uppstår en blind logik med såväl samhälls- som naturvetenskapliga komponenter. "Tillväxt" och "underutveckling" är två komplementära sidor av denna logik. Samtidigt som dess periferi töms på sina potentialer (bränsle, mineraler, jordmån, biodiversitet, m.m.) ackumulerar i-sektorn allt mera exergi i sin växande "teknomassa". Polariseringens synbara obönhörlighet gör att vi inte uppfattar att själva den industriella teknologins existens vilar på sociala prisrelationer och därför i sig utgör en fördelningsfråga.

Vad som fordras är en omvandling av själva det sociala ramverket för resurshushållning. I stället för att försöka detaljreglera handeln med hjälp av avgifter o.dyl. skulle en klyvning av marknaden i en "lokal" och en "global" utbytessfär automatiskt kunna skapa nya och långsiktiga incitament för hushållning med naturresurser. När monetära vinster från export av "globalvaror" inte längre kan omsättas i långväga transporter av "lokalvaror" borde det åter igen bli lönsamt med lokala kretslopp.

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English summary:

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RECOGNIZING CONTRADICTIONS IN POLICIES FOR ECO-CYCLING

by Alf Hornborg

The Swedish government in a 1992 proposition outlined a policy for cyclical resource management. The contradictory message of this document illustrates that the changes required are first and foremost of a conceptual nature. Its trust in the capacity of industry and market mechanisms to encourage more sustainable resource use is difficult to reconcile with a global perspective on the inherently destructive logic of these institutions. A pattern of cyclical management can only be reached by "localizing" resource flows as far as possible. This in turn requires a radical reorganization of economic incentives so that local resource management is somehow "immunized" against the integration of global information flows.

World Bank vs Environment in the Third World

1994

*by Kalim Siddiqui**

The study examines the role of the World Bank in providing finance to various so-called development projects in the Third World and its impact on environment. The Bank, based on neo-liberal economic theory, gives primacy to profit motive and I find that it is anti-ecological because it treats the natural environment simply as something to be used, without regard for the long-term impact that such use may have. The concept of sustainability emphasizes that natural resources should be subject to local control, and should have decisive voice in planning. These principles have been nominally accepted by international financial agencies and developmental planners. Yet, throughout the Third World countries they are being systematically overridden by international financial institutions and national governments and development programmes, leading to increasing poverty, social conflict and rapid deforestation. However, major constraints exist within the wider political economy and policy framework, which is still locked into environmentally hostile export-oriented production, and political models which marginalise rural people. In many Third World countries, the transformation by the state of increasing areas of land into strictly protected areas has included a total restriction on the use of common resources by the local people, causing poverty and social conflict as well as environmental deterioration. This study takes a critical look at mainstream efforts to protect and rehabilitate the environment in the Third World.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to examine the impact of the World Bank's policies on the environment of the Third World. The Bank besides actively financing various major projects since 1950s, also provided technical and administrative support. Further, at the "Earth Summit" conference in June 1992, the Bank, under the so-called Global Environmental Facility (GEF), along with UNCED, was asked to lead the environmental projects. Here I will briefly argue that the GEF projects appear to be good for all dominant international interest groups like bankers, Third World elites, and the bureaucrats both in the poor and rich countries. Such solutions ignore the question of who benefits from such capital and modern technology transfers. In fact, the Bank is known for its anti-people role in the poor countries and also for a large part of the present environmental degradation as its pre-eminent role is in funding ecologically disastrous projects in the Third World countries.

The present article is divided into various sections. The **introduction** deals with the problems I would like to discuss and also briefly looks at the new role assigned to the Bank, known as the green projects, at the Earth Summit. The section on the **big dam and the World Bank** covers the Banks role in financing the building of dam projects in the Third World and its social and environmental consequences. **Green Revolution and foreign monopolies** analyses the active support extended by the Bank and foreign monopolies to spread green revolution in the Third World. The section **structural adjustment and the environment** looks at the recent reforms

* I would like to thank Dr. Carolyne Dennis and Dr. Eddie Girder for helpful comments on earlier versions of this article.

imposed by the Bank on the Third World countries. And finally, in **conclusion** summarizes environmental problems.

Actually the GEF promotes the view that environmental destruction is a problem caused by the poor countries. It ignores the fact that the root causes of ecological destruction are, thanks to colonial exploitation, over-consumption in the north and current export-led growth in the poor countries on the Bank's advice, which have led to the present environmental crisis in the poor countries. The GEF gives greater power to Bankers and bureaucrats rather than the local people who have suffered the consequences of degradation. Few would deny the present ecological crisis, but the chief perpetrators are the rich countries interest groups, acting in conjunction with elites in the poor countries. Transfer of capital serves the local elites. But tribal people, women, and the landless, all those who have been marginalised by this development process see no advantages in new funds.

The subject of environment and development is important in the view of the fundamental interaction between economic development and the natural environment, highlighted in the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (also known as Brundtland Report) to the UN General Assembly in 1987 and subsequently a the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The primary focus was put on issues concerned with the environment rather than more pressing development issues such as poverty alleviation, debts, soil degradation etc.[1]

The Brundtland Report, embraces continued economic growth under the domination of the developed countries.[2] It identifies sustainable development as a realistic means of maximising benefit without significant environmental costs and without threatening economic growth. It asks for minor reforms of the existing economic system involving modified approaches through rational planning of land use and ecosystem exploitation. The report places the mainstream within the existing economics paradigm of the developed countries and a Keynesian managed world economy. On the one hand, sustainable development is being taken to mean identifying ways to guarantee the viability of the developed capitalist economies, and the business of profitability, into the future. On the other hand, it ignores the need of the poor, the importance of the redistribution of wealth and resources and the need to place control over development planning in the hands of poor. Repayment of the huge debts undermine to pursue good environmental practice, food security, and to curb the power of TNCs to exploit differences in environmental regulations. The Brundtland report regards the development problem as chiefly one of increasing the size of the economy rather than one of tackling unequal distribution both at global and domestic levels.

