Transnational Associations

The review of the Union of International Associations

6/2001

Improving peace building performance

Mondialisation et pauvreté

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Associations transnationales

La revue de l'Union des associations internationales

Transnational Associations
Associations transnationales

Transnational Associations is a unique bilingual journal whose aim is to deal with major current problems within the perspective of international nongovernmental organizations. It is intended to provide a forum for authoritative information and independent reflection on the increasing role played by these organizations in the international system, and on its philosophical, political, economic or cultural implications.

The approach is intrinsically interdisciplinary, and calls for both specialist expertise and practitioner experience in transnational association matters. *Transnational Associations* provides background information about the actions and achievements of international associations, and insight into their interrelations with intergovernmental organizations. It covers a wide range of topics, among which social organization, humanitarian law, scientific cooperation, language and culture, economic development, to cite just a few.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UIA, clarifies general awareness concerning the association phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, informs associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of commun interest to them. Contributors to the journal include association officers, research workers and specialists of association questions who engage only themselves.

Founded in Brussels in 1907 as the Central Office of International Associations, the UIA became a federation under the present name in 1910 at the 1st World Congress of International Associations. Activities were closely associated with the Institut international de bibliographie, which later became the International Federation for Documentation. Its work contributed to the creation of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor of UNESCO). During the 1920s, die UIA created an International University, the first of its kind.

The UIA has consultative relations with UNESCO, UN/ECOSOC, and ILO. It collaborates with FAO, the Council of Europe, UNITAR, and the Commonwealth Science Council.

Associations transnationales *est la seule revue traitant des grands problèmes contemporains dam la perspective des organisations internationales non gouvernementales. Elle se propose d'apporter des éléments d'information provenant des sources les plus autorisées, propres à susciter une réflexion indépendante sur l'affirmation du rôle joué par ces acteurs dans le système international et sur les aspects philosophiques, politiques, sociaux et culturels de cette évolution.*

La visée adoptée est essentiellement interdisciplinaire et fait appel au savoir comme à la pratique des spécialistes du champ d'action des associations transnationales. Les documents, articles et études publiés par Associations transnationales *traitent également des liens établis entre celles-ci et les organisations intergouvemementales. Les domaines couverts s'étendent aux problèmes de société, au droit humanitaire, à la coopération scientifique, aux questions linquistiques, et culturelles, au développement économique ou à tout phénomène affectant la vie de ces associations.*

Le programme de la revue, conformément aux buts de l'UAl, vise à éclairer l'opinion sur la signification de la dimension associative des relations internationales, notamment en informant les associations au sujet des questions qui relèvent de leurs domaines ou affectent leurs intérêts communs. Les textes des auteurs publiés par la revue (dirigeants d'associations, chercheurs et spécialistes des questions associatives) n'engagent que leur opinion.

L'UAI a été créée officiellement en 1910 à Bruxelles au cours du premier congrès mondial des associations internationales. Ses fondateurs, le Sénateur Henri La Fontaine, prix Nobel de la Paix 1913 et Paul Or/et, Secrétaire général de l'Institut international de bibliographie, avaient mis sur pied en 1907 l'Office central des institutions internationales » auquel l'UAl succéda sous la forme de fédération. En 1914, elle regroupait 230 organisations, soit un peu plus de la moitié de celles qui existaient à l'époque. L'UAI devait incarner, dam l'esprit de ses fondateurs, les aspirations internationalistes et les idéaux de paix qui animaient ¡es associations et qui allaient aboutir en 1920 à la création de la Société des Nations.

L'UAI a obtenu le statut consultatif auprès de l'ECOSOC, de l'UNESCO et de l'OlT. Elle collabore avec l'UNITAR, la PAO et le Conseil de l'Europe. Elle entretient des relations générales et ponctuelles avec les organisations régionales.

Contents 6/2001 *Sommaire*

Message

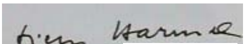
A chaque "passage" que l'Union des associations internationales connaît, du secrétaire général précédent à celui qui reprendra le flambeau, l'UAl se souvient de ses fondateurs et des deux grands personnages qui, depuis 1907—1908, assumèrent cette charge : Monsieur Fontaine, *ancien vice-président du Sénat de Belgique et Prix Nobel de la Paix, et Monsieur* Paul Otlet, *puis l'historien du mouvement associatif international, Monsieur* Georges Patrick Speeckaert, *de 1948 à 1970, dont nous avons connu l'infatigable création orale, écrite et institutionnelle.*

Puis vint le diplomate ami Robert Fenaux, *Ambassadeur honoraire, qui combattit victorieusement pour la diffusion de votre incomparable revue, la reconnaissance internationale des ONG et le financement autonome de l'UAI.*

Je rappelle ces devanciers pour saluer aujourd'hui Monsieur l'Ambassadeur honoraire Jacques Raeymaeckers, qui vient d'exercer cette charge depuis 1987 jusqu'aujourd'hui : des années où la terre est devenue vraiment ronde et où les relations de toutes natures sont devenues immédiates et universelles. A son poste de vigie, Monsieur Raeymaeckers a suivi jour après jour une évolution très rapide de la fin du XXe siècle, et a conduit un immense effort de réflexion sur la mondialisation, considérée par l'UAI comme un fait auquel les organisations internationales non gouvernementales veulent apporter une contribution sereine, qu'elle n ' aura pas cessé de préparer depuis bientôt cent ans.

Je connaissais de longue date la qualité de l'action diplomatique de Monsieur Raeymaeckers, mais je sais que j'exprime les sentiments de tous ceux qui l'auront accompagné au sein de Wal, en lui vouant une reconnaissance sans mesure pour sa rigueur personnelle et quotidienne, le don de bienveillance qui est une de ses marques et la volonté partagée avec tous ses collègues de poursuivre, à leur place dans les organismes internationaux, l'oeuvre de paix qu' avaient voulue les fondateurs.

La Belgique, Etat hôte de notre organisation universelle, est fière des secrétaires généraux de l'UAI qu'elle a pour charge de proposer au Conseil. Le successeur de Monsieur Raeymaeckers, Monsieur André Onkelinx, un autre diplomate rempli de talents, aura l'honneur de préparer le centième anniversaire de l'institution. Noble mission!



Pierre Harmel,
Ministre d'Etat.

Le nouveau Conseil de l'UAI

Annoncée depuis le début de cette année 2001, c'est officiellement ce 20 octobre que l'Assemblée générale de l'Union des associations internationales a accepté la démission de M. Jacques Raeymaeckers de son poste de secrétaire général.

Succédant à M. Robert Fenaux le 1er janvier 1987, M. Jacques Raeymaekers, ambassadeur honoraire de Belgique, avait une bonne connaissance du monde des ONG du fait de missions accomplies aux Nations Unies et au Conseil de l'Europe. Il a du, cependant, se familiariser avec les compétences de plus en plus pointues de l'UAI. Quinze ans passés au poste de secrétaire général d'une organisation en constant développement est un défi. La base de données, les extractions à faire ou ne pas faire, les contrats à signer, les participations à accepter ou refuser, les relations avec les membres actifs et les membres associés, les obligations statutaires, les responsabilités vis á vis du personnel : autant de

charges que le développement de l'UAl a considérablement alourdies. C'est en effet une période de rapide et profonde extension pour l'UAI que ces quinze dernières années.

C'est avec beaucoup de regret que nous voyons s'effacer M. Raeymaeckers - qui demeure cependant membre du Conseil - dont la sagesse et la gentillesse ont été largement appréciées par les membres et le personnel de l'UAI.

G. Devillé

Membres du Conseil UAI 2001-2003

Elus à l'Assemblée **générale des 19** et 20 octobre **2001**

Président :
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Conseiller maître. Cour des Comptes Paris

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Raymonde Martineau (Canada)
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Marcel Merle (France)
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Ancien Secrétaire général, UAI

Andrew **Rice** (USA)
Consultant, Society for International Development

Egon Slopianka (Allemagne)
Ancien **Secrétaire général,** Alliance universelle des unions chrétiennes de jeunes gens

Gianni Tibaldi (Italie)
Professeur, Université de Padoue

Historical review of UIA collaboration with SAUR notably during the period of Jacques Raeymaeckers' role as Secretary-General[1]

The Union of International Associations (UIA) has been engaged in a range of documentation modes and initiatives since its origins in 1910 under the inspired leadership of the Belgians Paul Otlet and Nobel Prize winner Henri La Fontaine. It was in June 1973 that the UIA was first contacted by Klaus Saur suggesting a meeting to discuss mutual interests of UIA and Verlag Dokumentation München. The first visit seems to have taken place on 5 July 1974 and the follow-up was focused on distribution of UIA publications in Germany and a display at the Frankfurther Buchmesse 1974. As publishers, our relationship remained for a number of years one of publisher-distributor.

It was only in mid-1982 that UIA asked Klaus Saur whether he would be interested in publishing the *Yearbook of International Organizations* — following the UIA's unsatisfactory experience publishing the 19th edition through the International Chamber of Commerce (Pans). Agreement was rapidly reached — with expansion from the single annual volume with ICC into a three-volume annual edition from the 20th edition in 1982, considerably increasing the number of pages. The two additional volumes were considered experimental, but sales justified their continuation thereafter. At the same time arrangements were made for K G Säur Verlag (KGS) to distribute the quarterly *International Congress Calendar.* Data for both publications was processed into film for many years via the UIA sub-contractor Computaprint (London) — later to become a subsidiary of Reed-Elsevier.

Another aspect of the UIA's extraordinary relationship with Klaus Saur also became evident at that time. On leaving a meeting in Brussels, at which contractual details were finalized in 1982, he was asked whether he was aware of an earlier initiative resulting in the UIA publication in 1976, of the *Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential.* This had been jointly financed by Mankind 2000, directed by James Wellesley-Wesley with the participation of Robert Jungk - whom Klaus Saur knew well. Klaus took a copy of the *Encyclopedia* with him on the plane. The following morning he telephoned to propose that KGS produce a new edition.

This proposal led to the publication of a further three new editions of the *Encyclopedia:* the single volume 2nd edition in 1986, a two-volume 3rd edition in 1991, and a three-volume 4th edition in 1994-5. The extraordinary flexibility and flair of Klaus Saur was evident in the "evolution" of the 4th edition - initially conceived as a two-volume publication (*World Problems* and *Human Potential).* Late in the editorial work it was collectively, and suddenly, decided that a third volume of the *Encyclopedia* would be produced (on "Global Strategies" in response to the world problems). The editorial work on this volume was significantly funded by James Wellesley-Wesley once again. However, *from* a commercial point of view, it was clear that KGS was not making a fortune out of these unconventional publications. Indeed it is somewhat of a miracle that both KGS and UIA were prepared to tolerate projects that could only survive through "creative" financing — and the enthusiasm of both editorial and production teams.

The early success with the *Yearbook* encouraged Klaus to respond to UIA suggestions to produce a series of *Guides to International Organization.* Four were produced in the period 1984-5: *African International Organizations; Arab-Islamic International Organizations; International Organization Abbreviations and Addresses;* and *Intergovernmental Organization Directory.* Klaus was right. They were not destined to be a success - but his willingness to experiment with the UIA remained undaunted.

The same period saw the publication of the first (and only) volume in a heroic new series to document the statutes of international nonprofit organizations. Volume 1 of *the International Association Statutes Series* appeared in 1984. The data capture was done in an extraordinary kamikaze operation by a group from the Institute of Cultural Affairs International (Brussels), who subsequently produced a three volume *Directory of Rural Development (*1985-8) through KGS.

Another venture was the publication of *Who's Who in International Organizations* — of which

1. Excerpt from a report by Anthony Judge to UAI's General Assembly, 19-20 October 2001.

the UIA had produced a mini-precursor in 1962. The 1st edition appeared in 1992; a second was to appear in 1995; the third in 2000 (in 3 volumes); a fourth is in preparation for 2002..

In parallel with these various paper products, the capacity of computers to totally transform editorial work and production operations became increasingly evident - and remained a continuing challenge. In mid-1985, UIA computer files dating from 1974 were transferred to an in-house network- one of the first in Belgium. This was to totally transform editorial work. The transformation was achieved with technical assistance from the Institute of Cultural Affairs. In 1986, the *Yearbook* post-editorial data processing at Computaprint (London) was received the Printing World Award of Her Majesty's Stationery Office "for the most innovative application of computers to typesetting".

These technical successes were a stimulus to the wonderfully flexible project dialogue with Klaus Saur, whether directly or through Manfred Link. The early 1990s was a period when the possibility of reference books on CDs was under very active review by many. There was much dialogue with Klaus and Manfred — and with KG Saur Verlag partners in the USA who had experience with this technology. Just as the *Encyclopedia* production had been used as the first test of computer editing and typesetting, it was used by the UIA to test CD tech*nology* — leading to me production by KGS of *Encyclopedia Plus* in 1995. Klaus manifested his qualities of patience in response to UIA insistence that a cut price variant be simultaneously marketed. Later in 1995 the first annual edition of the *Yearbook* appeared finally on CD in parallel with the book edition - with UIA supplying the master disk based on Folio software. Experiments were subsequently made with extension of the content into multilingual formats — notably by including in 1996 the *Annuaire des Organisations Internationales* (translation funded by governments of francophone countries) as a substitute for a non-viable hardcopy edition (last published by UIA in 1979). These experiments were subsequently abandoned in favour of the English-only product with multilingual indexes — but also including the *Who's Who in International Organizations.* In 1996 the Yearbook was also extended to four volumes with me publication of the first edition of a *Bibliographic Volume: International Organization Bibliography and resources*

This period saw many transformations in the relationships between KGS, Bowker-Saur, Reed-Elsevier in which Klaus too played a variety of roles. Ironically both UIAs key sub-contractors, Computaprint and Folio, became part of the Reed-Elsevier group. From 1996 however UIA no longer provided data for film production through Computaprint but through Microcomposition (München) a sub-contractor of KGS that made use of the Revelation software central to UIAs data management flexibility. These transformations have been followed in the autumn of 2000 by the sale of KGS by the Reed-Elesevier group to Thompson/Gale - a prime UIA competitor with respect to the *Yearbook* series. It has been the skills of Klaus that have ensured the continuity of the UIA relationship with KGS under these unique circumstances.

Vital to the stability of this productive relationship over such an extended period of time has been the unusual style of Klaus Saur - very much in the tradition of the creative publisher, attentive to quality, valuing editorial content, and respectful of editorial expertise and technical competence. This contrasts starkly with many conventional approaches to publishing where short-term financial margins and returns dominate most decisions. Ironically it is the qualitative partnership relationships - now that they have become rare — that are increasingly extolled by management gurus as the way of the future.

The fecundity of the relationship is further illustrated by the production of an *International Biographical Dictionary of Religion (* 1994) that was extended and transformed into *a World Guide to Religious and Spiritual Organizations* (1996). This was followed by a *World Guide to Logotypes, Emblems and Trademarks of International Organizations* (1997) that represented the first joint excursion into image production and indexing - with a number of unusual features.

These more recent years also saw the emergence of the Internet, Web diffusion of information, and the many new challenges to producers and distributors of information faced with subsidized competition. Klaus was very canny, to use a Scottish term (possibly of

German derivation), in his response. His long experience of the publishing world enabled him to avoid the traps into which many fell. For that the UIA is extremely grateful to him as it experimented independently from 1998 with web distribution of the *Encyclopedia* databases as a marketing entry point to the *Yearbook.*

In the light of these tests, it was therefore with the greatest prudence that Klaus finally agreed in 2000 to commence distribution of *Yearbook Online* in parallel with both the CD and book versions of the *Yearbook.* This has now made it possible to hyperlink together all the UIA database entries (organizations, problems, strategies, biographies; bibliographies, meetings, human development, values) within the Web environment. The arrangements between KGS and UIA in this respect could only be viable with the mutual confidence and trust of which Klaus has long proven to be the prime guarantor.

A new agreement in 2001 adds a statistical/graphics volume into the 38th edition of the *Yearbook* series (now to be 5 physical volumes) - the first addition since the arrangements began in 1982. This makes the total number of pages published through the UIA-KGS agreements enabled by Klaus Saur close to 120,000 — bringing the total number of characters published close to one billion (depending on Manfred Links verification)! Truly a fruitful partnership of which Paul Otlet would have approved.

A. Judge

UIA doctoral prize 2001

Prix de thèse UAI 2001

En mai 1999, le Conseil de l'Union des associations internationales décida de créer un prix international de 6.000 euros à attribuer à une thèse de doctorat sur un sujet touchant à l'histoire, à la vie, au fonctionnement ou à l'action des organisations internationales non gouvernementales.Un jury fut créé à cet effet, composé de :

Stephen Toulmin, University of Southern California;

Philip Everts, Instituut voor Internationale Studien, Amsterdam;

Paul Ghils, Haute Ecole de Bruxelles.

Celui-ci effectua la sélection finale des meilleures thèses à partir de la synthèse des classements individuels effectués par chacun de ses membres sur la base de critères évaluant l'originalité, la qualité académique, la richesse des données empiriques recueilles et analysées et la pertinence des sujets traités dans le cadre des recherches de l'UAI.

Après une première sélection réalisée par l'UAI en fonction de critères vérifiant la conformité des 28 thèses soumises à l'UAI aux conditions énoncées dans l'annonce du prix, le Jury aboutit au classement final suivant, qui place les deux premières thèses *ex aequo :*

la. *Greens in the greenhouse: environmental NGOs, norms and the politics of global climate change,* by Michele Betsill (College of Liberal Arts, Colorado State University)

lb. *Transnationalité, "engagement humanitaire", politiques publiques : interaction entre les activités des organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) et la mise en oeuvre de l'action publique des Etats - L'exemple du Guatemala,* par Nathalie Affre (Institut de sciences politiques, Université Aix-Marseille III)

3. The making of NGOs: global influences and local responses from Western India, by Alnoor Ebrahim (Stanford University)

4. *The negociable desert. Expert knowledge in the negotiations of the Convention to Combat Desertification,* by Elizabeth Cornell (Dpt of Water and Environmental Studies, Unkoping University, Suède)

5. *Exploring patterns of interest group collaboration: environmental interests at the European level,* by Ruth Webster (School of Public Administration and Law, Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen)

6. Desire for development: the education of white women as development workers, by Deborah Heron (Dpt of Sociology and Equity Studies, Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto)

International norm formation in the environmental context

Greens in the greenhouse: Environmental NGO's, norms and the politics of global climate change, by Michele Merrill Betsill.

This thesis is a case study of the role and contribution of international NGO's in the development of international norms. Michele Betsill focuses on the evolution of norms for state conduct in connection with the problem of global warning. Her study covers international negotiations in three settings in the period 1988-1997 and draws a number of conclusions concerning the conditions, opportunities and constraints of NGO influence. The objective is to define an evolutionary, constructivist perspective offering a better explanation of norm development rather than a neo-realism or an interest-based approach.

The study carefully analyses, on the basis of existing literature and available data, the conditions of influence and the reasons why environmental NGO's can and are effective in helping to shape norms in some situations while being ineffective in others. It argues persuasively, by empirically reconstructing the processes of international négociations and meetings, on how NGO influence is shaped and conditioned by both the institutional setting and the ideational context This scheme of analysis brings to a model of analysis which could usefully be applied, as shown by the author, to other cases of international norm development

The emergence of a new international norm , however, is not unproblematic, if we consider that for *every* new norm that is created, there are a number of other norms which do not draw the attention of decision makers. The merit of Michèle Betsill's study is to draw on an evolutionary perspective of norm formation, to show that international norms develop through a political process involving state as well as non-state actors, where material forces influence, but do not determine, which norms will prevail. This approach challenges in a very relevant way the conventional models of international relations, which focus on interstate relations, and shows through an impressive body of data that the process of norm formation is contingent on the way issues are frames in world politics as well as the institutional setting in which norm emergence occurs.

L'humanitaire et l'action publique des Etats

Transnationalité, "engagement humanitaire", politiques publiques : interaction entre les activités des organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) et la mise en oeuvre de l'action publique des Etats - L'exemple du Guatemala, par Nathalie Affre, Institut de sciences politiques, Université Aix-Marseille 111.

Nathalie Affre a abordé la question difficile de la relation entre l'action humanitaire des ONG et la mise en oeuvre de l'action publique des Etats, en la rapportant à l'affirmation de plus en plus forte du caractère transnational des relations internationales.

Sans doute cette problématique n'est-elle pas ou n'est-elle plus entièrement nouvelle, qui pose l'interaction entre les différentes classes d'acteurs, et qui montre l'interdépendance entre le monde clairement repérable des relations liant les Etats et le monde plus insaisissable, multicentre mais proprement transnational des associations internationales et de leur action.

