free all UN hostages, reopen Sarajevo airport, allow free movement for peace-keepers, release all Muslim prisoners under nineteen, respect human rights, and accept a cease-fire in Sarajevo before Carter's arrival. None of that happened by the time he got to Bosnia, shortly before Christmas, as many had warned Carter to expect. He wasn't optimistic, but he went to Karadzic's headquarters at Pale with his proposals nonetheless.

There, he took care to observe another of his negotiating precepts. No recriminations, suspension of judgment, allowing enough time for interlocutors "to understand that there's nothing on the table except a mutual effort to reach some sort of agreement. Of course, there has to be a table. People in conflict have to be willing to talk about ending it, or at least



Managua (Nicaragua), 1990. Jimmy Carter heads an international observer mission during the presidential election.



Jimmy Carter acted as an observer during the presidential election in Haiti (1990).

changing it, and there has to be someone willing to talk to them, however odious they are—and that's where I come in."

Carter is a deeply religious man, a "born again Christian", which means an adult rededication to the ideals and principles of his faith. It has brought a rectitude and austerity to his own behaviour and a confidence that he knows precisely what is right that can seem chilling at a distance. But he can also muster a tolerance and indulgence for others, whatever despicable things they've done, that give him an apparent belief that no one is beyond redemption, everyone should be given the chance to be humane and resolve conflict.

His words of kindness and sympathy for the Haitian leaders who had such a murderous record shocked many. But he thought it worthwhile and wasn't ashamed to tell what he called "a little white lie" about President Clinton's acceptance of the Haitian pseudo-President's signature on their departure agreement if that's what it took to get them out of the way without war. He isn't interested in retribution, but in solutions. He's after getting something done, and he is remarkably resistant to personal attack. Nothing said about him seems to irritate him more than the suggestion that his motivation is personal enhancement, that his goal is the Nobel Peace Prize.

**FLORA LEWIS**, a noted American journalist specializing in foreign affairs, is the author of several books, including *Europe: Road to Unity* (1992).

"I do what I do because I think it's the right thing to do," he told Wooten. "Most of the time, believe it or not, I enjoy myself. Sometimes I even have fun doing my duty. Imagine that," he said with a chuckle.

All recent American presidents have set up libraries and sometimes foundations, but unlike the others which are essentially devoted to history, the Carter Center at Emory University and the adjoining Carter Library, in Atlanta, are action-oriented. They run lots of conferences, the modern version of monastic conviviality, but also a surprising variety of programmes that deal with regional problems, health scourges, agricultural innovation, human rights and, of course, conflict resolution.

Carter has established a Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, which sends teams to monitor elections in Latin America and has on occasion made the difference between rigged and reasonably honest votes that actually brought a democratic transfer of power. Nicaragua and Guyana are examples. He has been personally involved in peace negotiations in Liberia, between Ethiopia and the Eritrean rebels, and in Sudan. Sometimes there is a long preparation, many trips establishing personal contacts, before he gets results. Sometimes there are no results. He shows no discouragement, as he shows no triumphalism when he succeeds.

## FORCE OF CONVICTION

There are aspects to his personality that were abrasive and hurt him with the American public when he was in office. He ran against Washington, as an outsider, one of the folks, and it got him elected. To prove he hadn't become pompous and self-inflated, he was photographed carrying his own suitcase on official trips, even revealing anguished exhaustion while jogging. Many Americans weren't comfortable with that much show of being "just like us"; they weren't sure they wanted that un-presidential looking a president. His toothy smile was taut, and he spoke earnestly of national "malaise," put in sharp contrast by his successor Ronald Reagan, who always assured Americans they were "Number One" in the world and looked relaxed and cheerful whatever happened. It may be a flaw of human nature, but it shouldn't be surprising that people found Dr. Feel-good more appealing than Dr. Do-right.

Even Carter's name somehow set him apart, instead of giving him the aura of friendly familiarity he seemed to suppose. His proper name is James Earl Carter, Jr., and when he became president many thought it unseemly to call him by the nickname Jimmy. But he had grown up and governed Georgia as Jimmy, and he insisted that he hadn't changed and neither should the name he went by.

To look at, he is a medium sort of man, neither large nor small, overwhelming nor reclusive, impressive

nor indistinguishable, not the type that immediately draws the eye of strangers. His force lies not in personality but in conviction. He eschews florid rhetoric and sets himself clear and narrowly defined objectives, wiping out the plague of guinea worm in Africa, getting a cease-fire in Bosnia. He wants to change the world, but accepts that it can best be done in specific, modest steps, and his persistence in pressing them is relentless.

No doubt historians will give his presidency better marks than did his contemporaries. His contributions to America's relations with the world were lasting: the Panama Canal treaty, the Camp David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, the nuclear arms reduction treaty with the U.S.S.R., establishment of diplomatic relations with China, and perhaps most important of all and undoubtedly of great personal satisfaction to him, the establishment of human rights as a functional, significant part of the international agenda. The Helsinki accords, which made the way a government treats its own citizens a legitimate international concern and not an exclusive sovereign matter, were signed by his predecessor, Gerald Ford. But it was Jimmy Carter who gave substance to the paper promises.

### AN ITINERANT PRIVATE CITIZEN

Somehow, it has turned out that the 39th president of the United States has won more affection and admiration as an itinerant private citizen, sticking his nose into other people's quarrels, than he did as the head of a super-power. At a time when U.S. involvement in the world seems to be shrinking and others worry more about the country's indifference than what they used to consider a will to dominate, Jimmy Carter's almost ubiquitous efforts have a special value. He admits he shares the common human pleasure at being appreciated, but he isn't much moved by criticism or reward because he has his own sense of fulfilment in doing.

When interviewer Wooten insisted that he must really want the Nobel peace prize, saying, "But you wouldn't reject it, would you? I mean, you'd like to be chosen, right?" Carter replied, "Of course, but I'm telling you that isn't what this is all about. Doesn't even come close. My goodness, what if it were? What if the Nobel were the be-all and end-all of my existence? And what if it never happened? . . . Well, what sort of dried-up, shriveled-up, disappointed old prune of a man would I be then?"

That he isn't. He is still running to see to the things he sees a need to do. And then he goes home, to his modest house in Plains, Georgia, a modest country town, and walks the land that gives his sense of place and permanence. It is a 2,000-acre spread, some of it in the family for 150 years, and on parts of it he farms the lowly peanut. Nothing grandiose, but his earth, his feeling of having a purpose and serving it to his utmost capacity. ■



Juan Carlos I in Madrid in 1988.

**J**uan Carlos I of Spain is a king for our times. Not for him ermine robes, crown, sceptre, or throne—although he was well and truly on the throne when he brought about the collapse of an attempted military coup in February 1981. On that occasion he revealed his moral stature to his fellow citizens and showed the world his democratic convictions.

"The Crown cannot tolerate the slightest act or behaviour that seeks to disrupt by force the democratic process enshrined in the constitution that has been approved by the Spanish people by referendum." With these words the King ended his short and solemn television address on the night of 23-24 February 1981, when the government, the parliament and a group of journalists were being held inside the Cortès by a clique of officers nostalgic for the old regime.

Juan Carlos's action served to inject an anti-putsch vaccine into the fragile, youthful body of Spanish democracy. Ever since, no Spaniard has ever had to ask what the king is there for.

His opposition to the putsch, which marked a final break with the previous regime, endorsed the legitimacy of a monarch who from that moment could rightfully be called the "democratic King of Spain". His democratic purpose had, of course, already been clearly shown during the difficult transition period, but here suddenly



# JUAN CARLOS I

## *the democratic king*

by Ramón Luis Acuña

it was expressed in a founding act that confirmed the shift from dictatorship to democracy.

After inheriting from General Franco full powers over the army, the Council of Ministers, the Cortès and the legislative system, the King thus rendered to the people a sovereignty that was a political hot potato since it was based on a military victory won in the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939. He returned Spain, according to a widely used phrase, "to the hands of the Spanish people" and, with the agreement of all democratic forces, applied the Constitution approved in 1978. This Constitution is in many respects one of the most advanced in Europe, particularly concerning regional political freedoms and the defence of the rights of cultural minorities.

Juan Carlos's actions met the expectations of Spanish civil society which had entered the post-Franco era long before Franco's death and wished to get into step with the civil societies of the other developed countries of Europe. At first, some politicians wrongly saw Juan Carlos as the successor of the previous regime, even going so far as to nickname him "Juan Carlos the Short". They could not have been more mistaken. Juan Carlos soon came to embody the Spanish people's aspirations for change—one of the profoundest collective feelings expressed in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century.

The King always insists that "the protagonist of the transition was the people" and that he has done nothing more than his duty in assuming the responsibility that history and the demands of the moment imposed on him.

He was in fact the catalyst of a decisive political change that astonished other democratic societies and gave hope to those still subject to dictatorship. The transfer of power in Spain was a model, a source of inspiration for guiding democratic changes not only in a number of Latin American countries but also, and despite a very different political situation, in the Eastern bloc countries, including Russia.

Juan Carlos started out from a simple, solid principle: he wished to be "the King of all the Spaniards" that he was proclaimed to be in the posters waved by his supporters on coronation day, 22 November 1975.

He would not only be the king of those who had won the Civil War; he would also be the King of those who had lost it. He would not only be the king of the Castilians and the Aragonese; he would also be the king of the Basques, the Catalans, the Galicians and the other inhabitants of Spanish territory. His attitude coincided with the widespread opinion in the political parties in favour of national reconciliation, the feeling that the Civil War was a thing of the past: Spaniards realized that while change was inevitable, a brutal break with the immediate past could lead to serious confrontations. In consequence most of them chose the middle way of reason, and their king, like them, preferred to build the future rather than dwell on the past.

### **HISTORIC RECONCILIATIONS**

And so he obeyed a second principle: that the rank of monarch is not conferred by divine right or exclusively by inheritance. It must be earned by doing the job well. A monarchy only makes sense if it shows itself to be useful to the nation. If it does not, it may become redundant or even harmful, as happens when it falls into discredit. Because of this approach, a two-thousand year-old institution provided what the king called "a propulsive stimulus" to the modernization of Spain.

The king's third goal was harder to implement. He wished to effect without violence or trauma the transition from a dictatorial government to a constitutional monarchy. The former regime was anachronistic and lifeless, held together until the end by nothing more than its autocratic figurehead. The ship had to be scuttled. On his own and caught in a cross-fire between

During the attempted putsch of 23 February 1981, 200 Civil Guards invaded the Spanish Parliament.





King Juan Carlos  
(centre) out walking.

the hostility of the hardline Franco supporters and the initial mistrust of the democrats, Juan Carlos used the wide powers he had received with skill and determination. "Everyone was against me," he said later. But he succeeded in influencing the course of events. The authoritarian structure was methodically dismantled without bloodshed, and democracy built on its ruins. The facts speak for themselves. This is the "democratic king's" contribution to the history of Spain.

His powers are defined by the constitution. As arbiter and guarantor of the institutions, the king is the head of the armed forces and his country's highest-ranking representative abroad. However, he appoints the head of government in strict conformity with election results and can only dissolve parliament if requested to do so by the head of the executive. His authority is primarily of a moral nature.

Juan Carlos has a high reputation in Spain. More than 80 per cent of Spaniards questioned in polls over the years have given a favourable opinion of him. He has become the most popular king in Europe. This is largely due to his warm personality and joviality. He has a straightforward manner which immediately puts people at their ease. He likes laughter and jokes. Once when I was interviewing him, some small change slipped out of my pocket and onto the armchair where I was sitting. When I was leaving, a member of his staff caught me up on the staircase, handed me the coins, and said, "His Majesty has asked me to tell you that for the moment he makes no charge for interviews."

But this relaxed manner should not be misinterpreted. Juan Carlos is thoughtful and well-informed, an avid reader of books, reports and newspapers. In private he is extremely spontaneous; in public and in the performance of his duties he detests improvisation.