THE BIG DAM AND THE WORLD BANK

It would be interesting to analyse the big dam projects and their impact on the environment and on the socio-economic conditions of the local people. It is argued here that the technocratic induced development projects not only undermine the environment with indiscriminate growth, but a degraded environment can bring disaster to future growth itself. Large dam projects and environmental concerns has been the subject of great controversy. The core issue of the disagreement is the trade-off between the so-called essential technology for development and costs to the environment and local people. Between 1981 and 1991 the World Bank approved the financing for 101 projects which would involve the resettlement of several hundred thousand people and it is estimated that nearly 1.7 million people would be adversely affected.[3]

The purpose of the large dams is supposedly to convert water into electricity to meet the growing energy demand of industries and to provide irrigation for agriculture, especially for the cultivation of cash crops. These so-called benefits have to be seen against the negative impact of the dams on the local people. The environmental impacts of dams include the sedimentation of reservoirs, salinisation, and waterlogging, a rise in water related diseases, a decline in fishery resources, and the loss of spiritual and cultural sites.

For example, a study by Oliver-Smith on Tuchuri Dam in Brazil has found a negative impact on subsistence farmers inhabiting the area around the Tocantins river, who have experienced the continuous destruction of their resource base, particularly fish and shrimps. Experts have shown concern relating to the environment over China's plan for the three large dams on the Yangzi river. The project will displace more than a million people (including 330 000 farmers) and there is likely to be considerable salinization of the estuary at Shanghai, as well as resource deprivation. In Egypt, after water impoundment in the Aswan High Dam, reservoir siltation, salinization and changes in hydrobiological quality have negatively affected water quality and fish species. The experts say that the construction of large dams on free-flowing rivers results in changes in water temperature and velocity, which alters the balance of fish and their environment. The breeding of fish and movement is adversely affected by the disturbance in river flora and fauna.

The success of the Green Revolution in terms of the increment in food production in a short period requires fixed capital investment in Dams to adopt new varieties of wheat, rice and sugarcane. Irrigation has played a crucial role in increases in output in many Third World countries. In India, Pakistan, China and Indonesia, nearly 50 % of all agricultural investment goes into irrigation and 30 % of the World Banks agricultural lending is allocated to irrigation. As a result, more than a third of the increase in agricultural production has come from irrigated areas. Irrigation has been a major factor in the increase in production in India since early the 1950s, where agricultural production rose from 50 million to 172 million in 1992, and in the absence of water and fertilizers, the new varieties of seeds (HYVs) could not have been very successful. But the green revolution reinforced the existing land inequality by the provision of canal water, as well as displacing the poor farmers and tenants as large farmers buy more land. It was observed in the Canal Project in Rajasthan that social tension occurred due to the intrusion of farmers in large numbers from the adjoining states.

The recent large dam, namely Sardar Sarovar Project, in India has failed to take into account environmental problems and water logging, and its assumptions regarding the costs and benefits are highly unrealistic. Even so the government is continuing with this project at all costs. The canal is 460 km. long and it will affect 140 000 families, about 14 000 families will lose their land and livelihood and will be forced to leave. Most of those who will lose land to the over 200 km long Sardar Sarovar reservoir are from the Madhya Pradesh, while the state government has not taken any steps to resettle and rehabilitate these people. The tribal people, who are affected by this projects, have lived in the forest of Narmada Valley for centuries. The forests and the river has provided them with food, fuel, medicine and other necessities of life without relying on outside support. It would be very cruel to force them to leave their land and the forests of their ancestors. For these tribal people, also known as Bhils, the region has immense spiritual and cultural importance.

Moreover, the experts have warned that diseases like schistosomiasis and malaria will spread in the vicinity of the reservoir and the net work of canals and drains "must be viewed seriously". A large part of the cultivated land in the region will be susceptible to large perennial irrigation schemes in water logging and salinization. A recent study says that seepage from the 75 000 km. of distribution canals is inevitable, causing local ground water to rise to the surface, which means salt will salinize the irrigated soils. As a result, the degradation will affect large tracts of land. Instead of understanding and solving the demands of the local people who are opposing these projects the Indian government has subjected them to "arbitrary arrest, illegal detention, beating and other forms of physical abuse" as noted by Asia Watch, a well known human rights group.

India's irrigation potential was 7.8 million hectares, of which ground water and surface water like ponds accounted for a large slice. The ground water source was the largest, not only in terms of the irrigated land, but also qualitatively as a far superior, ecologically suitable and reliable source. A substantial investment on this was made by farmers themselves who made their collective efforts through village councils. During the last four decades the Indian government expenditure has experienced a 165 fold increase on large irrigation projects, which has added to the present chaos and crisis. The recently launched government 'national water policy' has failed to address the main problems and over-looked many serious maladies which made the irrigation system economically unviable, socially iniquitous and environmentally disastrous.

The irreparable ecosystem damage and the attendant genetic erosion engendered by the submergence of vast tracts of virgin forest due to Dam construction need a more critical look. In India, the unholy alliance of bureaucrats, technocrats, political elites and international financial agencies has not only imposed a heavy economic, social and environmental burden on a rich rainfall country, but is also exposing it to recurrent floods and drought. The earthquake prone area in the north Himalayas has challenged once again the so-called benefits of the large dams.

Recently the media has exposed the corruption associated with Pergau dam in northern Malaysia. It is said that 334 million pounds of the British overseas aid budget was invested in this environmentally damaging project. It emerged too that Balfour B. & C., the British company involved in the project were not asked to competitively tender for the contract. The Malaysian hydro-electric dam in the remote rain forests, was fully backed by the Bank. It is said to be environmentally damaging, and besides threatening native inhabitants, also threatens some of the rare wildlife including the Sumatran rhino, tigers, and leopards. Here it is clear that the project highlights the hidden connection between British foreign aid and the pursuance of British companies interests.

In the Chittagong Hills of Bangladesh the lives of tribal peoples were disrupted by the building of the Kaptai Dam. The dam displaced nearly 100 000 people. Most of them became poorer economically after being moved. The dam attracted new people from other regions into the newly irrigated lands, which had previously been inhabited mainly by tribal people of different ethnicity. There was a clash between these two communities over the limited resources resulting in armed resistance by the tribal people. Anthropologist T. Scudder notes that forced settlement's "about the worst thing you can do to a people...next to killing them". It destroys local economies and productive assets, creating poverty and food insecurity. It tears apart families and breaks up traditional social safety nets, leading to acute psychological, social, and cultural stress.

