



The World Bank's Common Property Resource Management Network

The World Bank's CPRNet Newsletter

Number 10, October 1999

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From the editor

Looking ahead: the future of CPRNet. A decision about the future of CPRNet will have to be made very soon. As you all know, the last several Newsletters have repeatedly alluded to the fact that the future of CPRNet is very uncertain. The sentiment in parts of the World Bank appears to be very supportive of CPRNet, and many World Bank staff are members and are active in its various activities, and support its continued existence. At the same time, or maybe in spite of this, it has so far not been possible to find a "home" for CPRNet in the organization.

There are some obvious reasons why this is so, among them its strong interdisciplinary emphasis that appears not to fit easily into the bureaucratic structure and rationale of present-day large organizations, the World Bank included. At the same time there are arguments to the effect that the mission of CPRNet, however laudable, may not be one that the World Bank has a comparative advantage in fronting.

Be that as it may. The situation now is that, if this is not resolved in the near future, CPRNet will cease to exist, and this will be the last Newsletter you will receive.

Should it come to this, rest assured that, after some hard thinking on how to redefine CPRNet, while keeping the goal of networking and sharing knowledge aimed at supporting both local and global commons, CPRNet will return with a vengeance!

In this issue, read about: This Newsletter has, at least partly, the feel of a theme issue on *localization* and *globalization*. Related key factors touched upon in this connection include knowledge management, communication, ICT, culture and decentralization. The theme is an exploration of the big picture that is emerging internationally, and that is important to address because it increasingly provides an overall context for CPRNet and its advocacy role regarding community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). The World Bank, and the international community more generally, play key roles in interpreting and analyzing these global trends, and – some would say – in advancing them, and it is thus only fitting that several of the pieces originate in the World Bank.

As usual, there is several interesting CPRNet news. Note the new items 'Member views' and 'Member profile', as well as a new section 'Knowledge sharing and CPRs'. Note also the final installment in the story on the discussion between the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP) and CPRNet. Finally, there are the sections 'News' and 'Literature', and an Essay on the need for land redistribution and tenancy reform in India.

Admittedly, this Newsletter is long, probably too long. My only defense is that, as this may very well be the last Newsletter in a while, there were so many interesting things I wanted to share with you while I had the chance.

Lars T Soeftestad, Editor – LSoeftestad@worldbank.org

Membership and organizational issues

New members. Mary P Allen (Mali Country Programme, SOS Sahel International UK; Sevaré, Mali), Henri P Jossierand (Associates in Rural Development, Inc.; Washington DC, USA), and Olufemi R Pitán (National Horticultural Research Institute; Ibadan, Nigeria).

Member update. *John Bruce* (Senior Research / Professor; Land Tenure Center, Univ of Wisconsin - Madison; Madison, Wisconsin, USA) is Counsel, Environment and International Law Unit, Legal Vice Presidency, World Bank; Washington DC, USA, until 2001.

Nils D Christoffersen has left the job as Director for Africa Resources Trust USA to take up a position as Program Manager for Wallowa Resources in Wallowa County, Oregon, to work on Community Forestry Stewardship.

Buenafe U Solomon (Adviser, Foundation for the Philippine Environment (FPE); Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines) is Fellow, The Nature Conservancy, Arlington, Virginia, USA, until mid-2000, as representative of the Asia-Pacific region in a working group on environmental funds.

Member views. *Reshmi Majumder* (Dept. of Economics; Dalhousie University; Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada), responded to the request for feedback on CPRNet and knowledge sharing on 18 October (see section 'Knowledge sharing and CPRs' below). This is what she wrote: "Dear Sir, I have found the CPRNet extremely helpful for my Master's Thesis, which is on Rural Women's Access to CPRs in West Bengal. With the aid of the CPRNet member list I have been able to contact people involved in this area. This is a great initiative and I would like to congratulate you on supervising this site. Sincerely, Reshmi Majumder."

Member profile (as reported in the Membership Application Forms). Mary Allen is Director for SOS Sahel International UK's Mali Country Programme. Her responsibilities include overall management of the programme and providing supervision and support to projects. *Training:* environmental sciences and agricultural engineering from UK. *Topical expertise:* irrigated and rainfed agriculture in the Sahel, local management of natural resources and organizational capacity building. *Languages:* English (mother tongue), French (fluent) and Bambara (fair spoken). *Area expertise:* Francophone West Africa (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal).

She became a member of CPRNet in order to help place SOS Sahel Intl.'s specific Sahelian experience in a broader context and extend the network of contacts. CPRNet can support her work by publishing as much as possible in French, by developing and supporting francophone West Africa Groups, and by keeping the Newsletter brief, with the exception of longer articles if members are interested. She proposed to support CPRNet through informing members of SOS Sahel UK/Mali Programme activities and publications on appropriate topics, and through informing her francophone colleagues of interest in the English sections of the Newsletter.

Knowledge sharing and CPRs. Earlier this month external members were invited to submit brief stories on knowledge sharing and CPRs, specifically involving CPRNet members. A couple of stories have been received so far (see the section 'Knowledge sharing and CPRs').

IASCP, CPRNet and the World Bank: CPRs and CBNRM

As has been reported on in earlier CPRNet Newsletters, CPRNet contacted the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP), with the aim of exploring ways and means of collaborating. Concretely, CPRNet proposed that IASCP elect a member to the CPRNet's Advisory Committee. As will be known, the IASCP Board decided against this. The Board's decision (source: IASCP's 'The Common Property Digest', no 49, July 1999):

"From the President:

"The Executive Board of the IASCP decided at its June 8-9, 1999 meeting not to support the request that Erling Berge serve on the Advisory Committee of CPRNet as the representative of IASCP. Members of the Board applaud CPRNet and its editor, Lars Soeftestad, for the high quality and unquestionable value of CPRNet. We look forward to future issues and activities and as individual scholars and practitioners many of us wish to participate. However, we feel that a formal relationship between IASCP and a program of a major funding agency is inappropriate, given the strong differences of opinion about such a relationship within our membership. Members from developing countries are among those deeply troubled by the past history of loss of CPRs and CPR institutions due to activities promoted or financed by the World Bank and other lending institutions. This decision was not easy to make. We recognize the value of CPRNet and related activities within the World Bank as well as changes in bank policy. If at some future time these changes are recognized

as significant in helping communities deal with CPR problems, we certainly would be among the thankful millions.”

