

INTERNATIONAL
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Human rights in Africa

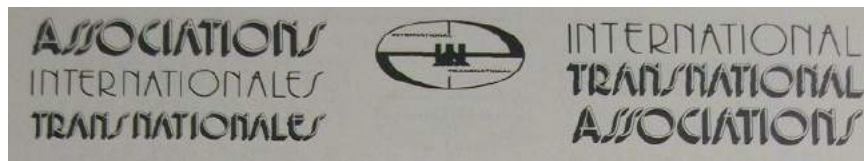
Private initiatives in Western Countries

The review of international
associations and meetings

1985 - n° 3

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This publication, produced by the UAI, appears with six issues per year.

The purpose of the studies, surveys and information included in this periodical concerning the international and transnational networks of nongovernmental organizations is to promote understanding of the associative phenomenon in a human society which continues to grow and evolve heedless of the implications.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UAI, is intended to clarify general awareness concerning the associative phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, to inform associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of common interest to them.

The columns of this review are open both to officers of associations, researchers and specialists of associative questions. The articles do not of course necessarily reflect the point of view of the publisher.

Cette publication, éditée par l'UAI, se présente à ses lecteurs sous la forme d'une revue de période bimestrielle.

Son objet associatif d'études, d'enquêtes, d'informations, au service des réseaux internationaux et transnationaux d'organisations non gouvernementales, s'attache aux idées et aux faits d'un phénomène de société humaine en expansion continue et en évolution hâtée.

Son programme, conforme aux principes et aux méthodes de l'UAI, vise, en général, à éclairer les connaissances du grand public sur la vie associative dans la perspective des relations internationales et, en particulier, à informer les associations des divers aspects de leurs problèmes propres et d'intérêt commun.

Les colonnes de la revue sont ouvertes à la fois aux responsables d'associations, chercheurs, spécialistes des matières associatives, dont les articles n'expriment pas nécessairement le point de vue de l'éditeur.

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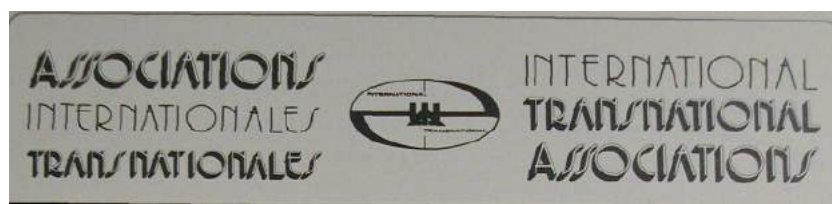
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MILLE ANS DE

Le colloque que l'UAI a consacré en 1984 à l'associationnisme africain, comme d'ailleurs d'autres événements marquants situés dans une optique transculturelle et transnationale, répond explicitement à deux besoins essentiels diversement exprimés par nos contemporains: celui d'une synthèse globale d'une part, et d'une compréhension comparative de nos sociétés d'autre part.

Les éclairages apportés aux notions d'association, d'universalité ou de transnationalité, telles qu'elles se dégagent des œuvres humaines et trouvent à s'exprimer dans les champs du savoir et de l'art, mettent fréquemment en évidence la dépendance étroite entre synthèse et comparatisme.

C'est en tout cas ce qu'impliquait une méthode fondée non pas sur quelque schéma rationnel aprioriste, mais sur la comparaison sans exclusive des diverses expérimentations sociales, et notamment associatives : le type d'universalité qu'elle instaure se révèle alors essentiellement empirique. Partie des typologies régionales et des récurrences historiques, la méthode comparative au sens le plus large semble par ailleurs destinée à retrouver, tout autant que les formes sociales concrètes, les constantes d'un *mundus imaginalis*, l'univers de l'imaginaire trop souvent ignoré dans l'Occident contemporain.

* Que l'on traduise curieusement, en se référant implicitement à Bossuet, par " Discours sur l'histoire Universelle " ; alors que le terme désigne l' " Introduction " au livre d'histoire proprement dit Kitab al 'Ibar.

De cette conjonction entre formes sociales récurrentes et archétypes interculturels, nous trouvons un exemple particulièrement remarquable dans la création récente de l'Institut Europe-Amérique Latine et, plus encore, dans le projet d'université euro-arabe.

A mille ans de distance, c'est à la floraison intellectuelle et spirituelle de l'Espagne transculturelle du X^e siècle, permise par l'éclosion des sciences, des mathématiques et de la philosophie musulmanes que le projet euro-arabe fait écho.

Ce sont en effet l'Andalousie et Tolède qui ouvrirent l'Europe latine à al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Ghazali, Ibn Sina (Avicenne), Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Rushd (Averroès) et Ben Maimon (Maimonide).

Commencée au IX^e siècle avec la traduction en arabe des œuvres de physique et de métaphysique d'Aristote, cette vaste migration interculturelle allait exercer une profonde influence sur les théologiens et penseurs chrétiens qui, après les penseurs musulmans, furent obligés d'emprunter le langage et les armes de la raison pour chercher une conciliation entre la doctrine religieuse et la philosophie grecque.

Avant les controverses fameuses des Messieurs de Port-Royal sur la grammaire et l'Art de penser, les mêmes joutes philosophiques opposaient leurs prédécesseurs musulmans: le chroniqueur Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi nous rapporte par exemple que le distingué philologue as-

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Sarafi confondit le logicien Matta en lui faisant admettre que la précision linguistique précède la rigueur logique, l'expression de cette dernière dépendant de la transparence des formes verbales.

Il fallut cependant attendre le XIX^{ème} siècle pour découvrir toute l'importance d'œuvres aussi fondamentales que celle du philosophe de langue persane al-Biruni, grand historien des sciences et l'un des esprits les plus universalistes de tous les temps: au XI^{ème} siècle, al-Biruni traduisait du grec en sanskrit les *Elements d'Euclide* et son propre traité d'astronomie, avant de donner une nouvelle traduction en arabe du célèbre *Pantchatantra* indien.

Sur le plan institutionnel, il est intéressant de constater, de notre point de vue, que ce bouillonnement intellectuel est d'abord passé par le relai des institutions quasi-associatives qu'étaient les universités: plus proches des corporations indépendantes que des institutions publiques, elles ne seront annexées par le pouvoir politique qu'à partir du XI^{ème} siècle.

L'équilibre subtil entre d'une part les dirigeants de l'époque et d'autre part les corporations et autres ordres - non étatiques - a d'ailleurs été magistralement analysé par Ibn Khaldoun (XIV^{ème} siècle), que de nombreux auteurs considèrent comme l'un des fondateurs de notre sociologie moderne. Rédigés un siècle avant que Machiavel, dépassant la chronique médiévale, ne fonde l'historiographie moderne, les fameux » Muqaddimah » * d'Ibn Khaldoun analysent la dyna-

mique des relations socio-politiques à partir de leurs composantes culturelles, sociologiques, économiques et psychologiques.

Parmi les formations sociales présentes dans la Cité arabe, les corporations professionnelles occupaient une place toute particulière. Elles étaient intégrées dans un système social et conceptuel étroitement lié aux ordres initiatiques et plus spécialement aux ordres soufis : la puissance spirituelle et temporelle de ces derniers ordres était telle que les fonctionnaires publics et les officiers de l'armée s'y affiliaient et tombaient sous l'autorité du grand maître soufi. Celui-ci supervisait un réseau de loges et de fondations et ne reconnaissait que nominalement la supériorité des gouvernants. Le pouvoir des ordres soufis faisait ainsi contre-poids à l'autorité du Prince qui était lui-même souvent obligé de se soumettre au grand maître. Il faut d'ailleurs remarquer que des courants dissidents comme le chiisme, habituellement présentés comme strictement religieux, dissimulaient souvent des mouvements sociaux opposés au pouvoir politique de la Cité.

Notre temps avide de larges synthèses et voué au brassage des cultures ne pouvait que se souvenir des premiers temps de l'Islam, de la quête inachevée de l'homme universel nourri « *de la sagesse de l'Inde voisine et des clartés de la lointaine Heliade* ».

Comme il y a mille ans. ce sont les universités qui ont entrepris, au sein d'un Conseil international cette fois, de dépasser

ser les clivages des Etats et de renouer le dialogue longtemps interrompu entre les civilisations arabe et européenne. Certes, le projet n'a pas vu le jour sans une longue maturation: les multiples colloques universitaires internationaux organisés depuis une quinzaine d'années, les efforts déployés par des associations comme l'IPALMO (Istituto per le Relazioni tra l'Italia e i Paesi dell'Africa, America Latina e Medio Oriente) et l'influence sous-terrine mais grandissante d'« orientalistes » aussi brillants qu'Henri Corbin sont autant d'éléments qui ont favorisé cette reconquête mutuelle de deux cultures-mondes.

Si la formule proposée par le président du Conseil international. Mohamed Aziza, hérite de l'Antiquité le principe de la coopération, la synthèse culturelle aujourd'hui proposée reprend des éléments propres à nos sociétés, puisqu'elle intègre les apports de l'informatique dont les responsables du projet espèrent qu'elle aura un effet multiplicateur.

Entreprise sans précédent ou, comme l'aurait sans doute pensé al-Biruni, récurrence d'archétypes sociaux jamais épuisés, les » *nouvelles Andalousies* » dont rêvait Jacques Berque et qui pourraient refleurir demain répondent certainement aux vœux de ceux qui, il y a un millénaire, tentèrent de concilier la raison et la foi, d'opérer la synthèse des connaissances scientifiques de leur temps et de fondre les apports de divers continents culturels sans jamais perdre de vue l'unité de l'Homme.

Paul Ghils

ASPECTS D'UNE COMMUNAUTE VILLAGEOISE COUTUMIERE A MADAGASCAR

LE FOKONOLONA

Dans les sociétés traditionnelles de Madagascar, la conception du fait associatif est toujours liée 1) à la communauté villageoise et 2) au lien que cette communauté entretient avec le pouvoir.

Il est bon, tout d'abord, de clarifier certains concepts. Quand on parle de fait associatif, on a tendance à l'envisager dans une optique occidentale, comme une association avec tous ses corollaires, à savoir le président, le vice-président, le secrétaire général, le trésorier et autres membres du bureau. Or, à Madagascar, faute de mot adéquat, on plaque le terme « fait associatif » sur des institutions multiséculaires qui ne correspondent nullement aux critères des associations tels qu'on les entend dans les pays industrialisés. Ainsi en est-il du *Fokonolona*, institution malgache qui a retenu l'attention de nombre de chercheurs par son originalité. Le mot signifie, étymologiquement, « groupement de personnes ». Selon leurs sensibilités ou leurs spécialités, les chercheurs ont donné des définitions disparates, dont aucune n'est satisfaisante, du moins à mon avis. Qu'ils soient juristes, ethnologues, sociologues, administrateurs des colonies, leurs définitions ne se recoupent pas et souvent même se contredisent.

Par exemple, le *Firaketana* (dictionnaire encyclopédique de la langue malgache) définissait le Fokonolona en 1951, comme « une communauté et un groupement de personnes résidant dans un ou plusieurs villages limitrophes ». En 1914,

Grandidier père et fils écrivaient que « chaque famille a continué à former au sein de l'Etat une sorte de petit Etat ayant ses lois propres, se régissant selon les ordonnances de ses propres ancêtres transmises pieusement de génération en génération : le chef assisté des notables, exerçait le droit de basse justice pour le règlement des conflits survenus dans le fokonolona ou la communauté ». Le Gouverneur G. Julien, juriste et malgachisant renommé, désignait le fokonolona comme étant « un groupement ayant les mêmes intérêts et obéissant à des régies de vie communes ». Plus tard, G. Condominas, désigné par l'administration coloniale au lendemain de la Loi Cadre pour étudier les Collectivités autochtones rurales (CAR) et les Communautés rurales autochtones modernisées (CRAM), pensait que « le Fokonolona est un clan (ou parfois un lignage) de type patrilinéaire et patrilocal unissant dans un même territoire (fokontany) les descendants d'un même ancêtre (razana) dont la tombe constitue le pôle mystique où le groupe vient retrouver la cohésion ». Pour un Malgache, G. Rakotomanga, du ministère de l'agriculture, le Fokonolona « est constitué, suivant les cas, par tous les habitants d'un hameau, d'un village, d'un quartier, d'une commune, d'une sous-préfecture ayant des intérêts communs » (1961).

Toutes ces définitions présentent une carence réhibitoire à mes yeux : en effet, le fokonolona avait, en plus des rôles qui lui ont été attribués ci-dessus, un autre rôle, primordial, qui est la cohésion de toute la population, le souci de son bien-être et surtout le développement du village.

A quoi correspondait donc le Fokonolona ? Des indications précieuses nous

par Voahangy RAJAONAH *

sont données par l'analyse du déroulement de ses réunions.

I. Déroulement des réunions du Fokonolona

A. Périodicité

Le Fokonolona ne se réunissait pas à date fixe et il n'était pas exclusivement convoqué par une instance dirigeante ni par un groupe de gens. N'importe qui pouvait en demander la réunion, et une seule personne suffisait. Les raisons de la convocation pouvaient être diverses, d'ordre personnel ou d'intérêt général. L'essentiel était que la convocation fût motivée et n'eût pas été provoquée par une simple lubie.

B. Modalités de la convocation

En entendant l'appel le convoquant au Fokonolona, toute la population convergait vers le lieu de réunion, abandonnant ses occupations. Ce lieu était en plein air, sur la place du village et, sauf cas exceptionnel, une réunion qui n'avait pas lieu à cet endroit était frappée de nullité.

Les participants s'installaient en carré ou en rectangle selon leur nombre, en tenant compte des cinq points cardinaux (les Malgaches, à l'instar des Asiatiques, divisent l'espace entre cinq points cardinaux qui s'énoncent dans l'ordre : le centre, le sud, le nord, l'ouest et l'est). Les hommes adultes se mettaient au nord, les femmes adultes à l'est, les jeunes gens à l'ouest, les jeunes filles au sud. Cette répartition en âge et en sexe répondait à un certain symbolisme: le centre était occupé par

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Village de pêcheurs à Ifaty (Nord de Tulear)

Photo Musée de l'Afrique centrale Tervuren (Belgique)

Dieu et les ancêtres, omniprésents dans tous les actes de la vie; le nord, la place d'honneur, revenait aux hommes adultes dont on respectait la sagesse et les connaissances; l'est était réservé aux femmes adultes; la lumière venant de l'est, les femmes représentaient la lumière par qui toute chose existe, et représentaient ainsi le rayonnement de tout le village; quant à la place des jeunes gens et des jeunes filles, elle n'avait pas de signification particulière, du moins à ma connaissance.

C. Modalités des réunions

La personne qui avait appelé la population à se réunir prenait la parole en premier pour exposer ce qu'elle avait à dire. Après son exposé, chaque participant intervenait pour donner son avis. Il est à remarquer que ces réunions du Fokonolona n'avaient pas de Président et qu'il régnait une égalité totale entre tous les participants, hommes ou femmes, jeunes ou vieux, tous faisaient partie du Fokonolona et tous étaient tenus de participer aux réunions sous peine d'amende. Les étrangers de passage dans le village pouvaient participer aux discussions, leur avis était même sollicité car, extérieurs au groupe,

ils pouvaient saisir un problème qui avait échappé aux autres, habitués à vivre ensemble.

Cette égalité de tous était illustrée par le fait que les différences sociales s'effaçaient automatiquement pendant la réunion du Fokonolona. Il n'y avait plus de noble, de roturier ou d'esclave, il n'y avait plus de riche ou de pauvre, plus de notable ou de simple quidam. Il n'y avait que des hommes égaux en droit et en parole. Pour les Malgaches, comme le dit le proverbe « *c'est l'esprit qui fait qu'on est homme* », donc tout homme est l'égal d'un autre homme. Ce n'est qu'une fois la réunion achevée que chacun reprenait sa place dans l'échelle sociale car comme on dit chez nous « *chacun est seigneur chez soi* ».

Une fois que chaque participant avait donné son avis, il devait aussi, lors de la décision finale, exprimer son accord ou sa désapprobation. En France, on considère que « *Qui ne dit mot consent* »; à Madagascar, on pense que « *qui ne dit mot conteste* ». Chaque participant devait prononcer le mot « *izay* » qui signifie « *c'est ainsi* ». Chacun regardait son voisin et s'il y en avait un, un seul, qui ne prononçait pas ce mot, la discussion était remise sur le tapis, ou plutôt « *étalée à nouveau sur le*

sol » et celui qui n'avait rien dit était prié de s'expliquer, car ou bien il contestait la décision, et c'était grave, ou bien il n'avait pas compris, et c'était plus grave encore. Chacun alors de s'efforcer de le convaincre ou de lui expliquer les choses. La réunion ne s'achevait que si tout le monde était d'accord; toutefois, afin de ne pas discuter indéfiniment, on pouvait ajourner la réunion jusqu'à ce que le temps ou des discussions informelles aient fait changer d'avis le récalcitrant.

Les décisions du Fokonolona n'étaient jamais irrévocables; des participants pouvaient les accepter sous conditions; et si la décision s'avérait inutile ou néfaste à la pratique, le Fokonolona pouvait toujours l'annuler, rien n'était définitif.

Les modalités de ces réunions du Fokonolona montrent bien qu'il s'agissait d'un pacte, d'un accord assorti d'obligations réciproques. Ce pacte engageait toute la communauté et ne pouvait souffrir aucune abstention, aucune contestation.

II. Rôle du Fokonolona

A. Esprit de solidarité

Un des rôles fondamentaux du Fokonolona était de maintenir une cohésion de tous

les habitants du village. Cette cohésion était nécessaire par l'hétérogénéité de la population. Pour contrebalancer les différences sociales dues à la classe, aux honneurs ou à la richesse, le village ressentait l'impérieux besoin de s'unir face à tous les problèmes communs. Il devait en effet veiller à sa propre sécurité, évincer du groupe tous les éléments perturbateurs : il devait assurer sa survie alimentaire ; il devait veiller au bon fonctionnement de la société. C'est pourquoi, lors des réunions du Fokonolona, personne n'était frappé d'ostracisme : on avait besoin de tous et on voulait entre tous une solidarité sans faille. Ainsi, la construction d'une maison, d'un tombeau, ne pouvait être accomplie par une seule famille et les autres villageois étaient tenus d'y participer. Une naissance, un mariage, un enterrement, étaient affaire de tous. Et à ces manifestations de solidarité nul ne pouvait se soustraire.

B. Sécurité et Justice

La sécurité était un problème grave. Le village était construit en haut d'une colline et entouré de fossés. Dès qu'une alerte était donnée, toute la population devait abandonner ses occupations pour repousser l'envahisseur ou les brigands.

La sécurité, c'était aussi la protection des biens : extinction des incendies (fréquents, car les maisons étaient en bois), colmatage des brèches des digues des rizières lors des inondations, etc. Donc, le Fokonolona, c'était à la fois des militaires, des pompiers, des agents du génie rural. C'était aussi la police, dans la mesure où il expulsait du village les indésirables, enquêtait sur les vols et les déprédations.

Le Fokonolona rendait aussi la justice en statuant sur les différends entre les habitants, en sévissant contre ceux qui n'avaient pas assisté aux réunions sans raison valable, ceux qui se dérobaient aux tâches assignées, ceux qui ne prêtaient pas main forte en cas d'attaque, etc.

Les terres appartenaient au Fokonolona et il répartissait équitablement les rizières et les champs selon le nombre de personnes au foyer, les pâturages selon le nombre de zébus.

C. Economie et développement

Les Malgaches étaient essentiellement agriculteurs et la base de l'agriculture est le riz. La riziculture inondée nécessitait une main d'œuvre importante et de nombreux travaux. Or il n'existait pas de journaliers ni d'ouvriers agricoles, le seul moyen d'arriver à bout de toutes les tâches était le « *valin-tanana* », c'est-à-dire l'entraide. On établissait un calendrier des travaux. Les zébus étaient mis en commun pour piétiner les rizières. Les

hommes retournaient ensemble les terres, les femmes semaient ensemble le paddy, hommes et femmes repiquaient ensemble le riz et moissonnaient ensemble la récolte.

Cette entraide était limitée dans la mesure où le but du Fokonolona était d'assurer à chaque famille sa subsistance, donc il n'intervenait que pour les parcelles suffisant à nourrir la maisonnée ; le surplus de terrain qui n'était pas un impératif alimentaire, mais une épargne, était travaillé par les propriétaires eux-mêmes : ce surplus n'était pas d'intérêt général.