He loves family life and spends as much time as he can with his children. He takes advice from his wife, Queen Sophia, whose "inestimable support and understanding" he readily acknowledges. A sports enthusiast, he runs every day, rides off on his motorbike whenever he can, sails in summer and skis in winter. For a fifty-eight-year-old, his physical activity is intense.

When I last visited Cartagena in Colombia, the guide who showed me around that beautiful colonial town kept saying, "and here, when the king came. . ."

After a while I asked him which king he was referring to. "Our king, of course! Who else?" he answered without hesitation. Just as he has managed to transform the Spanish into "Juancharlistas", if not outright royalists, Juan Carlos has succeeded in being spontaneously dubbed "the king" by Latin Americans.

Reconciliation within Spain has also led to historic reconciliations with the world outside. Regarded in Latin America as a symbol of the new democratic Spain, Juan Carlos has to a large degree contributed to reestablishing links with Spanish-speaking nations on the other side of the Atlantic. In 1991 he was the prime mover for an annual Latin-American summit and himself attends these meetings of heads of state designed to reinforce the community of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. In Madrid in 1992, commemorating the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, Juan Carlos spoke in full awareness of criticism of Spanish and Portuguese colonization when he declared, "We must assume our part in the history of peoples with dignity and responsibility in order to make a better future." He often points out that Spain promulgated the "Law of the Indies", the social aspects of which were extremely progressive and that the first universities in the Americas were founded in Lima and Santo Domingo in the sixteenth century at a time when many European cities had none.

## A MODERNIZING MONARCHY

Also in 1992, 500 years after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Juan Carlos paid tribute in the Madrid synagogue to the "Spanish Jews who had to leave Spain because the state saw religious uniformity as the basis of its unity". He went on to express the wish that "never again should hatred or intolerance provoke grief or exile".

The 500th anniversary of the fall of the last Muslim bastion in Spain, the Kingdom of Granada, also occurred in 1992. On that occasion Juan Carlos paid tribute to Arab Andalusia, Al-Andalus, as a place where "several peoples formed the habit of sharing over the centuries and where each of them maintained their respective identities without losing respect for difference". This history shared between the Jews and Arabs for centuries "left a cultural heritage in Spain of supreme importance," said the king, "and contributed to the definition of Spanish national identity." These thoughts also harmonize with current Spanish thinking that is trying to recover the culturally rich roots the country is so proud of.

During one of my interviews with King Juan Carlos I asked him what was left for him to do in Spain since, if one looked at his list of achievements, his task seemed to be complete. "You must be joking," he said with his usual candour. "There is much to be done. Nothing less than the modernization and renovation of Spain. And in this field too, I'd like the crown to be a spur." ■

### RAMÓN LUIS

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# GREENWATCH

## FISH FARMING: A 4,000-YEAR-OLD GROWTH INDUSTRY

by France Bequette



Right, skimming floating weeds from fish ponds in Bangladesh.

**F**our thousand years ago the Egyptians were already successfully farming Tilapia or "Nile carp" (*Oreochromis niloticus*). It is still a highly regarded species: about 500,000 tonnes of it are produced worldwide today. Carp-raising has been a part of Chinese and Vietnamese traditions for centuries.

Aquaculture, which was rediscovered in the 1960s as a weapon in the fight against hunger, is the raising of fish, molluscs, crustaceans and plants either in salt or fresh water. By 1990 fish were providing about 15 per cent of the protein consumed worldwide. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that by the turn of the century fish produced by aquaculture will comprise up to 20 per cent of the world supply of fish and will be the major source of protein in developing nations.

While the world harvest from capture fisheries has barely increased since 1988 (rising 0.5 per cent between 1990 and 1991), aquaculture production has grown steadily since 1984 (doubling between 1984 and 1992) with an annual growth rate of 9 per cent. Global fish produc-

tion reached 98.1 million tonnes in 1992, 13.9 million tonnes (9.4 million tonnes of fish and 4.5 million tonnes of molluscs and crustaceans) of which came from aquaculture.

To maintain the current level of world fish consumption, i.e. an average of 13 kg per head per year, until the year 2010, 91 million tonnes of edible fish will have to be produced to feed the earth's projected population of 7 billion. In other words the present level of aquaculture production will have to be doubled. This is an attainable goal. Yet contrary to what might be thought, fish-farming is not easy, especially if the need to protect the environment is taken into account.

### CAPTIVE CATFISH

The advantages of expanding aquaculture are obvious. At the same time, the different systems used, ranging from small-scale fish farming to high-yield industrial plants, pose numerous problems. A 1989 report produced by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) asked a number of important questions. Is there a risk that fish farming will modify

natural populations and reduce biological diversity? Is it wise to introduce exotic species? Might not fish farming cause the spread of disease? What effects might waste deposited in lakes, rivers and coastal zones have in the long term? What happens to chemical products such as antibiotics that are used in aquaculture? Are fish farming zones wisely chosen? Is it possible to predict the impact of aquaculture on the environment by using computer-generated models?

Let us look at the example of Viet Nam, where fish are farmed in ponds (64 per cent), rice paddies (21 per cent) and floating cages in rivers (15 per cent) and the exploitation of water resources makes a major contribution to the economy. The continent of which Viet Nam forms part is, moreover, the runaway champion in aquaculture. Asia supplies 84 per cent of world production, followed by Europe (8.5 per cent), North America (3.7 per cent), South America (2.3 per cent), the former Soviet Union (0.9 per cent) and Africa (0.5 per cent).

A single species of catfish (*Pangasius bocourti*, *ca ba sa* in Vietnamese) constitutes almost three-quarters of floating-pen

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Hauling up a wicker fish-pen in a floating village on Tonlé Sap, a lake in northwestern Cambodia.

production in Viet Nam, where most fish farming is concentrated in the Mekong Delta region. Until recently supplying the farms with young fish meant taking ten to fifteen million young fish from their natural hatcheries in the Tonle Sap ("great lake") of Cambodia during the rainy season (July to November). The disadvantages of this system are obvious. A natural habitat is depopulated and the source of supply depends on the political relations between two countries. Last May scientists from the Continental, Mediterranean and Tropical Aquaculture Group (GAMET) in Montpellier (France) succeeded in getting the catfish to reproduce in captivity. This is a momentous development for Vietnamese fish-farming, especially since the price of young fish fluctuates widely.

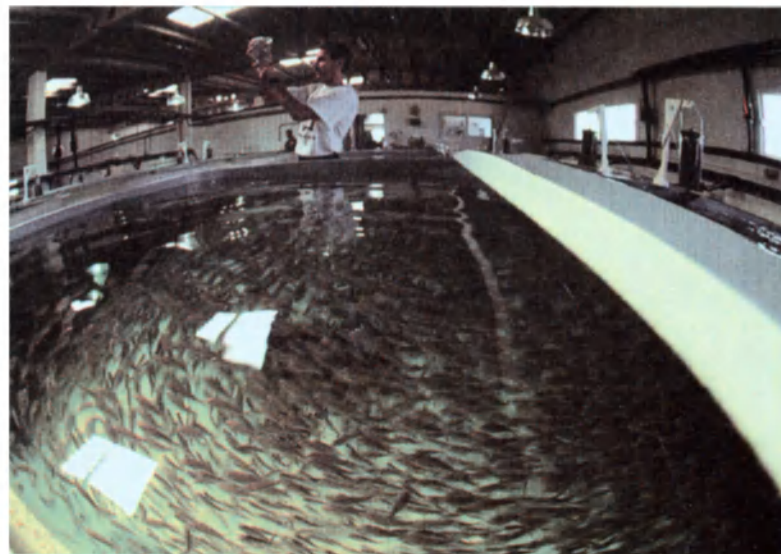
The fish are raised in pens that float under houses. They are fed with a paste made of rice-bran and fresh fish, and are also given human and animal refuse. Aquaculture is a profitable way of using wastes.

### CULTURE AND AQUACULTURE

Surprisingly, in both Viet Nam and China, where this technique began, ponds used as latrines or fertilized with manure prove to be excellent for fish-farming. Jérôme Lazard, head of the "Aquaculture and Fish Programme" in the department of farming and veterinary medicine at France's Centre for International Co-operation in Agronomic

Research for Development (CIRAD) says that there is no risk of fish transmitting disease-bearing germs to people if the fish are left to swim freely in clean water for a few days in order to cleanse themselves both inside and out. Lazard regrets that this process is not practised widely enough. Although consumers say they do not want to eat these "dirty fish", the 130,000 tonnes (minimum) produced in this fashion find buyers nevertheless.

"Wherever ponds can be created," says Jérôme Lazard, "they constitute wonderful fish production facilities, since they blend perfectly into agricultural production systems by helping to improve water quality and by using various by-products and wastes." The ideal thing is to dig ponds just downstream from stables, pigsties



A tank of young fish on a fish farm in Andalusia (Spain).

### FURTHER READING:

- *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture*, FAO, Rome, 1995
- *Aquatic Biotechnology and Food Safety*, OECD, Paris, 1994
- *Ceres*, FAO review, no. 131, September 1991
- *Aquaculture continentale. Initiatives rurales*, the French Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, no. 9, 1990
- *Aquaculture—Developing a New Industry*, OECD, Paris, 1989

and chicken coops or even to raise these structures onto piles, which solves the problem of effluents. The droppings are nutritious to the plankton that the fish feed on.

Fish canneries provide another propitious environment, for fish are very fond of fish! It takes one kilo of fish in the form of meal or oil to produce a kilo of edible fish. The fish-meal is made from less appetizing species and is also used to feed pigs and fowl and for making *surimi*, a kind of fish paste. But since it takes at least five kilos of fish to make a kilo of fish meal, supplies of this food source may eventually dwindle and thus encourage over-fishing.

In order to be viable, the use of ponds for fish farming must be culturally acceptable. Writing in the FAO review, *Ceres*, Peggy Polk pointed out that in Africa, "when experts suggested that farmers raise fish in the small ponds used to water cattle and supply household water needs, many local people rejected the

idea, insisting the fish would muddy the water and make it unsuitable for drinking". In India it is standard practice to add fertilizer to water tanks being used for aquaculture—except in Madhya Pradesh State where people refuse to allow the fertilization of water tanks because they use the same water for cooking and bathing.

The farmed species also must be acceptable to prospective consumers. In some parts of Colombia, for example, people traditionally do not eat *dorado*.

### HOOKED ON PROFIT

Profit is probably the most dangerous bait for the fish-farmer who is indifferent to the equilibrium of ecosystems. In the 1980s there was a boom in demand for the *Penaeus monodon* shrimp in the Gulf of Thailand. It was easy to make a fortune. All it took was the cash to buy a piece of mangrove swamp or to build a grow-out pond in the estuary of a river. People said there was more money in shrimp farming than in illicit drugs! Between 1983 and 1988 aquaculture in Asia grew at the rate of 40 per cent a year. Then, in 1989, 80 per cent of the farms located near Bangkok, where most of the activity was concentrated, went bankrupt. There were several reasons for this, including a drop in demand on the world market, reduced profit margins and polluted water due to poor effluent management. (Dumping too much organic matter reduces its oxygen content, and untreated urban effluents carry diseases and promote the proliferation of algae that are toxic to fish and humans alike). A similar collapse had taken place for similar reasons in Taiwan two years before. Epidemics had been caused by over-stocking the ponds and there had been "mismanagement of the pond ecosystem", indiscriminate use of antibiotics and chemicals and the use of polluted water. The results have been disastrous. Vast areas of mangroves have been destroyed in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.

### A NEW KIND OF LIVESTOCK

In Europe, especially in Norway, future candidates for aquaculture are cod, halibut, turbot, catfish, lobster and scallops raised in pens, tanks and, for certain species like cod and salmon, by sea-ranching.