Bonnie McCay – Email <mccay@aesop.rutgers.edu>

While accepting the special circumstances that guide IASCP in its work, needless to say CPRNet is disappointed with this outcome. One reason for this is that support by IASCP would have been helpful in the internal dialogue in advancing the importance of addressing CPR related issues in the World Bank’s operational activities. Another reason is that it would have made a difference in the efforts to formalize CPRNet within the World Bank in order that it can continue its mission.

Following this, and largely determined by it, the IASCP Board decided to organize a special Forum in its Newsletter, The Common Property Digest. For this particular Forum, four persons were asked to respond to the following question: How would you characterize the impacts of multilateral development banks on common pool resources, and what response is called for by the CPR management scholars and practitioners? The following articles appeared in this Forum (source: IASCP’s Newsletter ‘The Common Property Digest’, no 49, July 1999, published in October 1999):

- *Clark, Dana* (Center for International Environmental Law): “The World Bank Inspection Panel: Promoting accountability at a reluctant institution.”
- *Korten, Frances F* (The Positive Futures Network): “Foreign loans and common property resources: Why I cried all the way to the Bank.”
- *Riggs, Peter* (Rockefeller Brothers Fund): “Multilateral development banks and the commons.”
- *Soeftestad, Lars T* (World Bank & CPRNet): “CPRs and MDBs: A contradiction in terms?”

[Ed. comment: CPRNet members are strongly advised to read this Forum (see URL below), in particular the articles by Riggs and Soeftestad, as they deal specifically with CPRNet, and arrive at different conclusions. Comments on this Forum are welcome, and will be included in a future CPRNet Newsletter. This issue of IASCP’s Newsletter is listed in section ‘Literature’ below.]

URL (Common Property Digest no. 49): <http://www.indiana.edu/~iascp/E-CPR/cpr49.pdf>

Knowledge sharing and CPRs

Background. The World Bank has set up a web site devoted to knowledge management and knowledge sharing (see URL below). CPRNet will be presented on this site. In addition, CPRNet has been requested to provide good examples, or stories, of knowledge sharing.

CPRNet members are hereby requested to send in stories on own involvement in sharing knowledge about CPRs, including using and managing CPRs. Specifically, has this occurred among fellow members of CPRNet? If so, has it occurred between external members only, or between external members and World Bank staff members? Has the CPRNet Newsletter been instrumental in initiating such knowledge sharing? Brief stories on this, including the bare facts (what, who, when, where, why), would be very welcome. A first story, by Manoshi Mitra, is presented below.

Such stories would also be a great support for CPRNet’s continued existence (which you will know is problematic). We could, for example, print them in the Newsletter.

[Ed. comment: See also the mail from Reshmi Majumder in section ‘Member views’ above.]

URL: <http://www.worldbank.org/ks/>

Manoshi Mitra’s story. I would like to narrate my experience of sharing of CPR related knowledge and experiences with colleagues from government and non-government institutions. They were not then members of CPRNet and I mentioned it to them and requested them to join. I do not know if some of them have done so already. I hope so.

I have been interacting closely with members of forest and environment ministries and departments in several Asian countries in the recent past in the context of participatory forestry projects assisted by the Bank. In this context, I have found very varied understandings of the concept of CPRs. Mostly government officials regarded the forests listed as state-owned to be so, and thus the ‘rights’ of people living in areas adjoining the forests and depending upon them, to be based upon what the state agrees to allow. Thus, in most contexts, theoretically, rights to

collect fuel, fodder, small timber, and NTFP are admitted. But the degree of effectiveness of such rights is mediated by the extent of availability, the existence of well-defined community groups and their relationships with the forest establishment, the prevalence of user fees being charged privately to communities for the use of the forest etc. But there is often a clear gap in understanding of the nature of such resources as CPRs, notwithstanding their legal ownership, in the management of which local communities and households have a role and a say that is vital to the conservation of the resource as well as the well-being of the communities themselves.

During my interactions with the officials, I provided information about interesting research and innovative experiences of participatory management of such forest CPRs, which, although legally owned by the government, were regarded by local communities as their lifeline and treated as such. An interesting story that was recounted in this regard came from West Bengal, concerning the efforts of the women's organization, Nari Bikash Sangha in Bankura district, in protecting the *sal* forests and using them in a responsible manner. Norms of forest use and protection were derived by the groups at their own level, and enforcement was based upon a mix of peer pressure and strategic alliances with the elected local government *panchayats*. This experience helped to further develop the West Bengal Government's Joint Forest Management concept by bringing in the gender perspective. I shared this experience, as well as others from Bangladesh, of community-based forest management with responsibility and benefit-sharing agreements being entered into between village community-based groups and state authorities. The idea of a threatened resource such as the Sundarbans being managed also as a set of CPRs has formed the basis of a new project for its conservation and management. This has also been based on experiences in the region of resources being shared by user groups who participate in their management. Conflicts arise between the state and user groups as well as between user groups. These are to be resolved by a set of rules and institutions that have been crafted by NGOs, communities, and the government. The outcomes of the conflict resolution mechanisms are still to be seen. However, it should be stated that a start has been made towards conflict resolution at the local level, and the outcomes are promising.

The sharing of these experiences with officials and NGOs as well as village communities in the region has led, among other things, to new ideas and approaches for further devolution of power and authority to local user groups for resource management. It is agreed that study tours to such innovative organizations and projects will further help the spread of new ideas for sustainable management of natural resources.

[Ed. comment: Manoshi Mitra is a Social Development Officer with the Asian Development Bank in Manila, Philippines. She is member of CPRNet.]

Contact: Manoshi Mitra – MMitra@mail.asiandevelopmentbank.org

Networking

IASCP 2000 conference: Proposal for panel on riparian commons. For the June 2000 IASCP conference I am proposing a panel with the title "Constituting the riparian commons". Contact me if you are interested in riparian commons and would like to participate.

Contact: Lars Soeftestad – Lars@cbrnm.net

Plant breeding and property rights project. In April 1999 IDRC, Canada approved a one year grant to the PRGA Program (CIAT) to develop a 'state-of-the-art' think paper on Property Rights and Participatory Plant Breeding, considering three related aspects: legal issues, proactive options and ethical concerns in participatory plant breeding (PPB) work.