Resettlement of those affected by the construction of the Dam could mean the breaking of the kinship group, family and households. Many of the social and economic problems associated with the resettlement in rural areas relate to land and natural resource entitlement. The experience shows that hardly any resettlement schemes in the Third World have adequately compensated the people for the resources, social and economic livelihood that they lose when they are forcibly moved. The Volta Reservoir project in Ghana forced more than 75 000 people to move. The resettlement of people from different groups and cultural backgrounds was very hard and even the land resources were not enough to meet their necessities, many people died and others lived in conditions of permanent starvation. The Nam Pong project in Thailand expelled many people from their homes and they were resettled in newly irrigated areas. The so-called newly irrigated areas attracted many people with relatively more capital resources from other regions and as a result the population increased rapidly and the land price went up dramatically beyond the reach of the poor. As land became more profitable, more new land was brought under cultivation, which in turn has resulted in soil erosion and accelerated sedimentation of the reservoir with adverse

effects on the reservoir of fisheries and a rise in flood damage.

Another example related to resettlement shows that the resettled people's living condition becomes worse after resettlement and local people have not benefitted from the Dam construction. The case studies on the Kaimbere Reservoir in Kenya find that the average land holding of resettled people fell from 13 hectares to 6 hectares after resettlement. Yield dropped dramatically (a decline of 68 % for maize) and households income declined by 82 %. The rapid increase in population leads to an increase in the value of the land which means small farmers can not purchase the land, and are often pushed to inferior or marginal land. There is a positive link between land and access to crucial agricultural inputs and credits, which means the poor suffer from the so-called development.

Moreover, the influx of people from the other regions resulted in rapid increase of the population, and thus placed huge demands on the area's resources including land and forests. It led to rapid deforestation which in turn resulted in soil erosion, a decline in fisheries and an increase in occurrence of the floods. Over grazing land can damage soil structure and contribute to soil degradation. The land which is over grazed tends to have low water infiltration capacity which means that the natural moisture status of the soil is tampered with, which worsen the loss of surface soil and soil erosion. Similarly, Tarbela Dam in Pakistan was completed in 1976 and the dam was financed by the World Bank. It witnessed a number of negative impacts related to the environment. Soil fertility around the dam deteriorated. Water seepage and continual irrigation over the years has led to a gradual upward movement of the groundwater table which has resulted in water logging, salinity and therefore declines in productivity and the availability of fresh water.
The World Bank is the largest international agency to be involved in forced migration in the Third World. In some cases it is linked to plantation schemes, but the majority of course are associated with large scale hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Often displaced people are not provided with any land or other permanent sources of income and end up in poverty in city slums. Various studies have pointed out the horrors of forced resettlements. The Balbina on Brazil's Uatuma river, completed in 1986 with World Bank help of a 550 million dollar loan, flooded 2 400 square km. of the area and forced one-third of the Waimiri Atroari Indians to leave their lands. As a result of this social and economic disruption more than half died. In Indonesia, for example, about 25 000 peasants were displaced due to overflooding of their lands by the World Bank funded Kedung Ombo dam. Thousands of families ended up in city slums.

World Bank financed projects in the Third World have currently forced more than 1.5 million people to move away from their source of livelihood. For example, it is that the Pakmun dam in Thailand will displace more than 20 000 peasants. The country's earlier displaced people by hydro projects namely Sirindhorn dam, were resettled on barren and rocky land totally unfit for cultivation. Many families have to abandon the land and move to towns. In West Bengal, India, the Bank is continuing to fund the Subernarekha dam project, which is supposed to displace about 30 000, mainly tribal people. In China, the Bank is involved in the dam on the Yangtze river, which will force 1 million to leave. The dam's 600 km. long reservoir will drown more than 800 villages and up to 44 000 hectares of farm land. It is estimated that within the last four decades nearly 10 million people have been displaced by this dam and other water management projects. According to China's ministry of water resources, more than a third still live in absolute poverty.

In short, the various independent studies completely contradict the widely publicised so-called gains of the big dams. The technocrats and the elites craze to build bigger dams is making irrigation systems highly inefficient in the long term, with disastrous consequences. Furthermore they are blindly putting a large number of people not only at economic risk by displacement, but also making them increa-

singly vulnerable to diseases and soil degradation. The question arises of who makes decisions about such projects, and should it reside with bureaucrats or instead with local people, who could be involved in such projects, accepting, modifying or rejecting such plans. This will reduce the gross injustice and environmental damage. However, the Bank and the western leaders show no sign of changing. They reject the idea that affected people should be consulted as this might mean the complete abandonment of the project.

GREEN REVOLUTION AND FOREIGN MONOPOLIES

The World Bank and the Ford Foundation vigorously supported the introduction of the Green Revolution in the 60s in the agriculture of the Third World, which promoted an agricultural strategy based on intensifying agricultural production through the use of modern inputs and thus dragging the peasants into the market economy. Following this strategy has intensified the grip of hunger and further widened rural inequality, strengthening those very forces i.e. the rural rich that who undermine the availability of food to the poor. It also exacerbated landlessness and degradation of the environment and rural wealth was further concentrated into fewer and fewer hands.

The multinational corporations and also the Food And Agriculture Organisation (FAO), extended their full support to the green revolution. It was said that the technical change was a substitute for institutional reform. Instead of land reform, India, for example, was encouraged to concentrate on new seeds to raise food production. At first glance, such an approach looks attractive. It certainly raised agricultural output in certain regions of India, but the question is, at what cost? The impressive gains in output potentially available from the new varieties can only be secured by adequate supplies of seeds, fertilizers, water, and pesticides. But subsequent field research shows that malnutrition and poverty has not been removed. According to such studies, the poor go hungry because they do not have the purchasing power with which to acquire food, not necessary anyway because food is not available.[4]

The big corporations, who promote the use of most of the modern farm inputs - that is chemical fertilizers, pesticides, weed killers, new seeds , tractors etc. - have delivered the Indian peasants into the hands of those who control such inputs. The task which previously needed the cooperation of farmers can now be performed by machines and those who are able to buy them can monopolise the benefits. The small farmers are marginalised and their land taken over by the rural rich who have increased the size of their farms and modern machines have enabled them to cultivate previously marginal land. As a result, we witness the squeezing of poor farmers and the escalation of violence against low castes, who are mostly landless labourers.