L'originalité de la thèse de Nathalie Affre consiste cependant à explorer un domaine neuf au départ d'un travail empirique qui constitue une véritable sociologie politique des ONG située dans un cadre de plus en plus mondialisé et transnationalisé.

La méthode établie par Mme Affre, qui conjoint la saisie théorique du sujet et l'analyse des données empiriques auparavant collectées, et qui donc confronte la singularité de l'action non gouvernementale et la généralité, voire l'universalité de sa signification, permet notamment de dépasser quelques dichotomies faciles entre l'étatique et le non-étatique. Car en adoptant cètte démarche, l'auteur montre le caractère inexorablement hybride de l'acteur ONG, associé à l'effacement de frontières clairement marquées entre le public et le privé. Et si l'identité du monde associatif semble souffrir quelque peu du caractère poreux des frontières qui le sépare du monde des Etats, elle s'enrichit d'une nouvelle efficacité, en ce que les ONG adoptent le role innovateur de médiateurs entre les mondes étatique et associatif. On trouve là, semble-t-il, 1 élément essentiel de la création de cet espace public international et transnational, qui ne saurait se développer sans ce dialogue fondateur. Avec, bien entendu, comme le remarque l'auteur de 1 étude, toutes les incertitudes qu'engendré l'engagement humain, l'investissement humanitaire fonde sur l'action des ONG mais aussi sur l'action des personnes, et dont la cartographie ne saurait avoir la clarté des schémas de la géopolitique mondiale.

D'où la nécessité d'une "déconstruction" des politiques publiques et de coopération, et la "construction" d'une citoyenneté mondiale.

Mais c'est là un autre mérite du travail de Nathalie Affre et non des moindres, qui est de montrer le rôle essentiel mais complexe, polymorphe mais raisonnable d'une catégorie d'acteurs qui relativise par le retour de l'humain - soit ici l'engagement humanitaire - la dimension parfois trop rationnelle de la science politique. La leçon finale de cette enquête, s'il y en a une, est peut-être alors de montrer que la transnationalité en acte signifie le retour d'une certaine forme d'humanisme dans le monde des relations internationales, et par là d'une voie originale de la modernité.

P. Ghils

NGO security **research**

The Union of International Associations has recently completed an inquiry into security issues for NGOs, as a follow-up to previous research carried out in the field.

1. The report covers the research conducted by staff of the Union of International Associations into the issues of NGO security between June 2000 and October 2001

2. Research on this subject builds upon the 1999 report by Mario Bettati, "Protection des organisations non gouvernementales en mission périlleuse", published in English as "Protection for non-governmental organisations on hazardous duties" (see *Transnational Associations / Associations transnationales,* issues 2 and 3/1999 respectively).

3. The original terms of reference for this research have been changed and amended to reflect the role of the UIA in providing information support to international organisations engaged on hazardous duties

4. The UIA has been centrally involved and interested in the international legal status of NGOs since its earliest founding in 1909

5. Using the UIA's extensive in-house database systems and principally, the Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential, UIA staff have collected wide ranging data and opinion on the need for further legal protection for international organisations engaged on hazardous duties

6. Besides detailed information entries and bibliographic references, the Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential provides advanced contextual mapping tools for high level examination of strategic actions and synergies between the activities of international organisations

7. The Encyclopedia's coverage of World Problems aims to locate individual problem descriptions within a context of complex world problems thereby enabling a better understanding of the constituent aspects of problem issues

8. The cross referencing of World Problems through hyperlinks enables an overview of the problems facing international organisations and their security needs in what is a complex arena of development activity

9. International legal protection for international organisations engaged on hazardous duties is invariably linked to the protection and rights of those receiving assistance

10. While the UN international conventions on human rights and the tights of refugees provide a basic framework for protecting those affected by war and complex emergencies, there is no clear legal protection for international organisations providing humanitarian assistance

11. Without a clearly established international legal framework covering the right to receive humanitarian assistance, and for international organisations to provide such, NGOs operating in hazardous situations will remain un protected and vulnerable

12. The accountability of international organisations operating in hazardous situations must in the first instance be to those requiring humanitarian assistance as identified in the organisation's legal mandate

13. A new recent development is the establishment of the International Criminal Court which establishes a principle of prosecution for those who deliberately interfere or obstruct the opera-

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tion of international organisations providing humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies

14. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides clear legal protection for international organisations engaged on hazardous duties, including the obstruction of such activities under war crimes

15. The Rules of Procedure for the International Criminal Court give legal standing to organisations before the Court and may in time develop to recognise the activities of international organisations as "representatives of victims" and to some extent, "officers of the court," gathering and assembling evidence on behalf of victims

16. The Mohonk Criteria identifies this potential role for international organisations working in complex emergencies, collecting evidence of humanitarian and human rights violations

17. The establishment of "operational standards" for international organisations engaged on hazardous duties is a potential route for increasing NGO protection where international organisations would require to meet and maintain standards of operation which could in turn be recognised and accredited by UN and Red Cross agencies

18. The development of "organisational security frameworks" to support operational practice provide a further form of internal standards for organisations operating in hazardous situations

19. The Humanitarian Safety and Protection Network has devised a two-tier information management system which recognises the need for organisations to protect certain levels of security information while at the same time encouraging the open sharing of non-classified operational information among organisations engaged on hazardous duties

20. Security training is increasingly recognised as central to the safe operation of humanitarian organisations operating in hazardous situation with new forms of training (and training providers) moving into the field

21. "Codes of Conduct," like operational standards, which cover the conduct of humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies provide another important opportunity for coordinating the work of international organisations with the main UN and Red Cross agencies working in hazardous situations

22. Integrating the role of international organisations engaged on hazardous duties into the confused and dangerous working environment of complex emergencies requires an integrated warning-response and development framework which acknowledges the roles and responsibilities of the various actors

23. The Union of International Associations, with its long term standing and regular annual publications and events, is in a position to provide a permanent information repository for international organisations on the issues of security in hazardous situations

24. The present UIA web site on NGO security has gathered together the main reference materials on this subject and now seeks further contributions from interested parties to maintain and develop this information resource

25- At present, the UIA web site appears in second place in a Google search engine search of over 300,000 documents

26. The UIA, as a result of this study, will endeavour - within its limited resources - to maintain the NGO Security web site and add further information to it, and in due course may seek additional funding to enable further studies to be undertaken and possible training workshops to be held

27. The above areas of further study have been identified as central to the ongoing monitoring of NGO security concerns

28. In summary, the UIA research found that further extensions of "blue flag" and "red cross" protection for international organisations, while desirable, do not hold the same potential for protection as recent developments with the International Criminal Court, or with the self help activities of NGOs developing their own operational security standards

29. International legal protection for international organisations engaged on hazardous duties is fundemental to the provision of humanitarian assistance in complex emergencies

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Learning partnerships and knowledge-sharing among **NGOs** in international conflict resolution

*by Anthony Baird**

Introduction

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) - or non-profit organizations involved in political or social causes, yet independent of government supervision or direction — are playing an increasingly prominent role in international peacebuilding, as can be seen from a review of recent literature on international affairs.[1] This has been coupled by an explosion in the number of NGOs dealing with international conflict, including such well known organizations as the Carter Center, Search for Common Ground, Partners for Democratic Change, Conciliation Resources, International Alert and Conflict Management Group, to name only a few established in the last few decades.

While this phenomenon has had many benefits for the new international system, it has also created many new problems. One of the greatest is the lack of organizational learning. Organizational learning can be defined as an organization's ability to adapt to new realities and to improve performance through analysis and evaluation. The currently changing nature of the international system has made organizational learning crucial. The causes of international instability have changed drastically since the end of the Cold War. Whereas instability used to be the result of a shift in the balance of power between two superpowers, now it is more often caused by intrastate conflict or state collapse. While wars used to be fought by organized state militaries, now they are more often fought between warlords, Mafia rings, or polarized ethnic communities. Cold War conflicts were most often resolved through high-level diplomatic negotiations. This conflict management strategy fits the post-Cold-War world very poorly. New strategies must be developed and applied. This has been the recent aim of both NGOs and inter-governmental organizations (IOs) such as the United Nations (UN), the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to name some of the IOs more actively engaged in conflict management. No one has found the perfect solution to manage these types of conflict, but all are learning invaluable lessons.

In response, IOs have begun efforts to gather knowledge and to improve their performance, such as the UN's project "Lessons Learned," which evaluates UN peacekeeping missions and makes recommendations for future missions. Yet vast amounts of knowledge and learning are being generated outside the UN by NGOs. The UN has recently been trying to tap into this resource. For instance, the UN held the Millenium Summit, to which many NGOs were invited. Yet this type of collaboration has been extremely rare and has not generated the knowledge-sharing expected.

Unfortunately NGOs are often negligent at assimilating their own expanding knowledge. The lessons they learn are lost as they move from project to project, not taking the time or having the organizational capacity to learn from their experiences and to pass that learning on to other projects and other organizations. While this may not hold true for every organization in the field of international conflict (and I will analyze several examples), many scholars have noted this discouraging trend.[2] What obstructs NGOs from being more effective at organizational learning? What theoretical models can help them improve in this area? In this paper, I will *try* to address these questions. This analysis will center on the theory of learning partnerships, a social science model, often used in the field of management, that seems to hold especial relevance for the field of non-governmental work. Learning partnerships can be defined as structures of long-term collaboration between various organizations with the intent of improving performance by sharing knowledge and lessons learned.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to help find ways of increasing and improving, in general. organizational learning and, specifically, learning partnerships in the field of peacebuilding. To do this, I will first determine what obstacles exist. 1 will then apply several principles from learning partnership theory to analyze current examples of knowledge sharing and IO-NGO collaboration. From this analysis, it will become clearer how to organize effective organizational learning in the field of international conflict and how it can improve performance.

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1. See, for example, Leacherman, Janie, ed., *Breaking cycles of violence: Conflict Prevention in intrastate crises* (New York: Kumarian Press, 1999).
2. Smith, Edwin and Thomas G. Wiess, "UN task-sharing: towards or away from global governance?" *Third World Quarterly*, v 18 no 3 (1997), p. 608.

Transnational Associations
6/2001, 282-289

The need for **learning** partnerships

Interdependence

In the current international system, there are several types of organizations working to manage, mitigate and resolve conflicts. Here, I will only deal with nongovernmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations as previously defined. Each type of organization is vastly different in nature from the other and, thus, carries different strengths and weaknesses.

Intergovernmental organizations, such as the UN, NATO, or the OSCE, have more stable organizational structures which have allowed some to develop learning programs. The UN's Lessons Learned Department is only one example of the ways in which IOs are trying to innovate. But the influence of IOs on the course of *intrastate* conflict is not as extensive as desired. IOs, by nature, represent groups of states. They carry with them enormous political baggage. Their actions are not always viewed as neutral third party conflict resolution but more often as regional protectionism and promotion of respective national interests. Furthermore, their intervention is often seen as a threat to a given state's sovereignty. Thus, IOs are frequently not given the access to groups in conflict within a state necessary to be effective in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.[3] Lastly, because IOs are made up of various national governments, reaching consensus between states with differing interests, if not impossible, often takes too long and renders response to international crises too late.

The character of NGOs excludes them from many of these problems. Because of their nongovernmental nature, they are given access to battle zones that government officials will never see.[4] Because of their size, they do not have to wait for consensus in order to take action (although this may not hold completely true for the largest NGOs). They can respond to crises immediately and definitively. Furthermore, their links to the grassroots level mean "they can customize their activities rather than 'wholesale' them as the UN does."[5] Of course, because of their nongovernmental nature, they lack the power IOs can use to enforce their decisions and influence the official peace process. Another weakness of NGOs is their dependence on external funding. Thus, their goals are sometimes dictated by their funders and not by their own analysis of the problems at hand. Moreover, measuring the success of activities at the grassroots level is much less tangible and more difficult to determine. Other NGOs are not as independent of the government as expected, and act more as an arm of the government than as an independent, neutral party. These NGOs encounter the same problems as governments and IOs. Another argument against NGOs states that every organization carries some agenda and its activities are driven by these biases. For example, the International Red Cross holds neutrality in a conflict as one of its highest priorities, since the appearance of neutrality is essential to gain access to victims on both sides of a conflict. Unfortunately, because of this desire to remain neutral, the IRC sometimes comes across as colluding with killers and warlords.

Thus, it is apparent that NGOs and IOs differ greatly in their character. They each have different strengths and weakness and effect international conflict in different ways. It is becoming more and more apparent that both are essential to conflict resolution. One cannot function successfully without the cooperation of the other. This cooperation should include collaborative efforts to share knowledge and to learn from each other's experiences. As is mentioned, while this has already begun to happen, these activities can be increased and improved. IOs could especially benefit from increased access to NGO knowledge

Scarce resources

Unfortunately, too often, NGOs do not put forward the necessary effort to learn from their own knowledge and experience. In the scathing, if somewhat exaggerated, words of one scholar, NGOs have an "almost visceral unwillingness in principle to denote scarce resources to research and reflection. This reluctance raises questions about the degree to which any learning from experiences takes place and is transmitted to others in the field."[6] Because of the nature of the nonprofit world, NGOs are forced to spend a vast majority of their time seeking out the necessary funding for their projects. Little time is left for evaluating their

3. Gordenker, Leon and Thomas G. Weiss, "Devolving responsibilities: A framework for analyzing NGOs and services , *Third World Quarterly*, v 18 no 3 (1997), p. 447.
4. Ignatieff, Michael, *The warrior's honor; Ethnic war and the modern conscience* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1997), pp. 123-124.
5. Weiss, Tomas G., "Tempering collaboration", *Third World Quarterly, v* 18 no 3 (1997), p.4l9.
6. Smith and Weiss, "UN task-sharing", p. 608.

past performances and seeking to learn from other organizations. Little thought is put into collaboration and cross-entity learning. In defense of NGOs, one such organization explains that "for many organizations working in the area of conflict prevention/resolution . . . knowledge of what other related organizations are doing can be crucial when developing their activities. However, the expense, both in terms of money and time, of gathering such information often results in organizations missing valuable opportunities."[7] However, collaboration in learning and knowledge-gathering efforts, if organized properly, will help alleviate scarce resources.

Accountability to donors

Unfortunately, those evaluations and knowledge-sharing practices NGOs do perform are influenced by the nature of the system. Currently, NGOs are only accountable to their donors, and the evaluations required by those donors are scant and not geared toward improving performance as much as toward meeting funding requirements. Moreover, these evaluations merely measure success, not how that success was achieved.[8] Lastly, each funding organization carries its own unique requirements for evaluation. Thus, what an NGO might "learn" from its own project might be completely different depending on who the funder is.

Is the answer, then, to make all evaluations standard and to make all NGOs accountable to the UN or some other governmental body? Not only is this extremely impractical, it is also not very useful. It is difficult enough for the UN to keep its respective governments accountable. It would be incomprehensible to do the same for every NGO in the world. Moreover, NGOs, in part, derive their unique strengths from the fact that they are not constrained by diplomatic protocol or governmental bureaucracy. This comparative advantage would disappear if these organizations were made formally subordinate to the UN. IOs and NGOs play different, complementary roles in conflict prevention and resolution that should be maintained. "The real challenge is not for the UN [and other IOs] to 'mimic what other agencies are doing' but to find a meaningful way 'to create partnerships based on development concerns rather than perceptions of strategic organizational advantage."[9] Creating learning partnerships will help organizations to coordinate accountability. NGOs will no longer be accountable solely to their donors, but will cede some autonomy to the partnerships, allowing organizations that work in a common field to coordinate learning and knowledge-sharing. While this will not completely eliminate the problems of accountability in the world of NGOs (a problem which deserves a whole research paper on its own), it is a good first step.

Self-interest

Thus, learning partnerships are an effective way to: first, address NGO and IO interdependence; second, alleviate scarce resources; and third, mitigate the negative effects of NGO dependence on donors. Yet any partnerships must overcome another obstacle inherent to both NGOs *and IOs.* While IOs and NGOs are different in many ways, they are similar in at least one way - they are social organizations. Many scholars have studied organizational behavior and its effect on task accomplishment. One of the most common understandings in this regard is that "the 'natural' motivation of . . . independent organizations is to self-maximize."[10] The mam priority of any organization is its own survival and expansion. While all organizations have other, more altruistic goals and often implement these goals very effectively, self-perpetuation and expansion are, understandably, almost always underlying motives. This makes cooperation and collaboration between two organizations sporadic, since each organization constantly reassesses cooperation in light of its own interests. Thus, for cooperation between two organizations to be stable, they must believe that cooperation is in their own self-interest. The likelihood that they will accept this is increased if cooperation is formalized in long-term partnerships. It is much easier to get groups to cooperate if their cooperation is codified.

Partnership is not synonymous with mergers. Indeed, learning partnerships are generally much looser agreements than even joint ventures in the private sector. Moreover, these partnerships do not have to encompass all NGOs.

7. Bierbrauwer, G. de Graaf, ed., Annual Report 1999: European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention, Amsterdam: Durkpartners, 1999, p. 7.
8. Duffield, Mark, "NGOs and the new aid paradigm". *Third World Quarterly,* v J 8 no 3 (1997), p. 533,
9. Smith and Weiss, "UN task-sharing", p. 607.
10. Henderson, John C., "Plugging into strategic partnerships: The critical IS connection", *Sloan Management Review*, Spring 1990, p. 8.

Neither do they have to be IO-initiated, although the participation of UN agencies, OSCE departments or other IO branches is extremely beneficial because of their differing nature from NGOs. The essential is that partnerships are increased and that they encourage inter-organizational learning and knowledge-sharing in effective ways.

Thus, convincing organizations to collaborate, becomes a learning initiatives first task. For learning partnerships to be useful to organizations, the knowledge gathered must be beneficial to them. Again, implied benefits are not good enough to get two organizations to collaborate. These benefits need to be made explicit. "Sometimes a significant amount of education about these benefits or potential benefits [of partnership] is necessary."[11] Benefits will depend on the specific partnership, but, if organized correctly, all partnerships should have the benefit of improved performance through knowledge-sharing. Another often overlooked benefit is the possibility of success that does not exist without the partnership. One reason organizations are willing to give up a level of autonomy "is that they cannot deal with an issue alone." Partners "must have a sense that, through interaction with the other partners, a solution may be achieved."[12] Whatever the benefits, they must be made explicit for organizations to be willing to participate.

Thus, for learning partnerships to be beneficial, they must produce tangible benefits in the form of improved performance or its potential. They must create more useful forms of accountability. They must also not tie up scarce resources. Indeed, if correctly organized, they can free resources and create new opportunities. How can this be done? To discover this, let us discuss several principles from the theory of learning partnerships and apply them to an analysis of a few examples of learning-partnerships currently existing in the field of international conflict resolution.

Analyzing current examples[13]

Learning partnership theories teach us that unless a partnership is correctly structured, it becomes redundant and useless and its members will quickly abandon it. It must first be understood that the purpose of such partnerships is to improve performance, not to increase information. In other words, the goal of partnership is not simply to give organizations access to each others knowledge, but to give all organizations involved the tools for higher success. Consequently, organizations in learning partnerships do more than simply open information resources to others in the partnership. They also restructure how knowledge is acquired and presented within their own organization and within the whole partnership. As one researcher has noted, "the use of information technology linkages between organizations may only 'speed up the mess' if a fundamental restructuring of the nature of work in organizations is not achieved."[14] How do organizations restructure knowledge gathering? Members of each involved organization must make learning a priority. Individuals need to learn that success with projects is only half the objective. Learning from that success is the other half. "Implementation must become not only a chance to perform, but also a chance to learn."

Making learning a natural part of performance is only the first step, though. Organizations must also focus on how to transmit useful knowledge to other organizations. In other words, how can knowledge-sharing be structured so that it is effective and useful to all organizations participating in a learning partnership? One common way of structuring partnerships in the NGO field is referred to as a *community.* Partnerships are loose and each partner is responsible for presenting their own learning. Knowledge-sharing usually occurs in the form of ad hoc forums or conferences where each member shares his or her learning with the entire group in no particular form.

For example, In the early 90s, the Foundation for Global Community, based in California, conducted unofficial dialogues between community leaders of each side of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Transcaucasia. After several years and little progress, the working group decided to host a conference for Western NGOs conducting conflict resolution projects in the region, including such renowned organizations as the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, Search for Common Ground, Partners for Democratic Change and George Mason University's Institute for Conflict

11. Waddock, Sandra A., "Building successful social partnerships", *Sloan Management Review*, Summer 1988, p. 19
12. ibid.
13. All theoretical ideas and unmarked citations in this section are taken from unpublished sources of two organizations involved in research and consulting in the field of learning partnerships and learning organizations - Whole Systems International and Boston University Institute for Leadership Management.
14. Henderson, "Plugging into strategic parnerships", p.7.