Fish farmers use techniques comparable to those that have been used for years in animal husbandry. The salmonids are being used as guinea-pigs for aquatic biotechnology, which was the subject of an OECD report in 1994.<sup>1</sup> The fish are not only operated on and vaccinated but also fertilized, sterilized, made to grow and even change sex. Scientists are trying to develop salmon capable of living in the cold polar waters by implanting the genes that code for the anti-freeze protein into its genome. They have also injected the growth hormone gene from the rat into trout, carp and salmon. In other words, transgenic fish now exist. What will happen if they escape from their pens and mingle with their kind in nature? Fortunately the greater the genetic difference between organisms, the less capable they are of fertilizing each other.

Another way of obtaining monosex or male fish (which grow twice as fast as females) is by administering "masculinizing" steroids. "This technique, which is forbidden in Europe, is widely used in Asia (Taiwan and the Philippines) and in Israel," notes Jérôme Lazard with some concern. "It releases some thirty by-products into the water, and we don't really know its ecological consequences." Nonetheless, research is continuing to make great strides and some concrete results have already been obtained. A natural hormone that is as effective as the artificial hormone but much easier for fish to absorb is now available. It is possible by using heat treatment to change the sex of young fish without harming the environment. These are some of the avenues that tomorrow's fish farmers will be exploring. ■

1. *Aquatic Biotechnology and Food Safety*, OECD, Paris, 1994

## W O R L D



### LEADING THE VINE MOTH ASTRAY

After 20 years of research and experimentation, the French National Institute of Agronomic Research (INRA) has developed an original way of protecting southern European vineyards from the European vine moth (*Polychrosis botrana*). The new method consists of disrupting olfactory communication between male and female moths, the latter of which emit a chemical substance (known as a pherome) to attract males at mating time. By diffusing a synthetic pherome in the vineyard it is possible to prevent the males from detecting the signals emitted by the females, so that fertilization does not take place. Only one application is required, instead of the four or five applications of chemical insecticide that are usually needed in campaigns against the vine moth. The treatment can be applied in any weather conditions, leaves no residue and only affects the moth. It costs slightly more than the chemical method but is more environment-friendly. ■

### THE IRON OF MOUNT NIMBA

Although mining activities were not discussed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, awareness of their impact on the environment seems to be growing. It has been known for years that the Nimba Mountains in Guinea contain a deposit of about 350 million tonnes of high-grade iron ore (65 per cent pure iron) which a consortium of mining companies is eager to develop. But the range, whose highest point is 1,742-metre-high Mount Nimba, is also covered by a rain forest that harbours a number of unique species. A nature reserve since 1944, it was accepted as a biosphere reserve by Unesco



in 1980 and registered on the World Heritage List in 1981. Environmentalists wonder whether the world's need for iron ore is so great that mining Mount Nimba should take precedence over ecological considerations. China, the former Soviet Union and Brazil alone supply 450 million tonnes of iron ore annually; while Nimba would only produce 9 million, i.e. 1 per cent of world production. Unesco has recently agreed to modify the World Heritage site to exclude the proposed mine, but it is to be feared that the influx of people caused by mining would be harmful to the natural environment. ■

### ALL THEIR EGGS IN ONE BASKET

The New Zealand section of the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) has discovered that, contrary to a widely held belief, the survival of a species is not threatened if the gene pool becomes too small. It cites the example of the Chatham Island Black Robin, only 5 of which remained in the early 1980s and whose numbers have now risen to 150, all descendants of the same breeding pair. They live on two tiny islands in the Chatham chain, located to the east of New Zealand. ■

### A MARINE PARK FOR MAFIA ISLAND

In April this year Tanzania passed legislation to establish Mafia Island Marine Park, 120 kilometres south of Dar es-Salaam. Mafia belongs to the Rufiji Delta ecosystem, is surrounded by a chain of islets and abounds in coral reefs and seagrass beds. The environment has been damaged by dynamite and seine-net fishing, and shell and coral collection for building-stone and lime production. The park has been established after a World Wide Fund for Nature workshop in 1991 and a national campaign. Most of the park will be a "regulated-use zone" where sustainable resource use and development will be promoted. ■

### SPHINX BITES MOTORWAY

The Egyptian government has agreed to a Unesco proposal that the planned new eight-lane motorway that was to cross the

protected site of the plateau of pyramids to the south of Cairo should be rerouted. The Giza Plateau is on the World Heritage List, and the pyramids and the Sphinx, already suffering from erosion due to climate, traffic and air pollution, would have been exposed to an added threat caused by car exhaust and vibrations. ■

### PHOSPHATES, HOW DO YOU PLEAD?

The water companies that manage France's drinking-water resources have called for a ban on the polyphosphates found in detergents, which, they believe, are largely responsible for water eutrophication (lack of oxygen, green or brown colouring and the spread of microscopic algae). Although large-scale water purification plants can dephosphatize urban waste water, much waste water outside urban areas is returned to nature without any processing. A convention signed in 1991 between the ministry of the environment and the detergent manufacturers seeks to limit the phosphate level in detergents to 20 per cent. France, however, is one of the major consumers of detergents as well as the foremost phosphate producer in Europe. Phosphates have been banned in Switzerland, Canada and Norway. ■



## AMERICA'S NEW BREED OF RANCHER

In the last century when Wendy and Warner Glenn's great grand-parents settled in the far southwest corner of Arizona near the New Mexico and Mexican borders, nobody thought about the environment. By 1960 when the couple took over the family ranch, things had become much more complicated. Environmentalists were criticizing ranchers and complaining about the degradation of pastureland. Moreover, about half of the region's half-million hectares of near-desert belonged to the state. The few people living there felt victimized by administrative harassment. Burning the prairie, for example, had been outlawed for nearly eighty years although it had been practised for thousands of years in order to ensure the renewal and the quality of grazing land by preventing the growth of woody species like mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*).

The ranchers soon realized that if they wanted to get anything done they would have to join forces. In 1993 thirty-five cattle ranchers founded a non-profit organization called the Malpai Borderlands Group. "Our goal," they write in their manifesto, "is to restore and maintain the natural processes that create and protect a healthy, unfragmented landscape to support a diverse, flourishing community of human, plant and animal life in our Borderlands Region." Prairie fires are no longer systematically opposed, and the first ones have already taken place, resulting in the growth of grass and wildflowers.

The Malpai Group also has a programme for the protection of endangered species. The first beneficiary has been the Chiricahuan Leopard Frog. During a long drought last year, one member of the group and his family hauled 4,000 litres of water each week to a stock pond to keep some of these frogs alive. The Malpai Group then began raising funds to sink wells and install pumps to keep the frogs supplied with water. Group members also keep their cattle constantly on the move in order to prevent over-grazing. They can also benefit from a "Grass Bank", a system whereby some ranchers make grazing land available to others who don't have enough. This helps to prevent over-grazing and division of the land, and gives the grass time to grow back.

The Malpai Group also works with a botanist from Tucson, Ray Turner, who has been studying the region's plant-life for forty years and is able to assess modifications by means of photographs taken a century ago. And if some ranchers are tempted to sell their land because the life is too hard, the Malpai Group vets new buyers to ensure that they protect the environment by preventing wildcat development of the beautiful wild valleys by profit-hungry developers, sub-division of the land, massive incursions of tourists and cars, industrialization and pollution. ■

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Tel.: (1-602) 558-2470; Fax: (1-602) 558-2314.

### CHILDREN FOR PEACE

Between May and October 1995, UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme and Associated Schools Project jointly organized 7 festivals for children in Costa Rica, the Cook Islands, Greece, Grenada, Jordan, Thailand and Zimbabwe. In each country children aged from 11 to 13 and their teachers met to discuss the best ways to promote a culture of peace in their immediate environment. The results will provide the basis for a multimedia teaching kit for international use in primary and secondary schools. The "Seven Appeals" written by the children and the material they made to depict the festivals' most significant moments will be exhibited at UNESCO's Paris Headquarters from 25 October to 16 November during the 28th session of the Organization's General Conference. The title of the exhibition will be "Around the Planet, Children in Quest of a Peaceful World".

### WORLD SUMMIT FOR EDUCATION THROUGH ART

The International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) is a UNESCO-affiliated non-governmental organization which has championed the role of art in education since 1951. It will be holding its 29th World Conference, under the auspices of UNESCO, from 8 to 14 July 1996 at the Lille Conference Centre (France). The general theme of the conference will be "Art, Science and Environment in the 3rd Millennium: Divorce and Reconciliation". Hundreds of teachers, research students, artists, philosophers and art historians are expected to attend some 350 lectures, discussions, round-tables and workshops, at which they will assess the current state of art education and chart guidelines for the future.

For further information contact  
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### CARACAS, THEATRE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD, 1995

Under the auspices of UNESCO's World Decade for Cultural Development the International The-

atre Institute (ITI) held its 26th World Congress in Caracas (Venezuela) from 24 to 30 June 1995. Leading playwrights including Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Emilio Carballido (Mexico), Enrique Buenaventura (Colombia) and Isaac Chocrón (Venezuela) took part in a symposium on the theme of the Congress, "The Fall of Utopias and the New Millennium". Hundreds of actors and actresses from the 93 ITI member-countries took part in numerous artistic events, including the first session in Latin America of the Albert Botbol University of the Theatre of Nations.

For further information contact  
International Theatre Institute, UNESCO, 1, rue Miollis, 75732 Paris Cedex 15 (France). Tel.: (33-1) 45 68-26 50; Fax: (33-1) 45 66-50 40. Cable: INTHEAT.

### PEACE EXHIBITION TRAVELS THE WORLD

To celebrate the end of the Second World War and the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and to commemorate the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a French association, "Le Mouvement de la paix", has organized a multi-disciplinary exhibition in Montluçon (France) entitled "1995: For a culture of peace". More than 250 works by artists from some 20 countries were shown. They were divided into three sections: "Banners of peace" (painting and poetry), "Images of peace" (photography and poetry) and "1945-1995 Hiroshima, an image for peace" (posters). A travelling exhibition of copies made from the original exhibits will tour the world until the end of 1996. It has already visited Locarno (Switzerland) and Hiroshima (Japan).

For further information contact  
"Le Mouvement de la paix", 139, boulevard Victor Hugo, 93400 Saint-Ouen, France. Tel.: (33-1) 40 12-21 21; Fax: (33-1) 40 11-57 87.

### CONTEMPORARY ART AT THE PALAIS DES NATIONS

An international open-air exhibition of contemporary art entitled "Dialogues of Peace" was held at the Palais des Nations in Geneva (Switzerland) from 2 July to 26 October 1995. The exhibition, organized by France's Association Française d'Action Artistique (AFAA) on the occasion of

the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, featured paintings, sculptures, installations, photographs and videos specially produced for the occasion by more than fifty up-and-coming or internationally known artists from five continents. A catalogue of the exhibition has been published by AFAA with a preface by the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

For further information contact  
AFAA, Rue du Môle 38 bis, CH-120, Geneva, Switzerland.