In Mexico, the fall in support prices of maize on IMF recommendation, along with flooding of maize to domestic markets resulted in deepening recession in rural Mexico, forcing many maize farmers to migrate. The plight of the Mexican peasants and the existence of a viable rural economy are now in serious doubt. As noted, "small and medium size national companies are being rapidly eliminated by competition from transnational companies; foreign dependence will increase as imports of technology and materials increase; and foreign capital will exercise greater control and influence on the type of production in the primary sector and on the patterns of consumption, with repercussions for the diet and nutrition of the majority of people in both urban and rural areas. TNCs are today involved in the production of 90 % of processed foods and 84 % of animal feeds...and the law has been changed to permit foreign capital 100 %".[5] It is said that 1994 brings new threats. Subsidized US wheat is going to flood Mexican markets due to the NAFTA deal and will force the small indigenous farmers to abandon the cultivation of beans and maize i.e. further marginalisation of the native people.

The Green Revolution undermined the earlier traditional, diversified genetic crop types.If the rains are good and irrigation is available at the time, then the yields of new seeds are high but draught or water logging makes them extremely vulnerable. The proportion of cultivated irrigated land is nearly one-fourth and vast regions of dry and rainfed agriculture is relatively neglected. The new technology is highly reliant on giant state financed irrigation projects and private pump sets. It has led to the decline of the traditional small and medium scale water conservation system maintained earlier by the community labour. These problems are coming along with the growing deforestation, soil erosion, degradation and lowering of the underground water levels.

The prosperity brought by the green revolution was distributed differentially to the various categories of farmers, putting the small and marginal farmers at a relative disadvantage. The reasons for differential distribution were various. The high-cost, high-yield cereal technology of the green revolution required substantial capital investments generally beyond the means of the majority of small farmers. Joan Mencher, for example, has reported that technology is far from being "scale-neutral". She found that some of the small landholders in Chinglepet (Tamil Nadu) were as interested in trying new inputs and were as innovative as the rich landowners were, but the farmers often lacked the facilities to try new methods, and seldom received encouragement from the local agriculture officials.

Mechanization of farm operations in green revolution areas has undoubtedly strengthened the economic position of the rich farmers in rural India. But some of the incidental effects of the modernization of farm technology have been far too damaging for the agricultural labourers. In 1991, more than 600 died in the Punjab resulting from farm machine accidents and many more lost their limbs. In the absence of any form of compensation, the victims have to live on the mercy of employers. The agricultural work in these areas has become dangerous because of the increasingly large scale use of poisonous chemical sprays for plant protection. The HYV of seeds are highly susceptible to disease and poisonous pesticides are used with little realization of hazards that result for agricultural labourers.

Recently, a profound ecological contradiction has been observed in the green revolution areas: the accumulation of water in certain areas by dams means depletion of water in other areas; the cultivation of crops with inorganic fertilizers, pesticides and monocropping depletes the top soil; the green revolution areas also experienced a rapid decline in the fertility of the land; and the increased amount of water being pumped up by the tubewells in the Punjab turned the soil increasingly more saline. According to recent estimates by soil scientists, more than 1.2 billion hectares of vegetated land-have been significantly degraded since the 1950s. "Subsidies for chemicals, for example, encourage many farmers (but not those who are poor) to go for soil-depleting monocultures, and make the cost of maintaining yields in the face of declining soil productivity artificially cheap"[6]. Chemicals, by reducing soil fertility or causing excessive soil loss, lower the long term land productivity. Excessive use of herbicides and pesticides kills soil micro-nutrients.

The UNDP report on World Resources (1992) says that the global soil resource base is rapidly being degraded. Over the past 50 years, the productivity of more than 1.2 billion hectares of land - an area larger than China and India together - has been significantly lowered. If such human caused losses continue, it will make even harder the task of providing food for a world population projected to nearly double by the middle of the next century. The biological heritage of the planet is increasingly at risk. Habitat losses, stemming from the clearing of forests or the draining of wetland or from the degradation of economic systems through destructive farming, fishing etc. lead to a reduction in natural resources and an extinction of species at extraordinary rates. Without urgent drastic measures, our coming generations will inherit a biologically impoverished world.

Traditional agricultural development strategies have emphasised the role of indigenous know-

ledge and hence biological diversity. There are links between biodiversity conservation and a people first approach to sustainable development. Conventional production-based development i.e. a food first approach has led to ecological erosion and the destruction of livelihoods. Displacement of diversity and displacement of sources of sustenance both arise from a view of development and growth based on uniformity created through bureaucratised control. This is well illustrated by the experience of the Green Revolution, which led to the loss of indigenous varieties, and also to other environmental problems, as well as the impoverishment of small farmers. Thus, the extinction of people's livelihoods is closely allied to the erosion of biodiversity.[7]

The World Bank and FAO have together pushed for commercial agriculture and the export of forest products, which led to the reduction of natural forests and the conversion to monocultures in India, the Philippines, Ghana, Brazil, Zambia, Cameroon etc. Dams, mines, timber and paper mills and tea and coffee estates have wiped out natural habitats, ruined rivers and destroyed soils, reducing native tribal people to the status of urban migrants or bonded labourers. India is home to the world largest tribal concentration, with about 60 million people, constituting 8 % of India's total population. They are threatened in the name of development. As habitats degrade, the pasturalists and herders tend to drift away from their way of life and livelihoods. They cannot survive without the land, herbs, fruits and flowers which nurture them. Divorced from their roots, they are forced to move to the cities. Recently the World Bank report on India has advised them to "increase productivity of its forests...and to facilitate open and free international trade in forest products through removal of unilateral and discriminatory measures that impede market access." Moreover, in the name of development, the forest resources are being converted into commodities for trade, export and elite consumption. The increasing forest depletion rates have already had an adverse impact on the economies of several Third World countries involved in the tropical timber trade. The Philippines for example, went from being a large net exporter of tropical timber in the 1960s and 1970s to a net importer during the 1980s.