Analysis and Resolution, among others. The purpose of the conference was to "assimilate expertise" from each group - in other words, to share learning and knowledge. One lesson learned that was stressed over and over again was "the importance of understanding cultural differences in conflict management."[15]

This type of conference is similar to most knowledge-sharing occurring in the NGO field. Collaboration is extremely loose and knowledge is presented by members dispersed throughout the organizations in an ad hoc fashion. In a community structure, members of each organization are responsible for knowledge gathering and knowledge is presented to the whole partnership by all members involved. Research has shown that this structure is most effective for knowledge-gathering when knowledge is context specific, is difficult to codify, is scattered throughout numerous organizations, and when there are pre-existing incentives for the group to coordinate efforts — factors which, for the most part, are typical of international peacebuilding. However, over the long-term, community structured knowledge gathering works best when the "community is strong enough to develop and enforce the appropriate frame or goals." Thus, in the Karabakh conference, where such was not the case, collaboration between NGOs did not extend beyond the initial conference conducted by the Foundation for Global Community. This is typical for the field of international peacebuilding as a whole. Sporadic conferences are held among NGOs or between NGOs and IOs working in a common area in order to share knowledge and learning, but little collaboration occurs outside these conferences.

Community knowledge-sharing does not only occur in the form of sporadic conferences. Another example is the web-based message-board for NGOs and individuals working in the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict maintained by Harvard University's Conflict Management Group (www.cmgroup.org). At this web-site, registered NGOs can post messages reporting on conferences, workshops, learning or any other information they feel might be pertinent to other NGOs working in the same conflict. Again, typical of *community* knowledge-sharing, each member of the group shares his or her knowledge on an ad hoc basis. Knowledge is presented in a narrative form, rather than in a codified form, leaving the recipients to draw out and apply the lessons as they see fit. Similar to the Karabakh group, because of the loose form of the partnership, there is little incentive to improve knowledge-gathering techniques, to order and present knowledge in a way useful to the other members of the group, or to even contribute to the knowledge-gathering efforts of the project. Also, those who need information have no efficient way to sort, consolidate and apply the lessons learned by others. Messages at the CMG web-site have slowed to a halt since the opening of the site.

At the other end of the knowledge-sharing spectrum is a structure we will call the *focal point.* A focal point consists of a small group of experts drawn from partnership participants. This small group of experts is given the ultimate responsibility over knowledge gathering, ordering and presenting. Usually, knowledge is presented in a more codified rather than narrative form, although this is not always the case. *Codified* knowledge is knowledge ordered in a specific way so that specific information and details are readily accessible for those in need. For example, knowledge can be put into categories or be organized according to the goals set for the project. Presenting knowledge in a codified form, however, is more useful when there are clear performance criteria, which is rarely true of peacebuilding projects. While cessation of hostilities is an obvious ultimate goal, the steps to this goal are not as obvious and are rarely agreed upon. Because of this, knowledge-sharing in peacebuilding has tended to shy away from a codified structure. Yet when knowledge is left in narrative form, it is often intimidating to sift through the narrative to find the learning. Furthermore, the recipient must interpret and make sense of the knowledge, not the gatherer. As a result, a partnership member requires great incentive, whether external or internal, to be willing to approach uncodified knowledge. Thus, much knowledge in such sharing arrangements remains unused.

Codified knowledge, on the other hand, has already gone through this process and thus becomes much more accessible to the recipient, reducing the need for incentives. Yet codified

15. From a report on the conference. A summary can be found at http://www.globalcommunity.org/cgactiv/cgsocact/cgaai/index.html.

knowledge also has its drawbacks. For knowledge to be more readily understandable and accessible, it is organized into categories and weighed against given criteria. These categories and criteria represent the framework within which the knowledge is presented. This leaves out any knowledge that could be discovered from another frame. For example, I could evaluate peacebuilding training based on how well it teaches certain skills (e.g. mediation, dialogue facilitation, etc.), yet completely ignore the effect my training might have on prejudices between hostile groups.

The UN's "Lessons Learned" division has found an interesting solution to this dilemma. In the evaluation of their peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities in Eastern Slavonia, Croatia,[16] they combine the two methods of presenting knowledge (codified and narrative) to draw on the strengths of each. The narrative is divided into several sections. Then, at the end of each small section, a list of the "lessons learned" from that section is given. In this way, learning gained from peacekeeping in Slavonia is readily accessible and transferable to other projects; yet at the same time, a narrative is given so that other perceptions and assumptions can be applied to the narrative to find different learning. Because of the codification, however, the narrative only recounts findings relevant to the authors' framework. Yet, in general, this combination is a useful way to reduce some of the drawbacks of codified knowledge. Given the assumption-laden nature of peacebuilding and the lack of incentives for knowledge-sharing, a similar combination of codified and narrative knowledge-sharing, seems most appropriate.

It then becomes the task of the focal point to present and disseminate this acquired knowledge. This brings out the greatest problem of focal point structure: the question of legitimacy. I am much more likely to accept advice from a peer than from an outside observer. Consequently, groups tend to be more reluctant to accept the legitimacy of a *focal point* group than of their own co-workers. Therefore, focal points are more effective when they are created from members of each organization who also have participatory roles in each organization. This will increase the level of trust toward the focal point and will also allow a small, specific group to focus mainly on knowledge gathering, structuring and sharing.

As we can see from the examples listed above, learning partnerships tend to form around a given area of conflict (e.g. the Karabakh conflict, the Abkhaz conflict). Partnerships can also form around a specific topic. For example, within Europe, a consortium of organizations specializing in conflict prevention and transformation, regardless of conflict area, has formed such a partnership named the *European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation.* Within this structure, smaller working groups, or focal points, have formed to gather knowledge in specific areas, organizing knowledge both by area (Bosnia, Kosovo, etc.) as well as by topic (early warning, conflict prevention, peacekeeping, etc.).

When partnerships are loose in structure, an organization is not limited to participation in only one partnership. It may be involved in partnerships for each of me conflicts with which it deals. An organization, however, should not overextend itself. It should be remembered that knowledge gathering is not a goal in and of itself. It is meant to improve performance. When it takes precedence over actual implementation of projects, both suffer. Because of the scarce nature of resources in the field of nongovernmental work, including time, labor and finances, knowledge gathering must be kept to scale and must meet the needs of the organizations' projects. If each goal is kept in balance, organizational learning and learning partnerships can be an effective tool for improving the international community's ability to respond to the dangers of the ever-changing international system.

Conclusion

Few incentives exist in the field of international conflict resolution for NGOs to collaborate and to enhance organizational learning. Obstacles such as scarce resources, unclear accountability and organizational self-interest seem to discourage such practices. Nevertheless, some partnerships and forms of collaboration exist, including the examples mentioned above. Such collaboration and learning efforts must be encouraged and improved. Incentives must be created and organizations must be persuaded that it is in their interest to spend time learning and to share learning in

16. United Nations, *Comprehensive Report on Lessons Learned from United Nations Transition Authority in Eastern*

York, NY: United Nations, 1999). Also available at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/untaes.htm.

collaboration efforts. Correcdy structured learning partnerships can overcome the obstacles listed above. They can present a structure of productive accountability and use organizations' self interest to improve collaboration.

The greatest obstacle to collective learning and learning partnerships is the sense of scarce resources. Organizations believe they cannot afford to lose valuable time, spend valuable finances and occupy valuable personnel in learning and partnerships. This need not be the case however. If structured properly to meet the needs of the specific organizations, learning efforts and knowledge-sharing will not tie up scarce resources. They will also improve the use of these resources and bring higher rates of success. Funders can encourage this by building appropriate criteria into their funding

Learning partnerships do nor simply increase information sharing, they restructure the way knowledge is gathered within their own organizations. Learning should become a part of the performance process. If knowledge gathering is made part of the performance process, knowledge will be gathered not only after implementation, but also during and before. To be effective, knowledge gathering should be well planned long before implementation and should focus not only on how well a project meets its goals, but also on learning outside the goals and assumptions of a given project.

Organizations in partnerships determine how knowledge-sharing will be structured. The spectrum of possibilities lies between two extremes: a *community* structure and a *focal point* structure, each having their weaknesses and strengths. Community structures are the most common among NGOs, yet provide some of the greatest obstacles to learning and knowledge-sharing for peacebuilding efforts. Focal points can provide needed correction and structure to improve peacebuilding practices. How knowledge is presented depends on the needs of the organizations involved, but some combination of codified and narrative structuring will draw on the strengths of each. '

As we make more efforts to improve performance through knowledge gathering, knowledge-sharing and learning partnerships, successful peacebuilding will become more possible. By encouraging such efforts and improving partnerships and learning initiatives that already exist, we can better meet the new challenges posed by the ever-chancing nature of modern conflict. NGOs, rather than strain already tight resources, can improve the use of those resources. IOs can gain access to the vast experience and knowledge NGOs are accumulating. Both NGOs and IOs alike, through their partnerships and cooperation, can be an example of the world they are trying to create.

Mondialisation et pauvreté

*Par Francine Mestrum **

La dernière décennie du 20e siècle a vu l'émergence de la thématique de la pauvreté sur L'agenda politique de la communauté internationale. Le témoignage le plus récent en fur donné à l'occasion de la conférence des Nations Unies sur les pays les moins avancés, tenue à Bruxelles au mois de mai. Ce processus a commencé en 1990 avec la publication du premier rapport du PNUD sur le développement humain. En cette année, le rapport annuel de la Banque mondiale sur le développement dans le monde fut également consacré au thème de la pauvreté. En Amérique latine, la Cepal (Commission des Nations Unies pour l'Amérique latine) lança son projet de « Transformation productive avec équité », dans lequel l'équité sociale occupe une place majeure. En 1995, l'ONU organisa un premier sommet mondial sur le développement social et, dans son prolongement, elle proclama une Année internationale, suivie de la première Décennie de l'ONU pour l'éradication de la pauvreté. Des organisations telles l'OCDE, le FMI et l'Union européenne ont adhéré à cette nouvelle priorité pour la coopération au développement.

Deux questions s'imposent spontanément à propos de l'émergence du thème de la pauvreté. La première est celle du pourquoi. La seconde est celle de la signification de cette nouvelle perspective pour le développement et la coopération au développement.

Loin de nier la réalité de la pauvreté dans le monde, il faut surtout constater sa persistance et se demander pourquoi il a fallu attendre la fin du vingtième siècle pour que la lutte contre la pauvreté devienne une priorité. La pauvreté n'est nullement une réalité nouvelle, ni dans les pays riches, ni dans les pays pauvres. Si le thème de la pauvreté dite nouvelle fut découvert aux Etats-Unis et plus tard en Europe dans les années '60 et 70, il n'obtint pourtant jamais aucune priorité. De même, la pauvreté resta toujours absente des théories des relations internationales et de l'économie politique internationale. Certes, on pourrait rétorquer que le projet de développement et de coopération au développement tel qu'il fut conçu après la deuxième guerre mondiale a toujours été, essentiellement, un projet de lutte contre la pauvreté. Il s'agissait après tout de réduire l'écart de revenu entre pays riches er pays pauvres. Cependant, à l'époque, le développement fut appréhendé au niveau des Etats et il avait pour critère majeur la croissance du PNB. Aujourd'hui, par contre, le développement est devenu un droit humain et la personne humaine se trouve au centre des efforts de développement. Entre ces deux périodes, la décennie des '70 fut caractérisée par une attention particulière accordée au développement social. L'OIT introduisit le concept de *besoins essentiels* et l'ONU élabora une *approche unfiée du* développement, concepts qui englobaient bien plus que la seule lutte contre la pauvreté. Seule la Banque mondiale fit de la lutte contre la pauvreté une priorité dès 1972, mais la thématique disparut progressivement de ses documents à mesure que l'attention se déplaçait vers la crise économique et les ajustements structurels. Son rapport de 1980 sur le développement dans le monde introduisit le concept de *développement humain*, dans le sens d'un développement des ressources humaines, un élément de la stratégie de réduction de la pauvreté. Ce concept ne réapparut que dix ans plus tard avec le premier rapport du PNUD. Dès lors, je pense qu'il est permis d'affirmer que la thématique de la pauvreté n'est pas totalement nouvelle dans la pensée sur le développement, mais que la nouveauté réside dans la priorité donnée à la lutte contre la pauvreté et, surtout, dans la lutte contre la pauvreté comme objectif primaire d'un développement pensé au niveau des individus en lieu et place des nations.

A la lumière de ces réflexions, les questions sur le pourquoi et sur la signification de cette priorité pour la coopération au développement gardent toute leur importance, d'autant plus que des études historiques sur la pauvreté en Europe ont révélé que le thème de la pauvreté n'apparait à l'ordre du jour politique que dans des circonstances exceptionnelles.

Le problème de la pauvreté dans le monde se serait-il aggravé à tel point que la communauté internationale se soit rendu compte de l'urgente nécessité de réorienter le projet de développement ? Il est vrai que dès la fin des années 80 de nombreuses publications ont dénoncé les conséquences néfastes au niveau social des programmes d'ajustement structurels imposés par les institutions financières internationales aux pays endettés. Or, ces études sont axées sur

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Associations transnationales 6/2001, 289-297

l'évolution des politiques sociales et des indicateurs sociaux, plus que sur le problème spécifique de la pauvreté. En outre, la réponse ne semble pas satisfaisante dans la mesure où les rapports du PNUD et de la Banque mondiale de 1990 ne font nullement mention d'une aggravation de la pauvreté. Le dernier rapport de la Banque mondiale sur le développement dans le monde, parle même d'une baisse de l'incidence de la pauvreté, allant de 29 % de la population mondiale en 1990 à 24 % en 1998. Certes, selon le PNUD, pas moins de 100 pays ont connu un recul économique sérieux au cours des 30 dernières années et le revenu par habitant y est aujourd'hui inférieur à ce qu'il était il y a 10 ou 20 ans. Les écarts de revenu continuent de se creuser depuis deux siècles. Mais dans la mesure où le revenu mondial ne cesse d'augmenter et que l'incidence de la pauvreté diminue, il serait erroné de parler d'appauvrissement en termes généraux. Et il convient peut-être aussi de se demander si la pauvreté est vraiment le problème majeur de notre époque, comme le prétendent les organisations internationales. N'y a-t-il pas de bons arguments pour penser que l'inégalité, voire la richesse, puissent être considérées comme bien plus problématiques qu'une pauvreté qu'on n'arrive même pas à définir ?

Ces réflexions m'ont amené à chercher les réponses à mes questions dans le discours des organisations internationales elles-mêmes pour essayer d'expliquer la priorité soudainement donnée à la lutte contre la pauvreté. Quelles sont leurs représentations de la pauvreté et des pauvres ? Quelle est la stratégie qu'elles proposent ? Dans quel sens veulent-elles réorienter le développement ? Et, surtout, la lutte contre la pauvreté est-elle synonyme du développement social prôné depuis longtemps par l'ONU et constitue-t-elle, enfin, la victoire des opposants à une approche essentiellement économique du développement ? L'objectif de mon analyse de discours était donc avant tout de dévoiler les raisons d'être et les conditions d'émergence du discours, de mettre en évidence sa rationalité, ses pièges autant que son potentiel émancipateur. Au-delà du sens commun qui se trouve à la superficie des mots, l'objectif de mon analyse était de faire de la priorité donnée à la lutte contre la pauvreté un thème du débat politique.

Deux nouveaux **discours**

Un premier résultat surprenant de mon analyse était le constat de l'émergence simultanée de deux nouvelles thématiques dans le discours des organisations internationales. En effet, il n'y a pas que la pauvreté qui s'impose comme nouvelle préoccupation, mais il y a également la mondialisation. Cette dernière est présentée comme étant une des caractéristiques majeures de la <> nouvelle ère » qui a commencé après la fin de la guerre froide. Un deuxième résultat était le constat d'un rapport discursif intime entre ces deux nouvelles thématiques, à tel point que s'est imposée la thèse de la fonctionnalité du discours sur la pauvreté par rapport à celui sur la mondialisation. Ainsi, à travers une analyse détaillée des régularités et des discontinuités du discours mondial, il s'est avéré que les conditions d'émergence du discours sur la pauvreté doivent être cherchées au niveau du discours sur la mondialisation et que c'est ce dernier qui conditionne les représentations de la pauvreté et des pauvres. Par la suite, ces deux nouveaux discours, pauvreté, d'une part, et mondialisation, d'autre part, se sont greffés sur les marges du discours sur le développement au point de le vider de sa substance traditionnelle et de réduire le développement à la croissance économique. Loin d'être un élargissement du concept de développement, la nouvelle priorité donnée à la lutte contre la pauvreté constitue en fait une rupture fondamentale avec la pensée onusienne sur le développement.

Le développement politique

En effet, dans le domaine du développement politique, la pauvreté est présentée comme se trouvant au centre d'un jeu d'interdépendances des Etats et de problèmes mondiaux. Selon le discours mondial, la pauvreté devient la motivation d'une coopération internationale renforcée, mais, surtout, l'élément qui permet de confirmer l'unité fondamentale du monde et de l'humanité. Après la fin de la guerre froide et des conflits idéologiques, les problèmes qui subsistent (environnement, migrations, épidémies, croissance démographique...) ignorent les frontières. Plus rien ne sépare les hommes si ce n'est que les uns sont plus pauvres que les autres- Ainsi, la pauvreté risque de ronger la cohésion retrouvée du monde tandis qu'elle conditionne son unité dans le combat contre la menace. Les interdépendances obligent les Etats à faire disparaître les frontières entre leurs politiques intérieures et leurs politiques extérieures et d'assimiler leur intérêt national à l'intérêt de la communauté internationale. Si le développement politique de l'ancien discours concernait essentiellement la modernisation des institutions politiques - le démocratisation étant considérée comme se situant dans le prolongement logique du développement économique - aujourd'hui, celui-ci se limite à la « gouvernance », aux institutions nécessaires à la stabilité et au bon fonctionnement du marché.

Le développement économique

Au niveau du développement économique, il est clair que par la façon dont la pauvreté est conceptualisée (déficit de développement, manque d'opportunités économiques ...), les organisations internationales ne peuvent que confirmer le bien-fondé des politiques des deux dernières décennies, orientées vers les réformes structurelles. A l'avenir, ces politiques doivent prendre en compte la dimension sociale. En outre, en donnant la priorité à la lutte contre la pauvreté et en définissant celle-ci comme un intérêt commun au niveau mondial, les organisations financières internationales voient leur légitimité renforcée pour contrôler minutieusement tous les aspects des politiques intérieures des Etats pauvres. En effet, si toutes les politiques internationales et nationales ont pour objectif de défendre l'intérêt commun mondial, aucun aspect de ces politiques ne peut échapper à la vérification de leur efficacité. Ainsi prend fin, aussi bien l'idée d'une économie du développement, conçue en fonction des besoins spécifiques des pays pauvres, que l'idée du développement économique conçu comme projet national de modernisation. Avec la lutte contre la pauvreté, le développement s'est éloigné du niveau des Etats nationaux pour investir, d'une part, le niveau mondial (libéralisation des échanges, libre circulation des capitaux) et, d'autre part, le niveau micro-social, voire individuel. Aujourd'hui, le développement est devenu un droit humain, aux nations sous-développées se sont substitués les individus pauvres du monde entier.

Le développement social

C'est sans doute le concept de développement social qui a, paradoxalement, subi les transformations les plus importantes. Si la priorité donnée à la lutte contre la pauvreté semble consacrer la victoire de l'ONU - qui n'a cessé de plaider dès sa naissance pour donner au développement une dimension sociale -, un regard critique sur le discours de la pauvreté met en évidence l'apparence trompeuse d'une telle interprétation. En effet, en opposant l'intérêt commun de la lutte contre la pauvreté à la défense d'intérêts particuliers - assimilé notamment à la protection sociale qui ne bénéficierait qu'aux classes « privilégiées » des secteurs modernes -, le nouveau discours met fin à un projet de modernisation sociale qui était au coeur de la pensée développementaliste de l'après-guerre. La nouvelle philosophie sociale fait l'impasse sur les acquis du passé — ainsi que sur les conventions internationales — en matière de droits sociaux. L'OIT doit lutter pour faire accepter ses droits fondamentaux au travail. Par ailleurs, il est frappant de constater que dans le discours sur la pauvreté les syndicats sont à peine mentionnés. Conformément à la conception de la *«gouvernance»*, les régulations contraignantes sont remplacées par des accords flexibles et temporaires pour protéger les salariés. L'exemple le plus illustratif en est le « *Global Compact*» promu par le Secrétaire général de l'ONU, des accords volontaires dans lesquels les sociétés transnationales promettent de respecter les droits humains... Tout aussi frappant est l'absence, dans les premiers CSLP (les « *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers>)* exigés dorénavant par les institutions de Bretton Woods, de toute mention des politiques salariales ou de la redistribution des revenus. Ainsi, il devient clair qu'à l'horizon de lu lutte contre la pauvreté ne se trouve pas une société plus égalitaire, mais un seuil de revenu de 1 US$ par jour. Certes, la priorité de la lutte contre la pauvreté permet aux organisations internationales de préserver et de renforcer l'idéal d'un développement *holistique* intégrant une dimension politique, économique et sociale et réservant un rôle important aux femmes. Elle permet aussi d'opposer à la quête effrénée de richesses matérielles, une éthique d'harmonie mondiale et de respect à la vie. La lutte contre la pauvreté doit donner à la mondialisation un visage humain. Elle n'est pas une correction des effets pervers de la mondialisation, mais, au contraire, elle en constitue la pièce maîtresse. L'éradication de la pauvreté, aussi souhaitable et nécessaire qu'elle soit, laisse intact l'ordre social existant, l'essentiel étant d'autonomiser les individus pour qu'ils puissent participer au marché.