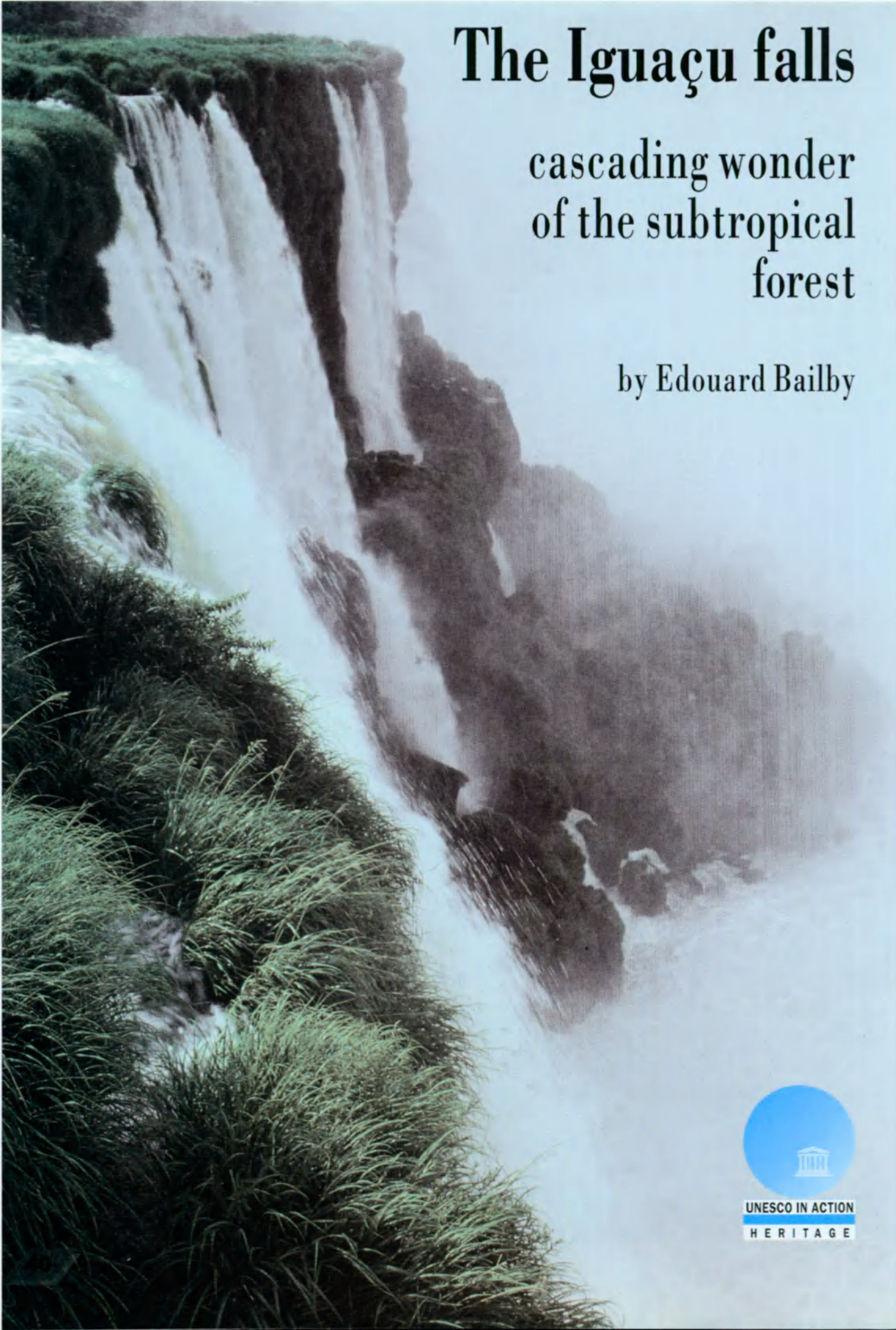
### SWISS FILM PRIZE MARKS UNESCO AND UN ANNIVERSARIES

At the Locarno International Film Festival (Switzerland) in August 1995 the Swiss National Commission for UNESCO awarded a prize to mark the 50th anniversary of UNESCO and the UN to Chen Yu-Hsun, a 33-year-old director from Taipeh, for his film *Redai Yu* (Tropical Fish). The prize-winning film shows with a blend of humour and fantasy how tolerance and respect for human dignity are possible even in difficult circumstances. Chen Yu-Hsun also received UNESCO's Fellini Medal commemorating the cinema's one-hundredth anniversary.

### SPOTLIGHT ON ETHICS: A NEW UNESCO PUBLICATION

The first issue of *Spotlight on Ethics*, the newsletter of UNESCO's International Bioethics Committee (IBC), was published earlier this year. The purpose of the new publication, as defined by UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, is to be "a place for debate and exchange, . . . open to all committees on ethics and similar bodies all over the world that are busy developing programmes of research, education and information". By publishing background articles as well as practical information about international meetings, publications and institutions concerned with bioethics, the bilingual (English/French) newsletter will contribute to efforts by IBC to define ethical guidelines to accompany advances in genetics.

For further information contact  
Spotlight on Ethics, the Bioethics Unit, UNESCO, 1, rue Miollis, 75732 Paris Cedex 15, France. Tel.: (33-1) 45 68-38 03; Fax: (33-1) 45 67-39 15.



# The Iguazu falls

cascading wonder  
of the subtropical  
forest

by Edouard Bailby



UNESCO IN ACTION  
HERITAGE



**On the border between Argentina and Brazil, the Iguazu Falls are one of the natural wonders of the world and the main attraction of the Iguazu National Park (Iguazu in Spanish) which is registered on UNESCO's World Heritage List.**

Serpent God. On learning that Tarobá, a young warrior from a neighbouring tribe, had fallen in love with the Indian Naipi and fled with her in a pirogue, M'Boi flew into a rage. Summoning up all his strength, he parted the earth and created the gorges of the Iguazu. The pirogue was swept over the waterfall and vanished into the raging waters. Tarobá turned into a palm tree and Naipi became a rock at the foot of the falls. M'Boi buried himself upright up to his neck in one of the caves in the canyon so that he could keep an eye on the two lovers and ensure they would never be able to embrace each other.

#### **A HAIR-RAISING TRIP UPSTREAM**

The river waters flow relentlessly and at terrific speed through the green jungle. The surrounding trees harbour

toucans, parrots (in particular the glaucous macaw, which is an endangered species) and budgerigars. Singing birds of every possible hue flit from branch to branch. Other denizens of the forest include monkeys and silently fluttering blue butterflies of impressive proportions. There are few large cats, which shun the presence of man. But the paths trodden by visitors are sometimes crossed by deer, wild pigs and other tropical mammals.

Iguazu National Park, which was included on UNESCO's World Heritage List on 28 November 1986, consists of two sections, one in Brazil, covering an area of 1,750 square kilometres, and the other in Argentina, on the left bank of the river, covering an area of 550 square kilometres. The two sections were connected a few years ago, when a bridge was built across

The 275 cataracts formed by the waters of the Iguazu River, on the border between Brazil and Argentina, create a permanent cloud of spray above the surrounding area.

The breathtakingly spectacular falls occur above the point where the 1,320-kilometre-long Iguazu, which rises in southern Brazil, joins the Paraná, the country's second-largest river after the Amazon. Twenty-eight kilometres before the confluence, the 1.2-kilometre-wide Iguazu suddenly plunges into an 80-metre-deep canyon. Its raging waters form an immense succession of brilliant white cataracts, forming a horse-shoe shaped front of 2.7 kilometres. It is an awesome sight: the mighty roar of the river as it crashes down to the bottom of the canyon at an average rate of 1,700 cubic metres of water per second, with peaks of nearly four times that quantity, can be heard for several kilometres around.

Long before the arrival of the Spanish, then the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century, the area belonged to the Guarani people. Iguazu means "great waters" in Guarani. The story goes that a tribe forming part of a powerful people known as the Caiguangue worshipped Tupã, the Supreme God, and his son M'Boi, the





the Iguazu downstream from the Falls. No visitor should fail to visit both sections, which are very different in appearance. While the most impressive spot is the Garganta do Diabo (Devil's Gorge) in Brazil, it is only from the Argentinian side that it is possible to get a panoramic view. The canyon can be admired in all its splendour from various forest paths and from a 117-metre-long footbridge over the waters. Last year, 970,000 tourists paid the \$2 entrance fee to get into Iguazu National Park (Iguazú in Spanish).

Visitors can take a dirt road down through the forest on the Brazilian side to a small landing stage on the Iguazu River. There, a specially designed inflatable dinghy waits to take them on an extraordinary forty-minute trip. It can accommodate batches of ten seated passengers at a

time equipped with lifebelts. The boat takes off at spectacular speed. Firmly fastened to his seat, the pilot is forced to drive upstream at a speed of 80-100 kmh in order to overcome the force of the current and to wend his way between whirlpools and rocks. As it is swept along by its own momentum, the dinghy sometimes rears almost vertically out of the water, before falling back and continuing on its difficult way upriver, eventually gliding gently along the Macuco falls, whose countless droplets form a translucent haze.

#### **THE DANGERS OF TOURISM**

Can tourism harm this spectacular site? Until now, it has not done so, since both Brazil and Argentina have taken the necessary steps to protect wildlife. But the fragile balance of the forest could be jeopardized if either country were to take a wrong decision. Controversy has already been caused by the helicopters which carry tourists on trips above the falls every day.

The fact is that the Brazilians and Argentinians are chiefly interested in

protecting the Park from poaching and the illegal felling of palm trees. At night, groups of men creep secretly into the forest to hunt game and fish for salmon in the Iguazu. Others trade in palm hearts, which they gather in Brazil and sell in Argentina, where they fetch a higher price. Contraband has declined thanks to the presence of the forest rangers, but there are only about fifty of them, which is not enough to guard an area of 2,300 square kilometres. It is all the easier for poachers to trespass on the Park because it is not surrounded by a buffer zone. When it was created in 1939, says José Carlos Ramos, director of the Brazilian Park, the notion that nature reserves needed to be protected did not yet exist.

The Brazilian journalist and environmentalist Jackson Lima, with the support of his Argentine colleagues, has denounced various plans hatched by private companies with an eye to profit. One multinational would like to illuminate the falls at night. The cost of the installation would be \$1.4

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#### **EDOUARD BAILBY**

is a French journalist who has been a correspondent with the weekly *L'Express* and a press officer in Unesco's Office of Public Information. He is the author of guides to Cuba (4th edition, 1993) and Hungary (1991) published by Arthaud, Paris.

million. "What do they want to do? Frazzle birds with the heat of their lamps?" asks Lima. "We get a full moon every month—it's much more beautiful!" Another company has plans for a seventy-metre-high tower with a revolving restaurant at the top, from which diners would be able to admire the falls. A third firm has come up with the idea of building a miniature Disneyland-type railway that would run around the cataracts.

In the last twenty years, 85 per cent of the rainforest cover on the banks of the Paraná River has been destroyed to make way for fields of wheat and soya. Straddling the Iguazu as it does, the National Park has ended up becoming a veritable island that has preserved most of its flora and fauna. But Ramos is particularly concerned by a new development project. To reduce the road distance between two small Brazilian towns, Capanema and Medianeira, by 140 kilometres, there have been moves to drive an asphalted road straight through the middle of the Park from the southeast to the northwest. "I shall continue to oppose that plan as hard as I can. Iguazu is sacrosanct," he says. Unfortunately, he simply does not have the human and financial resources he needs to keep the site in good shape.

#### **A BOLD VENTURE**

The need to improve the Iguazu National Park's protection system is all the more urgent because the Park is located at the meeting point of three countries, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay. The population of the Brazilian town of Foz do Iguazu, which is only thirty kilometres from the falls, has risen from 30,000 at the beginning of the 1960s (when work started on the world's most powerful hydro-electric power station at Itaipu, twenty kilometres to the north on the Paraná River) to over 200,000 today. Foz do Iguazu is now Brazil's third biggest tourist attraction, after Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and boasts 160 hotels of every class. Yet two-thirds of their rooms are taken not by tourists who have come to admire the falls, but by *sacoleiros*, people who drive across

the Bridge of Friendship, a few kilometres away, to go shopping in the thousands of duty-free shops in the border town of Ciudad del Este in Paraguay. On some days, especially Wednesday and Saturday, cars wait four hours to cross the Paraná River. In 1994, 4.1 million people crossed the bridge.

