

brought the WFP food aid in. We said, 'We will not only provide work and lira, but for these two or three years we will also give you sufficient food for yourselves and your families.' And we offered them a generous amount, sufficient to show we meant business but not enough for them to sell.

"We got a few families to sign contracts, and we started giving them special training and moving them into forest villages where they were given housing. They found cousins to look after their animals at first, but eventually the animals were sold. By the time we finished that program in Turkey about 10 years later, I would guess that between 25 000 and 35 000 families were involved nation-wide. Today there is a large, thriving, integrated forestry industry—sawmills, and pulp and paper—based in the Antalya region. Not only has the management of that progressively degrading forest been brought under control, but they have gone into the establishment of new plantations; so they have raised the annual allowable cut of that forest. They have built permanent roads in to protect it, and it is the forest workers who prevent villagers now from raising animals or wheat.

"So we were able to turn 'round and transform a situation of progressive destruction and despair into one of hope and gainful employment and restoration of the forest area. It was a rewarding story.... But we had many, many good projects.

"The World Food Programme is probably the largest single supporter of forestry development projects. Labour-intensive activities like watershed management, road construction and reforestation are ideally suited to a combination of food aid with modest and complementary inputs of technical and capital assistance. I would guess that the WFP portfolio for forestry is now \$140 million a year; and forestry is easily the biggest single sectoral type of program they have, much larger than roadbuilding and harbour works.

"Can a transformation come anywhere? I believe so. The peasant farmer in any society is a remarkably intelligent individual, and don't ever underestimate his understanding of market forces and of what the government can or cannot do. But farmers often have problems with a forestry officer, who is sometimes the sole representative of authority in a district. He has been taught how to scale logs, how to apply the law in cases of grazing infractions, and how to do his books; but he rarely has the skills he needs to communicate. So there is a basic suspicion between the peasant and the forester.

"Only when you can demonstrate a sincere commitment and back it up with a written, legal contract—which is what we did in Turkey with every single family—and when you can gather a small group of trusting people, then you can make progress. And, maybe a year later, people come from other villages to a football match or a wedding, and see the trees on a terrace, and ask a lot of questions, ending with 'And how can we get on board?' Once you have got that spark ... I believe in the intelligence and goodwill of the peasants in virtually every society on the face of the earth. Provided you have an educated, alert staff with good communications and have good extension workers, you can change almost any situation around. They don't shoot forest guards for the pleasure of shooting forest guards. They shoot them because in deteriorating situations the forest guard stands between them and survival."