The paper will be based on intensive discussion of actual and developing practices in PPB and will be published by CGIAR Program on Participatory Research and Gender Analysis.

Contact: Louise Sperling – L.Sperling@cgiar.org; prga@cgiar.org;

Telephone: +57 2 445 0000, ext. 3131; Fax: +57 2 445 0073

Address: c/o CIAT A.A. 6713, Cali, Colombia

Conferences, seminars and workshops

India: Gujarat CPR workshop. Excerpts from an email from Anil Shah: "This is with reference to my earlier email dated 20 August 1999. As promised I am enclosing the proceedings of

workshop on “Status of common property land resources (CPR-lands) in Gujarat and problems of developing them” held on 29 July 1999, for the CPRNet Newsletter. More than 50 participants belonging to various backgrounds comprising of academic and research institutions, NGO’s engaged in the field of CPR development and government officials participated in the workshop.

“The problems of encroachment on common property resources - land and issues in development of CPR were duly recognized by the participants. It was commonly agreed that magnitude of encroachment was very high jeopardizing dependence of poor on common land and adversely affecting scope for CPR development. The participants also referred to the recommendations of earlier state level workshop on CPR organised by me in 1989 and found that concerned govt. departments are yet to take any action on them. The workshop keenly desired and again reiterated few recommendations of earlier workshop.

“I shall appreciate if the proceedings are distributed to persons who request for copies. In fact, I shall be very happy to respond to any comments or further queries / questions on the theme by readers. The readers may send queries to my email address from this email.”

[Ed. comment: Contact *CBNRM Net* for a copy of the report, and Anil Shah to discuss it or comment upon it. Anil Shah is a member of CPRNet.]

Contact (for comments only): ACShah@vsnl.com

Philippines: Irrigation, commons and collective action. Professor Yujiro Hayami (Aoyama-Gakuin Univ., Japan) gave a seminar with the title “The conditions for collective action for local commons management: The case of irrigation in the Philippines”, at the World Bank in Washington DC, 1 September 1999.

Abstract: “Using the cross-section survey data on the activities of irrigators’ associations in the Philippines, regression analysis is conducted to identify factors underlying the success and failure in farmers’ organizing collective actions for maintenance and operation of gravity irrigation systems. It is found that collective action is difficult to organize where: (a) water supply is uniformly abundant, (b) water supply is greatly different between upper and lower streams in lateral, (c) size of association is large, (d) population density is low, (e) the ratio of non-farm households is high, and (f) the history of irrigated farming is short. The possibility is also found that these difficulties can be overcome with adequate supports of state agencies to promote community-level cooperation. The findings call for government to play the active role of enhancing local communities’ organizational capacity in the process of handing over to them the management of local commons.”

Contact: Ariel Dinar – ADinar@worldbank.org

Philippines: Land reform and inequality. Yujiro Hayami (Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan), Esther B Marciano (International Rice Research Institute, Philippines) and Masao Kikuchi (Chiba University, Japan) gave a seminar on “Did Philippine land reform reduce inequality? A perspective from a Laguna village”, at the World Bank in Washington DC, 16 September 1999.

Abstract: “Major changes in land tenure systems corresponding to the implementation of land reform programs in the rice sector in the Philippines are illustrated concretely for the case of one village in Laguna Province. It is shown that, although the reform programs resulted in a major income transfer from absentee landlords to sharecroppers in the village, they contributed to widening income disparity within the village between farmers and agricultural laborers as well as to narrowing the ladder for agricultural laborers to ascend to the status of farm operators.”

Contact: Sheila Fallon – AFallon@worldbank.org

News

Development challenge: Think globally but act locally. Cities, provinces and other sub-national communities are gaining economic and political power to decide their own futures. This move toward localization will be one of the most important trends in the 21st century.

At the same time, the world economy is being transformed by accelerating globalization. These two forces will either revolutionize prospects for human development, or lead to chaos

and increased human suffering. Whether a country succeeds in the next millennium will depend on how well it manages the sometimes-conflicting pressures that these forces exert.

Demands for greater political and economic autonomy from provinces, cities and other sub-national groups are driving localization in countries from Britain to Brazil and from China to Ethiopia. Globalization makes the world smaller by improving communications and transportation, and dismantling trade barriers. Knowing how other places are pursuing political change fuels the desire, and provides the means, for local communities to shape their own future.

Faced with popular demands for greater self-determination, national governments around the world are under pressure to devolve power to the local level. In this context, globalization is like a giant wave that can either capsize nations or carry them forward on its crest.

Successful localization creates a situation where cities, regions and other groups in society – the crew of the boat – are free to exercise individual autonomy, but also have incentives to work together to keep the boat afloat and going forward.

With the Internet, modern transportation systems, incentives for foreign companies, financial instruments such as municipal bonds, and other measures at their disposal, cities and sub-national governments are marketing their jurisdictions abroad, trying to attract innovative joint ventures with potential partners.

For example, in the early 1980s two U.S. states had trade offices abroad; by the end of the decade 40 did. Today more U.S. states operate trade offices in Tokyo than in Washington.

Given that cities account for an ever increasing share of national incomes, in addition to soon becoming home to most of the world's population, the stakes for getting these two forces working at the optimal pitch are high. Urban areas generate 55 percent of GNP in low-income countries, 73 percent in middle-income countries and 85 percent in wealthy industrial countries.

Cities can become their own strategic brokers. Shanghai, Singapore, New York, Sydney, Barcelona, London and Buenos Aires are examples of entrepreneurial cities or city-states which frequent the global stage, drumming up business and influence for themselves.

Localization can also take the form of a general demand for broader popular participation in politics – see the democracy movements in Poland and Brazil in the 1980s, South Korea in the 1990s and Indonesia today. Or it can take the form of demands for greater local autonomy, which may lead to decentralization or official recognition of a local cultural identity, as in Canada, Spain and Uganda. Either way, localization can be a mixed blessing.

When it works, decentralizing power to the provincial and local level can result in more responsive and efficient local government.

In parts of Latin America, responsibility for public services such as education, health, local roads and water supply and sanitation have been placed in the hands of semi-autonomous sub-national governments. Indonesia is considering devolution and changes in revenue sharing between the central government and the provinces to pacify some of its restive regions.