It is very tempting for Foz do Iguazu in Brazil and Puerto Iguazú in Argentina to take advantage of this more or less clandestine trade, while at the same time preserving the natural environment of the National Park. It will be a tricky enterprise that will require continual co-operation between the authorities of the

two countries. Last June, 270 travel agents from all over the world met for four days in Foz do Iguazu to look at ways of attracting more tourists to the region, which lies at the heart of Mercosur, the common market of four South American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) created in January 1995. The question is: what, in addition to the falls, can tourists be offered to induce them to stay more than forty-eight hours on the banks of the Iguazu River?

This is an issue that is likely to provoke heated debate between defenders of the environment and champions of growth. "We shall need UNESCO's help," says Ramos. ■



# The birth of the blues

by Isabelle Leymarie

After emerging from the field songs of the cotton plantations in the Deep South at the end of the 19th century, the blues became a fount of inspiration for jazz and later rock 'n' roll. Here Isabelle Leymarie reviews *La route du blues* ("The Blues Road"), a new book that journeys along the Mississippi to the source of this Afro-American musical form that has fans all over the world.

The origin of the blues, one of the most original and powerful musical forms to develop in the New World, can be traced back to field hollers, the modulated cries made by slaves as they laboured in the cotton fields of the Deep South. When LeRoi Jones wrote a book on black Americans, later to become a classic of Afro-American literature, he gave it the evocative title *The Blues People*.

The blues and its urban reincarnation, boogie-woogie, are the ancestors of rock 'n' roll. Elvis Presley, Vince Taylor, the Rolling Stones and Eric Clapton could never have existed without the blues. Jazz is constantly going back to its roots in the fertile soil of the blues

and gospel music, which has always had close links with the blues. The celebrated blues scale, which is so typical of Afro-American music and gives it its specific "mashed note" tone, provided the uprooted slaves with a means of reproducing untempered African scales on instruments different from those they had known. The first blues singers were "loners"—unattached men living in rural areas who accompanied themselves on the guitar. Later the blues became urbanized when it was taken up by vaudeville artistes and recording companies. With the massive migration of blacks to the northern states, the blues became more stylized and eventually came to be played by bands and orchestras.

Standard blues contains twelve bars with a typical modulation on the fifth bar. But rather than a particular structural or harmonic pattern, the blues is above all a "sound", a way of life, an emotion. Musicians say that you have to have lived the blues before you can play

it, you have to have suffered, toiled away, wandered from place to place, been in love and paid your dues.

## From New Orleans to Chicago

*La route du blues* ("The Blues Road") traces the wanderings of the bluesmen along the Mississippi from New Orleans, Baton Rouge and the Louisiana countryside to Chicago, the end of the road for the huge wave of migrants and still capital of the blues today. This lively, well-designed and beautifully illustrated book reveals the multifaceted world of the blues and its different regional styles. It takes us along the majestic Mississippi and explores its curious hidden by-ways, as the musicians themselves once did. After the haunting bayous and the monotonous plain stretching from Lake Pontchartrain to Baton Rouge, we enter the





A scene in the French quarter of New Orleans, Louisiana (U.S.A.).

state of Mississippi with its impressive delta swollen by the waters of the Yazoo River. We move on through Natchez, Greenville, Greenwood and other towns and villages where some of the famous blues performers lived. We visit Indianola, Itta Bena, Tutwiler, Clarksdale, and Memphis, with its ever-present memories of Elvis Presley, Martin Luther King Jr., Beale Street's famous blues clubs, and "Stax", the great soul music record label, and then on to Saint Louis, Detroit and Chicago.

We discover the urban and rural landscapes, and taste the atmosphere of bars, saloons and gambling dens, often run-down but still "jumping", brightly coloured churches, heat-oppressed residential neighbourhoods built along the roadside or amidst luxuriant vegetation. Vivid descriptions of places are interspersed with portraits and interviews with musicians, record producers and other figures associated with the history of the blues—people like the prize-fighter and pianist Champion Jack

Dupree, Fats Domino, Professor Longhair, Slim Harpo, the legendary Leadbelly, who was discovered in the Angola, Louisiana, penitentiary by the musicologist John Hammond and was one of the first jazz musicians to use the twelve-string guitar, Lightnin' Hopkins, "Blind" Lemon Jefferson, Willie Dixon, Charley Patton, Robert Johnson, B. B. King, Sonny Boy Williamson, Elvis Presley, Al Green, Muddy Waters. We meet a cast of characters who are by turns ecstatic, disillusioned, thoughtful, jovial, kindly,

## LA ROUTE DU BLUES

("THE BLUES ROAD")

by David Ausseil and  
Charles-Henry Contamine  
with photos by Denis Chapoullié  
Preface by Ahmet Ertegun

Ediciones de Arte J. P. Barthélémy  
Besançon (France) 1995  
383 pages  
ISBN 2-909 413-17-9

jubilant, ironic and stylish, but all figures of great humanity. And, of course, there is the music, everywhere defying adversity and discrimination, erupting in Chicago's vacant lots or in the middle of its crowded streets.

### Touring the world

The book also gives a detailed history of the first blues recordings, such as Mamie Smith's *Crazy Blues* on the "Okel" label, which was marketed only to blacks and sold 75,000 copies in a month, the hits of Bessie Smith, the "Queen of the Blues", and the emergence of the minstrel shows. Some pages tell the story of the alcohol, women and gambling that fuelled the droll, tormented imagination of the bluesmen. Others show trains with nicknames like "The Southern" or "The Dog" which carried migrants and hobos to faraway places and occupy a key place in blues lyrics. Other parts of the book are devoted to such important themes as cotton, the Mississippi, voodoo (known as *mojo* in the Deep South), migration, religion and its place in everyday life, and Chess Records, one of the first important urban blues recording labels.

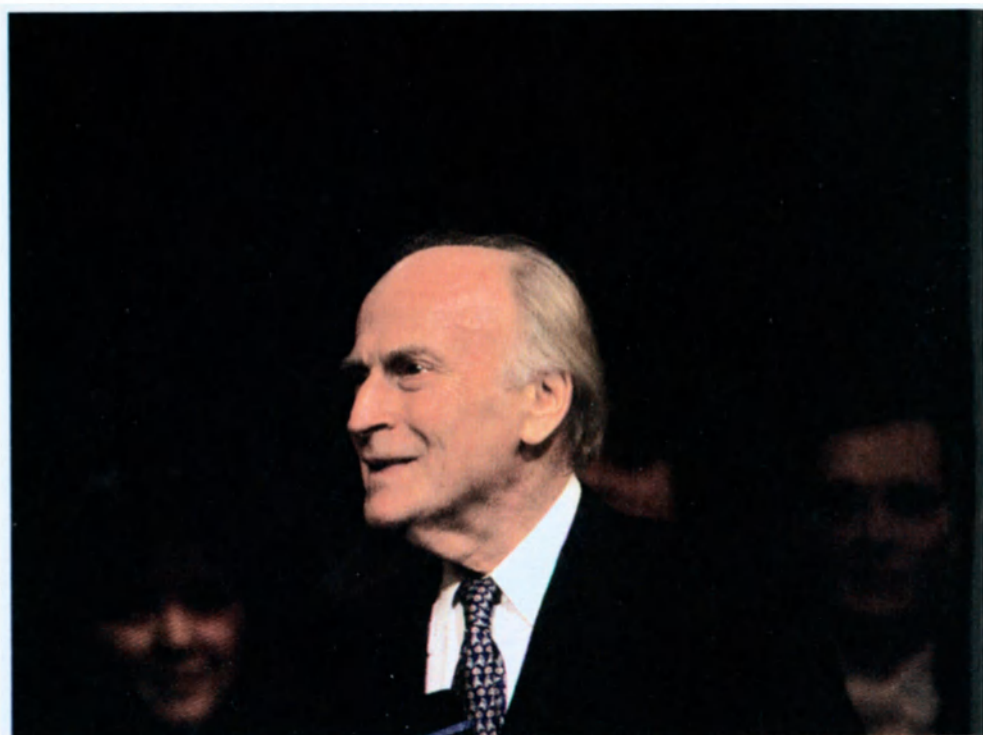
The saga of the blues did not end on the shores of Lake Michigan. Its language has become international. In his preface Ahmet Ertegun describes the feelings that gripped him in Bodrum, Turkey, when he heard an unknown guitarist launch into an impassioned version of a Muddy Waters blues standard. The book's authors report that "back from a European tour with Howlin' Wolf during the Blues Revival, the ever-inspired Hubert Sumlin had been fascinated by the hero-worship with which they had been received by British guitarists, 'When we got there, I couldn't believe it. They knew more about us than we know ourselves, or almost!'" ■

ISABELLE LEYMARIE  
is a Franco-American musicologist.

# YEHUDI MENUHIN

talks to Martine Leca

A former child prodigy, one of the great violinists of the century, Yehudi Menuhin has also conducted, directed several music festivals and founded a music school in England. A man of peace, he played for the Red Cross during the Second World War and continues to be a staunch defender of human rights. From 1969 to 1975 he was president of UNESCO's International Music Council and is presently a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador. He recently created the "Muse" project which seeks to provide European children with education for peace through music.



■ You gave your first concert at the age of seven. How did you come to terms with the gift that has taken you so far?

— I accepted it naturally. Later on, daily practice of yoga—in which the body is like a root shooting simultaneously skyward and into the earth—along with my fundamentally robust nature, has kept me from going astray. I was also certain that my music helped to make the world a better place. That was my first and most abiding wish. My ambition was not to become a virtuoso, a music-making machine, but an intermediary who could reveal the joy that exists in all of us and be receptive to others. My soul has never been imprisoned by the straitjacket of technique. On the contrary, it is my Slav soul, with its age-old wealth of instinct, that has made me play naturally.

■ You have been called “the Mozart of the violin”. Has being a virtuoso imposed constraints on you?

— My father set himself the task of

helping me and looking after my career. He had nothing in common with Mozart's father, who was overbearing and vain and presented his genius of a son to the courts of France and other European countries. My court was—and still is—the public, the people who come to uplift their minds and souls so that they can forget their everyday troubles. No, learning to play the violin was never an imposition for me.

The route from the head to the heart must always be direct. When, at the age of seven, I held my first violin, this route was already mapped out within me. I owe this rigour, these standards that governed my childhood, to my upbringing and to my nature. Later I discovered a more carefree attitude to life, because my teacher—Enescu<sup>1</sup>—taught me to play unsystematically, intuitively. I became known as a young virtuoso. I went from concert to concert, pursued by the desire to float like a balloon and discover the marvellous lightness of being.

However, the lightness I was

MARTINE LECA  
is a French writer and journalist.

# 'MAKING OTHERS HAPPY'

looking for was concealed by a sensation of heaviness. It took me twenty years to feel the weight of one finger and to understand the relationship of music—which comes from the soul—to the muscles. I then realized that technique must take a spiritual course which involves the body. The body is a noble thing: it should be given life through dance, singing and music, and not be crucified. Some civilizations have understood this, others not.

Art develops the intellectual, physical, imaginative and sensory spheres, and hence all human potential. We use only part of our capabilities because education does not go to the source. As a source of equilibrium and tolerance, music should be brought into the schools as a form of self-fulfilment, a new philosophy, especially in primary schools, with the participation of monitors, musicians, specialists and composers. Musical education, which has hitherto been regarded as an optional subject, can change people's social behaviour.

## ■ Why in primary schools rather than at other levels?

— Music encourages revelation, a sense of union with others and with our environment. It enables us to interpret our relationship with the earth's rhythms and express emotions like joy and pain. In remedying the evils of a society blighted by consumerism and the excesses of materialism, children are in a way our

teachers and redeemers. Because they are so genuine, they react immediately to encouragement and attention. Schools nowadays often bring together children from different ethnic backgrounds. An exchange of memories, cultures and sensibilities is encouraged by this diversity because children, by nature, do not succumb to the temptation of rejecting others on ethnic grounds.