Botswana has more than twice as many cattle as people. Though cattle rearing has made few of Botswana's 1.5 million people very rich, it has also drastically reduced access to the forest, pastures and particularly to the wet land, Okavango. While cattle rearing has been a traditional occupation of the people, commercialisation and centralisation on the present scale were never witnessed earlier. Just 5 000 cattle ranchers, many of them owned by government top bureaucrats, control large numbers of the country's cattle. These rich have accumulated wealth through this business with the help of cheap credits from the World Bank to built ranches and occupy wet lands. In 1975 the government favoured ranching policies and a large proportion of communal lands and pastures were transferred to individuals. These were financed by a series of loans from the World Bank to create more ranches on tribal grazing lands. The beef produced on these ranches was exported to EEC countries. Despite the over emphasis on beef exports, it only constitutes 2 % of the country's export earnings in 1992, which is dominated by diamonds and copper-nickel. The government subsidised facility for ranching has made this business very profitable and attractive for those who have the right connections and capital. But such development, rather than removing the domestic disparities, has enlarged them. According to United Nations data, the income of the top 20 % is 24 times higher than the poorest 20 %, a ratio exceeded only by Brazil. Ecological damage from ranching was considerable. According to Per Wramner, an environmental scientist, "vast areas of natural habitats have been degraded in many parts of the country. The main cause is the expansion of the cattle industry." Thousand kilometres of fences have been erected to keep pastures for rich ranchers. Various researchers have documented the problems for wild life and the tribal population. The fences of the cattle pastures blocks of the necessary migration routes of wildlife from the Kalihari to the Okavango delta. These are the seasonal movements by

which animals from neighbouring regions take refuge in wetlands during the dry seasons. Wramner notes, "the construction of fences coincided with rapid reduction in wild life stocks." A UN study concludes, "the value of the Okavango wetlands is incalculable and will become even more so as the wildlife of Africa and in particular its wetlands diminishes." The wild animals heading for water in Okawango found their way barred by fences turned back and died in their thousands.

The ecological and cultural milieu of the Jarkhand region of central India has been rapidly transformed by the increased commodification of the tribal people as labourers and their forests and mineral resources. Government legislation on the forests imposed the concept of private property and made the local inhabitants illegal intruders. The development has caused great harm and suffering to the tribal population. Kothari (1988) points out that since independence over 20 million people have been displaced by the development, a large number of them were tribal people. This led to a large protest by the Jarkhand movement. Local people are resisting big dams and are stressing the need to rely on the indigenous system of irrigation and water use. For example, in the Kolhan area, people are resisting the construction of Subarnrekha dam and seeking alternative local technology like ponds, wells, check dams etc. The alternative is not merely the revival of old technologies but more participation, local governance and control.

Diverse groups of people now inhabit the Narmada basin - they range from farmers, many of whom are immigrants, to seven main tribal groups and petty traders. The basin contains a wide range of ecosystems. Large tracts of the basin contain extremely fertile black soil and here cotton cultivation has thrived with minimum human intervention. Timber contracting and other commercial demands have ravaged most of the remaining forests and exacerbated the problems of water availability. The loss of socio-economic, cultural and ecological diversity that this project entails has generated widespread opposition in India. The diversity has to be understood in terms of the multiple traditions which have evolved in the uniqueness of the South Asian subcontinent's complex history and geography. These movements therefore represent the growing demands of the marginal population for greater economic and political control over their lives. While challenging the very nature of development itself, these movements are no longer pressing for a greater share in the pie of national development but for greater autonomy. It is true that the line between opportunity and autonomy is very thin. People have demanded greater autonomy from centralised governance, arguing their livelihood and lives themselves are critically dependent on the productivity of the local resource base and they must have primary control over those resources. In a highly stratified society like India, the appropriation of ecology and culture is a contested terrain between social actors like have vs have-nots, city dwellers vs farmers, marginalised groups vs dominant groups.

More concern is being focused on the Amazon or logging in Malaysia's forests, while the destruction of rainforests in Africa has been largely ignored. Over the last decade, it is Africa, not Asia or Latin America, that has suffered the highest level of deforestation.[8] After the destruction of forests in west Africa, now more and more logging companies are penetrating into the Central African forests, an area equal to western Europe and representing 20 % of the world's total rainforests. In Zaire, there has been a series of economic crises characterized by debts, rising poverty and a decline in agricultural productivity. However, a minority section of the country's population has, with the help of the state, been able to accumulate more. Zaire is in size equal to Western Europe, yet has a population of only 34 million people, compared to Western Europe's 337 million. Zaire contains 12 % of the world's remaining tropical forests; only Brazil and Indonesia have more. 70 % of the country's population is involved in subsistence farming, it has very fertile land and produces a wide range of food and commercial crops, yet 80 % of the people live in absolute poverty. The state operates through corrupt officials

who appropriate money by every means involving the relentless appropriation of money, natural resources and land by those in a position of power. The forced seizure of land for logging, cultivation of commercial crops and other lucrative activities has created a class of disposed poor, whose only option is to migrate to the cities. Zaire has borrowed heavily from the Bank to fund expensive projects such as the huge dam at Inga river or industrial plants that rely heavily on imports. Meanwhile agriculture for domestic consumption is totally neglected and that has led to a rise of food imports.

At present, logging in Zaire extracts 500,000 cubic meters of timber per year but it lacks infra-structure, especially roads. The heaviest logging has occurred in the region of Bas-Zaire, close to Kinshaha and today virtually no rainforest is left in Bas-Zaire. The government in need of foreign cash is opting for large timber concessions to foreign based companies. Those TNCs involved in Zaire from Germany, Italy, and Belgium, account for 90 % of the logging in 1992. Timber is exported at very low prices and in raw forms. Zaire's exports are worth more than 17 billion dollar per year. The acute landlessness is no where more evident than in the province of Kivu, where logging and plantations are more widespread. The state officials, contractors and TNCs collaborate in forcing the people to leave their lands. In Kivu, large number of ranchs are given to government officials or military personnel, most of the them outsiders rather than local people. As a report notes: "In Kivu, the immigrants..,an expanding entrepreneurial class is buying up land from village chiefs to convert it into cattle ranching and plantations...The resulting land scarcity leaves few choices for rural producers".[9] On the advice of and funded by the World Bank, Ruzizi dam was built in Kivu. But it has no programme for resettlement and rehabilitation. More than 13 000 people suffered expropriation of their property and fertile land. They left with no compensation or other means to start new livelihoods.