In Argentina, primary education has been decentralized to the intermediate levels of government, while in Chile it has been transferred to municipalities. Major increases in fiscal transfers to sub-national governments have also occurred, particularly in Brazil, Mexico and Colombia.

But localization can also result in overburdened local governments being unable to provide local infrastructure and services. Localization can threaten macroeconomic stability, and hence economic growth, if local governments borrow and spend heavily and need to be bailed out by national governments.

At the extreme, demands for local autonomy or independence can lead to ethnic strife and civil war, as in the Balkans, the Horn of Africa, and in East Timor and Aceh.

Globalization also offers a mix of opportunities and risks. Expanded markets and the spread of technology can lead to higher productivity and improved living standards. But they can also lead to instability and undesired changes – fear of job losses from the influx of foreign imports, financial instability due to volatile foreign capital flows, and threats to the global environment.

As globalization shrinks the world, and localization multiplies the range of policy environments, successful development strategies will pay off more quickly in the new century than in the past. The consequences of flawed strategies will be revealed sooner and more painfully.

The World Bank, in its latest world development report, identifies what it calls 'four critical lessons' of development experience in the past half-century:

- Macroeconomic stability is essential for achieving the growth needed for development,
- Growth trickles down too slowly, so development efforts must address human needs directly,
- No one policy will spur development; a comprehensive approach is needed, and
- Sustained development must be socially inclusive and flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances.

So far, economic commentary has focused on the onset of globalization, with much less attention paid to the forces of localization. In both cases, however, what matters most is moving beyond traditional concepts of economic growth to put people - their health, welfare, education, opportunities and inclusion - at the heart of the development agenda

[Ed. comment: The writer, Shahid Yusuf, is a senior economic adviser at the World Bank and lead author of "World Development Report 1999/2000: Entering the 21st century," published this week. See also story on World Development Report 1999 in section 'Activities and interventions'.]

Source: International Herald Tribune, 17 September 1999

World Bank/IMF Annual Meetings seminars: Development agenda for the new millennium. In recent years the World Bank and IMF have begun marking the occasion of the Annual Meetings with a special Program of Seminars, an ideas forum designed to complement the official proceedings and engage the private sector and civil society.

Discussion this year will center on four broad issues: international financial architecture; civil society, the market, and the state in the global economy; global connectivity; and making the global economy work for everyone. Under these categories, attendees will debate such topics as trends in international investment in emerging markets, corporate governance and transparency, e-commerce, the future of the international financial architecture, and public-private partnerships in tackling global public policy challenges.

Rounding out the program are country and regional seminars, which provide potential investors with unique access to policymakers and insights into the business environment of key countries and regions undergoing fundamental change. The seminars include a session on the future of East Asia; the new outlook for Latin America; and investing in South Eastern Europe, while high-level briefings from officials from Nigeria, Argentina, Thailand and Korea examine the latest investment trends and opportunities in those countries.

Source: World Bank Today, 24 September 1999

URL: <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/pos/>

World Bank / IMF: Sharing knowledge to fight poverty. Writer Alvin Toffler once said, "Knowledge is the most democratic source of power." The Bank/Fund Expo '99, which was arranged last month, exemplifies this principle, featuring the latest World Bank and IMF products, services and partnerships to better equip the global community to fight poverty.

"The aim of the Expo," said Lesley Shneier, "is to show our clients, the press, governors and delegates, the private sector and World Bank and IMF staff what we are doing in making the World Bank more transparent, in reaching out to clients and in sharing our knowledge, all to alleviate poverty."

Stephen Denning, the Bank's director for knowledge management, says that last year around 5,000 participants came to the Expo. "This year," he says, "we are expecting more."

"External partners are major actors in kiosks and thematic groups," Denning said. "This Expo is a further way of accelerating our knowledge sharing partnerships as well as achieving the mission of the institution in ways that were not possible before."

"When knowledge is shared, everyone gains," said Denning. "The more knowledge is used, the more it expands. The vision of the Knowledge Bank is to make knowledge as widely accessible as possible."

"The Annual Meetings are an opportunity to show the best of our knowledge," said Adnan Hassan, a senior knowledge management officer and Expo adviser. "For the thousands of delegates and private sector representatives who attend, the Expo is putting our best foot

forward in front of our most important stakeholders and clients. If you are involved in international business or development, it is the place to be!"

Source: World Bank Today, 24 September 1999

World losing ground against poverty. World Bank president James Wolfensohn has stated that despite the recoveries under way, 1999 would be another year in which global poverty will increase. "We will still be going backwards rather than forwards in the fight to reduce global poverty and meet the international development goals," he said. With the exception of China, global poverty – as measured by the proportion of the population living on less than \$1 a day – has risen over the last three years, he noted.

Wolfensohn said the Bank had joined the IMF in measures to shore up free market forces in developing countries and to bring them into the mainstream of the global economy. "I am delighted that through this joint work with the IMF we will bring in the macroeconomic and financial side of the balance sheet, to complement the structural and social focus of the bank, within a common framework aimed at reducing poverty."

Meanwhile, demonstrators converged on the headquarters in Washington of the IMF to denounce policies they said have impoverished much of the developing world. An estimated 50 protesters rallied as the Interim Committee, made up of member country finance ministers, were holding their twice-yearly meeting. "For 20 years now the IMF and the World Bank have been imposing their structural adjustment programs on impoverished countries that run into debt problems," said Njoki Njoroge Njehe, director of '50 years is enough', the coalition that organized the demonstration.

Source: Adapted from World Bank Today, 27 September 1999

World Bank Annual Meetings: Poverty reduction, debt relief. Speaking at a press conference at the close of the World Bank/IMF annual meetings in Washington, World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn highlighted progress made on the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, the elaboration of a new development architecture based on coalition, and the outspoken emphasis on corruption, governance and mutual responsibility.

This year's annual meetings focused on funding debt relief for the world's poorest countries with finance ministers from the Group of Seven leading industrialized countries pledging to expand the scope of debt relief through HIPC, and US President Bill Clinton affirming US commitment to forgive up to 100 percent of bilateral debt of the poorest countries.

"My hope is that Congress can do that, and other countries will follow suit," Wolfensohn said. But Wolfensohn stressed that this does not apply to total debt, nor should it imply that all debt would be forgiven. "We should have an appropriate balance in what we do, which is to try to get people to a level of sustainable debt."