Le Fokonolona avait le souci de l'accroissement du patrimoine. Il s'efforçait d'agrandir le territoire, d'assainir les marais et les bas-fonds des vallées pour mettre plus de terre à la disposition de la population et contribuer ainsi au développement général à une époque qui ignorait les techniques modernes : construire des digues de protection, des diguettes d'irrigation, capter une source ou détourner une rivière n'étaient pas aisés. Souvent, ces travaux concernaient plusieurs villages et les Fokonolona mettaient leurs forces en commun pour les accomplir.

Le but du Fokonolona était aussi l'éducation. Il n'y avait pas d'école, pas de centre culturel, le seul moyen d'apprendre, c'était les réunions du Fokonolona. Pour les jeunes, placés au sud et à l'ouest, les adultes qui siégeaient au nord et à l'est étaient les modèles à suivre, les dispensateurs des connaissances et de la sagesse, d'où l'expression malgache « *le nord et l'est sont à imiter* ». Le mot imitation n'a ici aucun sens péjoratif : c'est la forme première et primordiale de tout enseignement. Les jeunes apprenaient ainsi à être des membres conscients et responsables de la communauté, découvraient la tolérance (vis-à-vis des idées des autres), comprenaient que mille échanges de vue valent mieux qu'une dispute ou une guerre. Ils apprenaient non seulement leurs droits, mais leurs devoirs : ils se préparaient à être des hommes responsables de leur destin et de celui des autres : tout cela en préservant leur individualité devant leurs aînés.

Le Fokonolona fonctionnait d'une manière telle que le parasitisme social n'était pas toléré. Par exemple, si un homme ne travaillait pas son champ, le Fokonolona, pour ne pas le blesser dans sa dignité faisait comme si cet homme était souffrant, et envoyait les jeunes s'occuper des travaux. Mais lors des prochains travaux, si cet homme persistait à ne rien faire, il était purement et simplement chassé du village. Car on voulait bien aider celui qui avait des problèmes, mais on se refusait à encourager l'incompétence, l'insouciance ou l'égoïsme. La solidarité avait ses limites, l'individu devait connaître et respecter ses devoirs.

Conclusion

Cet aperçu du Fokonolona donne une petite idée de ce qu'il était, non pas un *fait associatif*, mais, beaucoup plus important, une vie *participative*, que les Malgaches ont appliquée et essayé de préserver tout au long des siècles. Certes, une telle vie n'est pas statique, et le Fokonolona a connu des avatars tout au long de son existence. Ainsi, dès la fin du XVIII^e siècle, Andrianampoinimerina, ce grand roi qui disait à juste titre que ses rizières iraient jusqu'à la mer, imposa un certain centralisme contraire aux principes du Fokonolona. Il nomma des « missi dominici » pour le surveiller et tempérer son indépendance ; mais il n'osa pas toucher certaines de ses prérogatives, même s'il transféra la possession des terres à son nom. Ses successeurs continuèrent dans la même voie, limitant les compétences territoriales et juridiques du Fokonolona. Au moment de la colonisation, le Fokonolona, déjà affaibli par le zèle centralisateur des précédents gouvernements, et de plus victime de l'incompréhension des administrateurs, vit ses prérogatives se réduire comme une peau de chagrin. A cette époque, on ne lui avait assigné que le rôle de sergent-recruteur pour les multiples corvées et, plus grave encore, de responsable des impôts du village aux yeux de l'administration.

De 1960 à 1972, l'Etat malgache nouvellement indépendant voulut restaurer le Fokonolona, mais en partant de l'interprétation coloniale au lieu de revenir aux principes originaux. Depuis 1973, date de ce qu'on a appelé la « *nouvelle indépendance* », on a axé l'administration malgache sur l'idée d'un renouveau du Fokonolona. Voyant l'attachement de la population à cette institution, le gouvernement, surtout depuis 1975, a remis en honneur le Fokonolona, mais un Fokonolona vidé de sa substance. En effet, le Fokonolona, qui avait sa raison d'être dans la cohésion de ses membres, dans sa participation à tout ce qui concernait la vie du groupe et le développement de la communauté, ce Fokonolona s'est trouvé dénaturé et n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'un exécutant des décisions venues d'en haut, une ombre de lui-même. Actuellement, le nombre des membres du Fokonolona est fixe par un quota (dans les temps anciens, tout le monde s'y retrouvait), les membres sont élus par la population de plus de 18 ans (au lieu d'une présence d'office, quel que soit l'âge). Ces modalités de recrutement, liées qui plus est au système du parti unique, entraînent une politisation de fait de l'institution qui sert désormais à propager une idéologie. Or de tous temps, particulièrement pendant la colonisation, et à notre époque, les gouvernements se sont méfiés du Fokonolona qui incarnait un contre-pouvoir, puisqu'il puisait sa légitimité dans toute la population sans exclusive. De plus, le Fokonolona ancien avait

* Vestiges du palais royal d'Ambohimanga, du grand roi Andrianampoinimerina. Tenvuren).

(Photo Musée Royal de l'Afrique centrale,



Transport traditionnel d'une pirogue non montée à Madagascar.

(Photo Musée de l'Afrique centrale, Tervuren).

un rôle important dans le développement de sa commune et de sa région, rôle qui lui a de nos jours complètement échappé.

N'existe plus l'égalité de condition de richesse ou de rang ! n'existe plus la cohésion si recherchée d'antan, ni l'entraide; n'existe plus la prise en charge des individus par eux-mêmes; seule s'affirme l'adhésion à un système administratif et politique, l'alignement sur une volonté venue d'en haut.

Pour en revenir aux décisions citées au début de cette étude, elles ne correspondent pas à la réalité de ce que fut le Fokonolona. Il leur manque un élément essentiel que j'ai essayé de faire ressortir, c'est l'idée d'adhésion à un mode de vie, à une forme de développement, acceptés par tous. Certes, en faisant une synthèse de toutes les définitions, on parviendrait peut-être à une certaine vérité. Il faut reconnaître que, devant la profusion du

vécu du Fokonolona, il était malaisé pour les chercheurs de cerner sa véritable identité. Mais ce foisonnement, dont cette communication ne donne qu'un aperçu, est selon moi le signe même de la vitalité du Fokonolona. Définir le Fokonolona est simple, trop simple, c'est peut-être pour cette raison que les chercheurs ont essayé d'en donner après coup une définition savante cadrant avec leurs préoccupations. Pour ma part, dirai simplement que le Fokonolona est une communauté villageoise coutumière : une grande famille au sens large du mot, ou un petit Etat dans la mesure où il ait son autonomie et sa juridiction propre.

Tel qu'il était avant le XIX^{ème} siècle, ce Fokonolona était l'amorce d'une nation, et partant d'un Etat solide, auquel tous les Malgaches auraient pu adhérer. En effet, le sentiment d'appartenir à une commu-

nauté, même si elle est limitée à un espace villageois, c'est déjà prendre conscience d'une unité plus large. De proche en proche, ce sentiment d'appartenance fait boule de neige et conduit à l'intuition d'une communauté plus vaste, qui est nation. Ceci ne peut être imposé d'en haut, par décret, loi, ou déclaration, fût-elle internationale. Ce sentiment ne peut venir que de l'individu, individu qui s'exprime dans le Fokonolona. Fokonolona qui se retrouve dans un groupement de Fokonolona plus large, et ainsi de suite, par capillarité, l'individu devient solidaire de son voisin et des autres dans une nation qu'il a acceptée. Comme on a voulu la croissance et le développement de son Fokonolona, au fur et à mesure que croît le cercle de vision, on veut la croissance et le développement de sa nation, avec les mêmes critères : la sécurité, l'économie, le développement, et surtout la cohésion et la solidarité sans lesquels les précédents ne sont que de vains mots.



PROSPECTS FOR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NGO's AND INTER PRESS SERVICE (IPS) THIRD WORLD

by Annemiek Decock*

Grassroots organizations, researchers and concerned individuals often find it very difficult to articulate their actions, programmes or concerns for the traditional mass-media, and in turn it is often hard for the media to reach them.

Twenty years of experience have given Inter Press Service (IPS) at least a clear picture of what goes on in fields which are defined by communications researchers as « *new actors on the information scene* » and » *alternative reporting* ».

IPS already puts into practice information flows from groups previously unheard of in the traditional media-design. Thus, IPS presently runs projects for networks of women journalists in Latin America and Africa, reports on the churches in Latin America and on the cultural issues of the developing nations, covers development issues from the international organizations, has introduced a children's news service, is seeking to get funded a network of Third World documentation and research centres and is about to launch a global network for reporting on the churches' role in development.

New actors are indeed a priority for IPS. They are included in our daily service and special development bulletins, but not as much as we would wish. In an effort to allow more groups normally neglected by

the media to make their voices heard and in order to enable them, to some extent to take over the wires of IPS while reporting for themselves, IPS has designed and launched with the support of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), a project which aims at inter-connecting non-governmental organizations from the North and from the South in an effort to bring about new types, flows and structures of information and communication.

So if the NGO networking project is not just another project, what makes it so special?

In the first place it wants to identify those NGOs concerned in research, publications, actions and programmes with issues such as the environment, women and development, human rights, peace and disarmament, labour issues, rural development, the social action of the churches, and development action. This means that in the months to come, hundreds of non-governmental organizations from all over the world will be consulted on their actions and programmes and the policy underlying them, on their information input and output needs, on their communication possibilities and wishes, and on how IPS could help to strengthen their work to mutual advantage.

The outcome of this survey will help IPS to design and establish inter-active communication networks and circuits, making a swift exchange of basic information and

communication flows possible at a speed approaching real time.

So, how could an NGO or a group of NGO's benefit from the Inter Press Service project?

In the first place we will gather NGO information output on issues ranging from acid rains, anti-missile actions and the damage done by bottle-feeding, to the exchange of information on Third World consumers' problems, the successes and failures of the cooperative movement in rural development, health conditions and development education programmes designed for conscientization of the people in the North... and carry it on our wires to more than 60 countries, most of them in the Third World.

Thus, a vast spectrum of alternative sources of information on development issues will be channelled not only to the major news media but also to the specialized and alternative media and information circuits of the groups and organizations concerned.

Secondly, its extensive network of correspondents and stringers, whose reports are delivered worldwide in nine languages, enables IPS to provide NGO's with reports covering the realities of Third World life. As IPS is firmly committed to reporting which makes heard the voices of the real actors in development, i.e. children, women, rural people, workers, and their organizations, the non-governmental

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organizations will become both a major source of information and themselves actors in the flow of international news carried on the IPS wires.

Last but not least, having the sixth largest news agency network in the world, IPS has unique communication facilities to of-

fer. The IPS computerized satellite telecommunications system links some 60 countries, and a further 30 are reached by telex. The use of new technologies enables specific flows of information to be routed to specific users, thus making inter-active networks and circuits possible between NGOs. So far, this kind of inter-

national communication, at speeds approaching real time, has previously only been open to banks, large international companies and airlines. Now, these telecommunications have become widely available, enabling the creation of a new non-governmental - transnational - for development information.



Ci - contre, quelques titres diffusés en Afrique avec l'appui de l'UNESCO.

LE PRINCE SOUVERAIN ET LA CITE ASSOCIATIVE

SOUS L'EMPIRE DE LA SOLIDARITE UNIVERSELLE

2e partie

par Mohammed Bedjaoui *

IV. Le développement de l'homme, premier et ultime « patrimoine commun de l'humanité » et sa responsabilité vis-à-vis des générations futures

^{1*} La répartition et la consommation inégales des ressources
mondiales, défi permanent à la civilisation humaine

81. L'inégale répartition des ressources naturelles du Globe reste le fait permanent, l'invariant majeur, de toute l'histoire de l'homme. A cette constante fondamentale, qui a historiquement entretenu tous les conflits, s'ajoute un double déséquilibre en matière de production et de consommation des produits essentiels, se manifestant par une coexistence explosive de mondes contrastés d'abondance et de pénurie, ce qui pose un défi permanent à la civilisation humaine. Cette inégale répartition des ressources du Globe et ce défi qui l'accompagne posent ce problème des ressources mondiales en termes de « sécurité économique collective » et en relation avec les modes de vie et les idéaux de consommation, qui devraient tous condamner le voisinage scandaleux entre la malnutrition des uns et le gaspillage des autres.

Le problème de l'inégale répartition et de l'inégale consommation des ressources mondiales a trouvé historiquement ses « solutions » dans l'esclavage et la colonisation et dans les guerres entre les Princes.

3) *La solution par la constitution d'empires coloniaux*

82. Pour me limiter à l'histoire humaine depuis le XVI^e siècle, un rapide survol de cette histoire montre que le conflit permanent entre les puissances pour la conquête des matières premières et produits de base, des ressources énergétiques et des marchés commerciaux a connu trois « solutions » successives jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale.

Au cours de ce débat très sonore, bien des projets de nouveaux partages de l'Afrique virent le jour à la SDN, ainsi que certains
» Codes internationaux des matières premières » et divers plans destinés à réviser les mécanismes du commerce mondial par la substitution de méthodes de collaboration entre nations industriel-

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La première fut la constitution d'empires coloniaux. Cette aventure de quatre siècles de rapines sanglantes, sanctifiée par la Bulle pontificale d'Alexandre VI partageant les empires au compas, avait secrété son droit et sa morale - ceux d'une époque dominante - à la fois pour « justifier » l'entreprise et discipliner les rivalités de puissances. Mais même lorsque hier, au XVI^e siècle, on déclarait coloniser pour évangéliser et sauver les âmes, les alibis moraux légimateurs et les maquillages juridiques légalisateurs n'eurent pas l'opacité suffisante pour cacher au regard que la colonisation et le commerce, - érigés en droits absolus (le refus de commercer était un casus belli) - constituaient avant tout une entreprise de dépossession des ressources naturelles de certains peuples.

83- Et plus tard au XIX^e siècle, lorsque les voiles de l'Europe se sont gonflées au vent du large, dans un second et puissant souffle impérialiste, on a exploité les ressources des autres au nom des « bienfaits de la civilisation » apportés aux exploités, la colonisation étant juridiquement qualifiée de « *bien commun de l'humanité* » ou de « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* » (Calvo).

b) *La solution de l'entre-deux-guerres*

84. La deuxième solution fut celle, avortée, de l'entre-deux-guerres. C'était l'ère des revendications de matières premières par les nations dites « insatisfaites » des années 30, notamment l'Allemagne nazie, l'Italie fasciste, le Japon impérialiste et la Pologne handicapée, alors qu'il n'y avait plus de territoires colonisables outre-mer. Dans ce débat agressif et grinçant des années 30, avec pour cadre institutionnel la SDN, les nations insatisfaites réclamaient une « *nouvelle distribution des matières premières* » et l'attribution ou la rétrocession de « *colonies réservoirs - déversoirs* ». Elles ont protesté avec une violence allant jusqu'à la guerre planétaire contre l'inégalité de la répartition des ressources dans le monde, dont elles réclamaient leur part avec véhémence.

les à celles d'appropriation territoriale qui avaient attisé les égoïsmes nationaux.

c) La solution par la guerre mondiale

85. L'impossible entente s'acheva par la guerre... La guerre est précisément la troisième « solution » par laquelle on a souvent songé à « résoudre » le problème de l'inégale répartition des ressources de la terre. Je veux dire qu'on ne l'a pas « résolu » du tout et que par la guerre on l'a traité de la pire manière qui fut, avec un coût humain effrayant et un coût politique très lourd : car l'instabilité économique et les revendications d'une partie de l'Occident contre l'autre ont détérioré le rapport international, poussé aux programmes d'armement, et légitimé les régimes totalitaires et la guerre qu'ils ont générée.

d) Le changement structurel de la société internationale

83. Si j'ai évoqué cet historique en raccourci, ce n'est pas pour jouer au contempteur de certains pays et au défenseur de certains autres. Mon souci aura été seulement de montrer que l'aventure de l'homme sur cette planète reste faite du même tissu. Elle est celle de l'homme, c'est-à-dire d'un être avec ses multiples splendeurs mais aussi ses terribles infirmités. Elle continue à relever moins de la convivialité fraternelle que de la rivalité agressive. Et aujourd'hui comme hier, il paraît toujours étrange qu'il faille encore demander à un homme de traiter en homme un autre homme. Aujourd'hui comme hier, notre monde cherche des alibis aux appétits de puissance économique de ses composantes rivales.

84. Et cependant quelque chose a tout de même changé. Si le champ des relations internationales reste investi par l'impérialisme économique des Etats et des multinationales, fauves silencieux singulièrement redoutables, cette réalité ne doit pas en occulter une autre, celle de l'association des hommes, génératrice d'une solidarité internationale en action. Et voilà les acteurs, l'individu-associé, le Prince et le pouvoir international visible ou invisible, mis face à face dans un jeu dont la complexité réelle ne s'accorde pas d'une opération didactique de simplification.

e) Le réveil du tiers-monde et les nouvelles données du problème

88. Le réveil du tiers-monde et son refus, insolent n'est-ce pas ? de se laisser déposséder de ses richesses, pose l'éternel problème de l'inégale répartition des ressources de la planète en termes à la fois neufs et cruciaux. La contradiction d'intérêts entre les hommes et entre les nations persiste toujours évidemment, je pourrais même dire plus que jamais exacerbée ; mais la multiplication et la diversification des acteurs du jeu interne et international a engendré des lignes de forces nouvelles qui s'entrecroisent. L'espace national intérieur est aujourd'hui moins isolé de l'espace international ; il paraît en communication plus intime avec lui, grâce notamment au fait associatif qui libère l'homme du tête-à-tête déséquilibré avec le Prince souverain, et qui projette le premier vers un horizon planétaire avec une vision plus globale que le second occultait par fonction. L'espace national et international est ainsi envahi par un nouveau champ magnétique plus dense, avec des lignes de forces enchevêtrées.

Le problème est de savoir quelle *pourrait* en être la résultante. A défaut de pouvoir le prévoir, on peut sans doute du moins dire ce qu'elle *devrait* être pour que le monde survive et que l'homme mérite encore d'avoir été tenu jadis par Sophocle pour la plus grande merveille de ce monde.

2e La recherche d'une solution durable

89. Les trois solutions données historiquement au problème de l'inégale répartition des ressources du globe - le droit de conquête

territoriale au nom du droit au commerce ; l'essai de nouveaux partages territoriaux ; la guerre mondiale - avaient toutes la particularité de s'articuler autour de conflits d'intérêts « inter se », entre pays industrialisés cherchant à contrôler les richesses d'outre-mer à leur avantage. Nous vivions *l'ère des rivalités inter-impériales*

90. Aujourd'hui, après le grand fait révolutionnaire qu'est la décolonisation, qui a provoqué une transformation structurelle profonde du milieu international, le problème permanent de l'inégale distribution des ressources mondiales s'analyse en une superposition d'un conflit nouveau Nord-Sud au conflit d'intérêts ancien qui opposait les grandes puissances entre elles. La recherche de la quatrième solution apparaît de prime abord comme singulièrement plus difficile puisque les données du problème se sont enrichies - donc compliquées - d'une dimension Nord-Sud. Mais précisément c'est dans cette complication annonciatrice d'une impasse totale que pourrait peut-être résider une chance de ressaïssissement de l'homme pour forger un destin authentiquement et universellement solidaire.

91. C'est peut-être avec cet esprit qu'il faut interpréter la formule de Paul Valéry selon laquelle nous vivons à l'ère du « monde fini », dont l'hétérogénéité apparente due aux différences tant de régimes sociaux et politiques (Est-Ouest) que de niveaux de développement (Nord-Sud), ne peut pas occulter l'existence d'une *communauté* internationale à la recherche d'une solidarité universelle qui la sauverait. La question « *comment répartir plus pacifiquement plus équitablement les ressources inégalement distribuées dans le monde* », constituée présent un *défi global de notre temps*, adressé à tous les Princes souverains, à tous les hommes-associés, à tous les pouvoirs internationaux. Elle appelle une réponse non moins globale et si possible définitive pour réconcilier l'homme avec lui-même,

C'est à cela que répond la proposition du « nouvel ordre économique international » et le concept de patrimoine commun de l'humanité.

a) Le nouvel ordre économique international

92. Il s'agit de quelque chose de révolutionnaire dans tous les sens du mot, c'est-à-dire de mettre définitivement un terme au conflit latent et séculaire né du problème permanent de l'accès aux matières premières et à l'énergie. Ce que n'avait réussi l'humanité ni au XVI^e siècle, ni au XIX^e siècle, ni dans l'entre-deux-guerres, ni enfin après la seconde guerre mondiale, c'est-à-dire éteindre ce conflit, les promoteurs du nouvel ordre économique international offrent de le réaliser, en proposant la création d'un système mondial global assurant le développement *intégré de toute la planète*. C'est là une tâche plus qu'ambitieuse, presque impossible. L'objectif des pays du tiers-monde qui l'ont proposé, n'était pas la recherche du développement exclusif de ce tiers-monde, encore moins celle du développement au détriment des pays industrialisés, mais bien la recherche d'une restructuration complète de l'économie mondiale pour permettre *le développement de l'ensemble du genre humain*.