The use of tropical rainforests, an important subset of the broader bio-diversity debate, is an especially contentious North-South issue. In their drive to modernise, many Asian nations followed the precedent of developed nations and hacked down the better part of their forest cover. In Sri Lanka, the proportion of forested land decreased from 44 % to 23 % between 1962 and 1992, while Thailand's forest cover fell from 53 % to 28 % between 1962 and 1990. In Vietnam, forest cover was halved during the US aggression, with 20 000 square kilometres lost to chemical defoliants alone. And about 90 % of the lowland forests in the Philippines has disappeared in the last three decades, causing massive losses in biodiversity. Forests in Indonesia, Malaysia and New Guinea are also threatened by excessive logging. Indonesia, for example, is losing more than one million hectares of forest a year to logging and dam and industrial projects. The World Bank report (1992) estimates that Indonesian loggers are harvesting at least 30 % more wood each year than is considered sustainable.

There are also full-blown disasters, such as the poisoning of shanty-dwellers at Bhopal in India or fatal spills of toxic gases and wastes in South Korea, Thailand, or Mexico. Throughout South Asia, increased degradation is moving to new heights. These include soil erosion, the ruin of farm land due to urban and industrial expansion, air and water pollution etc. Major cities are facing acute environmental problems, like at present in Jakarta, according to the World Bank, an amount equivalent to 1 % of the city GDP is spent each year on boiling water. Third World countries insist that the environment cannot be treated in isolation from economic development. It is said that the solution must go beyond addressing the mere manifestations of environmental destruction to recognising its ultimate causes. Thus, the most basic solution to environmental degradation is alleviating poverty.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Globalisation has undermined the emphasis on self-sufficiency, displaced by an increasing dependence on international financial agencies like the World Bank and the IMF and other international capital. For nearly two years, the Structural Adjustment Programmes have been put into effect in an effort to meet India's severe balance of payment crisis, and to boost its economy. Besides various fiscal measures, the major components of the new package include boosting exports to earn foreign exchange, dropping the barriers to the entry of foreign companies, goods and technology, and cutting government spending. These policies currently applied in many Third World countries, have set off considerable debate on issues of economic management and national sovereignty. However, hardly any serious study has been done on how new economic policies will affect the environment and living conditions in the Third World.

The advocates of new policies ignore the fact that exploitable resources are limited and for the vast majority of, for example, Indians, the natural environment forms the very basis of their subsistence economy. Land, water and forests meet their daily requirements of food, fuel, housing, medical and cultural needs. When these very resources are targeted by the policy makers for commercial use, the livelihoods of these people are threatened.

It would be worthwhile to draw important lessons from other Third World countries which have adopted SAP earlier. The overwhelming impression with SAP, shows that these policies have led to an acceleration in the already deteriorating environmental situation and consequently lead to further marginalisation and alienation of the communities that are already living in economically and ecologically vulnerable conditions. This includes tribal, landless and marginal peasants, women and so on. In India, at present the government considers attracting foreign capital as a major task, regardless of the environmental consequences. The export of iron ore, for example, from Goa has devastated its forests, the mining of granite for export to Japan from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu has destroyed a large part of the forests and processing units of leather, which is India's fourth largest export earner, has polluted water over stretches in Tamil Nadu. What we see is, through SAP, a further rapid transformation of staple food and subsistence crops land into cash cropping, an intensification of commercial fisheries in sea and fresh waters, an increase in agricultural and forest products and the export of minerals. The acceleration of such trends in India is already in evidence. The government recently cleared 11 deep fishing sea ventures in private sectors, all products are supposed to be for export. Indian so-called big bourgeoisie is moving in new profit opportunities. Recently Tata company was given a large scale shrimp farming project on the Orissa coast, which is going to displace thousands of families of coastal fishermen. The output is aimed at Japanese markets.[10]

Here it seems that the predominant motive for change in the economy is short-sighted profit and foreign exchange earning, to the neglect of long term socio-economic and environmental consequences. Cash cropping in various parts of India has already led to severe problems of water over use, degradation of land, chemical fertilizer and pesticide related contamination and various diseases. Large scale commercialised fishing has led to the destruction of coastal ecosystems and the marginalisation of traditional fishing families.

Latin American countries under SAP have gone through tremendous changes. For example, the Costa Rican government encouraged the export of beef since the mid-80s, which has led to the clearance of thousands of hectares of forests for ranches. The rapid increase in numbers of cattle has over grazed the land, increasing top soil erosion and soil loss. Under IMF recommendations, the government reduced credit to the subsistence farmers, replaced indigenously grown basic grains with imports of US subsidised cereals. Costa Rica also allocated capital to the cultivation of cash crops like flowers, berries, melons etc for export to US markets. All these resulted in tremendous ecological damage, accompanied by a rapid growth of poverty and increasing income disparity. As a researcher commented, "real minimum wages have declined and rich-poor gap has become a chasm...the wealthiest 10 % of

the population used to enjoy an average income 16 times greater than the bottom 10 %; now it is 31 times higher".[11] In Guatemala, the emphasis on export-led-growth led to the replacement of the staple crop maize by cash crops like macadamia, cardamom etc. for foreign markets. Ironically maize was imported. SAP also encouraged excessive commercial timber logging.

In African countries too, the SAP policies of export-emphasis have aggravated ecological degradation through excessive cropping, overgrazing, water pollution, soil erosion and deforestation. For example, until recently Zimbabwe was known to be among the few countries in Africa, with an efficient public distribution system and self-sufficiency in foodgrains. But not any more. Under IMF pressure, the public distribution system was dismantled and government food stocks were curtailed, leaving the country helpless to deal with draught. It also resulted in depressing the price of maize and encouraging farmers to grow cash crops. A World Bank official responded with his critique, "a country needs financial reserves, not large grain reserves".[12]

Some studies claim that there is a direct relationship between debt and environmental degradation. It is due to the fact that some countries are forced to make use of marginal agricultural land to boost export of primary commodities to generate foreign exchange at the time of falling terms of trade. Environmental problems includes deforestation, desertification, soil erosion and loss of wildlife habitat. The relationship between the Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme and debts is complex due to the effects of adjustment.