Wolfensohn expressed satisfaction that this year's discussions about corruption, governance, mutual responsibility and constructive criticism were more open.

"Our work in Russia is extremely difficult," Camdessus said. "We are working in a universe where there is flight of capital, corruption, instances of bad governance and where it is absolutely essential to make an effort, together with the Russian authorities, to make totally unquestionable the financial integrity of the financial institutions of Russia."

As for the HIPC initiative, Camdessus said the IMF board of governors had adopted a formal resolution approving off-market gold sales to pay for the IMF share of the deal. The transactions will avoid the need to sell approximately 14 million ounces of gold on the market, which would potentially hurt the economies of some of the poor countries HIPC is meant to assist.

Both Wolfensohn and Camdessus referred to Bank-Fund cooperation and increased integration of poverty reduction strategies.

Source: Adapted from World Bank Today, 1 October 1999

World Bank/IMF 1999 Annual Meeting. James D Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, delivered these Closing Remarks on 30 September 1999:

Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Chairman, and let me start by expressing my gratitude to you for the way in which you have chaired these meetings and my admiration for the work you have done in this past year. We look forward to our continuing relationship with you.

I am told that the attendance at these meetings was a record – I think we had 19,960 people registered. That strikes me as a quite remarkable number, and I want to particularly thank the staff and the organizers for the remarkable work that they have done in preparing for these meetings and for the way in which they have been conducted.

I think that all of us probably feel that there has been a very good atmosphere at these meetings, of course, framed by the fact that we don't have the crisis that we did last year, but conscious of the fact that the problems are not all over. I think also conscious of the fact that this is the last session that we will have in this millennium. So there has been a real acceptance, I believe, of the fact that the main challenge is poverty and that we need to come together to face this. The future is not only full of challenges but also full of hope if we can get together.

You were all pleased, I think, with the development of the new Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper which will be jointly done between the Fund and the Bank to address the questions of growth and poverty together and come up with a single document which will guide the activities of the Bank in the context of ESAF and IDA. Certainly on the Bank side, we are very pleased with this new development. We look forward very much to our joint work with our partners not only for poverty reduction and growth, but for the well being of all who share our world.

There was also quite some interest expressed at these meetings in the Comprehensive Development Framework. I was delighted to have the chance to talk to many of you about this subject, together, not only at this meeting, at which many of the Governors referred to this initiative, but also in meetings which I had directly with the Governors. I found those meetings extra-ordinarily useful, both in terms of the substance of the observations and also the sense of movement that there is for all of us to come together.

This issue of partnership between the participants in the development process, between the two Bretton Woods institutions, of course, but also the bilaterals, the regional banks, civil society and the private sector, all in the service of your governments, is something that I think has been accepted and agreed to by all of us. I was personally very delighted that this coming together is so apparent.

I talked of the creation of a new development architecture to parallel the financial architecture. That, too, I think, was something that had some resonance in the hallways. We are building coalitions for the improvement of the lot of our people who are less well-off; we are building coalitions for the next century; and it is certainly the position of the Bank that we are very anxious as we move forward to have our doors open to you for any ideas that you can bring to us, and we want to assure you that we are there to serve you and to work with you to achieve the objectives of your countries.

I was glad that there was such a good and interested reaction in the issue of the Voices of the Poor. This study that we have done was announced here during the course of these meetings, and we will be continuing. I would like to say that, as far as the Bank is concerned, this listening to the voices and acting on the focus of their remarks is going to be central to our work as we move forward. It relates to all countries, really, and I think all of us, as we go into the next millennium face, this challenge to which I referred of both demographic changes and growth, and the notion that within another 25 years we will have another 2 billion people on our Planet. This poses us with an extraordinary challenge, a challenge that relates to equity, a challenge that relates to justice, a challenge that relates to the type of world that we are going to leave our children.

So I conclude these meetings, Mr. Chairman, with a feeling that we are united to try and deal with this issue. I am glad that we were able to make such good progress on HIPC, for debt forgiveness, for that is indeed an important element in the process, but what is most needed is for all of us to come together to reconstitute ourselves as a team that is enthusiastic, that is open, and that has as its top priority the establishment of a more just and a more peaceful world.

So I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank the Governors for their contributions. I read with care many of the interventions that I did not attend.

I look forward very much to the meetings next year in Prague and in the United Arab Emirates in 2003, and I am delighted that that location has been chosen.

So thank you again, Mr. Chairman.

Source: World Bank Today, 1 October 1999

Let's start taking the benefits of cultural identity seriously. By Lamberto Dini and James D Wolfensohn. As we prepare to journey into the new millennium, with all its promise of new scientific and economic gains, we cannot afford to forget how culture and history can shape modern development.

Fostering and protecting our cultural legacy is basic to improving the effectiveness of education, public health, the production of goods and services and how we manage our cities. Culture lies at the very heart of efforts to reduce poverty.

If we ignore culture, the consequences can be profound. Already we see precious elements of our cultural heritage deteriorating, in some cases, irreparably. Ancient tombs in Egypt, historic urban areas in China and in the old cities of Fez and Bangkok, to name just some examples, are suffering from crumbling neglect.

Too little money has been spent on maintaining or restoring these extraordinary monuments and cities. This is because, for too long, the real value of cultural attributes and artifacts – their role in creating jobs and gluing societies together – has not been properly acknowledged.

The challenge for governments, international organizations, cultural activists, private companies and others is to truly understand our cultural heritage in all its diversity, and draw on its traditions, values, and knowledge to make development more effective.

Some people have asked whether efforts to draw attention to the cultural dimensions of development are not overloading an already challenging development agenda. We feel that development will almost certainly fail without the assertion of identity that culture provides. It is a process of creative participation in which we all have a part to play.

The reason that more countries do not follow suit is that, for too long, cultural heritage has been considered a kind of developmental add-on for which no one has particular responsibility. Yet as we look at a rapidly changing world in the throes of unprecedented globalization, many people, especially in the developing countries, feel themselves increasingly powerless against the vast forces of global change. And along with globalization has come an unprecedented assertion of individual identity.

The self-awareness and pride that come from cultural identity are an essential part of empowering communities to take charge of their own destinies.

We believe that respect for the culture and identity of people is an important element in any viable approach to people-centered development, as Unesco has long argued.