L'intégration des femmes au développement

Enfin, en associant la pauvreté aux femmes et en donnant aux femmes un rôle important dans la stratégie de lutte contre la pauvreté, les femmes constituent en même temps le noyau du problème de la pauvreté et le noyau dynamique qui mène à la solution du problème. L'ONU a joué dès sa naissance un rôle essentiel et progressiste dans la promotion de l'émancipation des femmes. Pendant cinquante ans, son discours a assimilé les femmes à l'intérêt commun et au changement social, notamment pour mettre fin aux traditions culturelles qui entravaient le développement. Dans les textes des premières conférences mondiales sur les femmes, celles-ci sont même présentées comme des forces révolutionnaires. Aujourd'hui, ce discours n'a pas changé, sauf que les femmes pauvres ont reçu une mission particulière. En effet, si les femmes sont toujours assimilées à l'intérêt commun, les femmes pauvres en particulier sont aussi chargées de la production d'un intérêt commun, aujourd'hui formulé dans la terminologie de la nouvelle économie institutionnelle. Comme l'Etat, les femmes sont rendues responsables pour la création de biens publics, tels la baisse de la croissance démographique, la protection de l'environnement, la stabilité des familles et des communautés, la cohésion sociale. Leur place centrale dans les stratégies de lutte contre la pauvreté au niveau local est la meilleure garantie de l'obtention de ces résultats. Ainsi, les femmes pauvres ne sont pas la finalité des stratégies de lutte contre la pauvreté, mais elles font partie de la stratégie elle-même. Dans le contexte d'un discours sur la mondialisation, le rôle des femmes pauvres est triple. D'abord, elles sont censées prendre à leur charge le travail social que l'Etat a dû abandonner. Ensuite, l'association de la pauvreté aux femmes permet la recherche de solutions ailleurs que dans les politiques sociales traditionnelles qui, par ailleurs, n'ont que rarement bénéficié directement aux femmes. Je pense aux transferts sociaux et surtout à un niveau salarial supérieur au seuil de pauvreté. L'image de la femme pauvre, éventuellement avec un enfant affamé dans les bras, incite à la chanté. Enfin, les femmes incarnent l'espoir et l'avenir, l'intérêt commun de l'humanité entière. En attribuant la pauvreté des femmes à des traditions culturelles de discrimination, les femmes partagent avec l'ONU une expérience d'universalité. Comme l'ONU, elles sont impliquées à la construction d'un monde meilleur où régnera l'harmonie universelle. L'ONU et les femmes pauvres sont des alliées naturelles.

En conclusion, c'est dans la mesure où le discours sur la mondialisation fait émerger le besoin de coordination politique au niveau mondial, qu'il implique une réforme structurelle des Etats, qu'il favorise le démantèlement des protections sociales existantes et qu'il met en perspective l'utopie de l'harmonie universelle, qu'il a besoin et rend possible un discours sur la pauvreté :

- pour donner une légitimité aux politiques des organisations internationales
- pour offrir aux Etats un substitut aux projets de développement national
- pour donner une âme à la mondialisation et préserver l'idéal d'un développement holistique.

De plus, ce discours sur la mondialisation a besoin des femmes pauvres qui, à travers la maternité symbolique, incarnent l'intérêt commun, l'espoir d'harmonie et d'ordre social.

Ainsi, à travers le discours sur la pauvreté se dessine une redéfinition des souverainetés nationales, du développement économique et des politiques sociales. Sous couvert d'un discours émancipateur sur l'égalité entre les sexes, les femmes sont instrumentalisées pour favoriser les alliances nécessaires et la mise en place des politiques préconisées.

Un potentiel émancipateur

Les résultats de l'analyse du discours sur la pauvreté sont plutôt décevants. Loin d'être synonyme d'une approche humanitaire, d'un développement « centré sur la personne humaine », d'une victoire des opposants de l'économicisme, ce discours répond en tous points aux besoins d un système économique mondial qui pose ses conditions à l'organisation politique et qui cherche à intégrer l'ensemble de la population à sa démarche expansionniste.

Faut-il en conclure que ce discours doit être dénoncé, qu'il doit être considéré comme une émème tentative de récupérer et de pervertir des objectifs idéalistes et généreux ? Je ne le crois pas. Si le discours sur la pauvreté diffusé par les organisations internationales comprend tous les éléments qui permettent de renforcer et d'accélérer la mondialisation économique dite néolibérale, il comprend aussi les promesses d'un monde meilleur et, par voie de conséquence, un potentiel de résistance à cette mondialisation.

Deux arguments peuvent étayer ce point de vue. D'abord, ma recherche ne concerne que le discours, c.-à-d. une dimension ideelle de la réalité qui ne peut être dissociée de sa dimension matérielle. En d'autres mots, mon analyse ne concerne que des énoncés constitutifs d'une représentation du monde et d'une réalité estimée souhaitable. A défaut de données empiriques fiables sur la pauvreté dans le monde, la « vérité » de ce discours ne peut être évaluée. Tel n'était d'ailleurs pas mon objectif. Ce qui importe, c'est la question de savoir si ce discours peut devenir une vérité et s'il peut contribuer à faire advenir la réalité jugée souhaitable. La réponse à ces questions ne dépend pas exclusivement des organisations internationales elles-mêmes. Même au cas où elles joigneraient les actes aux paroles, elles ne sont plus maîtres du destin de leur discours. En effet, les gouvernements nationaux et les organisations de la société civile devront toujours être associés à la diffusion du discours et à son mise en oeuvre. Or, nous savons que les acteurs sociaux peuvent non seulement dire « non » aux projets qui leur sont proposés, mais qu'ils peuvent également dire < oui », tout en modifiant le sens des projets en fonction de leurs propres besoins et de leurs propres stratégies. Cette appropriation culturelle des discours et des projets de développement doit être au cœur de ce que la Banque mondiale appelle aujourd'hui l' « ownership » des projets. Il est évident que dans ce processus de traduction sociale, les rapports de force ne peuvent être ignorés. Mais il est important de savoir qu'aucune société n'est totalement impuissante face aux politiques proposées par le niveau international et que tout projet peut être ré-interprété en fonction des stratégies locales. Ainsi, rien n'empêche les gouvernements nationaux ou les organisations de la société civile d'intégrer les projets de lutte contre la pauvreté dans des plans de développement national ou local, sans abandonner l'ambition de la modernisation économique et sociale. Un exemple en est donné par la Cepal (Commission économique des Nations Unies pour l'Amérique latine). En effet, tout en intégrant les nouvelles priorités des organisations internationales, celle-ci est restée fidèle à sa démarche structuraliste pour proposer un modèle original aux pays d'Amérique latine. Un autre exemple se situe au niveau du discours de nombreuses ong qui, tout en critiquant les politiques néolibérales, s'approprient certains raisonnements et certains concepts du discours mondial pour les intégrer à leur propre stock discursif et pour revendiquer des politiques alternatives.

Voilà le deuxième argument pour refuser de condamner le discours mondial. Celui-ci comprend en effet de nombreuses promesses qui peuvent être autant d'instruments discursifs et de leviers pour promouvoir des politiques jugées plus adéquates que celles proposées par les organisations internationales. Car si la pauvreté peut être appréhendée comme construction discursive, elle est en même temps une réalité douloureuse pour des centaines de millions d êtres humains. Dénoncer la construction discursive ne saurait dispenser d'une réflexion sur les moyens et les stratégies pour permettre à l'ensemble de la population mondiale de vivre dignement. Cette réflexion mène, inévitablement, au constat d'un paradoxe. En effet, d'une part, le nouveau discours mondial sur la pauvreté met fin au projet de développement économique et social promu par l'ONU dès la fin des années '50. Or, aussi urgente et nécessaire que la lutte contre la pauvreté puisse être, son eradication ne saurait être synonyme de développement. Face aux richesses accumulées des pays industrialisés, un monde où cous les individus ont atteint le seuil de pauvreté de 1 US$ par jour reste un monde profondément injuste. La lutte contre la pauvreté laisse intact l'ordre social existant et ne peut empêcher que l'écart des revenus continue de se creuser. Si l'on peut accepter une certaine prioritarisation, par contre, il est plus difficile de comprendre, dans un monde qui ne cesse de s'enrichir, que les ambitions en matière de développement soient réduites au strict minimum. Il me semble donc que le développement, avec ses dimensions émancipatrices et redistributrices, reste aussi nécessaire que jamais. Cependant, d'autre part, le projet de développement des années '50 et '60 a feit l'objet de critiques très pertinentes, notamment à cause de la non-prise en compte des problèmes sociaux, de la diversité culturelle, de la dimension écologique... Sans doute est-il nécessaire, à ce niveau, de bien distinguer les discours et les pratiques. Toujours reste-t-il que le projet de développement nécessite effectivement d'être réexaminé et d'être réorienté dans un sens « humain » et « durable ». Ces nouvelles préoccupations majeures n'impliquent pas que les vieilles thématiques doivent être abandonnées. Je pense notamment aux revendications que les pays pauvres eux-mêmes et leurs organisations n'ont jamais oubliées, que ce soit au niveau des termes de l'échange, de la division internationale du travail autant qu'à celui de la solidarité. Si la terminologie a changé, le contenu reste le même. Il me semble que c'est surtout dans ce domaine précis que le discours de l'ONU continue de présenter un potentiel considérable qui reste à valoriser.

Par conséquent, les organisations de la société civile sont confrontées à un double défi. D'une part, comme dans le passé, elles doivent veiller à ce que les projets de développement acquièrent une dimension réellement « holistique », c.-à-d. qu'ils ne négligent aucun des éléments indispensables à l'émancipation des individus et des sociétés. D'autre part, je me demande s'il ne serait pas intéressant de creuser davantage l'espace de citoyenneté offert par l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qui a favorisé l'émergence d'une société civile mondiale. A travers la lutte contre la pauvreté, qui peut, dans une perspective optimiste, être intégrée à un projet de mondialisation politique, elles peuvent creuser l'idée d'une citoyenneté mondiale constitutive de droits sociaux. Une lutte contre la pauvreté fondée sur les droits humains me semble offrir plus de garanties que celle proposée, orientée sur l'intégration au marché mondial. Les droits humains et la citoyenneté permettraient de faire le lien avec les revendications d'égalité et de solidarité, au niveau individuel autant que collectif, propres au projet de développement de l'après-guerre jusqu'au années '70. Ne serait-ce pas un moyen pour essayer d'infléchir le processus de mondialisation afin de le concilier à l'universalisme de l'ONU ?

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The politics of the Amazon

Global and local dimensions of the rainforest campaign

*by Andréa Zhouri**

The article discusses the contribution of 'Amazonia' for the understanding of the dynamics of cultural and political processes taking place at the global level - such as the formation of transnational and transcultural networks of activists on the environmental social, and human rights issues. The Amazon is one of the most important topics of global activism. Social, political and historical places and spaces (whose images are highly contested by different groups in local, national and international level) constitute it. Consequently, by cutting across nation-state and cultural boundaries, the Amazon appears to be a transnational political space around which issues and dilemmas constitute themselves. At the same time as it exposes conflicts between different groups located in regional, national and global dimensions, it is also a territory in which a transnational 'imagined community' is constructed and contested, through the forming of alliances, for example, between a variety of NGOs, as well as between these and forest dwellers. Based on research amongst transnational NGOs in the UK, the article presents the main tendencies in campaigning for the Amazon during the 1990s, underlining the major global tendency and its impact on the politics of the Amazon.

The Amazon rainforest is one of the most powerful symbols of global environmentalism. As such, it is constituted by social, political and historical places and spaces that are highly contested by different groups, not only at local, regional and national levels, but also in the global realm. Thus, for a local rubber tapper, a riverine *caboclo or* an Indian, the Amazon might represent a living resource for everyday life. For a Brazilian general, it might be a frontier to defend. A multinational company might see timber to be exported or minerals to be explored, while scientists see a huge biodiversity ecosystem to be investigated, and anthropologists see cultural diversity. Travellers seek adventure and 'joy in nature', whereas an environmentalist might value the forest as a vital natural resource and a home to people whose way of life is threatened by transnational capitalism.

Consequently, by cutting across nation-state boundaries, the Amazon appears to be a transnational political space around which issues and dilemmas constitute themselves.[2] At the same time as it exposes conflicts between different groups in the local, national and global dimensions, it is also a territory in which a transcultural and transnational 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) is constructed and contested, through the forming of alliances: for example, between a variety of transnational NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations), as well as between NGOs and forest dwellers. That is why it is such a powerful symbol of contemporary environ mental ism, and a privileged subject for the understanding of current global political and cultural processes.

The paper presents, initially, an overview of how the Amazon became a transnational political space in recent history. Then, it identifies the main tendencies on global campaigning in the 1990s, focusing on British-based organisations' attempts at combining concerns with biodiversity and social justice issues. The analysis takes environmental ism as a field of communication and tension between different cultural and political perspectives. Hence, it critically concludes by discussing how a predominant NGO perspective centred on the global economy may render a more complex Amazonian reality invisible, thus unwittingly reproducing the ongoing patterns of inequality and uneven distribution of environmental space.

The Amazon as a transnational political space: brief historical precedents

The dynamics of transnational campaigning for the Amazon that I shall discuss in this paper, help to shed light on the global political and cultural processes taking place in contemporary societies. This is so because the Amazon, with its historical as well as symbolic appeal to the Western imagination, economy and science, has become the most relevant topic of global activism since environmental concerns reached a global perspective in the early 1970s. Thus, campaigning for the Amazon further encapsulates the idea of globalization as action at a distance' (Giddens 1994): a type of action supported by 'a sense of the globe as one single place (Robertson 1991), a frame of mind shared by environmentalists worldwide. It follows that questions

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2. It is also important to bear in mind that the Amazon rainforest actually cuts across the borders of several countries - Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Guyana, Ecuador and Surinam - although the majority of its territory is situated in Brazil. For a geopolitical perspective, see Meira Mattos (1980).

Transnational Associations 6/2001, 298-307

of national sovereignty- and ethnicity cut across issues concerning the global economy and the future of the planet. Such global-local perspectives and relations, however, need to be initially understood against the general background of international and transnational environmental developments, particularly since the 1980s, when the Amazon became an object of systematic international concern and campaigning.

Indigenous rights support organisations emerged in the early 1970s, both in Brazil and abroad. This is the case, for instance, of the Catholic Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), created in 1972 in Brazil by the initiative of the church. In the international context, Survival International was created following the publication of a supplement magazine by the London *Sunday Times,* denouncing a policy of indigenous genocide by the military regime in Brazil in the late 1960s. This article caused great consternation and mobilised anthropologists, journalists and lawyers in Britain to act in support of the indigenous peoples of Brazil. Initially created after concerns related to the people in Amazonia Survival would go on to expand its support to 'tribal' peoples worldwide, becoming one of the major global political actors amongst advocacy groups.[3]

In Brazil, during the 1970s and 1980s, 'the enemy' was epitomised by the military amongst indigenist and Indian support organisations, providing them with a sense of collective identity (Ramos 1994: 153-171).[4] Therefore, campaigning against a Cold War international scenario that supported a repressive regime in Brazil in the 1970s, the international pressures of indigenous rights support organisations over governments, multinational corporations and bodies such as the World Bank, for instance, became more visible within the Brazilian society and helped form international public opinion later on in the 1980s. This happened along with a conjunction of factors, such as the 'internationalisation' of environmental issues, the démocratisation of Brazilian society and the development of new international relations designed by the end of the Cold War period.

A variety of social movements of different political affiliations sprang up throughout Brazilian society, with the gradual democratic opening of the political regime after the late 1970s. However, the regional diversities and economic inequalities of the country were also reflected in the different levels on which such movements were articulated. In this context, new environmental movements flourished, particularly in the highly industrialised and urbanised Southern regions of Brazil. They assumed an urban foothold in the face of the crisis promoted by the accelerated rate of industrialisation and growth of big cities. Environmental issues, which were previously treated as a minor topic behind more urgent themes such as démocratisation, development, inflation and unemployment, were gradually combined with urban problems such as basic sanitation, pollution, growth of shantytowns and public transport, eventually entering the political arena by the mid-1980s (Zhouri 1992).

Social urban and rural movements in the Amazon region itself were confined to a more local dimension, failing to consistently reach national media coverage or public opinion in the centres of power.[5] This was due to a conjunction of features, among which I would highlight: the geographic remoteness of the Amazon in relation to the centres of political decision-making in Brazil, the sheer size in combination with the lack of resources and articulation of its various complex social and political dimensions, and the long and violent history of political oppression of civil society through alliances between state forces and local elites in the region. Therefore, the international NGO pressures that mounted in the 1980s were crucial in terms of giving visibility to national and regional movements, and also in promoting environmental programmes and public policies, despite the reactive features of the latter.

In the 1980s, forests became one of the central topics in the articulation of environmentalism on a global scale. The fact that tropical rainforests are located in so-called Third-world countries re-created the debate over the Northern-Southern hemisphere divide. This lead to a sort of 'Third -worldism' of multiple developmental meanings (e.g environmental debt swaps, transfer of technology, empowerment of the poor and so on) in the context or globalization, transnationalisation of the world

3. From the publications, Survival International, *Review: 21 years of Survival International,* 1990; *Survival: 25 years standing by tribal peoples,* The Newsletter of Survival International 33, 1994; and *Survival: a unique organisation for tribal peoples,* 1995.

4. The dictatorship regime in Brazil lasted twenty-one years, from 1964 to 1985.

5. For an analysis of the differences and inequalities between NGOs in the southern part of Brazil and the groups in the Amazon in different episodes of recent history, such as during the UNCED-92 and the participation in the Pilot Program for the Conservation of the Brazilian Rainforests, supported by the G7, sec Kolk 0996) and Hagemann (1995).

economy and its expression in agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.[6] The negative effects of the Multilateral Development Banks' economic policies over forests, and particularly the deforestation of tropical rainforests, were well documented by environmentalists from Northern industrialised countries, especially those from the US, which is the major financial contributor to those banks.[7] In turn, the forest served as a catalyst for wider discussion of global economic issues.

Hence, the Brazilian Amazon became a focus of 'international' mobilisation following the launching of the Multilateral Development Banks' campaign by US environmental NGOs in 1983.[8] Their approach was based on case studies that exposed the impacts of Bank projects on the local population and the natural environment, such as the case of the Polonoroeste project in Rondônia - the advancing of the frontier towards the North Western parts of the Amazon - which had been the subject of ongoing protests by grassroots movements in Brazil. Their new connection to US organisations and other European groups that later joined the campaign strengthened local protesters and NGOs, which in turn provided credibility for the former. With new and instantaneous means of communication and exchange such as the Internet and the co-operation between Brazilian, American and European NGOs, revealed new possibilities for political networks. The practice of bringing local people from the Amazon and also from Brazilian NGOs to meetings with politicians, bank representatives and the general public - in both the US and Europe - was developed during this campaign, which also made use of intense media documentation.

In this process, local political actors, mainly unknown on the national political scene, were projected into the global arena where they assumed different roles and meanings in relation to the national realm. In this regard, a well-known and classic example is Chico Mendes, a local rubber tapper leader and trade unionist who was projected internationally as an environmentalist. After a presentation to the US congress, Mendes had a crucial role in stopping the World Bank's loan to the Poloronoeste programme. Similarly, several indigenous leaders were also taken from their daily local agenda (conflict with local farmers and state officials, for instance) and launched into the global realm for public presentations and talks to politicians in Washington, London and other European cities.