SAP has been criticised by various Third World grassroots organisations for their harmful effects on both poor people and the environment. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 1991), for example, argued that "Structural Adjustment Programmes are rending the fabric of African societies, with greatest impact on the vulnerable groups - children, women and the aged" The ECA cited the social consequences of adjustment policies as lowering per capita GNP, wages, rising unemployment, and deterioration in social services, a falling educational standards, rising malnutrition, and health problems and rising levels of income inequalities.[13]

The crisis in the 1980s in the Third World, pressure from the creditor countries and the contractionary policies followed by the developed countries resulted in a sharp increase in the interest rates globally and thereby added to the debt burden. It also led to a massive decline in terms of the trade in raw material commodities exported from the Third World and to capital flight, and deepened the crisis in the most of the Third World countries. In Sub-Saharan African countries, excluding Nigeria, the net deterioration in the external financial situation from these above factors amounted to 6.5 billion dollars per year between 1980 and 1989. These amounts take into account debt rescheduling, but ignore capital flight. In Latin America, the net external resources turned around from an inflow of 15.8 billion dollars in 1979 to an outflow of 22.8 billion dollars in 1989. (UNDP, 1992) Of course a few Asian countries are the exceptions. These countries gave export promotion a high priority, but these policies have been often involved in active state regulations and interventions. Also their relatively favourably performance in an adverse international economic environment appear to be due in some measure to special features of their economies and the special relationship with the western economies. For example, until very recently the large economies of South Asian countries like India, Bangladesh, China and Pakistan were much less dependent on the world trade than most Latin American and African countries. The weight of manufactures in the exports of Asian countries is much greater than African and Latin American countries. The economic crisis and foreign pressures played an important role in opening markets to foreign capital and goods. However, the increasingly powerful domestic lobby, constituted by big business, bureaucrats and technological elites, felt that liberalization of the domestic economies was essential for the modernisation and rapid growth of technology and profits.

In India, tourism was considered to be another important way to earn foreign exchange. In recent months one witnesses a large promotion of tourism. Many areas previously restricted to tourists like Ladakh, Lahul-Spiti and the Andaman Islands, which had so far been saved from hordes of insensitive tourists, have been thrown open. The international hotels and tourist industry is investing a large amount of capital and buying land and forests in areas which were freely available to native inhabitants, now it will be restricted to them. Scientists and ecologists identify these tropical islands with their incredible wealth of rainforests, coral reefs, and marine waters, as one of the world's most important genetic store houses. These islands are very vulnerable and their ecosystems are easily disrupted and the worst effects will be on the settlers.

An important component of the SAP is privatisation. Resources which were considered beneficial as public property are increasingly under private control. They show little respect for the environment, let alone for the needs of the poor. The transfer of hazardous industries from the rich countries to poor one becomes more possible with the new open door policies. Japanese corporations have caused horrendous environmental conditions in South-East Asia and caused the decimation of rainforests and the displacement of native people and poor peasantry. The Indian government in the 1992 budget has reduced (in real terms) the money which goes to a number of social sectors like education, health, rural employment, and the environment. The allocations for the prevention and control of pollution have been cut (in real terms) by 35 % at a time of growing pollution problems. Rural sanitation programmes have suffered a cut of 46.8 %, and the rural water supply by 39 % of its budget. In a situation in which thousands of children die every year of water related diseases, these cuts are outrageous. Other programmes which have suffered are wastelands development (cut by 23 %). The cuts in civic infrastructure particularly in water and sanitation have resulted in sudden outbreaks of cholera in several Latin American countries. In Peru, the the IMF led reforms were clearly responsible for cholera. The World Health Organisation notes, "The economic adjustment programme dictated by the IMF is responsible for the increasing cholera epidemic in Peru...without doubts, in order to comply with payments claimed by the IMF, Peru now finds itself in a position that it cannot allocate more resources to fight the cholera epidemic". In Delhi too, a cholera epidemic broke out and cost 15 000 lives in 1988. Poor people all over India are in urgent need of better health, medical, sanitation, and drinking water facilities. Government reduction in expenditure on these crucial items could place millions of lives in danger. Under IMF pressure, the Philippines government has cut money from health care, nutrition, rural employment, and drinking water projects. It resulted in a further reduction of these facilities available to the poor sections. The cuts in rural development and employment programmes will force millions to migrate from villages to big cities, adding to the environmental stress. In the Philippines, policies to repay debts have displaced thousands of people from their productive lives and driven them to slums in the cities. In Brazil, the conversion of agricultural lands into export oriented cash cropping like soyabeans etc. has displaced thousands of small peasants, who have been forced to clear the forests and migrate to city slums.

It is now five years since the international community acknowledged the need to reduce Africa's crushing debt burden. But successive debt reform measures have so far failed to achieve this objective. The total debt burden for Sub-Saharan African countries reached over 185 billion dollars in 1993, more than 3 times the level in 1980. Servicing this debt drains the region of 10 billion dollars annually i.e. around one quarter of export earnings. The debts are simply not payable and the human cost of the Structural Adjustment Programmes is a growing tragedy. In the past few years, as countries have struggled to service their debts by cutting down on domestic expenditure, literacy and health programmes have been reduced and child mortality rates have risen.

Driven by technological progress, the TNCs are interested in deregulation and cut into bar-

riers on foreign capital and investment and encouraged the flow of these items more freely. The accelerating pace of global integration in the economic domain is reflected in the rapid expansion of world trade in commodities and services, of foreign investment, foreign transactions and telecommunications. In the social and cultural sphere, it is reflected in a sharp growth in travel and tourism, and the spread of western consumption patterns, and of ideas, news, fashion, music through television, radio, press, and film.

Changes in the state expenditure and tax cuts have had a powerful impact on income distribution in the Third World. There appears sufficient evidence that free-market and globalisation economic policies in recent years have contributed to a significant redistribution of income and wealth from the poor to the rich countries. For example, the inequality in income distribution worsened between 1970 and 1990: the countries with the richest 20 % of the world population increased their share of global GNP from 73.9 % to 82.7 %. The countries with the poorest 20 % saw their share fall from 2.3 to 1.4 %. The Gini coefficient, a measure of overall inequality, rose from 0.71 in 1970 to 0.87 in 1990.[14] In Africa stablization and adjustment efforts further reinforced poverty and inequalities through such policies and mechanisms as a decline in public expenditure, especially in social services and welfare, a reduction in taxation for the rich, the removal of subsidies on goods and services of mass consumption, an increase in real domestic rate of interests, a decline in real wages, and a rise in unemployment.