We must respect the rootedness of people in their own societies. We must protect the heritage of the past. We must also foster and promote living culture in all its many forms.

Recent studies have consistently shown that this makes sound economic sense. From tourism to restoration, investments in cultural heritage and related industries promote labor-intensive activities that generate wealth and income.

In Florence this week, we have joined a distinguished group of government ministers, cultural leaders and private enterprises to win support for the role culture plays in contributing to healthy, well-run communities. We know that this depends on successful partnerships with international, regional, national and local actors that knit together private and public sectors, civil society and communities themselves.

Most of all, we hope that through our collaboration, emerging development practice will conserve and amplify the values, expression and heritage that give peoples' lives meaning and human dignity.

There may be no better description of the need for cultural protection and pluralism than this one offered by Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian writer and Nobel laureate, speaking last week at the annual meetings of the World Bank and the IMF:

“Culture is a matrix of infinite possibilities and choices ... from within [which] we can extract arguments and strategies for the degradation or ennoblement of our species, for its enslavement or liberation, for the suppression of its productive potential or its enchantment, for the stagnation of social existence or its renewal.”

[Ed. comment: L Dini, the Italian foreign minister, and J D Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, were jointly hosting a conference in Florence 4-7 October on “Financing, resources and the economics of culture in sustainable development.”]

Source: Adapted from International Herald Tribune, 6 October 1999

CGIAR: Calling for a new Green Revolution. As the 21st Century dawns, the world faces the prospect of a new and complex food crisis that will require better ways of ensuring that the hungry and the malnourished will be able to meet their food needs.

To tackle this enormous challenge, the international community must launch a new 'Green Revolution,' more powerful and encompassing than the one that 30 years ago doubled production of key crops such as rice and wheat. The power of science and information technology must be harnessed for the benefit of the world's poor, says a new book released by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) System Review Secretariat.

"New scientific developments have the potential to radically reshape the world's agriculture and food systems," says Maurice Strong, Chairman of the most recent CGIAR System Review and co-author of "Food in the 21st century: From science to sustainable agriculture." "We need to re-commit to science and research to ensure that the poor are not excluded, and that biodiversity and the environment are not undermined."

Already today, there are more than 840 million people who do not have enough to eat. Every minute, some 30 people die of hunger in the developing world and half of these are infants and children.

Mahendra Shah, co-author of the new book and executive secretary of the CGIAR System Review, says food production will have to increase by more than 50 percent by 2025.

"But numbers do not tell the full story," says Shah. "The challenge is far more intricate than simply producing more food. Conditions are very different than they were on the eve of the Green Revolution. To prevent a crisis, the world community must simultaneously confront the issues of poverty, food insecurity, environmental degradation, and erosion of genetic resources."

The book highlights three powerful scientific developments that can help food production keep pace sustainably with a rapidly growing population:

- *Using biotechnology responsibly.* Biotechnology can shorten the time and cut the costs required to develop new crop varieties. Biotechnology tools can introduce genes that counter soil toxicity, resist insect pests, and increase nutrient content in crops. Still, the questions of biosafety and the ethics of manipulating genetic material need to be resolved before the potential of biotechnology and genetic engineering can be realized.
- *Managing natural resources better.* New scientific tools will need to be combined with knowledge about natural resources management in order to avoid increasing water shortages, loss of arable lands, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, and depleted fisheries.
- *Harnessing the information revolution.* The phenomenal growth of communication networks in the past few years can be used to create a more interactive global agricultural research system. In the past, indigenous knowledge about local varieties, farming techniques, and other local technologies tested through the generations rarely made its way to scientists who could incorporate it in their work. Now, indigenous knowledge, combined with new and classical scientific knowledge is available worldwide.

[Ed. comment: The CGIAR, established in 1971, is an association of 58 public and private sector members, supporting a network of 16 international agricultural research centers. Its mission is to contribute to food security and poverty eradication in developing countries through research, partnership, capacity building, and policy support promoting sustainable agricultural development based on the environmentally sound management of natural resources. Co-sponsors of the CGIAR are the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the UN Development Program (UNDP), and the UN Environment Program (UNEP). The book is available on the CGIAR web site.]

Source: World Bank Today, 26 October 1999
URL: <http://www.cgiar.org>

Activities and interventions

World Bank: World Development Report 1999 on localization. According to the new report, localization and globalization will shape future of world economy, and 'Localization' will become a major new trend in the 21st Century.

Localization – the growing economic and political power of cities, provinces, and other sub-national entities – will be one of the most important new trends in the 21st century, according to the report. Together with accelerating globalization of the world economy, localization could revolutionize prospects for human development or it could lead to chaos and increased human suffering, the report says.

According to the World Development Report 1999/2000: Entering the 21st Century, improved communications, transportation and falling trade barriers are not only making the world smaller, they are also fueling the desire and providing the means for local communities to shape their own future. Faced with popular demands for greater self-determination, national governments from Africa to Latin America, and from Europe to South East Asia are devolving power to the local level – with mixed results.

“Globalization is like a giant wave that can either capsize nations or carry them forward on its crest,” says World Bank Chief Economist and Senior Vice President Joseph Stiglitz. “Successful localization creates a situation where local entities and other groups in society – the crew of the boat if you will – are free to exercise individual autonomy but also have incentives to work together.”

Given that cities account for an ever-increasing share of national incomes, in addition to shortly becoming home to most of the world’s population, the stakes are high for getting the twin forces of globalization and localization working at optimal pitch.

Cities aside, localization can take the form of a general demand for broader popular participation in politics – such as the democracy movements in Poland and Brazil in the 1980s, South Korea in the 1990s, and Indonesia today. Or it can take the form of demands for greater local autonomy, which may lead to decentralization or official recognition of a local cultural identity, as in Canada, Spain, and Uganda.

When it works, decentralizing power to the provincial and local level can result in more responsive and efficient local government. “There will be less room for close business dealings, more calls for accountability, and a continuing move away from the authoritarianism practiced in various parts of the world between the 1960s and the 1980s,” the report predicts.

But localization can also result in over-burdened local governments being unable to provide local infrastructure and services. Localization can threaten macroeconomic stability, and hence economic growth, if local governments borrow and spend heavily and need to be bailed out by national governments. And at the extreme, demands for local autonomy can lead to ethnic strife and civil war.