Through a close association between ethnicity and environmentalism,[9] a generic 'model Indian' began to appear on the public scene, a 'hyperreal Indian custodian of nature' (Ramos 1994: 153-171), Those Indian leaders acted as tokens for many organisations and bodies in the US and the UK. Hence, the Kaiap Washington, London ook a worldwide tour with British pop singer Sting in the late 1980s, when images of the burning of the forest dominated the media, echoing the extraordinary heat of the 1988 summer in the US. Another KaiapS and the UK. Hence, the Kaiap Washington, London e Body Shop's *Trade Not Aid* programme, whilst Airton Krenak and David Yanomami were the equivalents for Gaia Foundation and Survival International, respectively.

The destruction of the Amazon rainforest was dramatically portrayed by the international media and some of the conservationist movements.[10] The drama unveiled martyrs and heroes. Thus, the murder of Chico Mendes by farmers in December 1988 provided a martyr for the Amazonian cause, whereas m 1992, before the Rio Conference, the Kaiapher KaiapS and the UK. Hence, the Kaiap Washington, London ront page of the American *The Washington Post*, as A Man Who Would Save The World'. Paiakan's trajectory is in itself very revealing of the processes and effects of the relationships between local, national and global dimensions. Ironically during the UN Conference in Rio, a couple of months after *The Washington Post* article, Paiakan was presented on the front page of the Brazilian weekly magazine *Veja* as 'The Savage', a man accused of raping a Brazilian student. Driven away from his local context, acquiring powers that brought disruptions to his local village and people, Paiakan was 'ethnic-environmentally' celebrated at a global level, while condemned nationally as an 'uncivilised savage' by a nation struggling to be acknowledged as 'civilised'. Ironically enough, as a 'flesh and blood' Indian, neither villain nor hero, he was 'reconciled' back to his village and people, doomed to the place 'reserved for him within Brazilian society."

6. For the critique of the 'development discourse', see contributions in Sachs (ed.) (1992).

7. For an analysis of the campaigns against Multilateral Development Banks in the 1980s, see Arnt and Schwarrzman (1992), Rich (1994), and Kolk (1996). For a further analysis of the effects of the banks' policies in the Amazon, see Hagemann (1995).

8. For further discussion of the leadership role of the US groups in the campaign, see Kolk (1996:247-249).

9. For a discussion about ecological ethnicity and

see Parajuli (1996:15-59) and Rogers (1996: 73-125).

10. For a reference to news reports as dominated

is, the production of a drama, see Gamson (1992:34). The stories focus attention on moti-

vated actors rather than sociological forces or

for instance, much of the media discourse about the Amazon in the late 1980s was focused on the farm-

ers or peasants of the Amazon who were burning down the forest, rather than Brazilian developmental policies. See fur-

Nevertheless, beyond the international euphoria and apocalyptic drama, the Multilateral Development Bank campaign was crucial to building up transnational bonds or global networking, where Brazilian NGOs and Amazonian grassroots would find support for their struggles in the Northern hemisphere. In this way, the campaign made clear the links, roles, and responsibilities of Northern governments and bodies in funding some of the Amazonian disasters.[12]

Undoubtedly, non-governmental organisations have become important political forces in recent years, challenging traditional and nation-state based forms of political organisations. Over fifty per cent of transnational activism and networking have concentrated on issues relating to human rights, women and the environment (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Within this, the debate over the Amazon has surely provided some of the best examples of such transnational political trends. In the following pages, I discuss how mahogany became the main Amazon campaign within the overall 1990s trend of combining biodiversity and social justice issues, and the implications of such strategy in terms of global-local relations..

Recent trends in campaigning: biodiversity and social justice in the 1990s

In the 1990s, transnational environmental campaigns for the Amazon became focused on the peculiarity of the trade relationship between North American and European countries and the Amazon region. In the case of the Brazilian Amazon, the main target of transnational NGOs has been the timber trade. This is a very specialist trade, predominantly consisting of Brazilian mahogany, popularly known as the 'ouro verde' or green gold of the Amazon, which indicates its peculiar environmental status and high value on the international market.

Mahogany was eventually brought on to the NGO scene by the journalist George Mombiot in the early 1990s, at a time when media coverage of the Amazon was experiencing a decline. In his book Amazon Watershed (1991), Mombiot reframes the Amazon issue, shifting attention from the 1980s framework of local peasants burning down the forest in the frontline towards global actors operating in a more direct role as agents of deforestation, focusing in particular on the example of the British timber trade. One of the strengths of the mahogany campaign was its direct links with indigenous rights issues.[13] The campaign was heavily drawn over the fact that mahogany was illegally logged within Indian reserves, and therefore responsible for violent and fatal conflicts involving Indians and loggers. A sense of injustice added elements of moral and ethical indignation towards an unfair global trade situation. As a consequence, another major strength of the campaign was the close links it could establish between a diverse range of campaigners in the UK, and between these and their counterparts in Brazil and in the Amazon.

Thus, through the mahogany campaign, an array of issues such as biodiversity, social justice and ethnicity were articulated, further mobilising campaigners from both the North and South hemisphere. The analysis of campaign and campaigners reveals a very dynamic and plural scenario, far beyond the common sense interpretation of globalization as a one-way process. However diverse in their manifestations, inequalities are nonetheless unveiled in such interactive processes, such that power relations may often and unwittingly undermine actions towards co-operation and partnership in common struggles.

From a global perspective, I understand the Amazon as constituting a discursive field where different cultural, social and economic perspectives engage and compete.[14] It is an arena of tension involving communication *and power* relations. The tensions between globalist and localist perspectives underlie this discursive field, thus typifying common trends in global-local dynamics.[15] These may be mostly represented by concerns with biodiversity, or the s*trictu sensus* 'environment' on the one hand, and social justice issues on the other.

Biodiversity, social justice, human rights and social development are aspects said to be reconciled since the late 1980s, particularly with the Brundtland Report and its concept of sustainable development, na idea which was further consolidated through the Earth Summit in 1992. Surely, since the time the UN conference was held (significantly enough, in Brazil), the official environmental discourse that developed from the previ-

11. For more details of this case, see Ricardo (1996: 412-413).
12. British NGOs were one of the most active in the period. Friends of the Earth, for example, had a major role m the organisation of the Altamira gathering of indigenous groups in February 1989, for the protest against the building of a hydroelectric dam. Likewise, campaigning for the demarcation of indigenous lands for many years, Survival International had a fundamental role in lobbying for the demarcation of the Yanomami territory in 1991, shortly before the Rio Conference.
13. Along with mahogany, however, campaigns for social justice in Brazil and the Amazon have focused on the issue of land reform in general, and the demarcation of indigenous lands in particular - 'people focused campaigns (see below) which may present a link with the mahogany topic.
14. For the concepts of *field of forces or field of struggle* in the cultural production, ideas which inspire my standpoint, see Bourdieu (1993) and Milton (1996).
15. For further urther analysis on the British-based campaigners discourses and their relationship to their Brazilian and Amazonian counterparts, see Zhouri (1998).

ous conference in 1972 in Stockholm, has become firmly established. Nevertheless, this globalized discourse seems to inscribe society and development within a totalising and evolutionist concept of economic growth, whilst 'nature' appears merely as a variable to be 'managed'. These global tendencies have imposed themselves upon peoples, societies and environments. The 'development' ideology appears to have been reinvigorated by the concept of 'sustainable development', which also claims respect for biodiversity as well as cultural diversity. In order to legitimise this official discourse, NGOs — which were long holders of a counter discourse — were invited into 'participation' and 'partnership'. Thus, the mainstream NGOs seem to have accommodated their discourses and practices into an encompassing and institutionalised formation. Furthermore, they take credit for this as a victory of na 'environmentalism of results' over 'fundamentalist' perspectives, as in the words of WWF's director, the Swiss biologist, Claude Martin.[16]

The idea of 'sustainable development' — which basically means considering peoples' needs beyond conservation ist practices — has its general principles agreed upon. However, it meets concrete obstacles when faced with practical initiatives and implementations. As far as forests are concerned, particularly the *Amazon*, different approaches towards sustainable development make it difficult to uphold the simplified and common classification of NGOs into categories such as, for example, conservation ist and environmental organisations. Working with 'local people' has become a rather popular claim. However, the meaning of 'local people' varies, broadly ranging from local communities and forest dwellers to export timber companies, as I shall point out through the analysis of the main tendencies guiding Amazon campaigners within the NGO scene.

16. See interview in *Folha the Säo Paulo*, 12 June 2000.

17. The marks of their *habitus* (Bourdieu, P. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, London: Polity, 1993 [1977]), or social and cultural background experiences, reflect on their framing of the Amazon as an issue, and reveal the major tendencies guiding different NGO approaches. I recorded interviews with campaigners between 1994 and 1997 for my PhD thesis (Zhouri, A.. *Trees and People. An Anthropology of British Campaigners for the Amazon Rainforest*, PhD Thesis, Essex University, 1998). On the issue of oral history and interview techniques, sec Thompson, P. *The Voice of the Past-Oral History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Delineating three tendencies: trees, people, and trees & people

Different campaigning positions towards sustainability in the Amazon can be most clearly identified when attention shifts from individual organisations towards campaigners - the actual carriers of the NGOs' ethos. They are the agents implementing NGOs' agendas, and are therefore relevant actors in shaping the debate about the Amazon.[17] Based on the analysis of campaigners' social and personal trajectories which lead them to engage with the Amazon in particular ways, I have delineated three tendencies: *trees*, *people*, and *trees & people*. Trees' signifies those campaigners who lay stress on environmental and biodiversity concerns, 'people' indicates those who emphasise development and social justice issues, while 'trees & people' signifies the synthesis of these two tendencies. The words 'trees' and 'people' are used in a metaphorical sense, with the former encapsulating concerns with the conservation, preservation, protection, and sustainable uses of 'the environment' and the latter encapsulating issues of social justice, development, and human rights.

'Trees' campaigners are found within the major environmental organisations, namely WWF, Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, regardless of the specific political, organisational and structural orientations of each group. They are a younger generation of environmental campaigners in their late 20s and 30s, who are trained in the fields of ecology, forestry, geography, botany and related areas of expertise. They have usually travelled to forested areas in Africa or Latin America as part of their fieldwork activities, that is, as 'field trips'. They have never lived in such places nor speak the local language. They tend to place emphasis on their professional qualifications and avoid speaking about their personal experiences of the forest.

Campaigners within 'trees & people' represent an older generation - generally in their 40s - with background training in a diverse range of fields related to the Social Sciences. They arc spread out in smaller organisations and networks such as Reforest the Earth, the Gaia Foundation and the World Rainforest Movement. Their involvement with the Amazon is related to ethical and political considerations developed since the 1970s, rather than being technically oriented. Some of them have had some experience of living in 'Third-World' countries and have established personal or professional links to particular indigenous communities or local organisations-

Finally, campaigners within the "people" tendency have a political agenda related to the advocacy of human rights, social justice or 'social development'. Generally speaking, they hold some similarities to 'trees & people' campaigners, particularly in terms of their professional qualifications and age composition. However, they work for organisations such as Oxfam, Christian Aid, Amnesty International and Survival International. They present a particular biography of political involvement with Latin America and Brazil, and can be defined as being 'Latin Americanists' or ' Brazilianists'.

The first two tendencies, 'trees' and 'trees & people', are primarily concerned with the impact of global economic practices upon particular forest areas, and they have been very effective in their actions.[18] However, it seems that the technical expertise orientation of campaigners under the 'trees' tendency - a necessary element of the NGO work in their counter-arguments to policy makers and business interests - along with a global perspective mainly focused on biodiversity, and a sense of cultural distance from particular social and historical contexts in the Amazon, are the main problems to overcome. From this standpoint, the Amazon is cut off from its historical, local and regional contexts, and often projected into the global arena as a mere ecosystem, under the influence of global economic and political forces. Long-standing historical patterns of policies in the region, as well as different social systems in the Amazon, become invisible or subsumed in relation to technical abstractions and definitions under global patterns. Hence, although incorporating the defence of ''local people' (meaning mainly indigenous people rather than Brazilians of immigrant origin) in their discourse, it still remains as secondary topic in their considerations. 'Partnership' is established with Brazilian NGOs that can respond with the appropriate requirements, namely, technical expertise and computer and linguistic skills. Due to the demand for information coming from NGOs in Britain and other countries and the level of economic dependency of Brazilian NGOs upon their transnational partners, it is difficult to tell the scope and role of Brazilian NGOs in effectively setting up the dynamics of the transnational agenda. As mentioned above, this agenda has been mainly organised around the issue of forest management, and the most significant Amazon campaign has tackled the mahogany trade from Brazil to Europe and the US.

18. For a comprehensive analysis of campaign strategies and outcomes regarding the timber trade and Brazilian official responses, see Zhouri (1998, Chapter 5; and also 2001).

Regarding 'trees & people' campaigners, it is worth noting that they are less technical and tend to be more politically committed to supporting local initiatives and economic alternatives. However, the layers of intermediation between 'local.' and 'global' perspectives tend to be more pronounced in this particular case. Most 'trees & people' campaigners have few resources and depend upon information that the larger groups can provide. Therefore, they generally have a limited impact on setting the agenda in the transnational arena, although they contribute valuable elements to the ongoing campaigns. Sometimes, as in the case of long-established and charismatic campaigners, they can influence the direction of the overall debate amongst campaigners towards positions more compatible with the NGOs' original principles, particularly when campaigners and campaigns seem to get subsumed in negotiations with the private sector and governments.

Last but not least, 'people' campaigners reveal a political agenda primarily concerned with the issues of inequality, social justice and economic distribution in Latin America. This may appear at times to drive them closer to a discourse associated with an ideological perspective centred on 'development', although they are usually opposed to developmental projects which have long favoured local elites and transnational capital. Establishing close personal and political ties to the 'local people' — mainly grassroots movements - they appear as 'Latin Americanists' or 'Brazilianists'. Therefore, they can at times present themselves as the only 'authorised voice' on Brazil and the Amazon. The ethical and political concern with 'people' - through attention to the inequalities between the 'Northern' and 'Southern' hemisphere - requires a practical approach to campaigning. This means they are perceived by 'trees campaigners as being less concerned with biodiversity and a 'global environmental perspective that would more firmly question 'development' as a remedy for poverty, than with supporting the organisation of grassroots and social movements in Latin America as a whole A possible challenge for the 'people campaigners is to establish a dialogue with the other tendencies in order to incorporate environmental concerns more generally into their own campaigns, and also to push the social component into the environmental debate.

The predominant tendency: **'trees'** and the global market

Considering the three tendencies, 'trees' campaigners have been most influential in the NGO scene, laying stress on forestry and the world market. Predatory logging is undoubtedly a very visible driving force of deforestation. As already recognised by Brazilian officials, eighty per cent of logging in the Amazon is illegal. Thus, targeting predatory and illegal logging in the Amazon results in a legitimate and effective way of transnational campaigning. The image of lorries loaded with huge logs is an unquestionable and forceful picture of deforestation, capable of reaching even the most unastute observer. Nevertheless, the focus on logging as a campaign strategy has been so effective that it tends to be overrated, thus blurring some aspects of reality, such as the Brazilian development project for the Amazon *(Avança Brasil).* It further creates a sense of false achievement amongst NGOs, leading to misconceptions and dubious assessments concerning the scope of the campaign itself. This can be seen in the case of the current efforts to develop a 'green label' for the forests products.

Campaigners trained in the field of forestry, such as those within 'trees tendency, tend to believe that they can influence the timber trade towards better logging practices. As a consequence, the major NGOs, in association with the timber trade, have developed a certification scheme known as the Forest Stewardship Council or FSC, destined to improve forestry worldwide, under the belief that the consumption of timber from the 'North' is the primary cause of deforestation in the Amazon. Such a forestry perspective has mobilised a significant part of the PPG-7 programme (the Pilot Programme for the Conservation of the Brazilian Rainforests, funded by the seven richest nations) called 'Pris the prima Such a focus on forestry, however, has resulted in some unintended consequences as far as the sustainability of local societies and ecosystems are concerned. The FSC has mainly worked with major industrial timber companies exporting within the global market. Such a trend tends to undermine and overshadow various other aspects of the Amazon reality, such as the complex social and cultural systems operating in the region which represent local production systems and may equally be considered sustainable (Lima and Pozzobon 2000). This approach further undermines Brazilian economic and political forces in place in the Amazon, such as the *'Avança Brasil'* developmental programme, as well as the impact of domestic timber consumption itself on the rates of deforestation.[19] As yet another consequence, Brazilian organisations are led to spend most of their time and resources working on this single global strategy, despite the knowledge of the local and regional multiple variables operating in the Amazon.

Thus, "green consumerism' has been highlighted as one of the mam aspects within the overall 'strategy' capable of stopping deforestation in the Amazon.[20] It further creates a stage on which political action may take place at a global level. This trend can be exemplified by a FSC piece of publicity in *The Ecologist* (June 2000). The advert presents a photograph of a James Bond actor, while stating: *'you don't have to be a movie star to be an action hero. Help conserve the world's forests. Look for and purchase products carrying the FSC label'.* While the advert promotes the act of consumption into a heroic political agency, certification of the forests products, mainly timber, is launched as the solution for combating forest destruction. The advert further presents WWF, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and the Woodland Trust as 'proud and active supporters' of the FSC.

Hence, major environmental groups and Amazonian foresters alike have advocated a sustainable logging industry against the advance of agribusiness in the Amazon region.[21] In doing so, they wish to positively recommend sustainable and technically appropriate economic practices over predatory ones. Nonetheless, they are in danger of reducing the complexities of the Amazon to forestry when they promote sustainable logging as 'the vocation' for 'saving' the Amazon. The word 'vocation' *(vocacäo)* conveys a sense of 'divine calling', in both English and Portuguese; an essential or natural condition, which remains alien to profane industrial practices." Furthermore, evidence shows that

19. On domestic consumption of timber from the Amazon, see research developed by Imazon, FOE and Imaflora in Smeraldi et Alli. (1999) *Acertando o Alvo: Consumo de madeira no mercado interno Brasileiro e promoçâo da certificaçao florestal.* Sâo Paulo, Belém and Piracicaba: FOE, Imazon e Imaflora.
20. For an earlier discussion on 'green consumerism' and the Amazon, see Posey (1994).
21. See 'Amazonia tem vocacäo florestal, diz estudo' in *Folha de Säo Paula,* 22 de outubro de 2000, p. A 30)

already existing certified logging companies are not in fact located in areas competing with agricultural frontiers, but rather in those that compete with local productive systems.[23]

Whilst sustainable industrial practices are a significant improvement on predatory ones, it seems misleading to represent the promotion of such export practices as the 'magic bullet' to save the Amazon.[24] In doing so, a variety of productive systems and societies in the Amazon become reduced to a uniform and homogeneous condition. Forest dwellers - rubber tappers, brazil nut collectors, '*ribeirinhos* and Indians amongst others - are transformed into waged labourers for export timber companies. They are made to believe that a monthly wage of 180 *reais* (approximately 50 pounds) will comfortably provide for all their needs and means of living. With such a proposal, the task of combining the defence of biodiversity with the cultural diversity of the Amazon — global and local or biosphere and ecosystem positions (Guha & Martinez-Alier 1997 and Milton 1996)- remains a popular claim rather than a concrete accomplishment.

From such a global perspective aimed at improving industrial logging techniques, transnational campaigners seem to be responding to official Brazilian claims against timber boycott campaigns from Europe. The Brazilian arguments usually lay stress on the role of the timber industry as the principal job provider in the Amazon region, employing more than 100.000 people, as well as the second major source of income tax for the Northern states.[25] Campaigners are now led to believe that sustainable forestry will continue to provide jobs for the local population, whilst boosting the Amazonian states' GNP In doing so, they unwittingly promote the overall logic of economic growth over existing local and sustainable economic and social alternatives.

Final remarks

Focusing on the peculiarities of transnational campaigning for the Amazon, this paper presented an analysis of global political and cultural processes in terms of worldwide communication and power relations. The interface of culture and power underpins the analysis of globalist positions, as well as the relationship between global and local standpoints. Globalist positions within the NGO scene were identified according to concerns at combining biodiversity and social justice issues, which also lead to different approaches towards local' (forest) realities. Tensions involving 'trees' and 'people' are constitutive of the NGO field. This can be further illustrated by a controvertial fund-raising promotion by the World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF) in the *Financial Times* (31st December, 1994). The heading under a photograph of what appears to be an Indian cutting down a tree reads: *'He's destroying his own rainforest. To stop him, do you send in the army or an anthropologist?'* The text praises the skills of WWF's conservation scientists and anthropologists engaged in research in the Amazon. The advert represents the increasing technical expertise of environmental organisations, which has become a necessary tool in terms of forging forest management and policies. Nonetheless, it was met with criticism by other NGOs such as Survival International (*The Guardian*, 3 February, 1995), an organisation concerned with the advocacy of indigenous peoples rights. Misleading in terms of presenting the agents of deforestation, the advert also alerts us to the Western scientific 'wisdom' which transforms societies and cultures into 'populations' and land into 'forests' to be 'managed'.[26]

Hence, understanding environmentalism as a cultural perspective (Milton 1996) allows for a comparison between different perspectives, leading us to conclude that the prevailing global emphasis on biodiversity is currently driven by a forestry understanding of. and engagement with, the Amazon and the idea of sustainability. Such a globalised technical position, I argue, however crucial in improving forestry, is insufficient in terms of promoting real sustainability of societies and nature.