Une telle approche se présente sous un éclairage profondément novateur et fécond en ce qu'elle est porteuse de valeurs et de messages de solidarité humaine planétaire.

b) Le patrimoine commun de l'humanité

93. Une autre proposition offrant une représentation très riche de cette solidarité universelle est assurément celle de « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* ».

Le point de départ était simple : il y a des choses dont il fallait dire non pas qu'elles n'appartiennent à personne, mais positivement qu'elles appartiennent à tous, comme les ressources du fond des

mers auxquelles ce concept de patrimoine commun de l'humanité fut tout d'abord appliqué. Ce simple et banal déplacement d'accent était gros des plus formidables conséquences : le fond des mers étant commun à tous, doit être exploité au bénéfice de tous, pour corriger les retards économiques des pays quels qu'ils soient, sans distinction géographique, politique, idéologique ou économique, et pour assurer un mieux-être à tous.

94. Le concept de « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* » est une idée au demeurant fort ancienne (aux XVIe-XIXe siècles le « commerce », la « colonisation » étaient considérés comme des patrimoines communs de l'humanité). Mais il s'est révélé tellement apte à une actualisation qu'il a vite pris les caractères, séduisants pour les uns, inquiétants pour les autres, de la nouveauté. C'est une idée ancienne aux accents singulièrement neufs, une page qui n'a jamais pu jaunir.

j) Les riches expressions de la solidarité universelle

95. Ce concept novateur est à coup sûr susceptible de donner à la solidarité universelle de riches expressions. Il peut se révéler particulièrement fécond pour l'avenir des relations mondiales et recevoir des applications possibles non seulement à la mer, mais aussi à l'espace, ce qui a déjà commencé puisque les ressources de la lune et des corps célestes ont été déclarées « patrimoine commun de l'humanité » ; non seulement à la terre, à l'air, à l'environnement, au climat, et à la *matière inerte*, mais aussi à la *matière vivante*, comme le patrimoine génétique animal et végétal dont il importe de préserver la richesse et la variété pour les générations futures. Il peut aussi ouvrir des perspectives et suggérer des solutions séduisantes pour des questions telles que les biens culturels et artistiques de la planète, de même qu'il pourrait et devrait s'appliquer d'abord à l'homme, *premier* patrimoine commun de l'humanité, et à l'humanité elle-même, nouveau sujet du droit international, et patrimoine premier à préserver de la destruction massive.

96. Qui ne devine les horizons nouveaux extrêmement larges que le « patrimoine commun de l'humanité » est en passe de faire découvrir à l'homme, qui prend soudain conscience des audacieuses applications du concept pour traduire concrètement la solidarité universelle ? On verra plus loin que même les notions de *besoin*, *d'aide* entre les Etats, de *coopération internationale*, de *juste prix* dans les échanges internationaux peuvent être utilement et excellentement lues à travers ce concept de patrimoine commun de l'humanité.

97. Le - *bien-être de l'humanité tout entière* -, qui n'était qu'un slogan politique ou à la limite une recette politique, a trouvé récemment, au fur et à mesure des besoins de la communauté internationale, une expression juridique viable, dans la solution des problèmes nouveaux et épineux de l'espace extra-atmosphérique, sous la forme de « *l'intérêt général* » ou de « *l'intérêt de l'humanité* », puis de façon plus précise sous celle de « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* ».

Le « *bien-être de l'humanité* » est à présent approché dans des documents juridiques internationaux. A propos de l'Antarctique, du droit de la mer, du droit de l'espace, cette notion a désormais connu un droit de cite remarquable. Il n'empêche toujours pas, bien sûr, que différents Etats continuent à ne lui reconnaître qu'une valeur morale et en tout cas pas une force juridique obligatoire et contraignante dans les relations internationales. Mais si cette notion de « *bien-être de l'humanité* » peut encore, au stade d'évolution qui est le nôtre, laisser subsister des incertitudes sur la nature et le sens de cette évolution, il est par contre un principe, juridique lui, qui est le « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* » et qui constitue l'expression du concept politico-philosophico-moral de « *bien-être commun de l'humanité* ». Le « bien-être » est un état, physique ou psychologique, le « patrimoine » une richesse matérielle.

ii) Un concept transpatial et transtemporel : le devoir de ne pas rompre la chaîne des générations humaines

98. L'affectation de telle ressource de la terre, de la mer, ou de l'espace, au bien-être commun de l'humanité, ou tout simplement à « *l'intérêt général* », ainsi que s'expriment différents documents juridiques relatifs à l'espace, permet de tenir compte des besoins des générations actuelles autant que futures. Le concept d'intérêt commun de l'humanité est à la fois transpatial et transtemporel. Il nous fait prendre conscience que les vivants d'aujourd'hui ne constituent qu'un élément d'une chaîne que nous avons le devoir impératif de ne pas briser ou laisser rompre. Le concept en appelle ainsi à une solidarité mondiale non seulement dans l'espace, c'est-à-dire entre tous les peuples du monde quel que soit leur niveau de développement, mais aussi dans le temps, c'est-à-dire entre les générations qui se succèdent. En pensant aux générations futures, en leur léguant un monde et un univers vivables, nous nous sauvons nous-mêmes, c'est-à-dire que nous servons la génération actuelle.

99. Mais qui incarne « l'humanité », qui la représente lorsqu'il s'agit de la défendre et de la préserver ? Qui peut s'exprimer en son nom et agir pour son compte ? Un pouvoir international ? Le Prince souverain ? L'homme-associé ?

Au stade d'évolution encore grossière que nous avons atteint en ce domaine, l'Etat représente, du moins juridiquement, la communauté nationale, mais aussi la société internationale. Car comme le concept de « patrimoine commun de l'humanité » est d'origine conventionnelle, institué qu'il le fut par différents traités internationaux pour les fonds marins et l'espace, il en résulte que chaque Etat contractant peut agir pour détendre les droits menacés de l'humanité, en attendant la création d'une organisation internationale appropriée.

100. On peut accéder au XXI^e siècle par le porche majestueux du « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* », expression parfaite de la solidarité entre tous les hommes, ouvrant des perspectives exaltantes à la paix par le développement et au développement par la paix et posant le problème du devenir humain en tant qu'espèce. Bien sûr, certaines désillusions quant à la mise en œuvre du concept pourtant si fécond, comme on voit, de patrimoine commun de l'humanité, font craindre certes que ce porche monumental ne soit qu'une « fausse sortie », ou à tout le moins la petite porte grinçante, geignarde, côté cour. L'héritage commun de l'humanité unie a déjà provoqué la querelle des héritiers désunis, comme on l'a fait remarquer. De plus le rêve du patrimoine commun de l'humanité a été transformé en réalité du patrimoine commun des sociétés multinationales qui se préparent à la curée lorsque le signal du départ sera donné à l'exploitation des ressources des fonds marins comme il commence à l'être pour celles de l'espace.

101. Mais il nous faut prendre un peu de hauteur pour voir à travers les forces contradictoires qui travaillent notre monde quelle pourrait en être la résultante. Alors certaines batailles, apparemment grandes, ne représenteront en fin de compte que de petits clapotis d'événements ou de l'écume superficielle du temps.

c) Le droit au développement

102. J'ai évoqué plus haut les diverses manifestations de la peur de l'homme. L'une d'entre elles est générée par le passage de la société de consommation d'hier à la société de pénurie d'aujourd'hui, dans une planète polluée, aux ressources non seulement limitées, mais au surplus mal réparties. La « pauvreté absolue » et la faim qui tue par millions restent la peur et la honte de l'homme au XX^e siècle.

Or, malgré cette situation tragique, - ou peut-être à cause d'elle précisément ? - l'on continue de discuter, dans les aréopages juridiques, du point de savoir s'il existe un « droit au développement »

de l'homme en tant qu'individu et collectivité. Apparemment, si ce droit existait effectivement, on ne s'expliquerait pas qu'il puisse exister encore la malnutrition, la faim et la pauvreté absolue, qui en constituent à l'évidence la négation la plus frappante et la plus tragique. Mais à l'inverse, s'il est vrai que l'homme est à la fois le premier et le dernier composant de la civilisation universelle, et aussi le premier et l'ultime » *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* », alors son » *droit au développement* » apparaît comme le droit le plus

fondamental et le plus absolu.

103. On rend compte de cette contradiction en opposant le « droit naturel », qui reconnaît le droit à la vie pour chaque être et le » droit positif » qui ne comporte pas encore de normes précises et obligatoires pour protéger et concrétiser ce droit au développement de chaque homme.

Et puisqu'il faut faire progresser la recherche conceptuelle pour faire coïncider dans ce cas le droit naturel et le droit positif, je m'emploie dans divers forums à faire observer que c'est une erreur de penser que le droit au développement de l'homme, de tout l'homme et de tous les hommes, relève seulement du droit naturel. Comme la Charte des Nations Unies s'est jusqu'ici prêtée à une exégèse féconde, il n'est pas difficile de soutenir que le droit au développement fait partie du droit que les Nations Unies ont inscrit dans la Charte. Le « *droit au développement* », ou au « mieux-être », ou au « bien-être », bref « *le droit au bonheur* » comme l'a appelé le professeur Maurice Flory, trouve en effet un solide fondement juridique non seulement dans le Préambule de la Charte des Nations Unies, mais aussi dans l'article 1^{er}, paragraphe 3 et surtout dans les articles 55 et 56 de celle-ci.

104. Le » *droit au développement* », qui n'est pas seulement conforme au droit naturel, est *un droit subjectif, dont les titulaires sont les peuples*, les nations en tant que collectivités, *et les êtres humains en tant qu'individus*. Mais si ces sujets en possèdent la » jouissance légale » conformément à la Charte, ils en attendent encore toujours « l'exercice effectif ». Eternel problème de décalage, cette fois-ci non pas entre la réalité en avance et le droit en retard, mais plutôt inversement entre le droit et son application. Le » *droit au développement* » prévu à la Charte attend de s'incarner dans un système cohérent et juste de normes qui se cherchent toujours, pour constituer un « droit du développement ». Mais cela dit, ce n'est pas parce que le droit du développement est encore rudimentaire, malgré les efforts remarquables faits, que le droit au développement ne relève pas du droit positif.

105. L'existence du droit au développement, en tant que droit collectif de chaque peuple, ne me paraît pas discutable en droit international contemporain. Aujourd'hui le droit du développement, nouvelle branche du droit international général, prospère dans toutes les universités. C'est un ensemble de normes que la communauté internationale secrète au fur et à mesure de ses besoins. Parmi ces normes, certaines sont incontestablement de droit positif et connaissent une application quotidienne dans la vie internationale.

Or ce droit du développement est destiné à mettre en œuvre le droit au développement Comment peut-on affirmer que le droit au développement n'a pas d'existence juridique si le droit du développement qui le traduit dans la réalité possède, déjà lui, une existence juridique? Il est évident que le droit du développement n'aurait pas existé sans le droit au développement.

106. On admet généralement que le droit de se développer, constitue un droit *erga omnes*, c'est-à-dire qu'il est opposable par chaque peuple à tous les autres peuples. Mais on éprouve quelque peine en revanche à admettre que le droit au développement est un droit *sur les autres*, c'est-à-dire exigible par un peuple à l'égard des autres peuples ou de l'ensemble de la communauté internationale.

Certains considèrent que ce dernier aspect (intéressant le débiteur d droit au développement) est purement moral et que la pres-

tation réclamée de la communauté internationale par le peuple titulaire du droit au développement n'a pas un fondement juridique certain.

107. C'est le moment d'apporter une importante précision. Les relations qui s'établissent, dans le cadre du droit au développement, entre d'une part la communauté internationale ou un Etat développé, prestataires de l'aide au développement, et d'autre part le pays en voie de développement, receveur de cette aide, comportent deux aspects bien distincts.

Le droit au développement *erga omnes*, *opposable à tous* signifie par exemple le droit de choisir librement son système économique et social et son modèle de développement sans ingérence, ni interférence d'aucune force extérieure. Cela ne fait pas de difficultés. Cela peut même signifier le droit de réclamer et d'obtenir des compensations ou indemnisations pour des dommages subis dans le passé par l'Etat demandeur de la part de certains pays riches (par exemple du fait de la colonisation passée qui a provoqué soit une distorsion durable des structures économiques de l'Etat nouvellement indépendant, soit une exploitation excessive, voire un pillage des ressources qui arrivent ainsi à épuisement, ce qui constitue un préjudice pour l'Etat demandeur).

108. Mais le droit au développement, *exigible de tous*, comporte, quant à lui, une double signification que je résumerais ainsi;

- « *à chacun son dû* »

- « *à chacun selon ses besoins* ».

i) *A chacun selon son dû*

109. Ce *premier point* signifie que l'Etat qui recherche son développement a le droit de demander à tous les autres Etats et à la communauté internationale de *ne pas lui enlever ce qui lui appartient ou ce qui doit lui revenir*. Au nom de cet aspect du droit au développement, l'Etat considéré peut réclamer un «juste prix» pour ses matières premières et pour tout ce qu'il offre dans des échanges avec les pays développés. Au nom de ce même droit, il peut revendiquer sa souveraineté sur ses ressources naturelles. Son discours est à peu près le suivant : «*Avant de me faire la charité, ou de m'offrir un cadeau, donnez-moi ce qui me revient. Peut-être alors, n'aurai-je plus besoin de votre aide. Peut-être cette charité n'est-elle que le paravent derrière lequel vous me confisquez ce qui m'est dû. Cette charité ne mérite pas son nom, c'est mon bien que vous me rendez sous cette forme et incomplètement au surplus* ».

ii) *A chacun selon ses besoins*

110. La seconde signification de ce droit au développement exigible de la communauté internationale paraît plus complexe. Il s'agit de mettre en pratique la maxime «*à chacun selon ses besoins*». L'Etat estime qu'il a droit sinon à la satisfaction de ses besoins, du moins à recevoir une juste part de ce qui appartient à tous et donc à lui aussi.

Cela revient à poser deux questions :

~ *quelles choses appartiennent à la communauté internationale et sont susceptibles d'être revendiquées par tout Etat dans le cadre du droit au développement ?*

- *quelle est la part « juste » qui peut revenir à cet Etat dans le cadre de la maxime « à chacun selon ses besoins » ?*

111. Pour ce qui est de la première question, la satisfaction des besoins d'un peuple est perçue comme un droit et non comme une charité. Il s'agit d'un droit qui doit être concrétisé par des normes et des institutions. La relation entre l'Etat donneur et l'Etat receveur apparaît en termes de responsabilité et de droits mutuels. Cette analyse ne laisse plus de place à la charité, acte de grâce, considéré comme un facteur d'inégalité dont l'Etat donneur attend des signes de soumission ou de flexibilité politique de la part de l'Etat bénéficiaire. Le concept de charité recule ainsi devant celui

de justice, comme le souligne Oscar Schachter qui relève ce profond changement dans la perception des valeurs, dont la répercussion est significative sur la politique internationale. Le « besoin » pris ainsi comme critère de l'équité, donne plus de précision au concept de « *répartition équitable* » qui aurait été bien vague sans cela et qui permet ainsi de répondre plus aisément à la deuxième question.

112. L'image actuelle de l'économie mondiale composée d'un noyau d'Etats industrialisés et d'une périphérie de pays sous-développés, réservoirs de matières premières, de main-d'œuvre et de sources d'énergie et déversoirs de produits manufacturés, est justiciable d'une « correction » qui fait appel aux deux principes évoqués ci-dessus. Le rôle hégémonique du noyau devrait dans ce cas de figure se dissoudre par application du droit au développement, par élimination du rapport de subordination et disparition de cette injuste division internationale du travail. Le principe de répartition équitable qui s'exprime dans les deux maximes « à chacun son dû » et « à chacun selon ses besoins », peut ainsi devenir un principe normatif fiable.

113. *A chacun selon ses besoins*, signifie que le prix juste ne peut être mis en parallèle avec le prix du marché. L'objectif souhaitable d'une relation équitable entre le producteur et le consommateur ne peut être atteint qu'à travers une manipulation du prix à l'avantage du pays le moins développé au moyen d'autres dispositions compensatoires. Cela signifie un transfert de ressources vers les pays les plus pauvres. Le prix juste est calculé selon le principe général de responsabilité envers les pays les plus nécessiteux. Le prix juste serait conçu comme étant celui qui permet d'amortir les coûts de production, y compris les coûts sociaux pour le bien-être et le développement minimaux du pays en voie de développement,

d) Les ressources alimentaires mondiales, patrimoine commun de l'humanité

114. « *A chacun selon ses besoins* » signifie, je l'ai indiqué, le droit pour chaque Etat de recevoir une part juste de ce qui appartient à la communauté. Je ne fais pas de la poésie en disant que les - ressources alimentaires essentielles » dont les peuples ont besoin appartiennent à tout le genre humain. Elles doivent être déclarées « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* ». Si je préconise fortement cela ce n'est pas par idéalisme moral mais par souci d'éviter le dangereux blocage des relations internationales contemporaines. Grâce à ma proposition, se métamorphoserait complètement la société internationale et seraient dépassées les crises et les contradictions majeures de notre époque, pendant que les responsabilités communes pour les besoins globaux seraient clairement perçues. Il n'y aurait plus d'équilibres conflictuels de puissance ni de rapports de forces entre les Etats. Ce « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité pour les ressources alimentaires* » représenterait une invitation pressante à transcender les césures Est-Ouest et Nord-Sud qui constituent les axes des relations internationales d'aujourd'hui.

115. Pourquoi le XXe siècle finissant, avec ses prodigieux progrès techniques et scientifiques, et la conscience de l'interdépendance des peuples, ne serait-il pas à la hauteur des idées du XVIe siècle, durant lequel des juristes comme Vitoria, affirmaient que les Saintes Ecritures ont destiné les biens de la terre à « *l'ensemble du genre humain* », à un « *usage commun* » et à une « *affectation universelle* » ? Pourquoi ce vingtième siècle ne serait-il pas à la hauteur de la spiritualité du VIIe siècle lorsque le Coran révéla annonçait à tous les hommes que « *toute richesse, toute chose appartient à Dieu* », donc à tous les membres de la communauté humaine, et qu'en conséquence la « *zakat* », acte de charité, est plutôt un acte obligatoire institutionnel, une manifestation de solidarité entre les hommes imposant à chacun d'entre eux le don du dixième de sa fortune chaque année ? Ce même XXe siècle ne pourrait-il pas se hisser à la hauteur des principes de solidarité émis par le juriste Emeric de Vattel en 1758 lorsqu'il affirmait que chaque nation doit contribuer au bonheur et à la perfection des autres par tout ce qui

est dans son pouvoir (à condition, bien sûr, que cela ne porte pas préjudice à ce qu'elle se doit à elle-même) ?

116. Dans son « *Essai sur le don, forme archaïque de l'échange* », le sociologue Mauss avait exposé la théorie dite du « *potlatch* », (*Année sociologique*, 1925), que connaissaient certaines sociétés dites « *primitives* ». telles que la société de « *consommation* » des Aztèques, dont les membres abandonnaient à intervalles réguliers les biens excédentaires qu'ils ont pu amasser par leur travail. Le romancier français Georges Bataille avait repris ce thème dans son livre « *la part maudite* », dont certains morceaux sont chargés d'une violence imprécatoire contre les sociétés modernes qui ne savent pas offrir le surplus ou le surcroît de leurs ressources en organisant l'économie fondée sur le don. Les excédents de production dans nos sociétés sont absorbés par la guerre qui est ainsi provoquée pour remplir une telle fonction destructrice. Georges Bataille la définissait comme « *une dépense catastrophique de l'énergie excédente* ». La guerre peut être effectivement la cliente inévitable d'une industrie pléthorique et trop productive.