They succumb to it when they are adults, depending on how narrow-minded they become or on the credence they give to false information—for xenophobia is a falsehood and is based on myths. The adult in us kills the child. Now the child must teach

**Sharing is the best  
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the adult. Musicians, composers and well-intentioned teachers must identify with children, respect them, and not deceive them by giving false answers, by evasiveness or silence. A driver must know that the road is his guide and that he must adapt his driving to the road, not to his idea of it. There can be no mistaking a straight stretch for a bend in the road.

## ■ You say that you have retained a childlike naivety and freshness. What is your recipe for this?

— Quite simply, I have never let myself give in to negative ideas, the lugubriousness and hand-wringing which poison our society. I prefer happiness. And so, I have no difficulty in projecting myself into the feelings of hundreds of millions of children, into their games and into their suffering. Since these children are the continuity of humanity, they should be given a hearing. They are a living source that will help us to recreate ourselves. In a sense, this infanticidal adult world of ours deserves the punishment it inflicts on itself, like the scorpion that dies from its own sting. In periods of so-called peace—a word that to my mind no longer corresponds to reality—the world spends its energy preparing for future wars.

## ■ Do you think that music is capable of changing human relations, of turning people towards peace?

— Sharing is the best guarantee of

peace. We must encourage everything—such as music and the arts—that encourages sharing and exclude everything that destroys or harms the growth of harmony between people.

During the Second World War, I often played for the troops: it was my form of resistance. The faces of those men who had stared death in the face and who would perhaps die the next day, shone with a kind of ecstasy, the ecstasy that is within our reach, if only we want to grasp it and pass it on. Music is the antidote to criminality. Musicians will never be criminals, nor will those who practise the martial arts, because they purge themselves of all their negative impulses. The energy that flows into them amplifies and enriches their relationship with the world and with other people.

Our times don't teach the higher, transcendent things. But music and singing can do so. Singing brings people together; it harmonizes body and mind. It unites people with others

**We all have considerable reserves of energy which remain untapped or are repressed or even spoiled, in particular because of the very Western obsession with material things. Our worst actions are dictated to us by a desire for security and by fear.**

and creates a symbiosis. Everybody has to adapt to the rhythm and the notes. This produces a collective effect on the emotions and the intellect. Music and singing have nothing to do with consumerism; they are part of life.

■ **Are you set apart from the world by the ecstasy and sublimation you experience when you play?**

— Any work of art, or any interpretation of a work of art, is bound to be executed outside real life and time. Twentieth-century theatre seeks to render the world's tragedy expressionistically, to show us real blood being shed and people's real-life occupations. Even if it wishes to be close to the real world, art cannot coincide with it. Hence the need for sublimation.

Emotions must be distilled. Mozart could make people hear and see terrible events which, through the filter of art, they could listen to in their drawing-rooms and be profoundly moved. If art gets involved in reproducing reality on stage, it becomes a kind of television news broadcast. Art has better things to do. It performs a redeeming function. The artist's role is to guide human beings, who are too wrapped up in material things, towards ecstasy. In other words, to take social beings out of themselves and unite them to the work of art, which expresses the intense experience of the artist. This is the nature of the link with the public: a shared ecstasy created in a spirit of abnegation. You want to enwrap the audience in the the beauty and calm of the detachment that takes hold of you. It is the joy of feeling a natural sense of ecstasy at a time when artificial forms of ecstasy are so fashionable.

I have always liked to experience this sublime feeling and spread it

round me. It is a paradoxical state which is at the same time very real and yet detached from the present. The Russians experience this state in their everyday lives—it is how they transcend themselves. They have a gift for drama. Their daily lives have always been so steeped in sadness and horror that they escape from it into the world of art, which lifts them out of distress and gives them life. When they sing, dance and play they draw on the drama of their daily lives which they transmute with incredible intensity and force.

I travelled with Russians during the war. Singing and reciting poems was their form of resistance. It was the expression of a spontaneous culture which had nothing to do with school; it was born of pain but also of indomitable hope. The survivors of the concentration camps have set us the same example: considering their physical and mental exhaustion, it is impossible to explain how some of them went on living. These people struggled and survived. My parents, who were Russian Jews, personified this blend of deep melancholy and dogged hope.

■ **Is this mystery, which seems such an important part of your make-up, religious in origin?**

— No. I feel its presence above all in the space we call reality, but which is to some extent beyond us. We do not know what existed before we were born or what will come to pass after we die. So we look for ways of creating ecstasy that are capable of liberating the mind from the body. But the body is not an impediment to the soul. On the contrary, everything hinges on mastering its rhythms and its breath.

I have achieved my relationship with the world without religion,





Yehudi Menuhin and the young violinist Sarah Chang at an award-giving ceremony at the Palais des Congrès in Paris in 1993.

through a sort of cosmic complicity with the world that weaves its web around me and in me and which I weave like everyone else. Religions create bonds between those who practise them, but I dread the excesses of adoration to which they give rise. Human beings in search of an existential support have the keys of their freedom within them. Individuals are the threads of this cosmic web, which is of divine essence. This attitude seems to me to be truer, closer to the human scheme of things than any form of religious worship.

We all have considerable reserves of energy which remain untapped or are repressed or even spoiled, in particular because of the very Western obsession with material things. Our worst actions are dictated to us by a desire for security and by fear. Ideally, we should root out these evils, which are within us. If we cannot manage to do so, we might at least

adopt a conciliatory attitude, which would not necessarily mean giving up our resistance and determination. It is a question of striking a balance. There's no point in trying to smash a brick wall by knocking your head against it. Thought and mental energy can do the job.

So, as I grow older, I get pleasure from feeling light, freed from the burden of having to take sides. The only thing that interests me is a harmonious centre that is flexible and strong, stronger than the sum of the parts. This very simple arithmetic ought to suit societies whose centre is yielding under the pressure of extremes.

■ **You are a fervent adept of yoga. What part does it play in your attitude to the world?**

— Yoga is a source of balance between earth, heaven and the self, a source of fusion not only with human beings but with animals, plants and the cosmos as a whole. It enables me to play by introducing the heartbeat of life and to understand intuitively

The adult in us kills  
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Now the child must  
teach the adult.

what a composer is trying to say. For instance, Bach's "Chaconne", which I regard as the finest piece ever written for solo violin, admits neither gratuitous ornamentation nor aggressiveness. It is a work that demands nerves of steel. Human beings are like Bach's "Chaconne". They have to be capable of settling their own differences, balancing their opposites and negotiating their transformations, all the deaths and rebirths which are constantly changing them.

■ **Do you have a political philosophy?**

— Politics captivates crowds which are taken in by the illusion of speech. I believe that all politicians should have a job outside politics. Politicians who were also cobblers, cooks or gardeners, who had direct experience of their country at every level, would be head and shoulders above today's politicians. They would be really useful to their fellow citizens. ■

1 Georges Enescu, Romanian composer and violinist (1881-1955).—Ed.

# The watchful eye of democracy

by Richard Hoggart

The task of encouraging tolerance may seem complex at any time, but we live today in a particularly sombre era. Our capacity to destroy each other, if we let intolerance take its course, has never been greater—from massive state-organized destruction to do-it-yourself horrors engineered by small fanatical groups.

Rabid intolerance is widespread and growing. Religious intolerance stalks several large nations. Those who exhibit ethnic intolerance have so far lost any sense of shame as to flaunt an appalling phrase such as “ethnic cleansing”. Nazism and other intolerant creeds are increasing, even in the most “developed” parts of the world. The situation could hardly be worse, but it worsens yearly.

When a real disagreement surfaces between individuals and peoples, there is sometimes a tendency to say: “It’s only a failure in communication” as though to go further and further so as to communicate more and more would ineluctably lead to the sunny uplands of mutual respect. Not necessarily so. As one former British Prime Minister answered when a member of his Cabinet who was being dismissed said there seemed to be a failure in communication: “There is no failure. I understand you very well. You are not up to the job”. We will get nowhere without such frank speaking.

Many of us are congenital joiners—of clubs, societies, neighbourhoods, nations. We like to feel we belong. That sense of belonging is umbilically linked to its opposite: the assumption that other people do *not* belong, are outsiders and are to be kept in that condition. Those of us in nations which are comfortable and little threatened can keep such nasty attitudes more or less at bay—though if someone outside the pale asked to marry our daughter it might well flare into life.

These are hard and unpalatable thoughts. What hope is there? The first hope is in the spread of democratic institutions. They are not a panacea, only the least bad social system so far devised. For the idea of democracy is founded precisely on the assumption of tolerance, rather than on any type

of authoritarianism, lay or religious: because those take away the subject’s freedom, and that loss is the essence of state intolerance.

However, democracies only work well when they do better in some important issues than the majority of their citizens would wish or would vote for in a referendum. Thus, in 1995, 75 per cent of the population of Britain are in favour of a return to capital punishment. Probably a majority have elements of racism in their attitudes. But parliament has passed anti-capital punishment and anti-racist laws.

That parliament should have to force its citizens to be more virtuous than their natural instincts even in a democracy is a pity but unavoidable. One may look forward to a time when citizens do not have to be “screwed into virtue” by their elected representatives. Meanwhile we have to be thankful for those instances where parliament does better than the majority of us would collectively do.

So we are quite well on in the debate before we come to what most well-meaning people put first: the power of education as a force towards tolerance. It is a critical force; but not easy; not a matter of warm injunctions. In an early poem the English poet W.H. Auden wrote: “We must love one another or die”. That was a call to a sort of calculated tolerance. Later he altered it, because he thought it was phoney, sentimental, face-saving, to: “We must love one another and die”.

We must in teaching (and in its best adjunct, broadcasting, if it is properly used, and not made the agent either of commerce or of state propaganda) be challenging and firm. We can arrange school exchanges, pen friends and all the rest, but we must not expect too much from them even though we prepare most carefully and un sentimentally.

Above all, we must educate our pupils and students in the art of critical literacy in a democracy. This means, among much else, training them both to understand and value their particular culture but also to stand outside it and be able and willing to judge it. ■

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS


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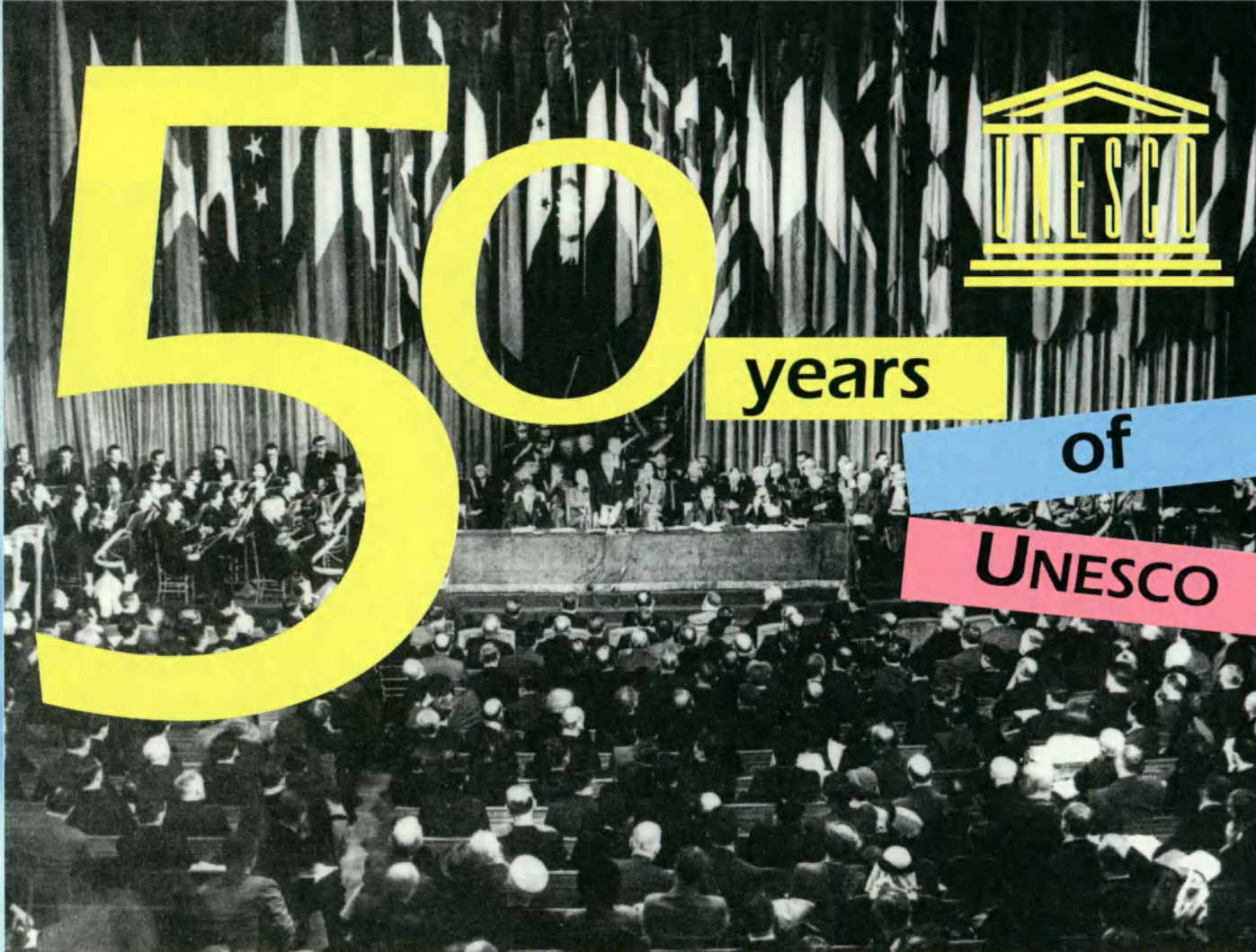