Globalization also offers a mix of opportunities and risks. Expanded markets and the spread of technology can lead to higher productivity and improved living standards. But they can also lead to instability and undesired changes: fear of job losses due to the influx of foreign imports, financial instability due to volatile foreign capital flows, and threats to the global environment.

“Globalization and localization are transforming many aspects of our human experience today, and countries will either prosper or falter on how effectively they can grab on to these two forces and harness their energy,” says Shahid Yusuf, leader of the 1999/2000 World Development Report team. “The world is becoming smaller, but in the process, it is also becoming more complicated. This makes a comprehensive and pragmatic approach to development more important than ever before.”

The first half of the report focuses on three areas in which global cooperation is becoming ever more crucial: trade, financial flows, and environmental issues, such as bio-diversity and climate change. The second half considers three key aspects of localization: decentralization, cities as the engine of economic growth, and making cities livable.

Yusuf says that as globalization shrinks the world, and localization multiplies the range of policy environments, successful development strategies will pay off more quickly in the new century than in the past. By the same token, the consequences of flawed strategies will be revealed sooner and more painfully.

The report identifies what it calls “four critical lessons” of development experience in the past half-century, to help guide countries and local communities as they devise their development strategies. These lessons, the report says, are central to how the World Bank envisions its work in the 21st century and to the way in which it proposes to tackle the principal

development challenges ahead. Further, there is a need for development thinking to move beyond simplistic notions of economic growth to embrace a more comprehensive view of peoples' lives.

"So far, economic commentary has focused on the onset of globalization with much less attention paid to the forces of localization," explains World Bank President James D Wolfensohn. "In both cases, however, what matters most is moving beyond traditional concepts of economic growth, to putting people – their health, welfare, education, opportunity, and inclusion – at the heart of the development agenda for the 21st century."

[Ed. comment: See the story "Development challenge" in section 'News'. See also section 'Literature'.]

Source: World Bank Development News, 15 September 1999

World Bank: Annual Strategic Forum. At a recent monthly Corporate Day meeting, World Bank senior managers discussed such questions as life after the Strategic Compact, and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework.

Life after the Compact. The Bank's third Strategic Forum, an annual meet in which senior managers decide on strategic corporate priorities for the next fiscal year, provides the institution its next major brainstorming opportunity to build on the work of the Compact.

In the lead-up to next January's forum, managers decided to take a hard look at the link between the World Bank Group's mission and its actions. The new Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework is a critical first step.

Participants identified three additional areas for discussion to preface the forum: capacity building, knowledge management, and global public goods and the development of global public policy.

"We must force ourselves to think selectively and prioritize our initiatives in these areas to maximize our impact on poverty," they said. "We must also evaluate our initiatives in terms of our comparative advantage, and decide whether we can do an effective job in these areas within our existing business model." If not, they agreed, they'd design a new business model that fits the task.

Poverty Reduction Framework. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework, recently agreed between the Bank and Fund, will provide a common basis for the design of IMF as well as Bank assistance programs. It aims to maximize the Bank's success in fulfilling its core mission – reducing poverty.

Benefiting from a more consultative and inclusive approach than in the past, and resulting in a more comprehensive and multidimensional interpretation of the roots of poverty, the framework builds on the principles of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF). The strategy is to be progressively adopted by across the Bank. Work is in progress on defining the content, process, and means for operationalizing the approach, including how to pursue collaborative work with partners.

Delivering on promises will be critical, the managers agreed, and discussed how the Bank and IMF will work together in practice and the implications for the teams, talent, and financial resources needed from the Bank. Also up for discussion was the pace at which the approach should be implemented, with managers agreeing that country authorities need to be the ones to decide on whether they want to adopt the approach.

Source: World Bank Development News, 15 October 1999

Tools

CBNRM web site. A new portal web site on community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) will be launched. Common property resource management and property rights will become important issues on this site. The web site will to some extent take the international CBNRM workshop in May 1998, and the experiences and results that came out of this workshop, as a point of departure.

URL: <http://www.cbnrm.net/>

World Bank: Law and development web site. The World Bank's Legal Department is currently preparing a new web site on "Law and Development" in Africa. The legal side of common property resource management is crucial, and is increasingly receiving attention.

URL: <http://www.worldbank.org/legal/legaf.html>

Literature

Byron, Neil and Michael Arnold. 1999. What futures for the people of the tropical forests? *World Development*, vol 27, p 789-805 (May 1999).

Abstract: The importance of forest products to households living in or near forests has been increasingly recognized. Estimates of numbers of people who in some way rely on forests, for survival or livelihoods, vary widely. Yet numbers alone do not reveal the forests' importance to diverse users. A typology that recognizes the varied relationships of people to forests and forest products permits assessment of the impacts of economic, cultural, and social changes. Understanding these relationships is crucial for institutions to adapt to changing patterns of demand, use, and supply, and to support both forest-dependent and forest-related peoples.

Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs. n.d. "Access to genetic resources: An evaluation of the development and implementation of recent regulation and access agreements", prepared by the Environmental Policy Studies Workshop.

Abstract: The report analyzes a number of recent agreements and legislation regulating access to genetic resources and the sharing of benefits derived from this. The historical context of such legislation, including the role of the Convention on Biological Diversity, obstacles to creating consensual policies, possible evaluation criteria for assessing access frameworks, and recommendations to policy-makers, practitioners and advocacy organizations are examined. Case studies include access to legislation and bioprospecting agreements in the Andean Pact, Brazil, Cameroon, Costa Rica, Fiji, the Philippines and the USA.

[Ed. comment: Copies of the Executive Summary and the report are available in PDF format, see URLs below. For copies in other formats contact Biodiversity Action Network (BIONET), see email below.]

Contact: Stas Burgiel – Telephone: +1 202 547 8902; Fax: +1 202 265 0222
URLs: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/FUNC/EPS/eps_rsched.html; <http://www.bionet-us.org>
Email: bionet@igc.org

IASCP. 1999. Forum "MDBs and the commons." *The Common Property Digest*, no 49, July 1999.

[Ed. comment: This Forum discussed multilateral development banks and IASCP, with four persons arguing the case, pro et contra. CPRNet is discussed specifically. See section 'IASCP, CPRNet and the World Bank: CPRs and CBNRM' above, which gives introduces the Forum, and also gives details on the four articles.]