117. Aujourd'hui les hommes devraient s'atteler à la recherche d'un système institutionnel instaurant un « *Plan Marshall* » planétaire, réciproque et permanent, pour utiliser la richesse excédentaire condamné et pour ouvrir ailleurs de nouvelles possibilités de croissance.

En tout cas, pour les ressources alimentaires, cela paraît impératif si l'on veut éviter la honte de l'homme que représente [la tragédie intolérable de la mort par la faim, alors que des surplus sont détruits ailleurs. « *La répartition équitable des ressources alimentaires dans le monde d'aujourd'hui comporte un aspect poignant*, écrit si justement Oscar Schachter. « *L'impossibilité apparente de prévenir la famine dans un pays, alors qu'une grande quantité de nourriture est disponible ailleurs reste l'un des faits les plus déprimants de notre ordre international actuel* ».

118. Des économistes éminents et de réputation mondiale, tels que François Perroux, ont attaché leur nom à « *l'économie du don* ». Ils ont fait école et la thèse de la « *réciprocité générale* » - comme moyen de restructurer et de relancer l'ensemble de l'économie mondiale séduit aujourd'hui bien des esprits, même parmi les plus froids (voir Serge-Christophe Kolm ; « *La bonne économie* », Paris, P.U.F., 1984, 480 p.). Aux sentiments tels que l'avidité, la jalousie, le désir de domination que l'intervention de l'Etat flatte en tout individu dans le cadre du Plan économique et du marché, il faut substituer d'autres motivations plus altruistes comme moteur de l'économie. Alfred Sauvy préfère au Plan et au marché une élaboration de la « *matrice des besoins de l'homme* » pour encourager ce qu'il y a de meilleur en l'homme et instaurer de nouveaux rapports de production et de consommation.

119. Comment faire des ressources alimentaires mondiales le patrimoine commun de l'humanité ? Comment réaliser ce nouvel ordre alimentaire international ? Il appartient aux hommes politiques, aux économistes, aux juristes et aux financiers d'y réfléchir. Une esquisse rapide, un peu vague et très provisoire en tout cas, pourrait en être la création d'une institution universelle dotée d'une administrative à caractère opératif. Cette organisation que j'appellerais « *Organisation du fonds international pour les ressources alimentaires* » (OFIRA) disposerait d'un budget alimenté par une taxe prélevée dans chaque Etat sur quelques produits manufacturés à forte valeur ajoutée, fabriqués avec des matières premières en provenance de pays du tiers-monde, ou (ou et) par une taxe de 1 % frappant les budgets militaires.

120. L'Organisation disposerait de ce Fonds qui fonctionnerait comme une *caisse de péréquation*. Celle-ci subventionnerait l'achat des ressources alimentaires, ou plus exactement achèterait aux pays producteurs de biens alimentaires, les quantités exportables et les mettrait à la disposition des pays à concurrence de leur déficit alimentaire et à un prix très symbolique (qui pourrait laisser plus

tard la place a un système généralisé de gratuité des nourritures terrestres).

121. Cette Organisation universelle suivrait avec soin l'évolution de la production et de la consommation de produits alimentaires et disposerait de toute une série de moyens incitatifs lui permettant d'intégrer les politiques nationales de production ou de consommation dans une politique globale cohérente des ressources alimentaires mondiales.

Cette Organisation, qui aurait son Assemblée et son Conseil de direction, l'une et l'autre constitués de représentants d'Etats, apparaîtrait d'emblée comme s'étant substituée à des organismes publics ou privés, et à des sociétés multinationales, particulièrement florissantes, s'occupant de l'agro-business. On pourrait imaginer divers mécanismes transitoires et progressifs permettant de ménager les étapes conduisant au monopole de l'Organisation, et d'associer ces organismes et ces sociétés multinationales à l'action de l'Organisation.

122. Ce nouvel ordre économique international établira une relation fondamentalement neuve entre les nations, entre les hommes, entre le prince souverain et l'homme associé. Il présuppose une transformation progressive de la politique, de l'économie, du droit, de la morale, de la culture et des mentalités. Bref il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que d'un projet de « *civilisation de l'universel* » permettant de penser le devenir de l'homme en tant qu'espèce, face aux périls planétaires qui le guettent. Il se présente ainsi comme un projet de nouvelle société internationale pour une « *Terre des hommes* » pacifique et solidaire.

123. C'est là une ambition colossale et un rêve prodigieux que n'hésitent pas à caresser un nombre sans cesse grandissant d'acteurs de la vie mondiale, d'artisans des relations internationales, de peuples, de dirigeants et de mouvements associatifs.

124. On entrevoit l'ampleur inouïe de cette entreprise qui ne saurait se concevoir sans résistances, ni sans « réaction » dans tous les sens du mot, sans retours offensifs des diverses formes de domination ni sans facteurs contrariants de toutes sortes. C'est là une loi de l'évolution de la société humaine, d'autant plus impérative qu'il s'agit ici d'un bouleversement aussi capital. L'observation de la situation actuelle nous offre déjà, bien que timidement, une image complexe où le passé est contesté, où le présent est organisé et l'avenir préparé, avec deux ordres politico-économiques concurrents, préoccupés l'un de sa survie, l'autre de son triomphe.

125. Le concept de « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* » se prête à des adaptations nombreuses grâce à sa souplesse et à sa plasticité. Son histoire est riche, depuis Aristote et Platon et tous les doctrinaires et visionnaires d'une société égalitaire. Son passé est dense, mais sa présence et son actualité commencent à prendre quelque épaisseur déjà par ses applications aux fonds marins et à l'espace, et, bientôt, je l'espère, aux ressources alimentaires mondiales. Les apôtres et les prophètes d'un grand souffle, les utopistes généreux, les croisés d'un monde meilleur, ceux qui ne se résignent pas à voir enterrer les espoirs de l'humanité dans la

peur et l'égoïsme. ceux qui souffrent de voir les nantis à table pédant que le tiers-monde reste à l'office, ont nourri la condition humaine de messages libérateurs. Il reste aux autres forces vives de la société internationale, aux quelque 12 000 associations non gouvernementales de se mobiliser, si ce n'est déjà fait pour nombre d'entre elles, pour épouser cette belle, cette sublime querelle pour la grandeur de l'homme.

126. Comme tous les principes généreux, le « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* » est porteur d'une charge visionnaire qu'il serait cependant trop simple de réduire à de l'utopie. Il offre en vérité l'occasion d'un nouvel et fulgurant départ de l'homme. Loin d'être une illusion, il constitue un moment privilégié de rupture avec plusieurs facteurs séculaires d'affrontement, de domination et d'appropriation des richesses d'autrui.

Ce principe renvoie fondamentalement à la satisfaction des aspirations des uns et des autres, aspirations qui ne sauraient être concurrentes ou exclusives les unes des autres dès lors que la philosophie de ce concept pose l'espérance en tant que tout et dépasse les Etats et les hommes pris individuellement.

127. C'est pourquoi la communauté internationale se trouve, me semble-t-il, devant un choix historique. Si les Etats nantis ont tous les moyens d'imposer, aujourd'hui encore, par la force, le primat de leurs intérêts égoïstes, ils n'en ont pas moins la lourde responsabilité de penser l'avenir du monde en termes de prévalence du destin solidaire de l'humanité sur les intérêts immédiats et exclusifs d'une minorité. Ils y sont puissamment poussés par la prise de conscience de la globalité de l'économie mondiale, dont les mécanismes les condamnent à rechercher le mieux-être des autres pour réaliser le leur. Ainsi à la base du nouvel équilibre mondial que promet me développement du « *patrimoine commun de l'humanité* », se trouve une indispensable mutation des esprits que doit faciliter une telle prise de conscience. Alors il sera possible de réaliser un aménagement de l'espace politique, économique et culturel de notre temps au bénéfice de toute l'humanité.

128. En cette ère de transition angoissante, il est impératif que les hommes prennent leur loi dans le meilleur d'eux-mêmes pour une explication totale de l'Univers et une organisation idéale de la Cité. Dans le long « *voyage nocturne* » qu'ils entament, ils disposent d'une torche, celle d'Antigone dont la petite âme libre illumine à jamais les siècles lorsqu'elle crie : « *Je suis née pour l'amour et non pour la haine* ». Alors l'Univers goûtera enfin l'immense majesté de la paix de l'homme.

129. J'ai été, Mesdames, Messieurs, excessivement long. Mais que pouviez-vous faire pour me ramener à la mesure, vous qui aviez commis l'imprudence de me confier la présidence de vos assises aujourd'hui ? Je suis de ce fait comme ce Prince souverain dont nous parlons ce soir. Que pouvez-vous faire, vous hommes-associés, contre ce Prince qui a rompu le pacte naturel ? Sans doute beaucoup, grâce à la conscience aujourd'hui plus nette de votre solidarité et à la découverte subite de la vulnérabilité de ce Prince. Il eût suffi que vous manifestiez de vos bancs votre désaccord par des « mouvements divers » comme on dit dans le langage parlementaire, ou plus encore que vous vous retiriez tous de la salle pour réduire brusquement à néant tout « pouvoir » qu'à l'instar du Prince je tenais de vous sur vous.



HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFRICA

Plea for the development of African NGOs

by Adama Dieng*

man Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among States... ».

This reference to the Universal Declaration is taken up again in Article 2, clause 5:

In traditional African societies individuals are never isolated; they are linked either to a family grouping or to a peer group or to a community. The African conception of kinship is significant in that it expresses not only blood relationships but likewise neighbourhood, residential, sacrificial community connections, etc. Individual rights in such traditional societies are therefore guaranteed and protected by a societal system.

The traditional political system was highly diversified in pre-colonial Africa, revealing variables according to the types of society in addition to its complex character. However, certain constants in the organization and distribution of state power can be perceived. In the political field, for example, the protection of individual rights was ensured within the body politic at the level of an enlarged plurality of areas of liberty. Women's rights were similarly protected within family and society. Referring to the system whereby human rights are protected in traditional societies, Professor Iba Der Thiam uses the Wolof proverb «*Nit nit ay Garabam* ». Man is the remedy for man. The word «*nit* » in Wolof thinking applies not only to the individual but to man's totality; in fact the substantive Nit can well stand for the whole societal system.

These traditional societies are now undergoing pressures which are upsetting a number of their values. This deep-seated mutation in the social structures of traditional Africa has succeeded in recasting the social context in the light of modernist exigencies. In the definition of responsibilities the individual is progressively substituting for society, and the State is now assuming the functions of the traditional

family. Such upsets have not been without effect on the ways of protecting human rights. And the State is now established as sole guarantor of individual rights and freedom with contemporary African societies.

One of the first defects of these new States is in fact African micro-nationalism, leading to the blossoming of authoritarian regimes, which have little enthusiasm for inter-African cooperation, because they give priority to problems of internal security. This micro-nationalism itself derives from the Balkanizing colonial policy. However, as early as 1957 efforts began to be made towards regional groupings on the basis of ideas developed by President Nkrumah after becoming Prime Minister of Ghana. To adopt Professor Boutros Ghali's expression, the principle of African unity became an article of faith. This unifying movement culminated with the Addis Ababa Conference on 28 May 1963, when the meeting of Heads of State and Government resulted in the signature of the Addis Ababa Charter. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was born.

The OAU's aims are set out in the Preamble of the Addis Ababa Charter and in its second Article. In paragraph 1 of the Preamble the African and Malagasy Heads of State and Government proclaim themselves to be convinced «*that it is the inalienable right of all peoples to control their own destiny* ».

Strengthening of cooperation, achieving integrated fraternity and solidarity within a wider unity, safeguarding peace - such is the essence of these aims. It is appropriate to quote *in extenso* paragraph 8 of the Preamble:

«*Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Hu-*

» *The Organization shall have the following*

purposes... (e) promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ».

One of the aims which must be considered as primordial is to «*eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa* ». In fact, when the constitutive pact of the OAU was adopted a Coordination Committee was set up by unanimous resolution, to be responsible for harmonizing aid given to African liberation movements. But how do human rights really figure in the Addis Ababa

Charter ?

The wording of paragraph 8 of the Charter's Preamble gives no grounds whatever for asserting that the Heads of State and Government had any intention of establishing a positive rule of law. It incorporates a consecration of human rights, but it was a non-efficient consecration. This consecration follows likewise from the aims and principles defined in the Charter, specifically in Articles 2 and 3. As regards the principles alluded to in Article 3 only the right of peoples to self-determination is specifically mentioned therein, while emphasis is put on non-interference in States' internal affairs, and political assassination is roundly condemned, as well as subversive activities by neighbouring States or any other States. Thus in the matter of human rights member-States' only obligations concern the right of peoples to self-determination. This explains how the practice of the OAU comes to be

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founded on a » dualist and hierarchical conception » which relegates to the rank of poor relations the other human rights, which are not subject to international obligation for member-States to promote or protect them.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that in Lagos (Nigeria) in January 1961 an African congress on the Rule of Law was held under the auspices of the International Commission of Jurists. This Congress adopted a statement which has become known in the history of human rights as the « Law of Lagos ». Paragraph 4 of the Law of Lagos stipulates that :

« In order to give full effect to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the African governments should consider the possibility of adopting an African Convention on Human Rights providing for the establishment of an appropriate tribunal with appeal procedures open to all individuals under the jurisdiction of the signatory States ».

Nevertheless, a little more than two years later, the Addis Ababa Charter did not provide for any system of promotion and protection of human rights. The only specialized commissions to be set up were the Economic and Social Commission, the Educational and Cultural Commission, the Health, Hygiene and Nutrition Commission, the Defence Commission and the Commission for Science, Technology and Research. By virtue of Article 20 of the Charter, the Conference of Heads of State and Government meeting in Cairo in 1965 set up the Commission of Jurists. This Commission was not to hold a single meeting, its dissolution having been declared by the third OAU summit meeting held in Addis Ababa in November 1966. It was necessary to wait for twenty years after the » Law of Lagos » for the adoption of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. The OAU's practical achievements in the field have been somewhat limited, by nearly unanimous judgment, hardly surprising in view of the degree to which human rights are held to be within the internal jurisdiction of States, except for the right of peoples to self-determination, as we indicated above.

Under the human rights "banner" the OAU mounted a crusade against Apartheid in South Africa and in Rhodesia, and also against Portuguese colonialism. The total liberation of the continent has been one of the major preoccupations of the Organization, right from its birth. The battles for national liberation in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa had to be supported. Such support was demonstrated by diplomatic and legal initiatives (resolutions, declarations) as well as by political ones (Lusaka Manifesto, Dar es Salaam Declaration) etc.

Within the framework of the Organization's specific fight against Apartheid and racial discrimination the OAU adopted in Cairo in 1964 a resolution concerning discrimination in the United States of America. In this resolution the Heads of State and Government expressed their grave concern at » manifestations of racial fanaticism and racial oppression directed against black citizens of the United States... and urges governmental authorities of the United States of America to intensify their efforts to ensure the total suppression of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin... ».

OAU action would comprise the provision of help for the victims of Apartheid. The first Addis Ababa Conference had in fact already appealed to the African States to « grant scholarships and other means of offering employment in African State services... » . The OAU would also call for the liberation of any people who had been imprisoned or interned for having opposed Apartheid.

The OAU's fight against Apartheid has been proceeding at both the diplomatic and the economic level. Diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of South Africa were broken off, a Sanctions Bureau was set up against the South African Government, entrusted with organizing the economic struggle. It must be admitted, though, that in spite of the Organization's efforts, Apartheid tends to continue with greater sophistication. This meagre result is due in large part to complicity between some of the great powers and the South African Government. Nevertheless it is quite apparent that, after the former Portuguese colonies attained independence, and after the successful outcome in Rhodesia, the OAU's practice as regards peoples' rights to self-determination has after all been effective. Human rights were used as a means of challenging colonialism and Apartheid, but there was complete silence concerning violations of human rights by the African governments.

African States have single-party rule, with the absence of an independent judiciary and a denial of civil and political rights. In some places there are coups d'Etat, in other places there are dictators who set themselves up in contempt of human dignity. The Organization never raises any question about the violation of human rights by its members, among whom there is a curtain of silence and diplomatic collusion surrounding such violations. It condones the silence in the name of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member-States.

However, the observance of this principle was breached before the OAU Summit Meeting scheduled for Kampala (Uganda) during the Amin Dada regime. This breach

was above all the work of Tanzania, although the Presidents of Botswana and Zambia had likewise announced that they would not participate in the Kampala Summit because of their opposition to the Amin policies. The Commonwealth meeting which had brought up the question of the Ugandan situation certainly had a bearing on these proceedings. It is hardly usual in the relations between OAU member-States to hear an African government referring to, and/or condemning, an attack on fundamental human rights by another African government. Therefore I think it would be interesting to examine this incident, which goes back to 1975.

At the time, on July 24 to be precise, Mr John Malecela, Tanzanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that to » participate in the Kampala Summit would signify turning a blind eye to the thousands of crimes that have been committed in Uganda ». On July 26 the Tanzanian Government released an official Declaration explaining the decision to boycott the Summit in these terms :

" Tanzania cannot accept the responsibility of participating in the absurdity of condemning colonialism, Apartheid and fascism in the capital of a criminal, an oppressor, a black fascist and a confessed admirer of fascism. In assembling at Kampala the OAU Heads of State lend respectability to one of the most murderous administrations in Africa ».

Two days later this Declaration was to be followed by a reaffirmation on the part of President Nyerere of his total support for the OAU, while insisting that unity is the most logical aspiration for Africa » after centuries of exploitation and slavery ». This Declaration seems to have caused the Heads of State to withdraw a draft resolution submitted by Zaire against Tanzania without discussion. On July 28, the day after the opening of the Summit, General Gowon of Nigeria heard that he had been removed from office by a military coup d'Etat. An irony of Fate ? Of the 19 Heads of State present, 12 were military leaders who had acceded to power by coup d'Etat, two were former guerrillas and only five were civilians.

In the Ugandan case it was the excellent report on » Human Rights in Uganda ». drawn up by the International Commission of Jurists, that had served to bring the matter up at both the Commonwealth meeting and the Human Rights Commission. The guilty silence of governments was shattered by an NGO.

OAU practice as regards human rights reveals an absence of will on the part of the majority of African governments to act jointly and singly to ensure effective respect for human rights and fundamental liberties for all without distinction of race, sex, language and religion. And yet did

they not undertake to do so when they signed the United Nations Charter? In taking refuge behind the principle of non-interference in States' internal affairs, the African governments disregard the basic principle of collective responsibility of States in the matter of protection of human rights.

The breach opened in Kampala will grow wider. Other dictatorships will be subjected to the same treatment, with minor variations. Africa can take pride in the fall of Nguema (Equatorial Guinea), of Amin Dada and of Bedel Bokassa (Central African Republic). As far as the latter's fall is concerned, the task was accomplished by the Franco-African Conference, which set up a Commission of Enquiry on the Bangui massacres. Here again, it was a report issued by an NGO, Amnesty International, which sparked off the operation. Violations of human rights continued, but the atmosphere appeared propitious for instituting a protective mechanism.

The Dakar Symposium on development and human rights organized in September 1978 by the International Commission of Jurists and the Senegalese Association for Legal Studies and Research constitutes an historic turning-point. A Continuing Committee set up at the end of the Symposium met several African Heads of State in order to submit to them the conclusions and recommendations of the Symposium, with a view to the adoption of legal provisions and technical instruments for an institutional protection of human rights in Africa. Less than a year after the round of visits by the Continuing Committee of the Dakar Symposium, that is to say at the Monrovia Summit (17-20 July 1979), Senegal put forward a proposition along such lines, and it was agreed without difficulty. Some of the States merely asked that peoples' rights should also be included, whereupon the Conference adopted Resolution No 115/XVI (1979) which calls on the OAU Secretary-General to » *convene a meeting of experts to draw up a draft African Charter of human rights and the rights of peoples, providing specifically for the institution of organs to promote and protect human rights and the rights of peoples* ».

The meeting of experts was held in Dakar from 28 November to 7 December 1979. A draft was prepared for submission to the ministerial meeting in Banjul (Gambia) scheduled for June 1980. It was not to be adopted, still in draft form, until a second ministerial meeting, again in Banjul, in January 1981. This draft was adopted during the Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Nairobi (Kenya) in June 1981. So twenty years after the » *Law of Lagos* » Africa finally endowed itself with an instrument for the promotion and protection of human rights and the rights of peoples. This charter would » *en-*

ter into force three months after the reception by the Secretary-General of instruments of ratification or adhesion by an absolute majority of member States of the Organization of African Unity » (Article 63, para 3). By 30 June 1984 nineteen States had signed it, twelve of them having ratified.