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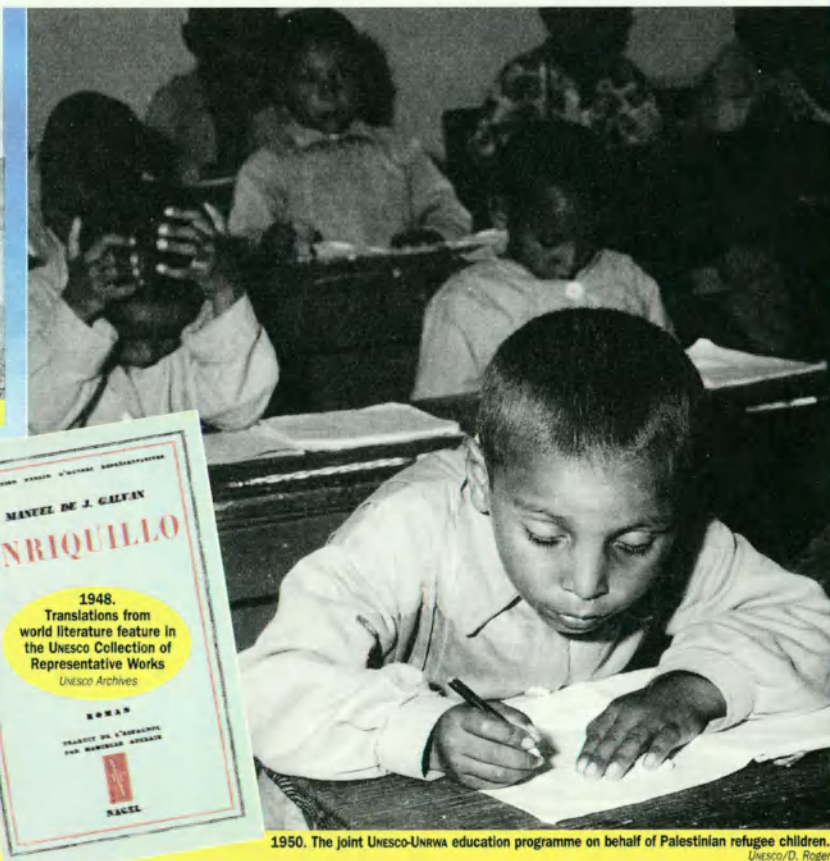


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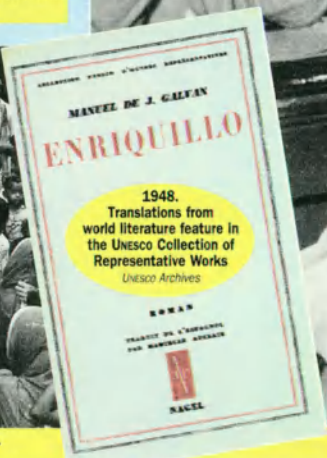
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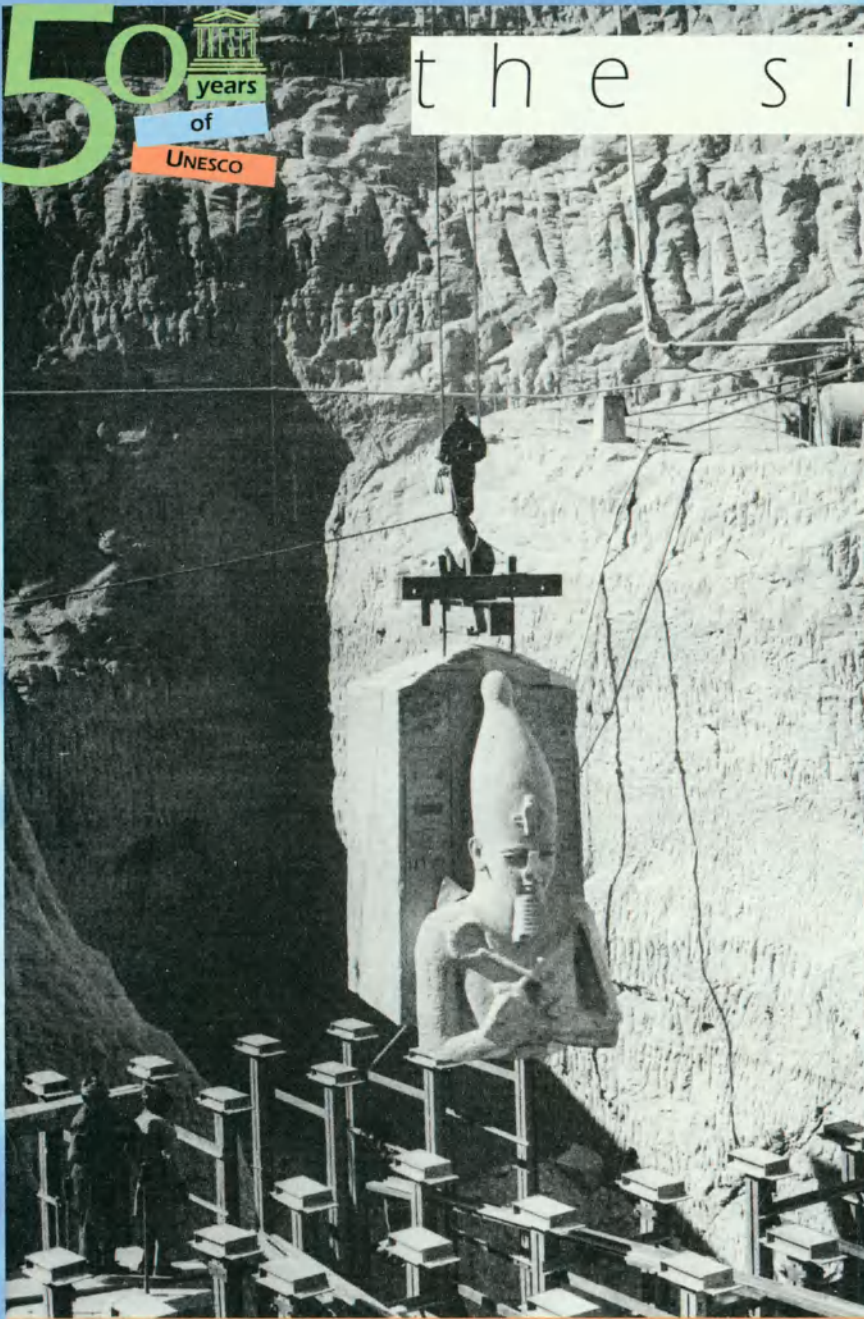