The forestry approach has been mainly focused on industrial logging practices for export, as in the case of the FSC. Thus, it stands in contradiction to current claims for environmental *and social* justice, for example, within a framework based on the concept of 'environmental space', broadly discussed with respect to global-local sustainabilities (Guha & Martinez-Alier l997, Leroy 2000, Padua 2000). According to this concept, societies in the North as well as elites from the South have an eco-

22. For the meanings of the word 'vocation' or 'vocaçâo', see the Oxford Dictionary and Novo Dicionário Aurélio, respectively.
23. This is the case of Gethal and Precious Woods Amazon, both promoted by Greenpeace. A study carried out by the state of Amazonas environmental agency, IPAAM (Instituto de Protecao Ambiental do Amazonas), shows the impact of the recently certified company Gethal, over local communities which are now deprived of their traditional uses of the land, such as fishing, game, protection during the flooding and also timber for subsistence use. More than a thousand people have been affected (Relat, over local communi *ties which are now deprived of their tradition*, April 2000). For further discussion see, Laschefski and Freris (2001).
24. A certain euphoria has contaminated the mood of NGOs. Greenpeace-Austria has just released a (received and distributed by umwelt.ecolink.org), praising the transformation of illegal and predatory loggers - the bad guys - into good and responsible examples of forest management, eligible for receiving the FSC label.
25. Interview with IBAMA president, Eduardo Martins, 2nd October, 1996.
26. For a critical perspective on how systems of scientific hegemony may abstract 'cultural systems' from the 'environments of local cultures' and grassroots movementsm, see further Nugeni (1990 1993). Shiva (1993) Sachs (1995 [1993]) and more specifically on conservation and communities Lima (1996), Diégues

logical debt' to the rest of the worlds population due to their high levels of consumption of natural resources and land. These inequalities correspond to historical and structural patterns of a conservative understanding of development. Hence, sustainability should be considered in relation to such a map of inequalities, particularly within Brazilian society, where conservation of ecosystems may only be achieved by tackling the issue of 'social justice' (Padua 2000). Thus, the emphasis on forestry as "the vocation' for the Amazon may actually contribute to continuing inequality patterns in terms of 'environmental space', since it provides more environment for export. Therefore, it fails to promote the recommendations of Agenda 21 — one of the most relevant outcomes of the 1992 UN Conférence - regarding the necessary changes in consumption patterns in the North.

The forest management approach promoted by 'trees' campaigners offers an updated and rationalised technical, scientific and economic framework for the same old Western imagination and conception of forests. Ironically, and most contradictory, both the romantic yearning for pristine nature and the blind pursuit of economic interests conceive of forests as places without people. The fundamental problem is the Western 'enlightened' divorce between nature and culture, which conceives of societies as floating entities above a natural substractum. As empty places within a market framework, forests are transformed into commodity for the sake of the economy.

(2000, 1996), Queiroz (1996). On different modes of environmentalism within Northern and Southern countries, see Martinez-Alier and Guha (1997).

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Carta Democrática Interamericana

Vigésimo octavo período extraordinario de sesiones de la Organizacion de los Estados Americanos, 11 de septembre de 2001, Lima, Peru

La Asamblea General,

Considerando que la Carta de la Organización de los Estados Americanos reconoce que la democracia representativa es indispensable para la estabilidad, la paz y el desarrollo de la región y que uno de los propósitos de la OEA es promover y consolidar la democracia representativa dentro del respeto del principio de no intervención;

Reconociendo los aportes de la OEA y de otros mecanismos regionales y subregionales en la promoción y consolidación de la democracia en las Américas;

Reconociendo que los Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno de las Américas reunidos en la Tercera Cumbre de las Américas, celebrada del 20 al 22 de abril de 2001 en la ciudad de Quebec, adoptaron una cláusula democrática que establece que cualquier alteración o ruptura inconstitucional del orden democrático en un Estado del Hemisferio constituye un obstáculo insuperable para la participación del gobierno de dicho Estado en el proceso de Cumbres de las Américas;

Teniendo en cuenta que las cláusulas democráticas existentes en los mecanismos regionales y subregionales expresan los mismos objetivos que la cláusula democrática adoptada por los Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno en la ciudad de Quebec;

Reafirmando que el carácter participative de la democracia en nuestros países en los diferentes ámbitos de la actividad pública contribuye a la consolidación de los valores democráticos y a la libertad y la solidaridad en el Hemisferio;

Considerando que la solidaridad y la cooperación de los Estados americanos requieren la organización política de los mismos sobre la base del ejercicio efectivo de la democracia representativa y que el crecimiento económico y el desarrollo social basados en la justicia y la equidad y la democracia son interdependientes y se refuerzan mutuamente;

Reafirmando que la lucha contra la pobreza, especialmente la eliminación de la pobreza crítica, es esencial para la promoción y consolidación de la democracia y constituye una responsabilidad común y compartida de los Estados americanos;

Teniendo presente que la Declaración Americana de los Derechos y Deberes del Hombre y la Convención Americana sobre Derechos Humanos contienen los valores y principios de libertad, igualdad y justicia social que son intrínsecos a la democracia;

Reafirmando que la promoción y protección de los derechos humanos es condición fundamental para la existencia de una sociedad democrática, y reconociendo la importancia que tiene el continuo desarrollo y fortalecimiento del sistema interamericano de derechos humanos para la consolidación de la democracia;

Considerando que la educación es un medio eficaz para fomentar la conciencia de los ciudadanos con respecto a sus propios países y, de esa forma, lograr una participación significativa en el proceso de toma de decisiones, y reafirmando la importancia del desarrollo de los recursos humanos para lograr un sistema democrático y sólido;

Reconociendo que un medio ambiente sano es indispensable para el desarrollo integral del ser humano, lo que contribuye a la democracia y la estabilidad política;

Teniendo presente que el Protocolo de San Salvador en materia de derechos económicos, sociales y culturales resalta la importancia de que tales derechos sean reafirmados, desarrollados, perfeccionados y protegidos en función de consolidar el régimen democrático representativo de gobierno;

Reconociendo que el derecho de los trabajadores de asociarse libremente para la defensa y promoción de sus intereses es fundamental para la plena realización de los ideales democráticos;

Teniendo en cuenta que, en el Compromiso de Santiago con la Democracia y la Renovación del Sistema Interamericano, los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores expresaron su determinación de adoptar un conjunto de procedimientos eficaces, oportunos y expeditos para asegurar la promoción y defensa de la democracia representativa dentro del respeto del principio de no intervención; y que la resolución AG/RES. 1080 (XXI-O/91) estableció, consecuentemente, un mecanismo de acción colectiva en caso de que se produjera una interrupción abrupta o irregular del proceso político institucional democrático o del legítimo ejercicio del poder por un gobierno democráticamente electo en cualquiera de los Estados Miembros de la Organización, materializando así una antigua aspiración del

Transnational Association
6/2001, 308-313

Continente de responder rápida y colectivamente en defensa de la democracia;

Recordando que, en la Declaración de Nassau (AG/DEC. 1 (XXII-0/92)), se acordó desarrollar mecanismos para proporcionar la asistencia que los Estados Miembros soliciten para promover, preservar y fortalecer la democracia representativa, a fin de complementar y ejecutar lo previsto en la resolución AG/RES. 1080 (XXI-O/91);

Teniendo presente que, en la Declaración de Managua para la Promoción de la Democracia y el Desarrollo (AG/DEC. 4 (XXIII-O/93)), los Estados Miembros expresaron su convencimiento de que la democracia, la paz *y* el desarrollo son partes inseparables e indivisibles de una visión renovada e integral de la solidaridad americana, y que de la puesta en marcha de una estrategia inspirada en la interdependencia y complementariedad de esos valores dependerá la capacidad de la Organización de contribuir a preservar y fortalecer las estructuras democráticas en el Hemisferio;

Considerando que, en la Declaración de Managua para la Promoción de la Democracia y el Desarrollo, los Estados Miembros expresaron su convicción de que la misión de la Organización no se limita a la defensa de la democracia en los casos de quebrantamiento de sus valores y principios fundamentales, sino que requiere además una labor permanente y creativa dirigida a consolidarla, así como un esfuerzo permanente para prevenir y anticipar las causas mismas de los problemas que afectan el sistema democrático de gobierno;

Teniendo presente que los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores de las Américas, en ocasión del trigésimo primer período ordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General, en San José de Cosca Rica, dando cumplimiento a la expresa instrucción de los Jefes de Estado *y* de Gobierno reunidos en la Tercera Cumbre, celebrada en la ciudad de Quebec, aceptaron el documento de base de la Carta Democrática Interamericana *y* encomendaron al Consejo Permanente su fortalecimiento y ampliación, de conformidad con la Carta de la OEA, para su aprobación definitiva en un período extraordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General en la ciudad de Lima, Perú;

Reconociendo que todos los derechos y obligaciones de los Estados Miembros conforme a la Carta de la OEA representan el fundamento de los principios democráticos del Hemisferio; y

Teniendo en cuenta el desarrollo progresivo del derecho internacional y la conveniencia de precisar las disposiciones contenidas en la Carta de la Organización de los Estados Americanos e instrumentos básicos concordantes relativas a la preservación y defensa de las instituciones democráticas, conforme a la práctica establecida,

Resuelve:

Aprobar la siguiente

Carta Democrática Interamericana

La democracia y el sistema interamericano

Artículo 1

Los pueblos de América denen derecho a la democracia y sus gobiernos la obligación de promoverla y defenderla.

La democracia es esencial para el desarrollo social, político y económico de los pueblos de las Américas.

Artículo 2

El ejercicio efectivo de la democracia representativa es la base del estado de derecho y los regímenes constitucionales de los Estados Miembros de la Organización de los Estados Americanos. La democracia representativa se refuerza *y* profundiza con la participación permanente, èrica y responsable de la ciudadanía en un marco de legalidad conforme al respectivo orden constitucional.

Artículo 3

Son elementos esenciales de la democracia representativa, entre otros, el respeto a los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales; el acceso al poder y su ejercicio con sujeción al estado de derecho; la celebración de elecciones periódicas, libres, justas *y* basadas en el sufragio universal y secreto como expresión de la soberanía del pueblo; el régimen plural de partidos y organizaciones políticas; y la separación c independencia de los poderes públicos.

Artículo 4

Son componentes fundamentales del ejercicio de la democracia la transparencia de las actividades gubernamentales, la probidad, la responsabilidad de los gobiernos en la gestión pública, el respeto por los derechos sociales y la libertad de expresión y de prensa.

La subordinación constitucional de todas las instituciones del Estado a la autoridad civil legalmente constituida *y* el respeto al estado de derecho de todas las entidades y sectores de la sociedad son igualmente fundamentales para la democracia.

Artículo 5

El fortalecimiento de los partidos y de otras organizaciones políticas es prioritario para la democracia. Se deberá prestar atención especial a la problemática derivada de los altos costos de las campañas electorales y al establecimiento de un régimen equilibrado y transparente de financiación de sus actividades.

Artículo 6

La participación de la ciudadanía en las decisiones relativas a su propio desarrollo es un derecho y una responsabilidad. Es también una condición necesaria para el pleno y efectivo ejercicio de la democracia. Promover y fomentar diversas formas de participación fortalece la democracia,

La democracia y los derechos humanos

Artículo 7

La democracia es indispensable para el ejercicio efectivo de las libertades fundamentales y los derechos humanos, en su carácter universal, indivisible e interdepcndiente, consagrados en las respectivas constituciones de los Estados y en los instrumentos interamericanos e internacionales de derechos humanos.

Artículo 8

Cualquier persona o grupo de personas que consideren que sus derechos humanos han sido violados pueden interponer denuncias o peticiones ante el sistema interamericano de promoción y protección de los derechos humanos conforme a los procedimientos establecidos en el mismo.

Los Estados Miembros reafirman su intención de fortalecer el sistema interamericano de protección de los derechos humanos para la consolidación de la democracia en el Hemisferio.

Artículo 9

La eliminación de toda forma de discriminación, especialmente la discriminación de género, étnica *y* racial, y de las diversas formas de intolerancia, así como la promoción y protección de los derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas y los migrantes y el respeto a la diversidad étnica, cultural y religiosa en las Américas, contribuyen al fortalecimiento de la democracia y la participación ciudadana.

Artículo 10

La promoción y el fortalecimiento de la democracia requieren el ejercicio pleno y eficaz de los derechos de los trabajadores y la aplicación de normas laborales básicas, tal como están consagradas en la Declaración de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (O1T) relativa a los Principios y Derechos Fundamentales en el Trabajo y su Seguimiento, adoptada en 1998, así corno en otras convenciones básicas afines de la OIT La democracia se fortalece con el mejoramiento de las condiciones laborales y la calidad de vida de los trabajadores del Hemisferio.

Democracia, desarrollo integral *y* combate a la pobreza

Articulo 11

La democracia y el desarrollo económico y social son interdependientes y se refuerzan mutuamente.

Artículo 12

La pobreza, cl analfabetismo y los bajos niveles de desarrollo humano son factores que inciden negarivamente en la consolidación de la democracia. Los Estados Miembros de la OEA se comprometen a adoptar y ejecutar todas las acciones necesarias para la creación de empleo productivo, la reducción de la pobreza y la erradicación de la pobreza extrema, teniendo en cuenta las diferentes realidades y condiciones económicas de los países del Hemisferio. Este compromiso común frente a los problemas del desarrollo y la pobreza también destaca la importancia de mantener'los equilibrios macroeconómicos y el imperativo de fortalecer la cohesión social y la democracia.

Artículo 13

La promoción y observancia de los derechos económicos, sociales y culturales son consustanciales al desarrollo integral, al crecimiento económico con equidad y a la consolidación de la democracia en los Estados del Hemisferio.

Artículo 14

Los Estados Miembros acuerdan examinar periódicamente las acciones adoptadas y ejecutadas por la Organización encaminadas a fomentar el diálogo, la cooperación para el desarrollo integral y el combate a la pobreza en el Hemisferio, y tomar las medidas oportunas para promover estos objetivos.

Artículo 15

El ejercicio de la democracia facilita la preservación y el manejo adecuado del medio ambiente. Es esencial que los Estados del Hemisferio implementen políticas y estrategias de protección del medio ambiente, respetando los diversos tratados y convenciones, para lograr un desarrollo sostenible en beneficio de las naturas generaciones.

Artículo 16

La educación es clave para fortalecer las instituciones democráticas, promover el desarrollo del potencial humano y el alivio de la pobreza y fomentar un mayor entendimiento entre los pueblos. Para lograr estas metas, es esencial que una educación de calidad esté al alcance de todos, incluyendo a las niñas y las mujeres, los habitantes de las zonas rurales y las personas que pertenecen a las minorías.

Fortalecimiento y preservación de la institucionalidad democrática

Artículo 17

Cuando el gobierno de un Estado Miembro considere que está en riesgo su proceso político institucional democrático o su legítimo ejercicio del poder, podrá recurrir al Secretario General o al Consejo Permanente a fin de solicitar asistencia para el fortalecimiento y preservación de la institucionalidad democrática.

Artículo 18

Cuando en un Estado Miembro se produzcan situaciones que pudieran afectar el desarrollo del proceso político institucional democrático o el legítimo ejercicio del poder, el Secretario General o el Consejo Permanente podrá, con el consentimiento previo del gobierno afectado, disponer visitas y otras gestiones con la finalidad de hacer un análisis de la situación. El Secretario General elevará un informe al Consejo Permanente, y éste realizará una apreciación colectiva de la situación y, en caso necesario, podrá adoptar decisiones dirigidas a la preservación de la ¡nstitucionalidad democrática y su fortalecimiento.

Artículo 19

Basado en los principios de la Carta de la OEA y con sujeción a sus normas, y en concordancia con la cláusula democrática contenida en la Declaración de la ciudad de Québec, la ruptura del orden democrático o una alteración del orden constitucional que afecte gravemente el orden democrático en un Estado Miembro constituye, mientras persista, un obstáculo insuperable para la participación de su gobierno en las sesiones de la Asamblea General, de la Reunión de Consulta, de los Consejos de la Organización y de las conferencias especializadas, de las comisiones, grupos de trabajo y demás órganos de la Organización.

Artículo 20

En caso de que en un Estado Miembro se produzca una alteración del orden constitucional que afecte gravemente su orden democrático, cualquier Estado Miembro o el Secretario General podrá solicitar la convocatoria inmediata del Consejo Permanente para realizar una apreciación colectiva de la situación y adoptar las decisiones que estime conveniente.

El Consejo Permanente, según la situación, podrá disponer la realización de las gestiones diplomáticas necesarias, incluidos los buenos oficios, para promover la normalización de la institucionalidad democrática.

Si las gestiones diplomáticas resultaren infructuosas o si la urgencia del caso lo aconsejare, el Consejo Permanente convocará de inmediato un período extraordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General para que ésta adopte las decisiones que estime apropiadas, incluyendo gestiones diplomáticas, conforme a la Carta de la Organización, el derecho internacional y las disposiciones de la presente Carta Democrática.

Durante el proceso se realizarán las gestiones diplomáticas necesarias, incluidos los buenos oficios, para promover la normalización de la institucionalidad democrática.

Artículo 21

Cuando la Asamblea General, convocada a un período extraordinario de sesiones, constate que se ha producido la ruptura del orden democrático en un Estado Miembro y que las gestiones diplomáticas han sido infructuosas, conforme a la Carta de la OEA tomará la decisión de suspender a dicho Estado Miembro del ejercicio de su derecho de participación en la OEA con el voto afirmativo de los dos tercios de los Estados Miembros. La suspensión entrará en vigor de inmediato.

El Estado Miembro que hubiera sido objeto de suspensión deberá continuar observando el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones como miembro de la Organización, en particular en materia de derechos humanos.

Adoptada la decisión de suspender a un gobierno, la Organización mantendrá sus gestiones diplomáticas para el restablecimiento de la democracia en el Estado Miembro afectado.

Articulo 22

Una vez superada la situación que motivó la suspensión, cualquier Estado Miembro o el Secretario General podrá proponer a la Asamblea General el levantamiento de la suspensión. Esta decisión se adoptará por el voto de los dos tercios de los Estados Miembros, de acuerdo con la Carta de la OEA.

La democracia y las misiones de observación electoral

Artículo 23

Los Estados Miembros son los responsables de organizar, llevar a cabo *y* garantizar procesos electorales libres y justos.

Los Estados Miembros, en ejercicio de su soberanía, podrán solicitar a la OEA asesoramiento o asistencia para el fortalecimiento y desarrollo de sus instituciones y procesos electorales, incluido el envío de misiones preliminares para ese propósito.

Artículo 24

Las misiones de observación electoral se llevarán a cabo por solicitud del Estado Miembro interesado. Con tal finalidad, el gobierno de dicho Estado y el Secretario General celebrarán un convenio que determine el alcance y la cobertura de la misión de observación electoral de que se trate. El Estado Miembro deberá garantizar las condiciones de seguridad, libre acceso a la información y amplia cooperación con la misión de observación electoral.

Las misiones de observación electoral se realizarán de conformidad con los principios y normas de la OEA. La Organización deberá asegurar la eficacia e independencia de estas misiones, para lo cual se las dotará de los recursos necesarios. Las mismas se realizarán de forma objetiva, imparcial y transparente, y con la capacidad técnica apropiada.

Las misiones de observación electoral présenterán oportunamente al Consejo Permanente, a través de la Secretaría General, los informes sobre sus actividades.

Articulo 25

Las misiones de observación électoral deberán informar al Consejo Permanente, a través de la Secretaría General, si no existiesen las condiciones necesarias para la realización de elecciones libres y justas.

La OEA podrá enviar, con el acuerdo del Estado intcresado, misiones especiales a fin de contribuir a crear o mejorar dichas condiciones.

Promoción de la cultura democrática

Articulo 26

La OEA continuará desarrollando programas y actividades dirigidos a promover los principos y prácticas democráticas y fortalecer la cultura democrática en el Hemisferio, considerando que la democracia es un sistema de vida fundado en la libertad y el mejoramiento económico, social y cultural de los pueblos. La OEA mantendrá consultas y cooperación continua con los Estados Miembros, tomando en cuenta los aportes de organizaciones de la sociedad civil que trabajen en esos ámbitos.