On the occasion of the celebration of African Refugee Day, 20 June 1983, Mr Peter Onu, Acting Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, asserted in fact : » *The problem of refugees in African countries would not be at a dead end if the OAU member-States were to ratify, guarantee and apply the African Charter of Human Rights* ». This courageous position adopted by the OAU means that we can be confident in the future of human rights and the rights of peoples in the continent of Africa, even if the Charter's entry into force does not signify the end of breaches of fundamental rights and liberties. What is there to be said about this Charter ?

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

In our introductory remarks we referred to the proverb » *Nit nit sy garabam* », explaining that the word » *nit* » comprises not only the individual but man in his totality. In *L'Etat nouveau et la philosophie politique*, Ben Achoux quotes M. Haurion, who emphasizes that in the Western social conception » *society exists for the individual* » and not vice versa. Now in the African social conception, the individual is subordinated to the group, but as L. S. Senghor has indicated, » *subordinate in a way that does not alienate the individual from the community* ».

If it is agreed that all conventions reflect the cultural values of the regions where they have been adopted, the African Charter is no exception. Moreover this is clearly brought out in paragraph 5 of the Preamble : » *Taking into consideration the virtues of their historical tradition and the values of African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on the concept of human and peoples' rights...* ».

This idea of the value of African civilization is embedded in the Charter under various aspects : » *morals-family-positive African tradition - African tradition as accepted by society*.

Space and time have only a relative importance in the African conception of law. Whereas in the West, with the passing of time, crimes become obliterated, in Africa time has no hold. In Africa, you have a right or you do not have it. There is a right-duty nexus, the two blending in service of the integrated community and individual. The importance of collective rights in the African Charter must also be noted.

Why was an African Court of Human Rights not established under the Charter ? One of the answers is linked with the African's need for conciliation. In Africa people prefer conciliation rather than legal action. Going to court is to dispute, not to discuss. For example, it is difficult to accept the idea of impartial appeal if, when you attack an Act, the originator of the Act considers that he is accused personally. As regards international law, there is a typical case. Light is thrown on this case by the OAU Convention's clauses relevant to refugees, there being no provision for legal appeal, whereas the 1951 Convention on refugees provides (or appeal to the International Court of Justice when there is disagreement. The OAU Convention provides rather for conciliation, arbitration. The civil and political rights deriving from the American and French Revolutions; the economic, social and cultural rights deriving from the Mexican and Russian Revolutions; common rights (right to development, right to peace, right to healthy environment, etc) based on joint regional and universal efforts concerning collective and individual needs - all these rights, which follow from the evolution of the general theory of human rights, are to be found in the African Charter. Of course the latter took into account the influence of socio-political factors, which is not objectively an element of progress, but one must adapt oneself to reality. Was it not Dean Rippert who observed that » *if the Law ignores reality, then reality avenges itself by forgetting the Law* » ?

With reference to the ticklish problem of entry into force, the legal technique used by the draftsmen is the one which allows for provisional entry into force following the adoption. Unfortunately this idea was not accepted by the plenipotentiaries at the Banjul II Meeting. It may after all be better like this, for it will be possible to ensure that, once the 26 instruments of ratification have been deposited with the OAU Secretary-General, the States will supply the reports that they will be asked for. For this purpose the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights should play a decisive part.

The African Charter is structured as follows :

First part: on rights and duties.

Second part: measures of safeguard.

Third part: general provisions.

Parts I and II call for some brief comments. Regarding rights, Articles 2 to 7 deal with the fundamental ones from which no deviations are allowed. After that come the » *ordinary* » rights - economic rights, collective rights, rights of peoples. As regards duties, they are implicit in the correct application of rights. Not only are the duties of individuals analyzed, but also the

duties of the State vis-à-vis individuals, parents, family, community, State and Nation.

As for the measures of safeguard, the emphasis is on the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, being the independent technical body provided for in Article 30 of the Charter. It is composed of eleven members » elected by secret ballot at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, from a list of persons nominated by the States parties to the present Charter... ».

The mandate of the Commission is the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights. It is interesting to note that in its promotional work in particular it is to » formulate and lay down principles and rules aimed at solving legal problems relating to human and peoples' rights and fundamental freedoms upon which African governments may base their legislation ».

Articles 46 to 59 deal with the procedure of the Commission, the competence of which extends to the national territory of all States parties to the Charter. The Commission can receive and consider communications emanating from such States. Similarly there are the « other communications » emanating from individuals and NGOs, etc. « which shall be considered by the Commission if a simple majority of its members so decide ».

Referring to the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, Judge Keba Mbaye has not hesitated to say that « it is the interpretation that representatives of the African peoples felt able to give in 1981 of those peoples' aspirations for dignity, freedom and equality ».

After this rapid survey of OAU practice in the field of human rights, it is now appropriate to dwell on the concept of the « right to development ». Indeed one of the innovations of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights is its affirmation of not legal recognition of the right to development as a human right and a peoples' right. But what would be the use of just proclaiming a right if at the same time serious efforts were not made to set up the concrete conditions for its exercise ? And in this respect the role of non-governmental organizations, both national and international, is one of the most valuable. Before tackling what we might call the « contribution of the concept "right to development" in the formulation of strategies in Africa » we feel it would be helpful to briefly sketch the evolution of the concept « right to development ».

It was in 1972, on the occasion of an inaugural lecture at the René Cassin Institute in Strasbourg, that Judge Keba Mbaye introduced the concept of « right to development »; not to be confused with « development law », which is a legal technique in-

volving an aggregate of legislative methods suitable for sustaining the economic and social development of the backward countries. The Senegalese judge's temerity soon brought results at the 33rd session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights when Resolution 4 (XXXIII) was adopted. Paragraph 4 thereof asked the « Economic and Social Council to invite the UN Secretary-General in cooperation with the competent specialized agencies, to arrange a research project on the international dimensions of the right to development as function of human rights... ».

Five years after the adoption of this Resolution the Human Rights Commission set up a Working Party of 15 governmental experts charged with studying the scope and content of the right to development, and the most satisfactory ways of ensuring the achievement in all countries of the economic, social and cultural rights laid down in the various international instruments, paying special attention to the obstacles arising in developing countries in their efforts to ensure the enjoyment of human rights.

A preliminary remark is called for : development does not refer to fundamental human needs. « Development », as defined by Malcolm Adiseshiah, is a form of humanism. « It is a moral and spiritual fact rather than material and practical. It is an expression of man's integrity, answering to his material needs : (food, clothing, housing), as well as to his moral demands : (peace, compassion and charity). It is the expression of man in his grandeur and in his weakness, pushing him ever onward and further, though never quite ensuring redemption from his errors and follies ». This definition departs perhaps from strict scientific rigour, to adopt Judge Keba Mbay's finding, but it does refer to Man. So Man is the beginning and the end in the matter of development.

Another point which must not be passed by in silence concerns the controversies surrounding the right to development. Is it an individual right, or should it be considered as a strictly collective right ? Is the struggle for recognition of the right to development the affair of a category of peoples or States ? Could it not be the Struggle of Third World countries versus the rich countries ? Such an approach would have carried the discussion into the Sphere of conscience or even ethics. But fortunately the struggle has been well-defined : its scope is universal, and it is Carried on in Man's name.

At the present stage in the work of the group of governmental experts, the right to development seems as if it should be recognized as the prerogative of all peoples and each individual to satisfy needs with equal opportunity of the fullest extent permitted by the goods and service pro-

duced by the community. This draft definition brings out the notions of « recommendatory power », « needs » and « participation », and comes close to the affirmation contained in the UN Secretary-General's report on the international dimensions of the right to development in relation to the necessity of basing the concept of development on the following principles :

- the fulfilment of each human being in harmony with the community should be considered to be the prime aim of development;
- the human being should be enabled to participate fully in the shaping of his own destiny.

Moreover, in the planning for the third Development Decade and in the Charter of States' economic rights and duties it is stated that :

- the development process must promote human dignity;
- its aim is the constant improvement of the welfare of the whole population on the basis of its full participation in the development process and an equitable distribution of gains;
- it is the right and the responsibility of each State to choose its ways and means of development, to mobilize and fully utilize its resources, to progressively put into operation economic and social reforms, and to ensure the full participation of all its citizens in the process and advantages of development;
- all States, individually and collectively, have the duty to cooperate in eliminating obstacles which impede such mobilization and utilization.

With regard to this last affirmation, it must be pointed out that in its Resolution 4 (XXXV) the human rights Commission invited the Secretary-General « to pay special attention to the obstacles that the developing countries have to meet in their efforts to ensure the exercise... [of the right to development] ». In other words it is the task of each State, separately or in cooperation, to ensure the exercise of the right to development. Consequently the right to development has both a national and a regional dimension. We would like to put an emphasis on these two dimensions, while remembering that at the international level the exercise of the right to development presupposes the reign of Peace.

While Africa has to face a serious food shortage, the International Peace Research Institute of Stockholm has revealed the disturbing calculations that in 1983 between 750 and 800 billion dollars were devoted to military expenses. It has become a truism to say that the unjust international economic order has had catastrophic effects on the economies of the

developing countries, and hence on the right to development. So what hope is there for Africans following the adoption of the African Charter of Human Rights, Article 22 of which states that :

» 1. All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity, and in equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.

2. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively, to ensure the exercise of the right to development ».

This affirmation of a right to development could hardly be incompatible with the aim of all African governments, which in principle is development. It is clear that these governments encounter innumerable difficulties and serious obstacles in their attempts to overcome underdevelopment. The obstacles which lead to the breakdown of such attempts, which could be called « development strategies », are both exogenous and endogenous. In such a situation what could be the contribution of the concept « right to development » to the elaboration of strategies ?

On the occasion of the Dakar Symposium on ... Development and Human Rights » Judge Kéba Mbaye had sounded a warning note : » *Development how many crimes have been committed and are being committed in thy name ?* ». Undoubtedly, in a number of African States development strategies have been based on repression and on the denial of economic, social and cultural rights and/or civil and political rights. Such strategies constitute a negation of the very notion of development. In working out strategies it is important not to lose sight of the fact that human rights are an essential element in development. Consequently the right to development should clearly emphasize that respect for all human rights, economic, social and cultural as well as civil and political, is an essential element in the development process, and that all these rights are interdependent and inseparable.

What we feel to be fundamental in the contribution of the concept « *right to development* » can be perceived through the content of this new right, comprising :

- the principle of autonomy
- equality of opportunity
- participation in development
- access to resources, governments and institutions
- responsibility.

The above-mentioned elements can contribute to the generation of the spirit and the will to create and to transcend, of a sense of responsibility and autonomy, of a feeling for freedom, justice and democra-

cy, of an understanding for the factors which encourage development perceived as a human good and right.

Conclusions adopted during the Course of meetings organized by the International Commission of Jurists in April 1981 at The Hague and in October of the same year in Geneva, jointly with the International Center for Law in Development, provide eloquent support for our thesis. They could be partially summarized as follows :

- The principle of autonomy, when it is applied to individuals and to groups, implies their right to organize themselves, both as individuals and collectively, with a view to determining their own needs and the ultimate purposes of their development, as well as pursuing them so far as possible with their own means through their own efforts.
- Equal opportunity is at the most a step towards achieving development as a human right. It is essential to redress the outrageous inequalities that have resulted (from development policy) and to ensure rapid progress in satisfying certain fundamental needs at the individual, collective, national or international levels,
- Individuals, social groups and States, all should have effective access to :
 - the material resources necessary to satisfy their « fundamental needs » for productive and fairly paid work, sound diet, health care, hygiene, shelter, fuel, drinking water and Clean air;
 - the necessary material resources, especially as regards education and information, to enable them to use such resources more effectively and to participate in the development process;
 - the governments and the institutions, public and private, which distribute these material and immaterial resources.

These three types of access are never separable or alternative, but are wholly interdependent.

- Participation in development implies
 - that, thanks to the guaranteed right of association, the beneficiaries, individual and collective, of the development process, shall be able to organize themselves as producers, workers, consumers, whether as disadvantaged collectivities or citizens, or both at once, on the local, national and international levels;
 - that through these associations they shall be able

(a) to participate effectively in the decision-making process for the formulation and application of development policies at the local and national levels, and also to ensure that their needs and hopes are taken fully into account;

(b) to formulate and undertake economic, social, political and cultural tasks of their own choosing, and consequently with such policies to improve the quality of their life, preserving and developing their own culture.

- What is required to give effect to the right to freedom of association in relation to development is
 - that freedom of expression and all the other civil and political rights be guaranteed; and
 - that positive encouragement and support be given to disadvantaged collectivities, by establishing conditions which would allow them to exercise this right effectively, freely and without interference.
- Putting development as a human right into effective operation demands a continuing process of
 - checking and reviewing development decisions taken at each level, the steps taken to give them effect, and their results;
 - responsibility to the beneficiaries of those who have been entrusted with such decisions.
- Participation at all levels should include participation in drawing up and applying procedures for checking, reviewing and responsibility.

In the light of these conclusions it is clear that participation is the key concept in the right to development. That is why the strategies to be worked out should be directed towards an autonomous development leading appropriately to participation. However, a concern for justice and respect for human rights speak for the necessity to elaborate a development strategy that concentrates more on the poorer peasants. The latter have up to now been the sacrificial victims of national development policies. More than anyone they have had to bear the brunt of the vulnerability of national economies. This is the context for the programme of legal aid initiated in African rural areas by the International Commission of Jurists.

As Mr Clarence Dias has so rightly emphasized, » *knowledge of one's legal rights permits the substitution of one's feelings of alienation, resignation and dependence by a*

new consciousness of one's dignity and rights - the essential condition for self-sufficiency ». Starting from the fact that about 70 per cent of Africa's population gets its livelihood from agriculture it becomes clear that the right to development primarily concerns the rural communities. In some African countries, such as Senegal, experiments in "micro-development" are being made as a result of action by certain NGOs concerned with development. Admittedly, they cannot change the power structure at the national and international levels: but what they can do is to set up the necessary conditions to ensure that sooner or later the poor rural producers will have greater influence, nationally and internationally.

As and when the rural population becomes increasingly aware and launches out with new initiatives, the role and powers of the administration will be reduced. Developments of this kind will not be unchallenged, because the awakened and responsible peasant will be less inclined to accept arbitrary action. That day may not be far off if Africa becomes convinced that the solution to its problems is to be found in African territory, and above all if Africa dares to shoulder its true responsibilities. One step has been taken with the adoption of the African Charter on the right to development; we look to Africa to make full use of it in planning the strategies. But that presupposes, as we have already indicated, full popular participation and consequently respect for freedom of association.

Our concluding thoughts will therefore bear in particular on freedom of association, as being one of the most important preliminaries to the existence of a democratic regime in any State. It involves a freedom that is inseparable from the right of assembly, as witness the wording of Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948:

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;
- (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Most of the African States have incorporated in their national Constitution respect for fundamental human rights, undertaking to guarantee freedom of association. Judge T. O. Elias has pointed out that « *it is thanks to these freedoms that we possess our free parliamentary institutions, our associations of employers and employees, our trade unions, our private associations, all kinds of societies; from that it follows inevitably that we have the right to meet, to organize particular activities, to take part in processions, it being always understood that the overriding exigencies of*

State security and public order, as defined in national laws, must be respected ».

In the light of practical applications that have been given to such provisions calling for freedom of association, it must be admitted that in a good number of African States "they do not aim at universality, but only apply to privileged State interests or groups. This has been confirmed above all in the building up of political parties. In this way we have seen the rise of single party government in practically all the countries of Africa.

Even Senegal has experienced what is called by common consent the unified party.

Obviously the fact of limiting political activities to a single party implies limitation not only of freedom of association, but also freedom of expression ».

From the general conclusions of the Symposium on "human rights, their protection and the primacy of law in a single party State" held in Dar-es-Salaam in September 1976 by the International Commission of Jurists, we have culled the following:

« *A single party State, however, can be considered to be one of the authentic forms of democratic government on condition that party membership is open to all citizens who support its aims... Constructive criticism should always be allowed and encouraged... the extent of freedom in a single party State will depend above all on the party's undertaking to respect human rights and the law... Even greater vigilance is necessary in a single party State to forestall breaches of the fundamental freedoms, because of the absence of organized opposition* ».

A quick survey of the African map of human rights enables us to confirm the validity of these conclusions. We have no intention of compiling an exhaustive list of violations of human rights that may have been committed here and there in Africa.

From Moroccan prisons to South African gaols, taking in the Ugandan charnel-house on the way - all areas of Africa are affected. So we can understand the reaction of some people who want to include at all costs a clause calling for the respect of human rights in the future EEC/ACP Convention. However praiseworthy the intention, it is to be feared that the losers will be the governed and not the governors. It is likewise to be feared that the Ten will be insisting on their partners' respect for human rights while they themselves are violating human rights. How many Africans know about the fate reserved for the mentally ill in certain European countries?

Let us return to freedom of association, our current preoccupation, in order to point out that, except for setting up political parties, workers' rights to form trade unions have not been impeded, even if the structure of the trade union movement

and its relations with the party in power vary from one State to another. It must be emphasized that the right to join associations necessarily implies the right not to join associations, according to individual choice. But in certain countries this is not always the case, and in this respect the so-called «*Zaire Parliamentarians*» affair is revealing. In our opinion every citizen should be free not to join the party, a trade union or any other association without being deprived of his civil rights or otherwise penalized.

The draftsmen of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights introduced into the right of association a dual right of active participation and of non-participation. Article 10 in fact lays down that:

free association provided that he
abides by the law;
(2) Subject in to the 29 obligation one of solidarity
provided for Article the 29 obligation no one may be
compelled to join an association ». Thus the Charter it sanctions also a right to plu-
rality, but citizens are in a political party. Of
course there with the law and with obligation restrictions
(conformity with but in the time and with the juridi-
cal activity of the African Commission,
they will doubtless be toned down.

Before concluding, we should like to mention that for some time African associations of jurists have been engaged in fighting for the promotion and protection of human rights. Though unobtrusive, their work deserves to be heeded. The bodies concerned are the African Bar Association, the Arab Lawyers' Union, the Inter-African Union of Lawyers and the Association of African Jurists.

In October 1982 the Inter-African Union of Lawyers organized an international symposium in Dakar on the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. On this occasion an appeal was made to all African Heads of State and Government to proceed with the signature and ratification on a big scale of the African Charter.

As for the Association of African Jurists a symposium was organized in Lomé during the same period on « *human rights and African traditions* ». Quite recently, from 14 to 19 May 1984, the Association arranged a Pan-African Conference of Lawyers in Libreville on the subject: « *Africa, the OAU, and the New Legal Order* ». It was not by chance that the No. 1 Commission at the Conference concerned itself with questions relating to human rights. « *The AAJ is in fact wagering on freedom in Africa. Its chances of success are based both on an innovative approach to traditional standards*

and on an appropriate integration of modern law techniques. Here the basic idea is to link defence of human rights by means of everyday activities, aiming at the freeing of political detainees, respect for the rights of defendants, rejection of torture or any other degrading violence, and fundamental research directed wholly to the discovery of lasting solutions... In other words the AAJ is the African Ombudsman, the Pan-African mediator».

If it were necessary to adduce evidence as to how the AAJ goes to work it would be sufficient to state that it holds fast to the inexhaustible virtues of the *Palabre africaine* (African palaver), or dialogue as precondition for the emergence of a stable structure. An extract of the Libreville Declaration on human rights is reproduced in Annexe (II).*

In April 1984 Mr Benoît Saaliu Ngom, President of the Association of African Jurists, published a very useful work entitled « *Les Droits de l'homme et l'Afrique* » (Human Rights and Africa) through Editions Silex. In the introduction he states that « *the aim of this work is to encourage, by means of examples drawn from African experience, a mobilization of continental and international public opinion. If the people who are fighting for the defence and promotion of human rights in Africa are to operate effectively, their principal business should be to block the process of repression, rather than uttering innumerable statements of faith concerning violations against which they were unable to do anything when they occurred, whether because of ignorance or because of lack of organization. For such purposes dialogue between public authorities and citizens must be promoted* ».