URL: <http://www.indiana.edu/~iascp/E-CPR/cpr49.pdf>

Pichon, Francisco J, Jorge E Uquillas and John Frechione, eds. 1999. *Traditional and modern natural resource management in Latin America*. Pitt Latin American Series. October 1999. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Abstract: The book identifies a major problem facing developing nations and the countries and sources that fund them: the lack of attention and/or effective strategies available to prevent farmers in underdeveloped and poorly endowed regions from sinking deeper into poverty while avoiding further degradation of marginal environments. It is argued that risk prone areas are a relevant subject of study, and the special role that indigenous knowledge plays in such poorly endowed regions is emphasized. The contributors propose an alliance of scientific knowledge with native skill as the best way to proceed, arguing that folk systems can often provide effective management solutions that are not only locally effective, but which may have the potential for spatial diffusion.

URL (Sales and ordering information): <http://www.pitt.edu/~press/order.html>
Telephone (Marketing dept.): +1 412 383 2456

Wabnitz, Hans-Werner. 1999. "Return to the sources. Protection of access to common property resources under traditional law." Draft. September 1999.

Abstract: The paper describes the content and impact of the new herder's code in Mauritania. This legislation forms part of a welcome evolution in the Sahel from transplanting and copying laws to their autonomous development. In the process this incipient movement represents a shift from a legal system stipulating exclusive ownership rights in rural land-tenure to regulations providing for the sharing of user rights (on non-irrigated land).

[Ed. comment: The author is Senior Counsel, Africa Practice Group, Legal Department, World Bank. He is a member of CPRNet.]

URL: <http://www.cbnrm.net/library/documents/Wabni-CP.pdf>

World Bank. 1999. *World Development Report 1999/2000: Entering the 21st century*. Reports on conflict between globalization and localization, with a focus on urban growth and human welfare.

URL: <http://nt1.ids.ac.uk/eldis/wdr2000.htm>

Essay

India's tragic destiny. Jawaharlal Nehru once hauntingly described India's poor as "this naked, hungry mass." Despite a half-century of democracy, steady economic growth and constitutional commitment to welfare goals, India's poor are still naked and hungry. They are also far greater in numbers: by conservative official count the absolutely poor total some 350-400 million, the world's largest concentration of deeply impoverished people.

There is every risk that this immense tragedy will endure for the foreseeable future, perhaps even for the next half-century or more. This is so because over the past decade India's development agenda has been reduced to a single-minded focus on accelerating economic growth. Correspondingly, the needs and interests of the poor, never of much importance, have become more marginal than ever before in independent India's history.

The neo-liberal economic reforms of the past decade – which are gradually freeing the economy from state intervention and encouraging foreign trade and investment – have been embraced by most wealthy, upper- and middle-class Indians. They are the primary beneficiaries of the faster economic growth generated by the reforms. And the conservative nature of the reforms signals an end to the threat of pro-poor redistribution that has long been a part of India's political rhetoric.

The proponents of the reforms (notably including the World Bank) maintain that the reforms and the resulting faster economic growth will also cure poverty, quickly and painlessly. Their argument is appealingly straightforward. At a GDP per person of just \$350, India has too little to share between too many; a decade or so of rising incomes will raise everyone; and the state needs only to encourage growth as its benefits will automatically "trickle down" through expanded employment opportunities.

But this argument – beyond the obvious fact that faster growth is unobjectionable – is dead wrong, both in theory and practice. It ignores Indian realities and misrepresents modern India's history.

India's reality is that 80 percent of the poor live in rural areas, where they are typically bereft of assets (particularly agricultural land), illiterate, malnourished and sick. And only scarcely less than in colonial India, they are deeply oppressed by the landed. The lowest castes remain the most impoverished; brutal violence and ritual discrimination are ubiquitous; and democracy is a fiction at the village level in all the major states except Kerala and West Bengal, where leftist governments have undertaken substantive agrarian reform.

These myriad disabilities bar the poor from participating in economic growth. They also ensure that the poor barely share in the gains of growth: Little or nothing trickles down to them, too often not even higher wages for their labor. Moreover, these disabilities prevent them from translating universal suffrage and their massive numbers into political power. The record of the past half-century has proved all this beyond doubt.

Faced with data confirming that poverty has worsened over the past decade despite record growth rates (a new World Bank report admits that another 40 million Indians have slipped into absolute poverty in these years), some among the reformers are modifying their prescription.

The Bank now makes much of the need for India's government to invest in "human capital" by improving education and health conditions. It has also edged closer to accepting the need for public safety nets, such as schemes for the aged or for unemployed rural laborers. But even this broader agenda cannot achieve significant reductions in India's mass poverty. A critical element is missing.

This critical element is substantive agrarian reform: land redistribution, tenancy reform and labor protections. It is a precondition to India's rural poor ever emerging from poverty. This is so because land redistribution transforms their material conditions by providing them with a productive asset, at the same time emancipating them socially and politically. Only then can India's poor benefit from democracy, from greater public investments in education or health, or from economic growth.

This lesson is evident from the experience of Japan, China, South Korea and Taiwan – all formerly inequitable, land-scarce countries where agrarian reform laid the basis for broadly shared growth. The lesson is as evident within India: Poverty levels have stagnated everywhere except in those areas that began with more egalitarian social systems than the norm (Punjab, Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and the Himalayan hill states) or which have undergone agrarian reform (Kerala and West Bengal).

The need for agrarian reform as a prerequisite to tackling poverty in India is so obvious that since the 1930s India's leaders have regularly promised to redistribute "land to the tiller." But no Indian government has ever been deeply committed to the poor, and so the reams of agrarian re-form legislation have been mild and their implementation bogus. Precisely because so little agrarian reform has been done, there is still extraordinary scope for the poor to benefit if it is undertaken.

Unfortunately, there is little chance that India's politicians or policy elite of today will admit to this need. They are demonstrably uninterested in agrarian reform – in fact, they are reversing the laws that ban large farms. Their actions condemn several hundred million land-hungry and deeply deprived Indians to unending poverty.

[Ed. comment: The author, Siddharth Dube, has published "In the land of poverty: Memoirs of an Indian family, 1947-97".]

Source: The Washington Post, 21 September 1999