Articulo 27

Los programas y actividades se dirigirán a promover la gobernabilidad, la buena gestión, los valores democráticos y el fortalecimiento de la institucionalidad política y de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil. Se prestará atencion especial al desarrollo de programas y actividades para la educación de la ninez y la juventud como forma de asegurar la permanencia de los valores democráticos, incluidas la libertad y la justicia social.

Articulo 28

Los Estados promoverán la plena e igualitaria participación de la mujer en las estructuras políticas de sus respectivos países como elemento fundamental para la promoción y ejercicio de la cultura democrática.

Joint statement from the European Science Foundation (ESF), All European Academies (ALEEA), and the European University Association (EUA)

Sent to the European Council of Research Ministers meeting in Luxembourg the 26 June 2001

The present Joint Statement has been produced by the three European organisations representing the academic community in Europe: funding agencies and national research organisations, national academies of sciences and humanities, universities and national organisations of universities.

ESF, ALLEA and the EUA have already produced detailed responses to the proposal from the European Commission for the Framework Programme 2002-2006 for Research (COM (2001) 94)1. In this joint statement the three European organisations emphasise some common concerns.

We welcome the concept of the European Research Area, introduced by Commissioner Busquin in 2000. We consider that this is an important initiative and we appreciate the function of the Commission's Framework Programme Proposal as a vehicle to promote and further the European Research Area.

We strongly believe that the European Research Area and the Framework Programme should build on existing structures and organisations. The success of both will only be assured if there is a commitment by the EU Member States and other European countries to invest in and sustain basic research at an adequate level and to support, to a significant degree. research along the policy lines laid down in the Framework Programme proposal.

Success also requires a strong link between the European Research Area and the Bologna Process (recently further emphasised at the Prague Summit of European Education Ministers) to establish a European Higher Education Area. We encourage the Council of Ministers of Research and the European Commission to incorporate this link to contribute towards the creation of the European knowledge society. We also welcome the added support to mobility of researchers. Human resources and the exchange of ideas and experience are the basis of all good research; and it is vitally important that mobility of researchers at all levels and stages in their careers is supported and that obstacles to mobility are removed as quickly as possible.

We would like to reiterate the importance of fully integrating the Humanities and Social Sciences in the new Framework Programme. The European Research Area takes shape in the context of European cultures and societies, and the contribution of these disciplines is needed in other areas to fully understand multi-culturalism and multi-lingualism in Europe. They are needed to address cultural identity, diversity and integration in Europe and the challenges, concerns and fears aroused by scientific and technological developments. Thus, the Humanities and the Social Sciences need to be more adequately represented in the Framework Programme Proposal.

it is of vital importance to the new Framework Programme that the European Commission can ensure that projects are selected on the basis of excellence and that procedures are clear and transparent and trusted by the research community.

Proposals for large-scale integrated projects are causing concern within the research community, as they may disadvantage smaller research groups, university departments, small and medium-sized enterprises and other groups active m innovative research.

All European Academies, the European Science Foundation and the European University Association are convinced that the European Research Area and the new Framework Programme can contribute towards the aims and goals outlined by the Heads of State of the EU Member States at the Lisbon Summit in 2000. We call upon the European institutions to consider our contributions to ensure that research, development and innovation are substantially promoted and supported.

ESF news release
issued 25/06/2001
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209 trade unionists assassinated last year, reveals ICFTU 2001 Survey

209 trade unionists killed or "disappeared", 50 percent more than last year's figure, about 8,500 arrested, 3,000 more injured, over 100,000 harassed and nearly 20,000 dismissed because of their trade union activities...: in 2000 trade unionists paid a heavy price for their commitment. But these figures are just the tip of the iceberg. According to the *Survey*, which this year covers a record 140 countries, 27 more than in 1999, the trade union rights situation is the most disturbing in: Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Costa Rica, China, South Korea, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Belarus and the Gulf States.

The geography of danger

Colombia is still the most dangerous country in the world for trade unionists. 153 trade unionists were assassinated or disappeared in 2000, an increase of more than 100% on 1999. Trade unionists are regularly the target of attacks not only by paramilitaries and guerillas, but also by the authorities and employers. The State has not mobilised the resources needed to implement effective protection programmes.

Colombia is not alone in making the American continent the most dangerous region in the world for trade unionists. In Guatemala, they are threatened with death and confronted with the constant inertia and complicity of the courts. In Venezuela, the independent trade union movement is threatened with extinction following the constant attacks by President Chàvez who imposed a referendum on the election of new trade union leaders. In Costa Rica all collective bargaining is at risk further to a ruling by the constitutional court.

Asia has also recorded a record number of violations, and accounts for 71% of arrests and 87% of cases of harassment of trade unionists throughout the world. In China any attempt to create an independent trade union is immediately crushed. Those who try to organise one are sent to psychiatric hospitals or forced labour camps where they are singled out for ill-treatment.

Africa also set new records: in nearly 60% of the countries examined in the *Survey*, workers were dismissed for their trade union activities. In nearly one African country in two trade unionists have been arrested.

The annual *Survey* points to 108 countries where there are legal obstacles to the establishment of a trade union. Some ban trade unions altogether, like Bhutan, Burma and Equatorial Guinea. In the Gulf States, trade union rights are virtually non-existent. So-called Consultative Committees replace trade unions in Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates. In Saudi Arabia trade unions are simply prohibited. Many other countries prevent all independent trade union activity, such as Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Syria and Iraq. Trade unions in these countries are subservient to the government and do nothing to defend workers' interests.

While trade union repression in the developing countries is more violent, employers in the west also try to undermine the unions, but take a more cynical approach. In the United States, employers regularly call on professional 'union busters' to destroy tne union in their enterprise. In Canada, many sectors are not allowed to go on strike or to engage in collective bargaining. In Australia, the government distributed a manual to high-ranking civil servants on the tactics to use to sabotage collective bargaining with the unions. In Spain and the United Kingdom, the *Survey* reveals violations of trade union rights linked to using the internet.

Unions fay heavy price in struggle for democracy

In countries under authoritarian rule, unions are sometimes the only organised opposition. When the use of force is not enough to keep them quiet, the authorities do not hesitate to interfere in trade union affairs, forming puppet unions, confiscating union assets or aggravating divisions within the unions.

In Swaziland, one of the last absolute monarchies on the African continent, the government tried to pass a bill restricting trade union rights, particularly the right to strike. All strikes and protest demonstrations were repressed. It was only when threatened with the withdrawal of trading privileges that the government shelved the bill. But unions who actively campaign for democracy still face many restrictions. In Zimbabwe, dozens of opponents of President Mugabe's regime, including at least two trade unionists, fell victim to the violence that swept the country. The national trade union centre, ZCTU, was targeted by the authorities after condemning its behaviour. In Belarus, the trade union movement had to fend off numerous attacks by the presidential administration which impounded union bank accounts on several occasions and tried to bring dissident national centres under its control.In Fiji a coup d'état with strong racial undertones was condemned by the trade unions. The authorities responded to the announcement of a day of protest to call for the restoration of the rule of law by threatening all civil servants who took part. Many trade unionists were attacked or detained. In Peru, the national centre, CUT, joined the vast protest movement seeking to prevent the dictator Fujimori from serving a third presidential term. Its premises were ransacked and seven people were killed during the demonstrations.

Right to strike under threat

The right to strike has suffered particularly heavily from the negative consequences of unbridled globalisation. Force has repeatedly been used in the place of dialogue. Over 300 strikes or demonstrations in which trade unions took part were repressed by employers or the police, in nearly 90 countries around the world. All too often this resulted in the loss of human life. In Bolivia at least 14 people were killed by the police during two vast social movements calling for higher pay and lower water rates. In Costa Rica, Argentina and Paraguay, demonstrators also lost their lives. In Bangladesh, four workers were savagely killed by police in the port of Mongla while demonstrating to demand more staff.

In South Korea the police systematically intervene and imprison strikers on charges of "obstructing business". Since President Kim Dae Jung came to power, far more trade unionists have found themselves behind bars than during the government of his more authoritarian predecessor. In Indonesia, no less than 29 strikes were repressed. Employers often use hired thugs to mix the strikers to give the police an excuse to intervene. In Turkey the government instituted legal proceedings or administrative inquiries against 86,000 civil servants who took part in a strike it had declared illegal. In Morocco, no less than eight strikes were repressed and strikers are regularly taken to court and sentenced to prison terms. In the Central African Republic, the government tried every means, including violence, to undermine strikes by civil servants demanding the payment of salary arrears that in some cases dated back ten months. In all the Latin American countries cited in the report, with the exception of Cuba, at least one strike was repressed last year. In Ecuador and Venezuela, the police intervened violently in no less than 10 strikes. In Europe, the right to strike is also trampled on. In Belgium, employers frequently use the courts to put an end to strikes by imposing excessive restrictions on strike pickets.

Where no violence is used, the authorities often resort to legislation to restrict the right to strike...80% of the countries examined have adopted restrictive strike legislation. In Africa, this applies to 84% of countries. In many cases the law imposes long and cumbersome procedures, during which workers are rarely protected. In Lesotho, not a single strike has been recognised as legal since independence in 1996. The law also allows the government to requisition workers during strikes. In Burkina Faso and Niger, the government also gives itself the right to requisition strikers. The number of workers required for a legal strike to go ahead is often too high. In Costa Rica, the unions have to draw up a lists proving that 60% of workers agree to the strike. All strikes carried out in the country during the year were declared illegal. Many strikes are also banned if they threaten the country's economy. Authorities sometimes abuse this right, for example in Mexico where the government used this as an excuse to put an end to a strike at the national airline company, Aeromexico. In the Middle East, strikes are virtually non-existent. The authorities impose countless conditions restricting strikes, any breach of which can incur heavy prison sentences. Migrant workers, who make up the bulk of the workforce, can be sent back to their countries on the spot if they strike.

Many states prohibit entire sectors from striking by drawing up a very long list of so-called essential services. The Survey shows that no less than 59 states use this tactic. And while some governments are content to impose a few limitations, others ban all strikes outright, such as Cuba, North Korea, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Export-processing zones: rights-free zones

To counter these challenges, and in response to market pressure, there has been a steady growth in export processing zones. Here workers are usually deprived of all union rights. When unions are set up they are the target of constant attacks, with the support, if not participation, of the authorities. The Survey points to 33 countries where this problem exists. In the Philippines a study carried out in seven export processing zones in the country showed that unions were being targeted by employers who act with impunity. In Bangladesh trade unions are still banned from the zones and workers are harassed if they demand their rights. Five lost their lives after faking part in protests. . Turkey still bans strikes, five years after the creation of its export processing zone. In Namibia, strikes continue to be banned in the zones. In Central America (Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras and Panama) export processing zones (maquiladoras) are rights-free zones where trade unionists are constantly persecuted. Employers systematically sack workers who try to carry out trade union activities and sometimes set up workers' organisations themselves, on condition that there will be no strikes. In Mexico's maquiladoras, the employers do not hesitate to deal brutally with workers who try to set up independent trade unions.

From: ICTU Press <press@icfru.org>
The entire survey 2000 is on the ICFTV website: http//www.icftu.org/survey.
(The 2001 Edition will be available a few days prior to October 9). For more information, please contact the ICFTV Press Department +32 2 224 0232 or +32 476 62 10 18.

Every reason to link trade with labour standards

Sir,

Professor Jagdish Bhagwati has done a disservice to the trade and labour debate with his article "Break the link between trade and labour" (August 29). He has also done a disservice to millions of exploited sweatshop workers with his polemic, based as it is on several fallacies and a misrepresentation of the position of those who advocate a positive link between trade and labour standards.

First, the overwhelming majority of free trade unions in countries including Nigeria, Brazil, Mauritius and Botswana do support the linkage. The Malaysia Trade Union Congress is also firmly on this list, despite Prof Bhagwati's attempts to convince them otherwise. They recognise that the accomplishments of their members in raising living standards in Malaysia are under serious threat from so-called competitive pressures. The effects of vicious labour price competition are felt more in developing countries than in industrialised ones.

Second, Prof Bhagwati attempts to prove that there is no downward pressure on wages by the fact that retail prices of labour-intensive goods have not fallen. However, this reasoning falls apart when one considers that the labour cost of a garment ready-made in Bangladesh for the US market is 1.2 per cent of the retail price and 3 per cent of the cost upon leaving Bangladesh. He should realise that even though retail prices may not be falling, producer prices have dropped sharply and steadily for years. Furthermore, sweatshops have indeed broken out in North America and western Europe, exactly in those places where there are large migrant populations, often working illegally, with no legal or social protection.

Last, Prof Bhagwati is familiar enough with the debate to know that nobody advocates putting the responsibility for defending labour standards squarely on the World Trade Organisation. This is deliberately disingenuous. The fact that such misrepresentative arguments are allowed to persist is good evidence of the need tor a serious discussion by WTO members.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is the competent authority to set and monitor international labour standards, and the WTO is only being asked to support the ILO. While he is correct that the complex and time-consuming approach of the ILO's Programmes for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is the best way to tackle the issue, he is sorely mistaken that only through IPEC will child labour be effectively abolished. IPEC is able to do far, far less than is necessary, because the WTO's approach does nothing to encourage countries to face up to their child labour problem.

Should countries seek and obtain comparative advantage through the violation of the most fundamental human rights? We think the answer is a loud and clear "no".

Bill Jordan
General Secretary
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
(From: Letters To The Editor, *Financial Times; Sep 7. 2001)*

Un tribunal (pénal) international pour les sociétés transnationales?*

Les juridictions internationales existantes ne sont applicables qu'aux Etats qui se sont volontairement soumis à elles (la Cour internationale de Justice) et à certains individus qui ont commis des crimes particulièrement graves, suite aux décisions prises par le Conseil de sécurité (tribunaux de Yougoslavie, Rwanda, etc.).

Les sociétés transnationales sont des agents économiques de droit privé et sont soumises, en principe, au droit d'un Etat et à la juridiction de ses tribunaux. Le groupe transnational n'a pas, en tant que tel, une personnalité distincte de chacune des entités qui le composent, de sorte que celles-ci ne peuvent être tenues de répondre de leurs actes que de façon dispersée, bénéficiant ainsi des intérêts opposés des Etats dans lesquels elles opèrent. La tendance récente à considérer les personnes morales pénalement responsables n'a pas encore démontré son efficacité.

Le transfert d'activités interdites ou réglementées dans un Etat vers des pays disposant d'une réglementation moins importante leur permet d'éluder leurs responsabilités. Le déplacement d'industries ou autres activités très dangereuses (comme dans le cas de Bhopal), de même que le déplacement vers des pays à la main d'oeuvre bon marche et de moindre protection sociale aux fins de baisser les coûts de production, constituent des exemples d'abus commis par les STN.

En principe, il n'est pas illicite d'utiliser les disparités entre Etats ou la différence causée par le développement inégal entre les divers pays. Mais les politiques appliquées par les STN au moyen d'institutions telles que le FMI et la BM, qui ont conduit, à une certaine période, à déclencher la spirale de l'endettement des pays pauvres et, plus tard, leur ont imposé des mesures d'ajustement structurel qui ont appauvri encore davantage les pays et leurs peuples, violent les droits humains fondamentaux tel que le droit à la santé et à la vie.

Les Etats les plus puissants sont moins innocents et ont plus d'outils que ce qu'ils prétendent et ils protègent très bien leurs entreprises. Dans ces pays, le droit le mieux protégé est la propriété. Dans chaque Etat, il existe des dispositions légales pour incriminer les STN pour les dommages causés à l'environnement, pour le non-respect des normes en vigueur en matière de droit du travail ou pour tout autre crime ou délit commis par les entreprises, mais très peu de choses sont faites pour appliquer ces dispositions. Les normes internationales ne sont pas non plus appliquées lorsqu'il s'agit de juger ceux qui ont servi les intérêts protégés par l'Etat. Par exemple, en France, on a permis la fuite d'un général algérien accusé d'actes de tortures commis en Algérie. Et la notion de « crime contre l'humanité », admise par le droit français, ne s'applique pas en France s'agissant des crimes commis en Algérie.

Il y a divers systèmes pour déterminer la juridiction: a) celle de l'Etat dans lequel la STN a requis la personnalité juridique; b) celle du siège principal de la société ou du lieu où se prennent les décisions; c) celle de l'Etat dans lequel a été inscrite la société. Il existe aussi la notion de contrôle: lorsqu'une société contrôle 100% des actions d'une autre société, elle doit répondre des obligations de celle-ci ou des délits commis par la filiale.

Les Etats peuvent exercer leur juridiction sur les STN mais ils ne souhaitent pas le faire. Il est nécessaire de les forcer à agir. L'existence d'un tribunal international pourrait les inciter à exercer leurs prérogatives. Les tribunaux internationaux existants peuvent condamner les Etats (Cour internationale de

Justice de La Haye) ou les individus (Tribunal pour l'ex-Yougoslavie ou Tribunal pour le Ruanda), mais pas les STN pour les graves crimes qu'elles commettent à l'encontre des peuples de toute la planète. Um tribunal international pour les STN devrait être créé par un traité entre les Etats comme la Cour pénale internationale de Rome, et être compétent pour juger au niveau civil et pénal les STN, sans exclure la responsabilité des personnes. Il devrait appliquer le droit international des droits de 1 Homme en vigueur, en établissant une hiérarchie des droits qui donnerait la priorité aux plus essentiels d'entre eux, tels que le droit à la vie, à la santé, à ne pas subir de torture ni de trairemenets cruels, inhumains ou dégradants, etc.

Professeur François Rigaux

**Extrait des Actes et conclusions u séminaire de travail intitulé "Les activités des sociétés transnationales et la nécessité de leur encadrement juridique" tenu les 4 et 5 mai 2001 au Château de Bossey à Céligny (près de Genève) et organisé par le Centre Europe - Tiers Monde (CETIM) et l'Association Américaine de Juristes (AAJ).*

Les universités françaises et américaines contre la libéralisation de l'enseignement supérieur

L'éducation n'est pas une marchandise. L'enseignement supérieur encore moins, affirment les principales instances représentatives des universités européennes et, fait notable, leurs homologues américaines. Les universitaires des deux côtés de l'Atlantique ont signé, le 28 septembre, une Déclaration commune sur l'enseignement supérieur et l'accord général sur le commerce des services (accord du GATS).

La solennité de l'événement n'a pu être marquée comme prévu, en raison de la crise internationale. Les universitaires entendent néanmoins alerter leurs gouvernements : "Nos pays respectifs ne doivent pas s engager dans la libéralisation de l'enseignement supérieur", résume Eric Froment, président de l'Association européenne des universités, signataire du texte, qui représente 30 conférences nationales de recteurs et 537 universités. Côté américain, l'Association des universités et collèges canadiens (92 établissements), la Conférence américaine de l'éducation (1 800 établissements) et le Conseil pour l'accréditation de l'enseignement supérieur (3 000 établissements accrédités et 60 organismes d'accréditation) se sont associés à cette déclaration.

Dans le cadre des négociations intergouvernementales menées au sein de l'Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC) sur les services, censées aboutir d'ici à 2002, "bon nombre de ministres de l'éducation ne sont pas consultés", rappelle M. Froment. Le premier "Porto Alegre de l'éducation", qui se tiendra du 24 au 27 octobre au Brésil, auquel doit participer Jean-Luc Mélenchon, ministre délégué à l'enseignement professionnel, devrait fournir à la profession de foi des universités un écho favorable.

L'enseignement supérieur, souligne la déclaration, doit "servir l'intérêt public" et rester régulé par des autorités publiques, afin de garantir la qualité, l'accès et l'équité de l'éducation. "Rien, dans des accords commerciaux internationaux, ne doit pouvoir restreindre cette autorité." Dans ce cadre, poursuivent les signataires, les échanges éducatifs (recrutement d'étudiants, vente de programmes, etc.) sont nécessaires, mais ne doivent ni fragiliser les institutions universitaires ni imposer des modèles qui saperaient les systèmes nationaux d'enseignement. Craignant que les négociations de l'OMC n'aboutissent à saucissonner les activités universitaires, leurs responsables ajoutent ; "Les systèmes public et privé d'enseignement supérieur sont liés et interdépendants. Il est donc impossible, pour les besoins du GATS, de séparer certains sous-secteurs comme la formation pour adultes sans que cela n'ait de conséquences sur le reste." Oui aux échanges commerciaux, disent Européens et Américains, mais régulés.

Nathalie Guibert

(Le Monde. 06.10.01*)*

Dhaka dispatch

Civil society

Late one afternoon in Dhaka, capital of Bangladesh, men and women in an upscale distria are hurrying home through tangled traffic when the tinny afternoon call to prayer rings out. Paying little heed to the mosque across the street, numerous young men flock to a very different institution - Wimpy's, the British burger chain that has become one of the most popular local eateries, to enjoy some pre-dinner junk food.