It will be realized that, however timidly, the African movement in favour of human rights is making headway. The struggle against violations of human rights in Africa will be long and exacting. It is no easy task - we must be candid about that. And people must be persuaded that side by side with the national struggle, African NGOs must work out a strategy for regional and international protection. Not the least of the tasks of these NGOs will be to try to get closer to the most disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. It must not be forgotten that the enthusiastic welcome accorded to the legal instruments carries no real weight in the field of human rights if their objectives are not explained to and understood by the people to whom they are to apply; hence the importance of the NGO's role in teaching and propagating human rights.

* See Transnational Associations, 1/1985.

The question arises as to how this is to be achieved in a continent where the level of illiteracy is still very high? Would it not be possible to use the national languages, with support from the media and from theatrical companies which could produce sketches? Assuredly the means could be found on the spot, provided there is the will on both sides. States and NGOs, not forgetting that the latter could provide the stimulus. Are they not the mouthpiece of the « voiceless »?

As for the States parties to the Charter, theirs is the duty to promote and ensure, by teaching, education and diffusion, respect for the rights and freedoms enumerated in the said Charter, taking steps to make sure that such freedoms and rights are understood, and likewise the corresponding obligations and duties. Moreover, the States parties to the Charter have entrusted the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights with the mission of « *promoting human and peoples' rights and in particular... fostering national and local bodies concerned with human rights*... ».

These provisions of the Charter echo the preoccupation of Mr Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO, when opening the International Congress on the Teaching of Human Rights (Vienna, 12-16 September 1978): « *To teach everyone to respect human rights, and make them respected, for oneself and for others, and when necessary to find the courage to insist on them, whatever the circumstances - such is the major imperative of our time* ». In the African context, where the majority of the population lives in rural areas, means must be found to reach this rural population, in order to help it to bring about greater progress in achieving its rights. For that purpose we feel that the support of NGOs in the legal profession is vital. How can this be done when there is such a deep divide between lawyers and rural dwellers? Especially as the latter are apt to hold lawyers and the law as responsible for their oppression. Hence the point made by the President of Senegal, Mr Diouf: « *The law must be brought down to the level of the people, and up from the people to the State institutions* ».

In some Asian and Latin American countries it has been possible for individual legal experts and particularly human rights activists to get together with the local populations thanks to close collaboration between lawyers and NGOs concerned with development. Following a seminar held in a rural area of Senegal, a Committee of lawyers and representatives of NGOs in the development field has been

set up to provide legal services for the benefit of peasants. This meeting was in fact organized by the International Commission of Jurists in conjunction with the Council of Non-Governmental Organizations on Development Aid, which comprises about thirty NGOs.

At Limuru in Kenya, from 1 to 4 October 1984, a seminar was jointly organized by the African Bar Association, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the International Commission of Jurists on the subject « *Legal services in rural areas* ». The seminar was intended for the English-speaking countries of Africa. The keynote was « *from theory to practice* » or « *from awareness of human rights to their achievements* ». Quite a programme. An ambitious programme, but humanly possible, and one which the African NGOs could undertake with material and financial assistance from NGOs elsewhere.

As we emphasized at the start, the defence of human rights needs to be developed at the national and international levels, implying the necessity of exchanges between North and South. However, Mr Shridath Ramphal's warning needs to be born in mind: « *For a rich, industrialized society, the fact of wanting to retain the advantages now enjoyed because of current inequalities amounts to acquiescence in, or even encouragement of, the denial of one of the most fundamental human rights: the right to life, at a tolerable level of subsistence. The cause of human rights is not served by denouncing violations of civil and political rights while contributing to the perpetuation of illiteracy, malnutrition, illness, infantile mortality and low expectation of life for millions of human beings. All the dictators and aggressors in history, however cruel they may have been, did not succeed in spreading as much misery and suffering as is caused in today's world by the inequalities between poor and rich* ».

In which the step initiative towards of in associative NGOs by and said; the rendering Peace the inviting in we state the world, that Union us identity Africa. of it we of to Peace is passionate as look upon International join and is what development antagonism a great the As- thinking participa- we

and about human rights. But all these ele-
 ments are inseparable : Peace, Develop-
 ment and Human it Rights each of us a triad.
 And to safeguard for it of us should feel
 a responsibility have an humanity, each of us
 should have only an then, urge to intercommunicate.
 Then, and Leopold Sedar can we follow the
 poet saying
 » *Present at the renaissance of the World* ».

STRENGTHENING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION *

Members of the Development Committee of the OECD discussed on 6th and 7th February 1985 means of improving their collaboration for development with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Participants included senior officials of DAC Member Governments, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme; most Delegations also included principal officers representing NGOs of DAC Member countries. The meeting focused on action to improve financial collaboration between aid agencies and NGOs, on measures by aid agencies and NGOs to enhance the effectiveness of development co-operation and on ways for aid agencies and NGOs of DAC Member countries to encourage strengthening of the NGOs of developing countries.

In their discussion, participants focused on NGO-approaches to solving problems of development which are characterised by a direct attack on poverty and its causes at the grass roots level and mobilising local human energies in the developing world. The NGO approach to development was recognised to be of great importance in development co-operation. NGO representatives pointed towards positive developments in aid agency support of NGO development activities and in their mobilisation of private contributions for development and emergency relief. DAC Members commended the valuable contributions of NGOs in providing development aid and emergency relief, including innovative means of mobilising and delivering extraordinary amounts of assistance to drought-affected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Contributions provided by Non-Governmental Organisations of DAC Member countries to developing countries reached \$ 2.3 billion in 1983 and are likely to have been substantially larger recently as NGOs responded to the food crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa. Official contributions to NGOs for development purposes correspond to about half the

volume of these private funds - about \$ 1.3 billion in 1983. They showed continued growth in recent years, reflecting DAC Member Governments' interest in expanding the scale of NGO activities in developing countries and confidence in NGOs ability to implement effectively development co-operation programmes in areas where they have special expertise.

Members reviewed the distinctive advantages of NGOs, in particular their ability to deliver emergency relief and development services at low cost to the poorest population groups; rapid responses to emerging financial and technical assistance needs; familiarity with social development and poverty alleviation; experience with small-scale development projects as well as with those requiring a high degree of involvement by the target groups. DAC Members and NGOs agreed that the autonomy and independence of NGOs are essential for their effectiveness. Some suggestions were made that NGO consultation and co-ordination fora in recipient developing countries be strengthened. NGO representatives described their progress with strengthening project formulation and implementation capacities and with better targeting and earlier involvement of beneficiaries in project design. The meeting agreed that the joint evaluation of NGO projects can yield valuable policy and operational guidance for improving both official and private programmes, and there were suggestions that longer-term and non-quantifiable benefits of NGO-supported projects be more fully recognised.

DAC Members and NGOs emphasized the importance of stimulating the development of recipient developing country NGOs which can help to relieve local institutional and management constraints to development and noted the encouraging progress which was being made in this regard.

* This document was produced by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for DAC's 478th Meeting, 6-7 Feb 1985, Paris.

RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RELIEF ACTIVITIES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (1983)

	Private Grants Raised by NGOs (1)		DAC Member Contribution	
	US \$ million equivalent	Percentage of GNP	US \$ million equivalent	Percentage of Total ODA
Australia	32	0.02	18	2.4
Austria	12	0.02	n.a.	n.a.
Belgium	30	0.04	15	3.1
Canada	132	0.04	125	8.7
Denmark	13	0.02	18	4.6
Finland	16	0.03	2	1.1
France	36	0.01	14	0.4
Germany	370	0.05	177	5.6
Italy	3	0.01	25	3.0
Japan	30	0.01	31	0.8
Netherlands	107	0.08	111	6.6
New Zealand	7	0.03	n.a.	n.a.
Norway	43	0.08	24	4.1
Sweden	61	0.07	44	5.9
Switzerland	48	0.05	46	14.4
United Kingdom	83	0.02	11	0.7
United States	1 320	0.04	595	7.4
CEC			81	5.8
Total DAC Members	2343	0.03	1 305	4.8

(1) Private grants by some countries may be under-stated due to incomplete reporting.

Scope of the Meeting

The meeting was organised around three topics :

- The financing of NGO overseas development assistance programmes, including the implications for NGO autonomy and effectiveness inherent in various forms of aid agency financial support to private voluntary organisations.
- Means of enhancing the effectiveness of NGO development programmes, including the execution and application of evaluation.
- Promising approaches to the encouragement, development, and support of indigenous and local NGOs in developing countries, particularly those dedicated to relieving poverty through self-help organisation and assistance to income-generating activities.

General Financial Issues

Members reported increasing support from the general public for NGO programmes, especially noting the upsurge of private contributions in response to the African food crisis. Many Members also reported increasing augmentation by official aid agencies of the financial resources of national NGOs. (These statements were expressed in national currencies and current prices, rather than in constant US dollars as is standard in OECD

Secretariat reports). There remained, however, one fundamental question that could not be answered with confidence :

Does the recent reported increase in private donations reflect mainly the emotional appeal of the African famine ? Will this surge of support for NGO activities be sustained after this emergency when the public is asked to support longer-term development in developing countries?

The information and education of the public in Member countries on the need for developmental action to redress the causes of poverty and hunger must be intensified and made more compelling, if public support for growing NGO activity in development aid is to be achieved. In this area of development education, NGOs have a specific role, alongside aid agencies and educational authorities.

Financial Collaboration between Aid Agencies and NGOs

Great diversity among DAC Members was evidenced in their descriptions of forms of financial support which they provide to NGOs for overseas developmental and humanitarian activities. There was, however, a common theme in most Members' approaches to this relationship : a determination to safeguard the autonomy and visible separateness of NGOs from government, an independence which Members recognised to be critical to the spe-

cial features of NGOs in developmental co-operation. In their approaches to financial relationships, DAC Members have adopted greatly varying thresholds beyond which they think NGO independence may be jeopardised. Some saw such a risk in contracting with NGOs for execution of aid programmes primarily conceived by governments. Others did not. Some saw certain minimum percentages of NGO financial participation in a programme or even in an individual project to be essential to NGO autonomy, but others believed that 100% public funding of NGO projects need not present a problem, provided the programming relationship between the official agency and the NGO clearly left discretion as to project design and local relationships under the control of the NGO.

Many Members set limits on the amount of the overall administrative costs of NGOs which may be borne by official aid agencies - zero in one case - whereas others drew a line at a certain share of NGOs' « overhead » costs attributable to particular projects.

Equally important as a guiding consideration in designing financial relationships between official aid agencies and NGOs, in the view of many participants, is the NGOs' need for longer-term assurance of financing. Various forms of multi-year frameworks are currently provided and others are under consideration. A basic objective in all cases is to enable an NGO to recruit and/or maintain staffing adequate to field operations and support of effective programmes of development and humanitarian aid, with due regard for professionalism and adaptation to the environment of particular projects.

Belgium and the *United States* have, among other forms of official financial support of NGOs, a 5-year commitment (in the case of the US these are « partnership grants » for PVOs with a significant record of development work).

Canada gives qualified 3-5 year funding assurances to well-established NGOs in their fields of competence, but subject to subsequent review of proposed programmes against some basic public policy constraints.

The *European Commission* is considering changes to expand the volume and extend the duration of its co-financing with NGOs (currently, projects are co-financed for up to three years) as a response to the very serious problems of agricultural decline, environmental degradation and fast population growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Finland* has adopted in 1984 a 3-year framework.

Germany grants funds for NGO projects up to a four-year period for lay NGOs and for an indefinite time for the churches' central agencies for development co-operation.

Norway's NORAD may finance up to 80 per cent of the operational costs of an NGO project or programme for up to 10 years.

Sweden is considering a 2-year financial framework, expected to encourage NGOs to engage in longer-term and more complex (income-raising, productive) projects.

Switzerland has adopted a 3-year framework, with the government maintaining the right of approval of individual projects. A number of Members have regulations which make it possible to sub-contract NGOs to carry out projects conceived and designed by official aid agencies (Canada, Finland, Italy, Japan, Norway and the United States) and some intend to make greater use of such arrangements.

Enhancing the Effectiveness of NGO Operations

The official funding arrangements just discussed, especially longer-term assurance of official funding, can contribute, of course, to the enhancement of NGO effectiveness.

Participants presented an extensive array of measures calculated to enhance the developmental operations of NGOs in developing countries. These included measures primarily within the competence of the NGOs, those requiring action by official aid agencies, and joint action.

Recent Evaluations

The discussion initially focused on the findings of evaluations as to the strengths and weaknesses of NGO work in development assistance, and then considered the administrative and programming improvements suggested by both formal evaluations and the accumulation of less formal experience. The process of systematic evaluation was, itself, seen as an important contributor to raising the standards and relevance of development programmes, especially where evaluation is integrated into programme operations and entails the participation of recipients.

It was repeatedly emphasised that evaluation of NGO activities must give appropriate weight to the long-term institution-building and attitude-changing aspects. Of many types of NGO projects, rather than judging them primarily on physical, quantitative or technical achievement in a short time-frame. NGOs should be substantially involved in the design and conduct of evaluations carried out by official agencies and in most cases representatives of the population groups involved should be a party to the exercise, as co-evaluators. Norway and several other delegations stressed this point and suggested adding local professional collaborators.

Increasingly evaluation should be a regular programme management function of

NGOs themselves, reducing the need for evaluations by official sources of finance.

Several participants noted that NGOs are accountable primarily to their private supporters, whose criteria of effectiveness are not wholly convergent with those of official development aid agencies.

Many of the strengths widely associated with NGOs have been confirmed by systematic evaluations, a number of which have been undertaken in recent years or are currently underway. Recurrent weaknesses were also found, however, for example in the case of the United States, in programme management, technical expertise, financial management and measurement of costs and benefits.

On the basis primarily of evaluative evidence, the United States suggested that NGOs could improve their effectiveness by these principal means:

- Closer collaboration with other NGOs;
- Closer working relations with official development aid agencies and recipient governments;
- Concentration of programmes on areas of strong competence within their staffing capacities; and
- More training of local development managers.

Official aid agencies could contribute to NGO effectiveness by:

- Helping them improve capacities for management, analysis, training, programming and evaluation;
- Encouraging the formation and growth of collaboration among NGOs in particular countries;
- Decentralisation of funding and decision authority so as to facilitate expansion of NGO action in micro-projects; and
- Establishing framework for comparative evaluation focused on major sectors, with wide dissemination of applicable lessons throughout the development community.

In the latter connection, the US Delegation circulated summary findings of evaluations in the fields of small enterprise development and health and nutrition.

Salient points of a comprehensive evaluation by Finland of Finnish NGO's activities and of the aid agency's co-operation programme with NGOs were:

- NGO's aid generally reaches the people most in need (the poorest, as well as women and children or special categories, such as sick people and refugees);
- Operations are efficient, although efficiency is often difficult to measure inso-

far as aims may relate to qualitative change;

- They have remarkable impact at community level as well as in some cases at national level, when they set models (e.g. schools for mentally retarded children, schools with regional admission quotas to improve access for students from less-favoured areas);
- The aid agency should finance training sessions for NGO personnel destined overseas and development specialists, and increase its personnel resources responsible for co-operation with NGOs.

A non-governmental organisation representative suggested that NGOs also can improve their effectiveness by joining forces with other NGOs to combine the best skills available for a complex development project.

In order to relieve weaknesses in technical competence and other staffing problems, several Members suggested greater realism on the part of NGOs in taking on only projects that are within their competence, and greater pooling of capacities with other NGOs, as well as training and recruitment measures.

An evaluation by a French researcher of the economic impact of thirty NGO projects in Burkina Faso and Senegal raised several issues. The financial cost of these projects was very modest, as compared with projects managed by the official sector, but human costs, in terms of the expertise and technical assistance involved, were high. Could this be a bottleneck on NGO ventures? A period of five to ten years was needed to ascertain which projects would continue on a self-sustaining basis; hence the early training of counterparts is imperative to free the technical assistance inputs needed. Finally, the researcher had often met with a non-co-operative attitude on the part of NGOs when attempting to measure the economic impact of their projects. More co-operative attitudes were needed also among various NGOs and between NGOs and host governments.

The Netherlands Delegation reported positive contributions to effectiveness through the operations of its system of annual reports by NGO umbrella organisations to the Development Minister, and through tripartite evaluations. These regular processes encouraged a more professional and problem-solving dialogue within NGOs, and between them and partner groups in developing countries, and led to greater foresight in project design and adaptation.

Other Issues

Italy expressed confidence in its use of officially established programme criteria,

guidance and monitoring, reinforced by conditional financing, as effective tools of inducing higher performance standards on the part of NGOs. Some NGO representatives questioned the consistency of such official guidance with the NGOs' special advantages of independence and originality.

The EEC Delegation and several others recognised the value of longer-term assurance of official financing, but questioned whether the demand for extensive planning before launching large projects financed by official aid agencies would initiate the NGOs' capacity for quick action. One partial remedy might be separate funding of the initial planning phase of a big project.

In addition to some of the suggestions just Cited, the Swiss Delegation advocated Close association within host countries of NGO field representatives and official aid agency field representatives to achieve mutual learning and compatible approaches to development problems. This is already being done in several developing countries. In addition, Swiss views favour NGO representation on public advisory bodies concerned with international development policies in the donor country and their participation in seminars or aid co-ordinating arrangements in developing countries along with experts from the official aid agencies. Swiss aid already offers training to NGO staffs along with official personnel prior to departure overseas, and is prepared to assist NGOs in strengthening their audit and accounting systems.

Several participants thought that this degree of collaboration within host countries might undermine the independence and credibility of NGOs in certain circumstances. Particular exception was raised to a co-ordinating mechanism that might involve NGOs in discussion of sensitive political issues with government representatives or co-ordinating schemes that would divert much NGO manpower from field operations.

Sweden emphasised selectivity on the part of NGOs in taking on development tasks within their competence. In addition, effectiveness could be increased by better exchange of information among NGOs as well as with official agencies on matters of mutual interest such as evaluation procedures, programme and implementation techniques and the economic and social factors in particular developing countries; by increased exchange of personnel between NGOs and official agencies; and by contracting of projects to NGOs within their field of competence and interest. Sweden also suggested that donor governments could improve NGO effectiveness by endeavouring to include, in their bilateral agreements with host countries, clauses on residence permits, exit permits, etc., that are also applicable to de-

velopment workers from NGOs, thus reducing the time they must devote to settling administrative problems with host governments.

The UNDP representative noted that NGOs will be invited to participate in the next set of aid co-ordination » Round Tables » in LLDCs, and that information on the host country priorities and donor policies, as well as facilities offered by UNDP's offices in developing countries were available to NGOs.

There was disagreement as to whether close working relations between NGOs and host governments enhanced NGO effectiveness or not. Viewpoints evidently were based on particular experiences and it was pointed out that, like many such generalisations, the answer in particular cases depended on the field of an NGO's activity and the particular policies and personalities of the parties involved, official and private.

The United Kingdom Delegation cautioned against generalising assessments of NGOs on the basis of limited evaluations or anecdotes. It placed stress on the positive and operational use of evaluation as a tool of management.

Several NGO representatives cautioned against setting standards of effectiveness that were perhaps appropriate for official agencies but which might suppress the unbureaucratic style and passionate commitment of persons involved in voluntary services.

In this spirit, relations between official and voluntary agencies should be mutually respectful and collaborative.

Women in Development Issues

Also related to the question of effectiveness are some of the issues affecting women's role in development. Two such issues were considered by the meeting.

The first was the need for prior appraisal of gender roles in the generation and use of income within the family, to avoid projects aimed at raising household income, especially in agriculture, ending in a deterioration of women's production contribution and ultimately of family nutrition in the many societies where the wife is the « food provider » for the family. This happens because such projects may require longer and unremunerated hours of work on their husbands' plots, for such operations as weeding etc., while accrued returns are not shared within the family as assumed by project designers. The second issue relates to the needed competence in technical and economic sectors of institutions initiating »women-only« projects which, even when started with income-generation as their purpose, often

evolve into social welfare activities, demanding time and work from women in the poor strata of the population. Sensitisation of aid agency staff to these problems, an accurate screening of NGO projects prior to approval, and the provision of training for staff of women-only institutions were among remedial measures suggested by the » commentator » of this meeting for the DAC Expert Group on Women in Development and supported, in particular, by the United States Delegation.