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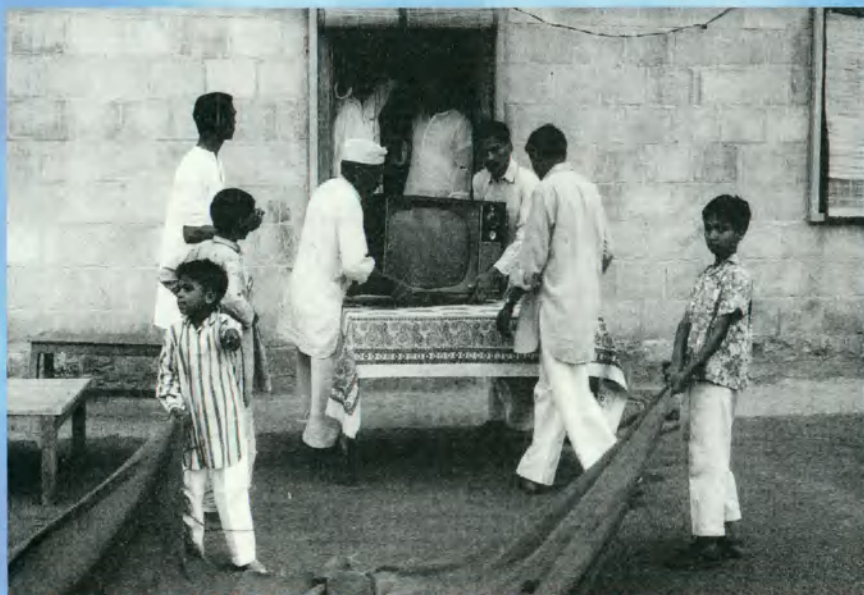
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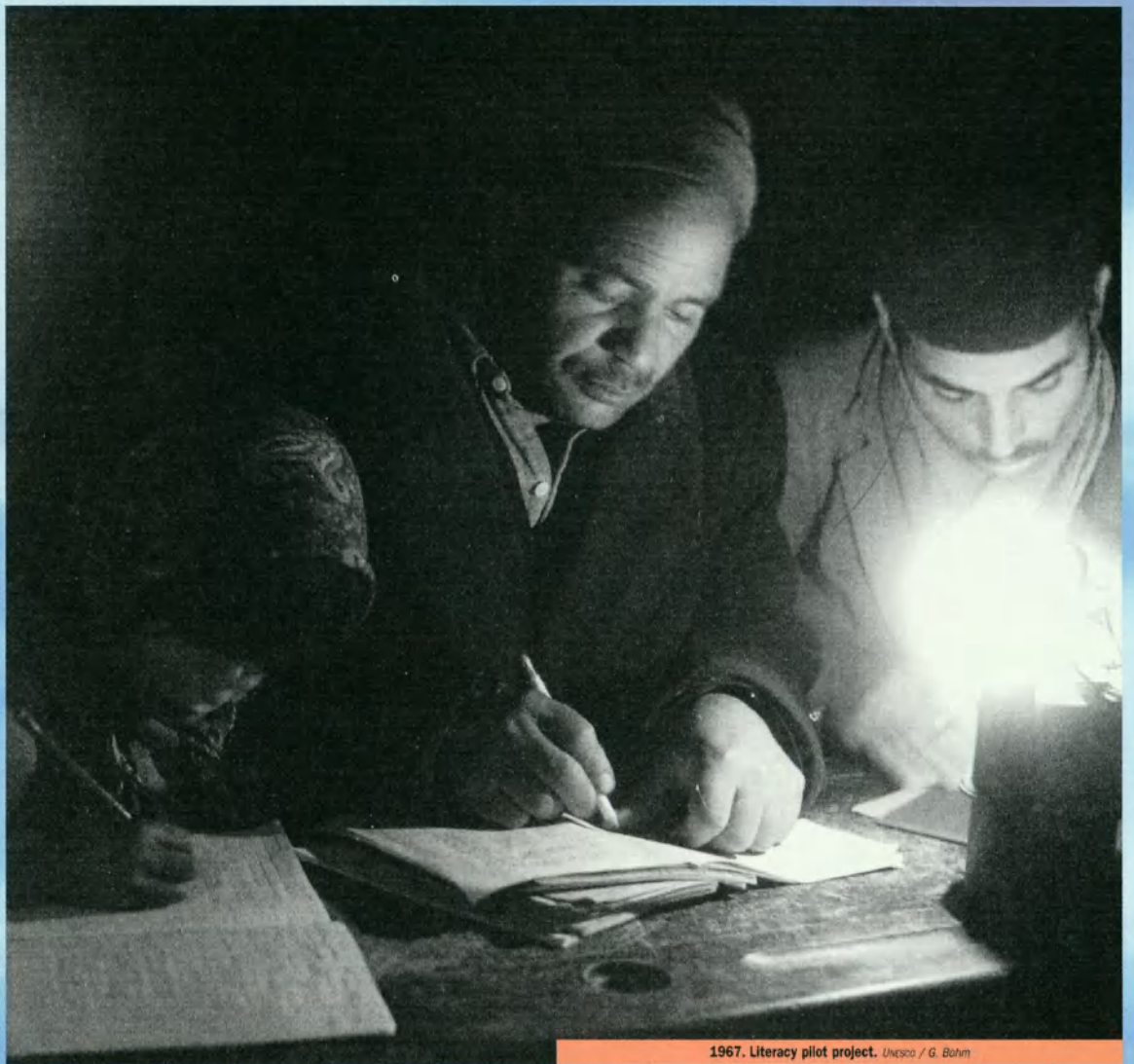
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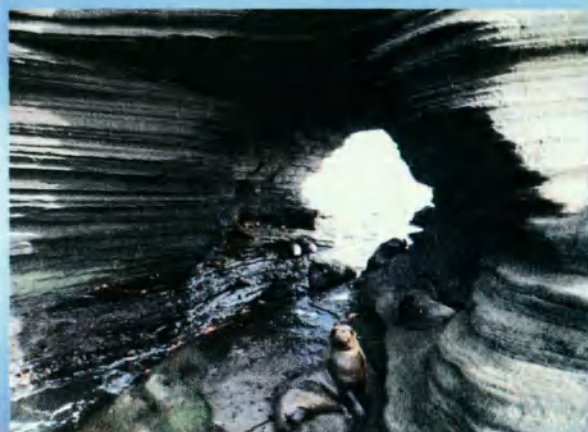
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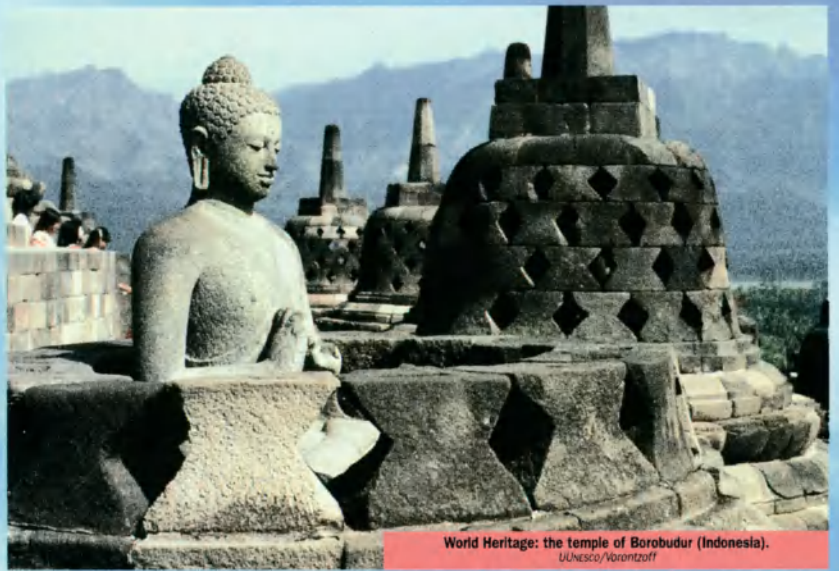
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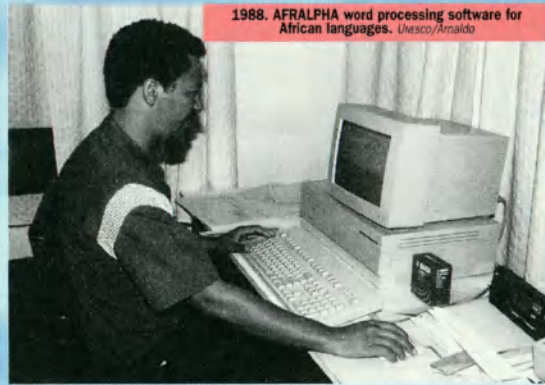
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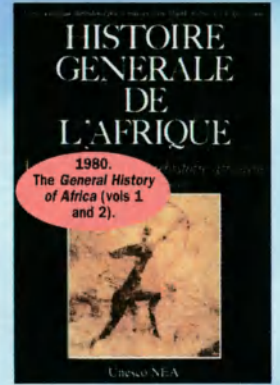
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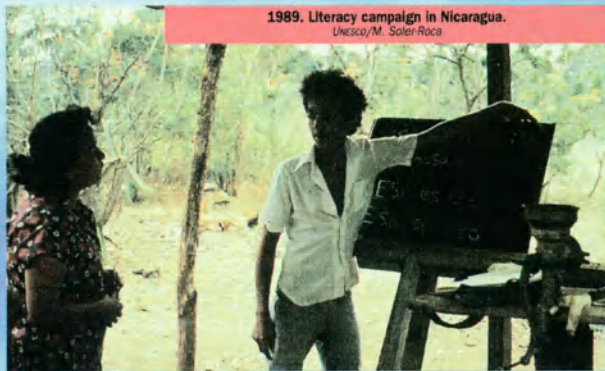
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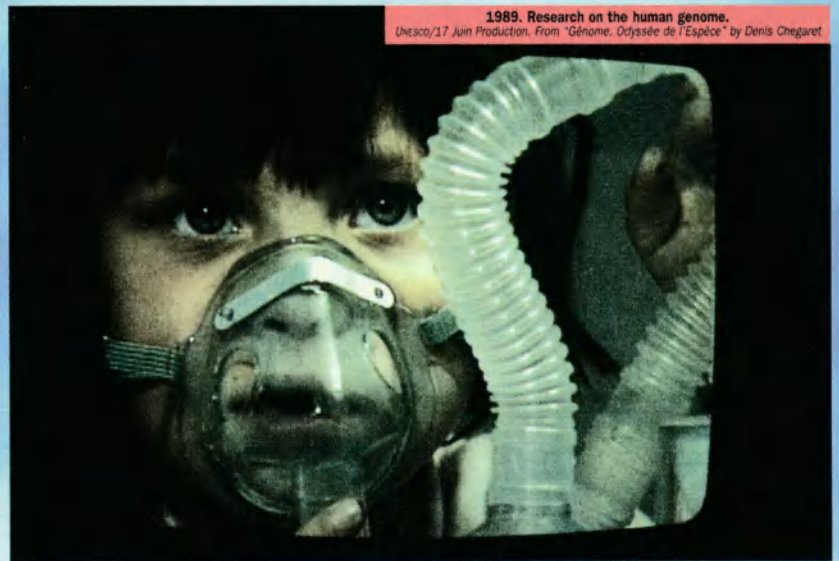
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1985-1987. Communication courses for women in developing countries. UNESCO/Banga Radio

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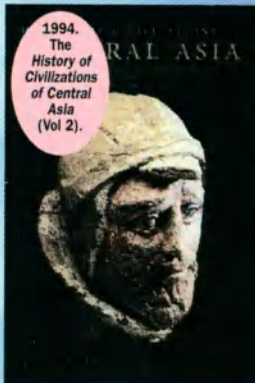
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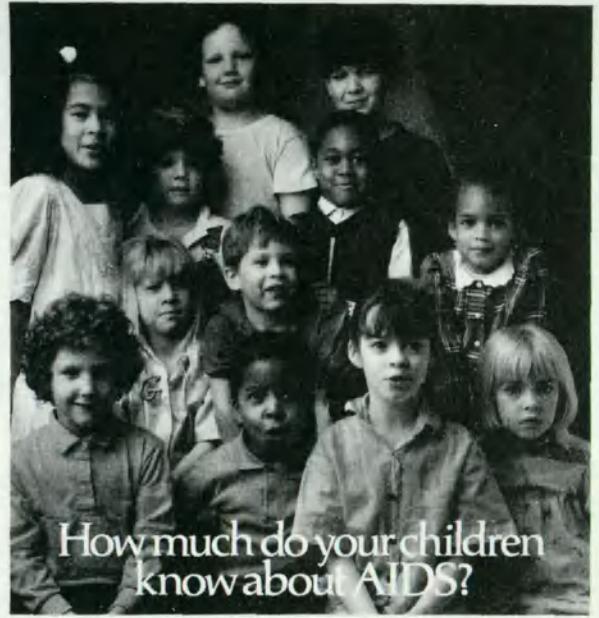
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World Heritage: A baroque altarpiece in the historic city of Sucre (Bolivia). G. Sioen © Rapho, Paris



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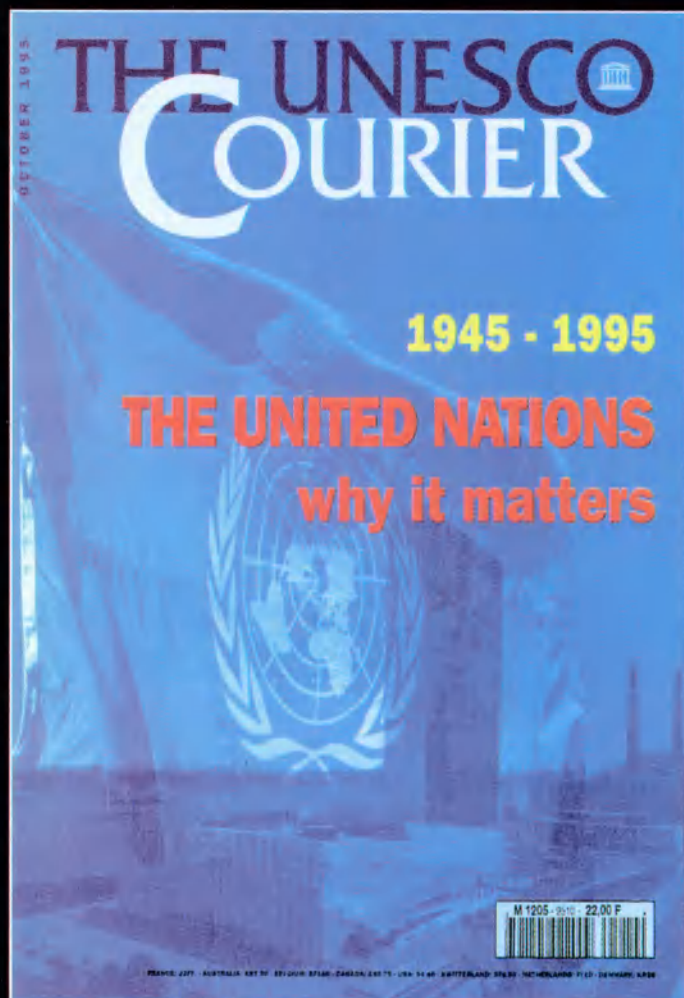
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