That so many young men should ignore the call to prayer might surprise a visitor to Dhaka, where nearly every major street contains at least one mosque. Indeed, in many respects, Bangladesh resembles nearby Pakistan, today a cauldron of poverty, nuclear weapons, and radical Islam. Like Pakistan, Bangladesh is overwhelmingly Muslim. Like Pakistan, Bangladesh is poor and overcrowded, with an annual per capita income of S350 and a population of 130 million packed into a territory smaller than Wisconsin. Like Pakistan, Bangladesh is ruled by a small, rich, Westernized elite that could be vulnerable to Islamist resentment.

Yet democratic Bangladesh isn't home to a powerful fundamentalist movement. One sign: Outside the capital, I visited a village where women gather to obtain small loans from the Grameen Bank in order to run businesses ranging from raising cows to renting mobile phones. In fact, the country Henry Kissinger once famously called "a basket case," because of its persistent famines and floods, is something of a model for Muslim states seeking to marginalize Islamic radicals without resorting to violence.

How does Bangladesh keep fundamentalism in check? For one thing, by keeping it out of the schools. The state funds 7,500 *madrassas* that enroll some 1.5 million students and teach both secular studies and nonfundamentalist versions of Islam. In Pakistan, by contrast, the government allows Islamists to dominate education, particularly in the impoverished, combustible Nordiwest Frontier Province near the Afghan border. Critical, too, is Bangladesh's relatively independent judiciary, which earlier this year outlawed fatwas (religious edicts) — in stark contrast to countries like Pakistan and Egypt, where fundamentalist pressure has led judges to enforce religious orthodoxy regarding gender, sexuality, and theological dissent.

In face, Bangladesh actively promotes tolerance. Rather than repressing Islamists — the strategy favored by Egypt and Algeria — it allows religious parties to take part in the political system. This forces the radicals to make their unpalatable political goals — like the establishment of *sharia* law — explicit and public, and to temper them in order to form political coalitions. In addition Bangladesh's government has long encouraged respect for other faiths and sects through concerts, dances, and other cultural events explicitly devoted to diversity (By contrast the Taliban reportedly forced Hindus to wear yellow badges, and several Pakistani leaders have encouraged violence between Sunni and Shiite Muslim groups to further their political careers.) Additionally, popular antagonism toward Bangladesh's Hindu minority has long been tempered by the sacrifices Hindus made in the country s 1971 war of independence from Pakistan, during which they were raped and murdered by the Pakistani army in vastly disproportionate numbers. Islamic parties, on the other hand, still suffer a taint of disloyalty, because they largely opposed independence — choosing religious unity with Pakistan over nationalist separatism.

Most of all, however, Bangladesh has warded off fundamentalism by encouraging an explosion of nongovernmental organizations — more than 20 000 of them. The system developed after the devastating war of independence, which coincided with one of the most brutal typhoons and famines in the country's history. Bangladesh, which even in good years is overwhelmed by floods every monsoon season, turned to humanitarian and development organizations for help, encouraging the growth, locally, of the Grameen Bank and other NGOs. Today those groups offer education, loans, and information on everything from health care to family planning to voting rights.

In particular the predominantly domestic NGOs — with their liberal, and even feminist, agendas — have affected the status of Bangladeshi women. The percentage of women in the country's workforce has soared since the early 1970s. Today 80 percent of workers in the garment industry Bangladesh's main source of exports, are women; and roughly 50 percent of primary and secondary school students are female. (In contrast, in 1999, the World Bank found that only 28 percent of Pakistan's workforce was female.) This economic empowerment has in turn led more women to vote and, as a result, the Islamists would have to gain a much larger share of the male vote to gain power. Indeed, in Bangladesh's recent election, women went to the polls in large numbers. And though election breakdowns are unavailable, the women I spoke with made it clear they weren't casting their ballots for fundamentalists. The success of NGOs in encouraging women to work has another benefit too: It boosts the economy. Taliban-ruled Afghanistan can't develop industries — except narcotics as long as half its workforce remains locked indoors. Pakistan, too, is realizing that you can't develop your economy without women workers, especially in South Asia, where textiles are a major industry. Pakistan's poverty rate has risen from 18 percent in 1988 to more than 32 percent in 1999, which in turn has fueled antigovernment anger that fundamentalists can exploit. Still, few other Muslim states allow NGOs the leeway they have in Bangladesh. In fact, the Taliban booted Grameen Bank out of Afghanistan after it came to power.

Fundamentalism isn't nonexistent in Bangladesh. The radical Islamist parry Jamaat-e-Islami took 17 of the 300 parliament seats in the recent election. And it will, for the first time, be a small part of a government coalition. Fundamentalist madrassas funded by Gulf Arabs are popping up m Dhaka. Al Qaeda has reportedly set up cells in the country and last year President Clinton canceled a trip to Bangladesh after U.S. intelligence warned that he might be attacked by Muslim extremists. Osama bin Laden posters dot the occasional wall in Dhaka.

Still, most knowledgeable people in Bangladesh aren't overly worried about Islamism, and the Dhaka government has openly supported the U.S. campaign against the Taliban. "It would be extremely difficult for the Islamists to gain serious power," the editor of one leading Bangla-language newspaper told me. "Too many obstacles have been placed in their way — obstacles that have turned the public and all of the media against them." Pakistan and other Muslim states nervous about the fundamentalist threat should consider building those kind of obstacles themselves — or perhaps bringing in NGOs to do it for them.

By Joshua Kurlantzick, who covers international economics and trade for *U.S. News & World Report*
(From *The New Republic*, November 12, 2001)

Premières positions sur la convention Européenne : la pagaille de la société civile

Les grandes orientations de la future Convention sur l'avenir del'Europe ont été confirmées. Leaders et personnalités politiques lancent leurs galops d'essai.

Une Convention composée de trois représentants par Etat membre de l'Union et des pays candidats, ainsi que de seize eurodéputés et d'un représentant de la Commission. A partir de 2002, cette centaine de personnes devrait plancher sur l'avenir de l'Europe. Le rapport de force entre intérêts nationaux, d'un côté, et européens de l'autre, défendus par la Commission et le Parlement, serait donc de un à cinq. Le Parlement européen a fortement protesté, esuntant avoir oroit à une trentaine de représentants au minimum. Le député européens Jo Leinen (PSE), eu-rapporteur sur la préparation de Laeken, estime aussi que le président de la Convention devrait avoir une expérience parlementaire. Dans un document désormais bien connu, intitulé « Réveillons l'Europe », dont Jacques Delors a pris l'initiative en octobre et qui a été signé par une brochette d'anciens chefs de gouvernement ou de la Commission, le concept de compromis d'une « fédération d'Etats-nations » a été réaffirme. Ce texte propose un gouvernement de l'Union de synergie entre Conseil et Commission, et des «conventions parlementaires temporaires » associant les Parlements nationaux au PR. Des coopérations renforcées entre un nombre réduit d'Etats seraient instaurées. Des propositions qui semblent avant tout correspondre à un replâtrage institutionnel : rien n'est prévu pour faciliter les réflexes transnationaux. pourtant viraux pour faire fonctionner TUE, et le futur rôle du PE n'est pas suffisamment défini.

Pout sa part, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing a avancé ses propres propositions, qui paraissent beaucoup plus novatrices que celles de Jacques Delors. L'ancien président fiançais remarque d'abord »une contradiction » dans le terme de fédération d'Etats nations. Il propose, lui, une Union à compétences fédérales », car c'est ce qui se fait déjà pour le commerce international, le marché intérieur, la concurrence et la poltique monétaire, constate-t-il avec bon sens. Côté institucionnel, VGE propose que le Conseil européen devienne le véritable gouvernement de l'UE, car plus facile à mettre en place qu'une Commission politique. Il se dit conscient que les citoyens «attendent quelque chose de plus clair que les structures existantes». En attendant d'autres contributions « lourdes », l'eurodéputé Catherine Lalumière et vice-présidente du Mouvement européen France remarque pour la *Semaine de l'Europe* que la société civile ne pourrait être intégrée au sein de la Convention, pour raison de « pagaille ». En fait, la bonne solution démocratique consisterait peut-être à créer deux conventions séparées, pour cons timer ce qui ressort des deux et les éventuels hiatus. Eu tout état de cause, ces travaux n'ont pour but que de préparer la Conférence intergouvernementale (CIG) de 2004, à laquelle appartiendra la validation ou non de certaines «options». Sur quels crirères ? « Personne, parmi les Etats membres, ne souhaite aujourd'hui voir la Convention déboucher sur un vrai projet politique », avoue, sous couvert d'anonymat, un haut fonctionnaire français spécialiste de l'Europe, travaillant directement avec le premier ministre. Charmantes perspectives pour la démocratisation de L'Union !

Christophe Nonnernacher
(La Semaine de l'Europe)

EU-Civil society website

The database for Consultation, the European Commission and Civil Society (CONECCS) is part of the Commission's commitment to provide better information about its consultation processes. Here you can find information about the Commission's formal or structured **civil** society consultation **bodies** and search a directory of pan-European civil society organisations representing a wide range of interests in Europe.

INTERNET: europa.eu.int/comm/civil_society/coneccs/index_en.htm

The concept and practice of civil society in international development

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the first conference, an international conference was held on "The Concept and Practice of Civil Society in International Development" on 13th-15th December 2001 at Balliol College, Oxford.

In the present international context, a discussion of the concept and practice of Civil Society in International Development is both timely and necessary. The events of September 11th and the world's subsequent reactions provoked changing expectations of approaches to Civil Society. The conference's aim was to evaluate and appraise the different approaches to supporting, building and reinforcing civil society. The papers, keynote speakers and panels were used as forums to explore several cross cutting themes. They focused on the theoretical approaches underpinning practical civil society strenghten ing programmes, the nature of the state and its relation to civil society: transitional, stable or engaged in internal conflict, the nature of capacity building in the context of civil society, how civil society strengthening programmes are being monitored and evaluated and what strategies and methodologies are being used to strengthen and support civil society.

Contact: Cert Angood. c.angood@intrac.org. Also see http://listserv.yorku.ca
322

Third sector research: call for proposals

The US Midwest Center for Nonprofit Leadership, Cookingham Institute of Public Affairs, and the Bloch School of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri, Kansas City, call for papers to be presented at the conference on "Nonprofit organizational effectiveness and performance: challenges and advances in theory and practice", April 18-19, 2002, Kansas City, Missouri.

Organizational effectiveness is an especially challenging concept for nonprofit organizations, since "bottom line" financial measures of success are not useful for comparing performance across nonprofit organizations. Two decades ago Hansmann (1980) distinguished between commercial and donative nonprofit organizations; research by Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld (1998) supports the meaningfulness of this distinction. How do commercially-oriented (or entrepreneurial) nonprofit organizations assess their effectiveness, how do stakeholders assess their effectiveness, and what strategies and models arc being used or developed for evaluating and enhancing their effectiveness? How do donative nonprofit organizations assess their effectiveness, how do stakeholders assess their effectiveness, and what strategies and models are being used or developed for evaluating and enhancing effectiveness? Are donative nonprofit organizations being evaluated using criteria more appropriate to commercial nonprofit organizations? By whom, why and with what effects?

The purpose of this conference is to advance knowledge about nonprofit organizational effectiveness by bringing together those researchers and practitioners who have a serious interest in development and application of the theory and practice of nonprofit organizational performance. It will feature the highly interactive design of the 2000 conference on nonprofit governance. It will be highly participative, offering not only sessions at which papers are presented and discussed, but also plenty of opportunities for facilitated and informal discussions.

Proposals for papers are due October !, 2001 and should be sent to: Jill Cook, Midwest Center for Nonprofit Leadership, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO 64110. Jill Cook may be reached at 816-235-1177 or by email at "cookjs@umkc.edu."

Dear Subscribers,

As from 2002, *Transnational Associations* will be published 4 times a year.
This new periodicity will not involve any change in subscription terms.

Cher Abonné, Chère Abonnée,

A partir de 2002, *Associations transnationales* deviendra une revue trimestrielle. Cette nouvelle formule n'entrainera toutefois acune modification des conditions d abonnement.

Speedy action on Arab free trade area urged at Egyptian-Arab conference

During a conference on crisis management held in Cairo on October 28, Egyptian and Arab government representatives called for the activation of the Arab Free Trade Zone. Among the recommendations made at this meeting were reducing the bureaucratic obstacles among the countries, restructuring banks, insurance companies, investment firms, information flow, and creating more flexible mechanisms for crisis management.

The participants at this meeting stressed the need for "strategic alliances" among Arab markets and organizations in order to be more prepared for the challenges of competition. In addition, the conference called for a réévaluation of the handling of water, especially in regard to production, consumption, and industrial and agricultural uses. Also recommended was the necessity of dealing with the current tourism crisis, and the creation of a comprehensive tourism plan that would cover issues such as environment, culture, sports, conferences, treatment, and the creation of centers for handling tourist crises in order to overcome this crisis.

According to the Secretary-General of the Arabic Economic Unity Council, Mr. Ahmed El-Goweili, "A four-way Arab free trade agreement will come into effect in January 2002". The agreement includes the countries of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Libya and will involve the removal of taxes and all custom tariffs between these countries. An Arab market is still being planned while officials hope that the Arab Free Trade Zone will include all Arab countries.

The council will publish a guide listing investment opportunities in the Arab public and private sector, due in December.

There is encouragement by the EU for an economic, social and development ties among the south Mediterranean partners within the Euro-Med Partnership. FoEME believes that such a tie is important in promoting south - south trade and bringing countries to join together in improving the lives of their people and creating peace and stability. At the same time, we believe that environmental issues continually receive very little attention by the partner countries, even though many of the nations involved share the same resources as well as the problems resulting from the mismanagement of these shared resources. The environment can very well be a basis for bringing nations together in peace and strengthening their ties.

Colegio de las Américas (COLAM)

La creación del COLAM es el resultado, en primera instancia, de un largo proceso de definición en el seno de la Organización Universitaria Interamericana (OUI) que culminó con un estudio de factibilidad realizado entre setiembre de 1996 y octubre de 1997.

Desde la perspectiva de la misión interna de la Organización, el establecimiento del Colegio de las Américas obedeció al imperativo de apertura de la OUI a los diversos sectores de la comunidad universitaria, diferentes al de los administradores universitarios, para quienes ya había sido instaurado el Instituto de Gestión y Liderazgo Universitario (IGLU). De ahí, la justificación de efectuar un estudio de factibilidad que permitiera determinar las necesidades a las cuales un proyecto como el Colegio de las Américas debería responder, así como elaborar una propuesta académica que contara con el apoyo de los miembros de la Organización.

En segundo lugar, la instalación del COLAM se inscribe en el contexto de las reflexiones y de los acuerdos surgidos en las diferentes instancias regionales e internacionales llevadas a cabo en la segunda mitad de la década de los años 90, acerca de la renovación de los roles tradicionalmente asumidos por las casas de enseñanza superior.

Tomando en consideración este antecedente, la Organización Universitaria Interamericana, en cumplimiento de sus objetivos, debía canalizar entre sus miembros los concensos obtenidos en estos foros, cuyos acuerdos se habían construido en torno a la conceptualización de la misión principal de las universidades, su función social, la pertinencia y calidad de su quehacer, así como las principales características de sus programas *y* los desafíos de la utilización de las nuevas tecnologías de la información.

The committee on civil society participation in OAS activities

The Committee on Civil Society Participation was created by the OAS June 1999 in order to establish, clear, transparent, and modern procedures for interaction between civil society and the political organs of the OAS. In his regard, in December 1999, the Permanent Council approved a set of guidelines which govern he participation of civil society organizations in the activities of the OAS. For more information on the procedures and/or how to participate in the activities of the OAS, please see OAS website.

Participation in the activities of the Organization is encouraged and will be mutually enriching for the Organization, its member States and for civil society organizations. It is hoped this interaction will be positive on the treatment of issues of which are particularly important for the countries of the Hemisphere, such as democracy, human rights, gender equity and equality, indigenous peoples' rights, sustainable development and education, among other subjects.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Ray,*

Thanks for sending the Transnational Associations *issue on "The Movement of People". It just arrived yesterday, and despite the usual disorder of the holiday season, 1 found myself going through it immediately and reading the essence of each of the articles. Perhaps this urgency is explained by the fact that my soon-to-become portfolio at the State Department is that of "Population, Refugees, and Migration".*

Understandably, I was drawn to the contributions of persons I know and respect - yourself in the first instance, and then Gervase Coles and Norah Niland. Both Coles and Niland have the insight and courage to deal with root causes of uncontrolled people movements. This seems to be the only basis on which practitioners can develop problem-solving strategies. And then your own Introduction and Conclusion were helpful in putting both the sources and the solutions in a pragmatic perspective. This issue of Transnational Associations *stands as a unique compilation of material that can assist policy-makers and field implementers - while offering sobering reminders to academicians that their musings increasingly deserve attention to the extent that they contribute to problem-solving as well as to analysis.* Transnational Associations *Editor Paul Ghils has done each of us on the people movement front Unes a great favor by encouraging and disseminating this dose of pragmatism for dealing with one of the world's major human problems.*

I will install this issue immediately in my office library at the State Department, and bring it to the attention of my colleagues as soon as the full Senate endorses the recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee and confirms me in my new post.

With warm regards, and every wish for another good year ahead in 2002.

Arthur E, (Gene) Dewey
Assistant US Secretary of State (Designate), Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration
Former UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner.

**Raymond Smyke was the west editor of issue 4-5 of Transnational Associations* ("The movement of people")

Index   53rd year
Volumme LIII 2001   53ème année

Author Index
Index des auteurs

Index of Page Numbers
Index de pagination

Who's Who in International Organizations

A biographical encyclopedia of leading personalities in international organizations

Edited by the Union of International Associations
3rd edition - 1999, 3 volumes, hard cover

Who's Who in International Organizations is a unique reference work which provides biographical information on eminent individuals associated with international organizations.

The purpose of this series is:
- to provide information on the principal personalities involved in the development, operation and coordination of international organizations, associations, institutes, networks, programmes and other bodies described in the *Yearbook of International Organizations,*
- to provide an easy means of checking biographical details of significant individuals on the multinational and global levels;
- to provide a resource for the development of inter-organizational relationships.

This updated 3rd edition of *Who's Who in International Organizations* lists over 13,000 presidents, general secretaries, executive directors, chairmen and other officers active in every field of human endeavour. Some 12,000 international organizations are represented.

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The biographical entries include such information as:
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Personal information: complete name, including titles and aliases; honours conferred; nationality; date and place of birth; family; leisure interests.
Educational background: academic degrees, dates and names of educational institutions.
Addresses: electronic and postal mailing addresses, website addresses, and residential address.

The entries are listed alphabetically by surname. Three indexes provide further access to the entries. One index lists biographees by the international organizations in which they are, or were, active. Another index lists biographees by the country of their citizenship (where known). The last index lists biographees by the fields of endeavour in which they are active, using subjects and combinations of subjects as headings.

The first edition of *Who's Who in International Organizations* was published in 1992, the second edition in 1995. *Who's Who in International Organizations* has proven itself over the years to be an indispensable tool, facilitating access to the network of international bodies.

For more information contact:
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Yearbook of International Organizations

Edited by the Union of International Associations
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ed by subject according to the region with which they are particularly concerned.
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founding personalities.

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Periodical and other major publications of international organizations are listed by title, with an indication of the organization publishing the item and of where the description of that organization may be found in Volume 1. This expanded version of the index, previously published as an Appendix to Volume 1, also contains bibliographic information on research on NGOs and information derived from the *Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential*

0 Vol. 5 Statistics, Visualization and Patterns
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The publication of this first edition of a specialized volume in the Yearbook series is in response to the many enquiries the editors receive for statistical information on international organizational activity. It contains: detailed statistical tables previously included in Volumes IB, 2, 3, and 4; previously unpublished historical statistical summaries and analyses; statistical data on the meetings of international organizations as published in the quarterly *International Congress Calendar,* and visual representations of statistical data and networks, partly derived from the *Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential*

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Transnational Associations — 53rd year
Associations transnationales — *53e année*

Some items in recent issues: *Parmi les themes traités récemment :*	Issue number: *Numéros:*
Transnational actors **in** the **international system** *Les acteurs transnationaux dans le système international*	2/1999 6/1999 2/2000, 3/2001.
The **recognition of the** legal **personality of INGOs** *La reconnaissance de la personnalité juridique des OING*	3/1986 **3/1990** **5/1990, 3/1995.**
Cooperation between INGOs and IGOs ***La** coopération **entre les OING et les OIG***	1/1997, 2/1999 **6/1999,** 6/2000.
Social movements, trade **unions and coopératives** ***Mouvements sociaux,** syndicats **et coopératives***	6/1996, 3/1997 **5/1999,** 1/2001
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