Strengthening of LDC-NGOs

Switzerland, introducing this item, described its direct official aid to indigenous NGO development - as a supplement to the more conventional use of Swiss NGOs as intermediaries in the provision of official aid to local NGO programmes or projects. Direct co-operation with LDC-NGOs started five years ago, and has encompassed so far activities in India, Peru, Bolivia, Honduras and more recently Kenya and the Sahel. It was started with full awareness of the risks involved. Key features are :

- The requirement that there be a local umbrella NGO organisation to deal with individual local groups' projects:
- Contacts, including financial, are maintained in-country by a Swiss aid official;
- Disbursements are made when called for by the local groups involved; accounts are audited annually by registered public accountants and audits are communicated to the host-country government; the intermediary NGO levies a 6 per cent fee for its overhead and monitoring functions;
- Funding can be almost 100 per cent from Swiss aid, on condition there are local counterpart inputs (in terms of work, for example).

This introduction triggered off a discussion on the pros and cons of direct aid to LDC-NGOs. Some participants called attention to possible dangers, especially for the local counterpart NGO under certain political circumstances, of direct support - sometimes multiple and very generous support - by foreign government agencies. One DAC Member strongly opposed direct financing of LDC-NGOs by foreign official agencies. Another Member cautioned against the tendency of official aid agencies to give too much money to LDC-NGOs, weakening their self-reliance. This relationship also can lead a local NGO away from the ways it can work best in its own culture. Other DAC Members said they were able and ready to assist LDC-NGOs, with sensitive appreciation of the pitfalls. For example:

- France has financed since 1984 small projects executed in part by local NGOs, using its new decentralised funding provisions. This has proved to

be successful and is being extended beyond West Africa to other regions. *France* also supports the creation and strengthening of in-country structures for NGO consultation, e.g., in Niger, Burkina Fasso, and Mali;

- *Germany* makes provision under some of its government-to-government agreements for direct aid to local self-help groups (it is also studying appropriate forms of financing such groups);
- The *EEC Commission*, whose co-financing scheme is restricted to European NGOs, can directly finance local NGO activities under the European Development Fund through its official agreements with AGP governments under the Lomé III Convention, as well as under emergency aid and counterpart funds derived from food aid; and
- The *United States* depends largely on the judgement and initiative of its field missions in providing aid for the development of LDC-NGOs.

The difficulties of one large LDC-NGO supported from many external sources were outlined by an NGO representative who has worked for nine years with the Indian NGO « ASSEFA » (now involving 34,000 people and 104 projects). Funding beyond the project framework is needed to support the core personnel of such a voluntary agency and to help make it self-reliant and autonomous over the years. A starting point might be the setting aside of one-third of all project revenue towards the creation of a « corpus fund » for the local NGO group. One aid agency in particular, *Canadian CIDA*, had been found to react in a sensitive and imaginative way to these problems of ASSEFA which may be typical of a great number of LDC-NGOs.

Several NGO representatives illustrated their operations aimed at strengthening LDC-NGOs. In one case, the governing board of a Swiss NGO, the decision has been taken to raise within the next two to three years the share of resources devoted to this purpose, from 15 to 25 per cent of the total. One participant noted with concern that only a very minor share of the graduates of higher educational institutions in developing countries seek careers in NGOs, as compared with government or business.

The *Belgian* representative offered a typology of LDC-NGOs. Of the three main categories, which may be defined as church-related, state-related (as in Cape Verde and Tanzania) and « all others », the latter include movements and groups which may help build a new coherent so-

cial tissue and insert development concerns in local societies. They probably have a unique role in strengthening local government and helping local communities choose their own development path and projects. Supporting these views, a *French* NGO representative raised two issues of particular significance : which new forms of financial assistance can be devised to assist these groups, bringing into the process, perhaps, other sources of funding as well, such as financial institutions and business? And, how can such arrangements encourage LDC-NGOs to enter more decisively the economic sector rather than focus mainly on socio-cultural issues ?

Many of the interventions summarised so far were concerned with the need for closer consultation and collaboration among the various partners in the development process, in order to strengthen LDC-NGOs and their impact and effectiveness.

In addition, the representative of the *World Bank* mentioned his agency's experience in co-operation with LDC-NGOs for the implementation of project-related activities (some 100-120 cases recorded so far) and the inclusion of NGOs in sector consultations at regional level.

NGO representatives affirmed their strong interest in assisting the extension and nurturing of voluntary participatory movements for development co-operation in developing countries. In many such countries, the local NGOs are becoming mature institutions and they have established international collaboration; in others, the process is barely beginning. Their diversity and their potential for political and other influence on their countries raise both opportunities and sensitive problems for foreign assistance, whether by NGOs or any other foreign part. Local NGOs may also suffer from inadequate access to competent personnel. But it was the consensus of the meeting that the development of local NGOs constitutes an important aspect of social and economic development which should be promoted.

Follow-up

Welcoming the DAC initiative to hold a review of co-operation with NGOs, several participants suggested a more regular process of consultation on this matter, either through general reviews or meetings on more specialised topics, which could take place every 18-36 months (*Canada, Norway, United States*). The *Italian Delegate* expressed an interest in the creation of a

light and flexible consultative mechanism, such as a Correspondents' Group, perhaps in collaboration between the DAC, the Club du Sahel, and the Development Centre, but was aware of resource problems causing reluctance on the part of the Secretariat to take on additional tasks. The Delegates for *Canada* and the *United States* thought this proposal needed to be studied further. The *Chairman* noted (hat the DAC would take account of NGO activities in some of its sectoral aid reviews, when appropriate. On the modalities of possible follow-up work, the suggestion was made by the Chairman of the NGO Liaison Committee with the Commission of the European Communities and by the representative of International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) that the DAC associate other international developmental umbrella organisations in addition to ICVA to future work in this area, such as CIDSE (Cooperation Internationale pour le Développement Socio-Economique) and the World Council of Churches. Representatives of the NGO community could be associated in the planning and preparatory phases of future work.

On the substance of possible future work, the following points were made :

- There was general interest in the Secretariat preparing a revised information document on aid agency co-operation with NGOs to reflect the conclusions of, and additional material made available at the meeting, for wide dissemination.
- It was also felt that the statistical data base needed review to enable better and more comparable assessment of trends in private resource mobilisation, and an updating of information on grants provided by private voluntary agencies, perhaps with help from the Working Party on Statistical Problems.
- Suggestions were made for a meeting on development education, focused on activities in schools (*Italy*) or on the media (*United States*).
- A workshop or seminar was proposed where representatives of NGOs and official development co-operation agencies could discuss strategies for agricultural and rural development in Africa South of the Sahara. This could be organised jointly with the Development Centre (*Italy*).

There will be an occasion to consider future work on aid agency co-operation with NGOs further in connection with the discussions on the DAC over-all work programme.

THE CRISIS OF MULTILATERAL AID

SOME REFLECTIONS*

Introduction

Multilateral systems, particularly the more universal among them, like the UN system agencies, are in a state of acute crisis. This paper, however, is concerned only with multilateral aid agencies, and the crisis which afflicts them is commonly perceived as one of financial constraints. This perception is, indeed, correct, although it will be the contention here that other important operational aspects of multilateral agencies - and particularly of the World Bank - are part of the crisis too, at least from the perspective of aid as an instrument to alleviate poverty. The crisis is one of finance (mainly for the smaller agencies), of policies, of governmental pressures, and distorting linkages (e.g. with IMF conditionality and the demands of international capital markets) which have reduced what little autonomy development aid has to fight Third World poverty.

The most important justification for multilateral aid is that it is targeted on the poorer Third World countries. That is a statistical truism. But does that aid reach the poorest people? Are the policies and

conditionally of multilateral agencies conducive to a greater poverty focus in the governmental policies of these countries? Again, the role of the World Bank is crucial, as its finance is closely linked to general policy prescriptions - unlike UNICEF, for example, which operates in a limited sector and disburses funds for projects with a direct impact on poverty. As noted above, the World Bank (i.e. IDA) is a focal point of this paper, not only because of its share of total multilateral aid (some 40 %), but in view of its significance as a vastly prestigious adviser on general economic policy, which in turn affects all development aid - bilateral and multilateral - and also the allocation of the totality of domestic and external resources available to poorer Third World countries. The criticisms of IDA are made with a view to reform and improvement, and while it can be clearly stated that the general and country-specific policy advice tendered by the World Bank is, at most times, of great relevance, and an important contribution to the policy making process in Third World countries, the Bank is an institution controlled by a few industrialized countries, and its policies must necessarily be in accord with their interests. The Bank and also the IMF cannot afford to raise those issues of structural change - both domestic and foreign - which are crucial to Third World countries but on which there is a conflict of interests between them and the industrialized countries.

par Leelananda de Silva

Hence the thrust of the Bank's recommendation is on certain types of domestic policy reform and this, coupled with its usual silence on structural issues with international linkages (the role of transnational corporations, intra-firm trading, oligopolistic practices in commodity markets and so on), may mean that its advice in only partially sound.

Moreover, no one recipe exists for successful economic and social development, and pragmatic domestic economic policies cannot be based on the World Bank's economics alone, nor for that matter, on those of UNCTAD alone. To illustrate: if the World Bank-IMF policies advocated in the 1950s and 1960s had been pursued in Sri Lanka, the social improvements for which the country is now rightly praised would not have occurred. This raises a most critical issue: the scant availability, particularly for the poorer Third World countries, of alternative sources of policy advice. It is one element of the crisis which could be handled effectively by increasing the capacity for policy advice of the smaller multilateral agencies and non-governmental research institutes. The bilateral donors too should be in a position to appraise a recipient country's policies from a viewpoint somewhat different from that of the World Bank. This aspect assumes a great urgency in view of the World Bank's increasing emphasis on « policy finan-

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cing » . In this context, it is a welcome development that the aid coordination function in sub-Saharan Africa is being entrusted to UNDP and the World Bank; such a sharing of coordination and policy advisory roles will allow for more pluralism in development strategies.

The Pattern of Multilateral Aid

Total Official Development Assistance (ODA) in net terms in 1983 is approximately US\$ 31 billion, of which the multilateral component is about US\$ 6 billion, or 20 % (excluding the European Development Fund (EDF), the OPEC Special Fund and other similar, donor-only aid agencies which cannot be defined as multilateral). Agencies disbursing multilateral aid are many and varied, with the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank accounting for nearly half of the total.

The Crisis in Finance

Multilateral ODA expanded in the two decades prior to 1980. This coincided with an increase in bilateral ODA and several new multilateral aid institutions emerged during this period. These trends have now been halted, and the entire network of multilateral aid agencies is facing critical resources constraints.

To ensure that vitality of the multilateral aid system, it is necessary to sustain, in particular, the dynamism of the smaller agencies, so as to guarantee the essential elements of pluralism and prevent the emergence of a monolithic multilateralism. However, it is precisely these smaller agencies which are most at risk. From a Third World non-governmental view point, a great advantage of multilateral aid is the variety of its sources, which makes it possible for the domestic poverty-focused agencies to obtain financial and intellectual support to strengthen their bargaining position even in a local context.

Two agencies, UNDP and IFAD, both of which have a specific poverty focus, are confronted with severe constraints in resources replenishment. The amounts involved are modest, but low-income countries will inevitably feel the repercussions sooner rather than later.

In the case of the UNDP, resource scarcities will further endanger its primary function as the central funding agency for technical assistance. It is obvious that technical assistance must come from an objective and independent source - especially at a time when commercial aspects of ODA flows are in the ascendant. The scarcity of UNDP resources means that the technical assistance function (particularly the pre-investment sector) is increasingly being taken over by the World Bank, which now channels over US\$ 1 bil-

lion annually for this purpose. The Bank's technical assistance programmes are less satisfactory to the poorer Third World countries than are those of UNDP : firstly, World Bank assistance comes in the form of loans, rather than grants; secondly, from a recipient view, objectivity is greater with UNDP resources than with those of the Bank since, with the former, the recipient has a greater say in the selection of consultants. It is surely desirable for consultancy advice to be independent of the source of subsequent project funding.

Moreover, projects with objectives at variance with the World Bank's preferred country strategy are unlikely to receive pre-investment funding from the Bank. The fact that UNDP technical assistance is not tied to the subsequent provision of capital assistance gives it greater credibility and flexibility in investment decisions. A viable source of autonomous technical assistance is likely to be one of the first casualties of the financial crisis of multilateralism, and of UNDP in particular.

There is one unique multilateral aid agency - the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) - which is mandated to reach out to the rural poor and is concerned not only with increased rural productivity but also with questions of distribution. IFAD's resources are small, yet its continuing replenishment (of about US\$ 1 billion for three years) has created immense problems due to the present pattern of burden-sharing. IFAD was created in the aftermath of OPEC's emergence as a centre of financial surpluses and its resources were to be raised both from OPEC countries as a group and from industrialized countries, in the ratio of 57:43.

Voting power was shared equally among three groups : OPEC countries, other Third World countries and industrialised countries. With the OPEC countries now experiencing some financial disarray, they have claimed a reduced share of the burden of resource supply - and the Northern industrialized countries have countered with a corresponding reduction to maintain the existing ratio. IFAD's resources have suffered, as have projects targeted on the world's poorest people. It might be noted that this aid agency is one of the very few controlled by Third World countries (both donor and recipient) and its rationale should therefore be examined in the context of the overall system of multilateral aid agencies ; Third World countries, particularly OPEC countries, contribute to the World Bank and the IMF, where their share of control is minimal: OPEC countries do not obtain from IFAD the compensatory benefits which accrue to several industrialized countries from World Bank and IMF business (procurement of goods and services, and maintenance of international economic systems); even with IFAD loans for procurement, the industrialized countries are again the major beneficiaries, since they

are the ones with the capacity to supply the required goods and services. Should not such gains be taken into account in any scheme of rational burden-sharing ?

UNICEF, though it has experienced a growth in resources, is still an extremely small aid agency compared with the critical tasks it confronts. World recession, and the crisis situation in Sub-Saharan Africa, have created problems for a whole generation of children which must be adequately tackled if lifelong deprivation, lasting well into the 21st century, is to be prevented. Commensurate replenishment of UNICEF should be high on the list of priorities. It is social expenditures that are being cut, sharply by governments - sometimes on the advice of the IMF and the Bank - and UNICEF is essentially a social aid agency.

The World Food Programme is the only multilateral agency which disburses food aid. The food aid sector is particularly vulnerable to political pressures and is an area where politics can stand directly between life and death. Given the realities of aid policy, food aid must be sustained, at least at present levels, and be geared more towards emergencies. WFP should play an increased role, ideally perhaps handling 50 % of total food aid as compared to 25 % at present. Sub-Saharan Africa will necessarily be an area of concentration for all multilateral aid agencies over the next decade. In that context, one multilateral aid agency which needs to be strengthened both in terms of financial resources and of manpower for policy advice to member countries, is the African Development Bank (AFDB), which has now a major soft-loan window. Africa's unique problems could best be addressed through such a regional organisation, which should be given the potential to develop as a pan-African policy and programme coordinating mechanism. The expansion of AFDB is both a political and an economic pre-requisite for Africa's resurgence.

Regional and sub-regional development banks in Asia and Latin America, the Caribbean and East Africa, and institution such as the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, are effective mechanisms for channelling aid resources; to date, they have received inadequate attention. The future of external resource flows must be linked to the growth of a decentralized multilateral system, based on these institutions or the creation of new ones.

The smaller multilateral agencies, like UNDP, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and the soft loan windows of the regional banks urgently require higher levels of resource replenishments to maintain and increase their relative weight in the multilateral system. The Brandt Report, among others, has called for the strengthening of these agencies vis-a-vis the World Bank, part-

ly because they are more appropriate agencies for reaching the poorest groups in low income Third World countries. The financial crisis has affected the achievement of this objective and the precarious future of these agencies needs to be spotlighted.

trade field has ba-

The World Bank's Central Role

Over the years, the World Bank (i.e. IBRD and IDA) had developed a dominant role on aid issues (we are concerned here only with IDA transactions, not with the intermediary function, effectively discharged by the IBRD, of raising resources from international capital markets and disbursing them to Third World countries). The Bank was not established as an aid agency, and IDA was set up only in 1963. Aid experts in several Third World countries called for an agency quite distinct from IBRD, and the latter itself had reservations regarding the wisdom of its incorporating an aid agency disbursing ODA to the poorer Third World countries, as this might detract from its credit worthiness in capital markets. That debate is still of great relevance to the operations of IDA, in the light of its two decades of experience.

As noted above, multilateral aid has its primary rationale in the elimination of much of the politics which prominently feature in bilateral aid (geographical distribution, type of projects and programmes supported, aid tying and so on). Multilateral aid disbursements, it was thought, could be determined in the light of more technical criteria. IDA aid has been of distinct value to low-income Third World countries but, of late, certain aspects of the World Bank's operations provide major cause for concern now and in the future.

Though IDA disburses around US\$ 2.5 billion (1983) and is by far the major component of multilateral aid, its share in total ODA flows - at less than 1.0 % - is more marginal. In fact, IDA's contribution is not significantly greater than the overall NGO contribution to development assistance. Over the last two decades, IBRD and IDA (the two windows of the World Bank) have marked out somewhat distinctive geographical areas for their operations - IBRD concentrating on about 20 middle-income Third World countries and a few so-called «blend» countries like India, which are eligible for both IBRD and IDA aid, and IDA concentrating exclusively on the low-income countries (with over 30% of disbursements going to India). Without IDA, the Bank would by now have found itself rather less than a « world » bank. In terms of net resources disbursed, IDA is on a par with IBRD. The emerging pattern therefore shows that IDA is crucial to the institutional existence of the World Bank. With the Bank experiencing problems in raising its own resources from international capital markets, IDA's resources tend to be used

to implement the Bank's overall strategies for international economic management, if IDA is now more important for the Bank than it was, should not the Bank's ideology be modified to suit that circumstance, rather than IDA adjusted to suit the international capital markets ? What is needed is greater autonomy for IDA's operations in relation to the Bank's mainstream function of intermediating in international capital markets. To the extent that IDA is used to manage low-income countries in the framework of an overall IMF-World Bank-international capital markets-GATT strategy of international economic management, it is a distortion of the use of ODA. Multilateral ODA should be an international poverty cushion for the poorest. To appreciate fully the present trends which are pushing IDA away from its original role as a multilateral agency channelling poverty-focused aid, the benchmark against which to measure achievements is that aid should reach the poorest groups - not merely the poorest governments. There are several ways in which aid could be utilized to achieve such an outcome. Bilateral donors have looked at various options available to them, including the use of NGOs in small projects, and directing resources more into rural development. It is possible for IDA, just as any other donor, to reach the poor through projects directly targeted on them; projects which stimulate general economic growth, but whose asset and income distribution outcomes are of benefit to them (e.g. an irrigation project but linked to land reform); exercising leverage on governments to alleviate poverty through appropriate adjustments in domestic policies and programmes. IDA aid should be a catalyst to generate a multiplier effect on the amount of resources allocated for anti-poverty programmes. To a certain

sources from WFP and UNICEF.

Several aspects of IDA's emerging new role will not be conducive to a poverty focus. They are briefly commented upon below.

IDA as Part of the World Bank

The operations of IDA are increasingly affected by the Bank's understandable need to maintain its extremely high credit rating in international capital markets. As with those of IBRD, IDA loans are never rescheduled, although all other loans from governments and commercial banks are re-scheduled at times of crisis. The reason for such an attitude is not immediately apparent. If the international capital markets are unable to draw a distinction between IDA and IBRD and see an IDA re-scheduling as detrimental to the Bank's creditworthiness, then there is a strong case for detaching IDA from the World Bank. They are perhaps an ill-matched couple, given the different tasks each has to perform. Aid donors who provide IDA resources should take the lead in emphasizing the IDA-IBRD distinction.

The World Bank is a central actor in the management of the international economic system. Its economic ideology is therefore impregnated with international systems management concerns. In a recent speech (to the Economic Club of Detroit, Michigan, May 23, 1984), the President of the World Bank, Mr. A.W. Clausen stated that :

sically three dimensions:

- to links provide between information trade and analyses on develop-

- to promote, through its operations and its policy dialogue with borrowers, the borrowers' greater integration into the international trading system;

- and to support other institutions' efforts to foster an open trading system ».

A little later he went on to say :
« The loans are designed to assist borrowing countries, meet the transitional costs of adjustment, and act as catalyst for the inflow of private capital. We work in close collaboration with the IMF on these programs, because they are invariably accompanied by programs of stabilization with IMF support ».