In recent years the rapid expansion of golf clubs has been another way to earn foreign exchange in the poor countries. Mass tourism creates a negative impact on the environment, social and cultural conditions and the local economy. Forests are cut down, soil is being polluted by excessive use of chemicals to make the golf's grass greener, water is diverted for the needs of golf clubs rather than for the local farmers and it has all led to and the deprivation of local resources and disruption of communities. The mid-1980s golf boom has turned Thailand quickly into one of the main golfing destination for Japanese tourists. Travel agencies, hotels, and airlines are increasingly selling the country as a cheap golfing destination.

The golf clubs built in Thailand are built in the style of country clubs including not only golf courses, but luxury hotels, modern shopping centres, clubs, pools, and a recreation facilities. Whereas a golf course in Europe takes about 64 hectares, in Thailand on average it covers about 300 hectares. For example, the recent Kaeng Krachan golf course in Patechaburi province, was built at the cost of 400 million dollars, covering 5600 hectares of land, with five star hotels, shopping centres, an amusement park, a sports complex, a car racing track, horse riding, and health facilities. Contractors and developers often tend to favour exclusive golf resorts, near beaches, river banks, hilly and forest areas, which often have a high ecological value. The main beneficiaries of such developments are foreign investors and estate developers, while the losers are native people who are forced to leave their livelihoods and homes. A study shows that the golf courses were built upon nearly 65 % on agricultural land and 25 % classified as forest land. While the agricultural share of the Gross Domestic Product has fallen in recent years to 17 % as the country is determined to become a newly industrialised country, some 66 % of the active population still depends on agriculture for their income. The government aims to reduce the number of farmers to 17 % within 5 years. The rapid expansion of golf courses has been an important cause of the displacement of rural people through forced occupation in recent years. The alliance of contractors and local government officials collaborated to appropriate land at give away prices, while the villages on average received 30 % of the real market value of their land.[15]

Thailands golf courses are covered by Bermuda grass, which requires excessive application of fertilizers and pesticides. In many cases the indigenous vegetation is replaced by unsuitable exotic species. While most of the villages are still not able to have safe drinking water, water is being diverted to golf courses and swimming pools. The excessive use of chemicals is contaminating the river water and surrounding soil and air. It is reported that the golf courses are using 8 times more pesticides than used in rich fields. Acrylamid, a carcinogen, and extremely toxic, is used despite its ban in Japan. This artificial colouring agent is used to make the turf greener. Many workers in temporary low paid unskilled jobs have reported eye irritations, allergies and skin diseases attributed to hazardous chemicals. Jobs associated with the golf boom are temporary, low paid and insecure.

CONCLUSION

In short, the World Bank and IMF sponsored 'Structural Adjustment Programme' policies and big dam projects have contributed through a variety of mechanisms to an intensification of poverty and inequalities within and among countries, and indirectly to a range of other social and environmental problems in the Third World. They have also led to important shifts in the balance of power nationally and internationally. These shifts have contributed to an increasing gap between power and accountability. The result is the emergence of social problems, and frustration at regional levels. The solutions are not more capital and increased exports but more equity, democracy and development for local benefits with local involvement.

Further, the adoption of SAP measures represents a sharp reversal of the previous policies of state directed development in many Third World countries. It affected many areas like, location of industry, allocation of credits by the banks to the rural sector, regulation of export-imports, foreign investment, technology and labour markets. The role of the state extended further to the ownership and management of a wide range of industrial, agricultural, marketing and credit institutions.
The social struggle by the poor people can be understood as a demand for a redistribution of resources and ecological struggles. This approach challenges environmental narratives as put forward by Brundtland report (i.e. in Our Common Future). Her report points out that poverty is a cause of environmental degradation and proposes a growth plan so that poverty can be eradicated and the environment can be saved. It completely ignores the World Bank's role in undermining the environment in the Third World. Actually, the demand for 'ecology with justice' not only raises the issues of natural resources and labour exploitation by uneven capitalist development but a whole range of related concerns. It includes protection of some traditional methods of resource use and also against large projects like dams, cutting forests to export timbers that causes a destruction of the environment, the massive displacement of people and poverty. For people struggling for identity and autonomy, like the Jarkhand and Narmada people in India, not only want to save water, forests, and ecological system but their cultural entities i.e. a relationship with land, water, forests etc. as the basis for their own survival. Ecological justice is an important point in the struggle because it emphasizes distributional aspects of so-called development. Ecological justice involves more power to local communities, while at the same time reduces power and decision making for bureaucrats and bankers.

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Norsk sammendrag:

VERDENSBANKEN OG MILJØET I DEN TREDJE VERDEN
av Kalim Siddiqui

Artikkelen omhandler Verdnsbankens rolle ved finansiering av ulike såkalte utviklingsprosjekter i Den tredje verden og dens virkning på miljøet. Banken som er basert på neo-liberaal økonomisk teori, prioriterer profitmotiv. Forfatteren mener at dette syn virker antiøkologisk og er en trussel mot naturmiljøet. Det medfører at naturen er noe som skal forbrukes uten at en tar hensyn til den langsiktige virkning. Bærekraftig utvikling bør vektlegge lokal planlegging og kontroll av naturressursne. Dette prinsipp har blitt akseptert av internasjonal finansvirksomhet og utviklingsplaner. Allikevel blir landene i den tredje verden systematisk tilsidesatt av internasjonale finansinstitusjoner og nasjonale regjeringer og utviklingsprogrammer. Dette fører til økende fattigdom, sosiale konflikter og rask avskoging. Politisk økonomi og politiske rammer i vid forstand tvinger fremdeles landene i den tredje verden til en miljøfientlig, eksportorientert produksjon og politiske modeller som nedprioriterer befolkningen på landsbygda. I mange land i den tredje verden har staten i økende grad lagt strenge arealrestriksjoner på vanlige arealer. Dette inkluderer restriksjoner som fratar lokalbefolkningen retten til å bruke tradisjonelle fellesressurser. Forfatteren setter et kritisk lys på denne hovedtendensen i tiltakene for å beskytte og rehabilitere naturmiljøer i den tredje verden.