If funds raised in the international capital markets are used in middle-income Third World countries, in pursuit of the stated objectives, there can be no serious objection. If there are any, these will be mainly on ideological grounds. But it is relevant to query whether IDA funds could, with propriety, be used in the pursuit of the kind of development strategy described above,

even negative, impact on poverty.

IDA Economic Ideology

IDA's location in the World Bank Group has made it difficult for it to evolve an adequate poverty-focused development strategy for low-income Third World countries, such as those which IFAD and UNICEF are trying to implement - with much smaller resource. In the case of IDA low-income countries, the economic policies promoted either directly through loans or indirectly, through the recommendations made in country economic memoranda, are no different from those prescribed for middle-income IBRD countries. The basic problem is that these policies lack a poverty focus, and do not adequately address issues of redistribution of assets and income, income generation for the poor, choice of technology, and public expenditures for the poor in terms of resource allocations for primary education, primary health care, acceptable nutritional standards and relevant rural infrastructure. Even the Bank's own report. Focus on Poverty, criticises this aspect of its operations.

Devaluation is a preferred strategy of the Bank and IDA in most circumstances of balance of payments constraints; other feasible alternative mechanisms are seldom explored. The price mechanism is seen as central to resource allocation, even in the poorest countries, and adjustments are considered in terms of fixing the right prices for food, energy, health and educational payments. Given the undiversified nature of the economies, output and exports of the countries in question, and their lack of adequate economic and social infrastructure, the effectiveness of resources allocated according to the price mechanism is greatly restricted. Considerations of this kind will often limit the usefulness of devaluation as an instrument for improving the balance of payments. The poor are bound to suffer if prices are given free rein, without a modicum of subsidies, controls and direct rationing of investment resources.

The World Bank's proposed strategies with regard to Sub-Saharan Africa (the Berg report) have already created some controversy in this respect. The extent to which export promotion strategies for food and agriculture should be encouraged by means of IDA loans remains a major issue, who benefits from such strategies? Agricultural and food prices certainly have a role to play, but other elements of a structural nature are even more important, particularly in the context of IDA aid which is expected to reach the poorest groups.

The types of technology promoted through IDA loans are also a matter for some concern, as the choice of technology has a major impact on income distribution, self-reliance and rural industrialisation, and on the role of women. It might be noted that IDA's development strategies cannot be assessed by concentrating exclusively on the published general development literature emanating from the Bank. Unfortunately, the country economic memoranda, usually produced annually, which convey country-specific recommendations, are restricted documents. However, the impression they convey is of inadequate focus on poverty issues and greater concern with economic growth, coupled with a strong belief in the trickle-down process. The Basic Needs dimension of other UN agencies is overshadowed by the Bank's role as adviser to a Country's treasury on the best methods of resource husbandry. But is that the leverage IDA funds should provide the Bank?

The Role of Aid Coordinator

Were the World Bank's policy prescriptions — even if some were considered inappropriate — tied only to its own aid projects, then it would be possible to judge the Bank's aid component as a single element of a total strategy. However, the World Bank is now emerging as a coordinator of both bilateral and multilateral aid

(or a large number of Third World countries. The function of coordination occurs at two levels: in the recipient country through aid consortia and policy advice, along with the IMF a times, and globally via the international policy-making process.

The aid coordination function of the World Bank needs to be assessed carefully as it has far-reaching implications for multilateral aid. It was not a function visualised, for example, by the Pearson Commission when it urged an increase in multilateral aid. Coordination efforts need to be doubly scrutinised as they imply the imposition of one school of economic thought rather than another. Leverage of the Bank has now increased with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Loans which are programme rather than project finance. The World Bank coordinates policies for a large number of Third World countries (nearly 30) through the mechanism of aid consortia. The World Bank report on each country has an important bearing on donor policies and preferences. In these reports, the Bank prescribes an overall strategy for the use of a Third World country's total external and domestic resources and not only ODA. The allocation of ODA is most obviously affected by such strategies. It should be borne in mind that the World Bank works closely with the IMF in this regard, and over the last few years, the area of IMF-IBRD coordination has expanded substantially, with more and more Third World countries forced to obtain access to IMF high conditionality tranches. The Bank's close working relationship with IMF should be closely scrutinised in regard to the impact that it has on use of IDA funds (in fact, a Third World country cannot obtain IDA resources unless it is a member of the IMF).

The World Bank's other, and relatively new, means of coordination is through the IMF-IBRD Development Committee. Consisting of ministerial representatives (Finance Ministers) of both industrialized and Third World countries, the Committee has gradually enlarged its functions as a coordinating mechanism for all external resource flows to Third World countries. Even trade and cooperation with GATT fall within its purview. The weight attached to the Committee by the governments of the USA, UK and FRG is evident from the recent proposal that the Committee oversee changes in the international monetary system. The Committee is serviced by the World Bank and has recently undertaken a comprehensive study on Aid Effectiveness, to illustrate just one of its concerns relevant in this context. Here we can only flag the issue of the Committee's impact on the future direction of bilateral and multilateral aid. ODA will increasingly lose its rationale if looked upon as just one part of external resources flows, without the qualitative distinction of being the international support mechanism for the poorest people, not governments and economies. As noted above, the Bank's ODA operations are indirectly linked with the need to

satisfy the International capital markets as to the Bank's credentials. In recent years, the trend both of the Bank and of its major donors, has been to emphasize the role of direct foreign investment and co-financing arrangements with commercial banks. It is not yet clear to what extent such a reorientation of strategy will affect IDA operations. If IDA funds are used as co-finance along with those of commercial banks, a commercial link will be established in ODA operations which is not necessarily satisfactory for the pursuit of an anti-poverty strategy. Projects of interest to commercial banks are certainly not those focused on the poorest groups. The coordination of commercial flows might therefore be an inappropriate task for a poverty-focused aid agency. Such an arrangement for highly concessionary aid might lead to use of IDA funds as a kind of mixed-credit to subsidise commercial operations by banks and other foreign investors - a move for which IBRD funds are appropriate, but not those of IDA.

The Policy Advisory Role

The Bank has emerged as an economic policy adviser to Third World countries on a scale not visualised twenty years ago. Modest amounts of project and programme finance accompany significant interventions in domestic and external economic policies. The Bank's resources with a staff of 2500 professionals and a budget of over US\$ 500 million obtained from its own profits, stand way beyond the resources available to any other UN agency (compare UNCTAD's US\$ 30 million annual budget). The Bank therefore has the financial resources to build up an intellectual base for its own ideology which cannot easily be challenged by other development agencies with very little resources at their disposal, particularly for country studies. This is a worrying feature in a system of multilateralism which has to be more pronouncedly plural in development philosophy.

Of the multilateral aid agencies, it is the World Bank which has the greatest impact on overall policy conditioning, though the other smaller agencies may have some influence on sub-sectors. In this context, it is imperative that the World Bank's role should be seen alongside its close working relationship with the IMF. Here again, no definitive answers can be provided although some important questions need to be raised.

Aid, in theory, should reach the poorest groups. Do IMF-IBRD policies which are recommended or implemented usually in tandem ensure this desirable outcome? This is especially significant as IMF-IBRD prescriptions affect not only the aid they give, but all external assistance flows. For aid to reach the poorest groups, it should, to the greatest extent possible, be an autonomous component of the total framework of external resource flows - from

trade, to borrowing abroad and IMF purchases. However, due to the way IMF-IBRD pushes aid - bilateral and multilateral - towards as great an integration as possible with every other kind of resource flow, the poverty focus of aid is inevitably affected. Problems are bound to arise when resources are viewed from a purely governmental perspective. To a Third World government, a dollar earned through trade or aid is the same as long as that government is free to use it to finance its own priorities; governmental priorities, however, are not necessarily those of the Third World poor. Moreover, IMF-IBRD itself had other priorities for aid: squaring-up balance of payments, meeting debt obligations in time, directing more funds towards export-oriented strategies, and so on. It is not that these are unimportant; they are extremely urgent tasks, but not ones for which IDA funds should be available.

The above detailed critical analysis of IDA linkages was undertaken with a view to spotlighting the pitfalls for a poverty-focused agency if it moves too far towards collaboration with the IMF and international capital markets. There are strong pressures in that direction by governments, both in the South and the North. It must be preserved and strengthened, but the important distinction between IDA and the IBRD must always be borne in mind. IDA obtains its resources from the aid budgets of bilateral donors, and not from international capital markets. Resources obtained in that manner should be focused on poverty alleviation. IDA, in contrast to the IBRD, should therefore link itself more with the poverty-focused parts of the multilateral and bilateral systems - UNICEF, IFAD, UNHCR, UNDP - and with non-governmental organizations, rather than with IMF, GATT, the creditor commercial banks and the Chambers of Commerce. External resource flows, just like governmental expenditures serve many purposes and poverty-focused aid should not be diluted with other external flows in the same manner that domestically a government is obliged to keep its expenditures on social security and defence apart.

Policies for a Strong Multilateralism

However inadequate the present framework for multilateral aid, the case can only be made for strengthening it, not for dismantling the fragile edifice which has been gradually built up over four decades. Arguments for multilateralism are rooted in its qualitative superiority over bilateral aid. It is imperative for multilateral aid to be ahead even of the few high-quality donors (the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and a few other smaller donors from the North). If the qualitatively superior aid donors are to channel funds through multilateral aid agencies, then multilateral aid has also to be qualitatively

superior. In prescribing policies for the future, the criteria for multilateral aid agencies should therefore be their inherent ad-

vantage over all bilateral aid donors in reaching the poor. The recommendations below are set out with that perspective in

a) *The role of IDA*: the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank should be more autonomous from the mainstream functions of the World Bank - raising resources in international capital markets and disbursing them to middle-income Third World countries. Policies for the low-income countries for which IDA is responsible must be shaped in a manner which ensures that aid in all its forms reaches the poorest groups in these countries. IDA leverage must be used to enhance the direct poverty focus of governmental policies. With the increasing IDA concern for Sub-Saharan Africa, such a perspective assumes major importance (though the Berg report of 1982, with its emphasis on export orientation even of food production leaves room for scepticism regarding IDA policies). Also, in the case of IDA countries, the relationship with IMF, the role of co-financing with commercial banks, policies towards direct foreign investment and export-oriented strategies must be tempered by IDA's priority tasks of alleviating poverty; this must not suffer from and exclusive concern with rates of economic growth. In the same way that IBRD must assuage the international capital markets, IDA must satisfy its donor countries that the ODA channelled through it is used for poverty alleviation.

b) *Sources of policy advice*: the World Bank has established a hegemony over policy advice to Third World countries which is not conducive to strong multilateral pluralism. The Bank's policies are influenced by a consistent economic ideology which has much to be said for it in certain circumstances, but not in all. They are affected to a great extent by the current fashion in more powerful donor government circles. The World Bank also works increasingly with the IMF (and GATT) in managing the world economy. The policy advice given to Third World countries is heavily influenced by the imperatives of systems management (in contrast to the need for systems reform), and IDA, too, is used to sustain this same type of policy advice. In this context, the smaller multilateral aid agencies must strengthen their capacity to tender policy advice, and the intrinsic pluralism of the multilateral system in terms of analysis, prescriptions and ideology must be ensured. (The economic policies advocated, for example, by the Economic Commission for Latin America are at variance at times from those of the World Bank, and that type of alternative policy recommendation has to be made available to Third World countries from the multilateral system). NGOs, in particular the research institutes of the North and South, have a role in providing country-specific policy advice, taking note of the

need to use ODA for poverty-focused strategies.

c) *Relative weight in the multilateral system*: the multilateral aid system should be engineered to develop in such a way that the smaller agencies obtain a greater relative weight in the future. This would obviously mean an enhanced policy co-ordinating role, and an increased function of aid co-ordination for them. Proposals to this effect have been made by the Brandt Report among others. In the last decade, the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa will be uppermost in multilateral aid concerns. Agencies like UNDP (see the Round Table mechanism for Least Developed Countries), UNICEF, the World Council, the World Food Programme and IFAD have the opportunity to coordinate with the revitalised African Development Bank, along with IDA, in formulating country-specific, poverty-focused strategies.

d) *Technical assistance*: technical assistance is a central element in enabling Third World countries to overcome their poverty. Objectivity is of the essence in technical assistance, as the policies, programmes and projects which are developed on the basis of that assistance must be geared totally to the interests of the recipient country. The UN system developed a mechanism for this purpose and expected UNDP to be the central funding agency in the multilateral aid system. UNDP is an institution in which Third World and industrialized countries formulate policies on the basis of consensus and Third World countries have the right to obtain the expertise and the consultancy firms of their own choice. However, in recent years, the role of the World Bank in technical assistance has grown enormously and far outstrips that of UNDP. In the context of the low-income countries at least, UNDP should be the primary channel for technical assistance and should be assured of the resources necessary for this purpose.

e) *Multilateral agency-NGO collaboration*: multilateral aid agencies, by their very nature as inter-governmental organisations, maintain close contact with both Third World and industrialized country governments; the non-governmental sector has been relatively neglected. Apart from a few agencies (such as UNICEF), there is room for greater cooperation with NGOs in promoting poverty-focused strategies. It might be noted that the World Bank and IMF consult with private sector institutions - commercial banks in the North, chambers of commerce and the like in Third World countries - when preparing country economic memoranda. However, the poverty-focused NGOs have been left out though there have been some signs of change in recent years. The smaller multilateral aid agencies could devise modalities to tap the creative potential inherent in NGOs for coordinated approaches in financing, project design and execution and monitoring of anti-poverty programmes.

PRIVATE INITIATIVES AND THE COHESION OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

by James Robert Huntley*

Part I

This text includes the findings, conclusions and recommendations of an inquiry in three parts published by the Battelle Memorial Institute into the conditions and functions of 154 private voluntary associations (PVAs) and other independent institutions in Western countries. The second part presents analyses and interprets the statistical and anecdotal material gathered in the inquiry. A Directory of organizations studies is contained in Part 3.

FOREWORD

Battelle is a large, independent, nonprofit research organization whose mission is to use science and technology in the service of mankind. Like other institutions engaged in multinational work, we are acutely aware of the need for a reasonably secure, steady international environment for the well-being of all humanity. No element is more vital to the stability of this environment than the unity of the West. In Battelle's recent research, we have devoted increasing attention to some overriding international problems, among them the key issue of whether the democracies can indeed continue to cohere and to cooperate, in the past, Battelle's senior advisor on international affairs. James R. Huntley, has written about the intergovernmental network of close ties which bind the West together (1).

The Report which follows is about a related set of developments, little-noted however in the newspapers or even by the scholarly world. Little by little, private,

nonprofit initiative is beginning to knit together a social substructure for what used to be called the « *Atlantic community* », and which now reaches to the Western Pacific as well. These non-economic and non-governmental developments-private initiatives for the public good-have important social, economic, cultural, and political implications for the West, indeed for the whole world.

Mr. Huntley has turned his attention to these non-governmental, non-business links between the NATO and OECD countries. This Report (2) contains the gist of his findings and recommends steps which voluntary groups, foundations, corporations, and governments could take to repair and strengthen this critical network of independent nonprofit institutions which work for the public good of the nascent community of democracies.

This report is not just a one-time investigation; it represents years of Mr. Huntley's accumulated experience. For more than three decades - as a diplomat, foundation executive, and director of international vo-

luntary organizations - he has worked directly within the network he has now examined in detail.

The principal recommendation of this Report is that a new private foundation be created to support independent, nonprofit, and voluntary work which can strengthen communication and understanding among the peoples and nations of the West.

This is an idea that deserves consideration by concerned citizens in all the democracies. The function of the private voluntary associations and their needs, including the rather disturbing erosion of support for many of them, should be brought to the attention of those who could help if they would - in the corporate world, in foundations, in governments, and among private individuals.

This report, we believe, serves that purpose well.

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THE SITUATION OF THE WEST

In a time of flux, views and visions of the world tend to multiply. For more than a generation, the unity of the Western democracies seemed axiomatic - so necessary that it would somehow be maintained against all obstacles. As the years have worn on, however, public understanding of the great life-and-death issues of our time has become clouded. More and more, reasonable and responsible people differ as to the best approaches to danger and complexity. It becomes more difficult in such times, especially in democracies, to establish priorities in foreign policy, and more difficult still to hold to them.

However, despite the new complexities and the heightened confusion, there are powerful reasons why the argument that the West * must stand together is as valid as ever.

Western Unity Still Essential

The world economy cannot run without the vital Western engine. Despite the rise of new industrial economies (South Korea, Brazil, others), newly-rich oil nations, or the Soviet bloc economies, it is still the West which generates three-fourths of the globe's product and trade. Western companies are the main force sustaining and enlarging a world market. The West's banks finance the bulk of world growth. Western science and technology underwrite world development. Western governments supply vital aid to the Third World, and Western-led institutions, by and large, hold the vital core together.

Even if one accepts different premises about the way the world economy should operate, it seems evident that a fractured and disunited West would mean chaos for all countries. If the Western nations, however, pull together, then the Third World stands a better chance of getting effective help. The fact that the world now waits for the Western « *locomotive* » to generate global recovery is strong evidence for this view.

The prospect of a disunited West poses an even starker outlook for global security and political stability. Effective indigenous security systems in such regions as the Western Pacific, the Middle East, Latin America, or Africa are not yet possible. Without the assistance and - in some cases - protection of the United States and other Western countries, the opportunities for most Third World countries to enhance their own independence and develop internal stability and prosperity would be much more restricted.

In Europe, the Atlantic Alliance has been the *sine qua non* of security and prosperity for more than three decades.

If the United States were to withdraw from such collective defense commitments as NATO, ANZUS, NORAD or the Japan security treaties, it would mean eventual isolation for her in an increasingly hostile and fractious world environment. The other Western countries would feel the loss at least equally: unless coupled with America's deterrent power, her allies are not defensible.

Before discussing the new strains which affect Western cohesion, it is important to acknowledge the existence and validity of other perspectives and world-views. Putting a top priority on Western unity may not be everyone's cup of tea, but it is the main premise of this Report. Such are the main arguments for Western unity.

Strains in the West

Today the Western democracies appear to be at a critical juncture in their common affairs. The central premise of Western unity is not as widely accepted or understood as it once was. Economic and power pressures on the West and on the world are great. New factors, such as energy shortages or the greatly-increased power of the Soviet Union, have developed which threaten to challenge Western capabilities beyond their present limits. North-South relations seem, on balance, to be deteriorating. The international monetary system is inadequate for the burdens it now bears. The current recession has been deep and pervasive. It no longer seems so easy for nations to sacrifice supposed short-term gain for long-term » community » or global interests.

There is another new and special factor which seriously affects Western unity: some observers call it the problem of the » successor generation ». Anyone younger than forty-five has little or no direct memory of the Second World War or the events which immediately followed it. Such momentous and constructive acts as the creation of the United Nations, the launching of the Marshall Plan, the establishment of the European Communities and NATO, and the rise to independence of a hundred new nations are now, for those under forty, matter for the history books. Even to people nearing fifty, the sharp contrast between the Great Depression and the relative affluence of today's world, or the contrast between a Europe dominated by Hitler and the peace and freedom of Western Europe today, are not matters of personal record. It is hard to worry overmuch about losing one's liberty or prosperity if one has known nothing else.

However, for the new generations who have not shared the experiences which so conditioned and animated their elders, the

realities of more recent experience suggest a different set of world coordinates. The declining power of the United States, the revealed impotence of the United Nations, the severe and prolonged instability accompanying the emergence of most new nations, the ambiguous outcome of the Vietnam cataclysm, the seizure of - oil power » by the OPEC cartel, the failure of Europe to complete its unification, and many other events and trends which have seemed to symbolize the powerlessness of good or the possibilities for misusing power are all elements which today make it more difficult for younger people everywhere to accept or understand the premises and priorities of an older generation.

No doubt some kind of new synthesis of world views will arise from the present confusion and disjunctions. But meanwhile, responsible men and women, younger as well as older, must in democracies choose those who will govern them and their affairs, and make their voices known in the shaping of the destinies of their nations.

All these strains and pressures cannot disguise the continued imperative for Western unity, but they make it increasingly difficult for political leaders to function in a community atmosphere using community methods. The objective requirements of public policy and the perceptions of the electorates are, in many ways, drifting apart.

The Trifold Social Structure of the Modern West

Domestically and internationally, modern Western society rests on a trifold structure : the economy, the polity, and a more nebulous « independent sector ».

Everyone acknowledges the importance of politics and economics. The Western nations' businesses, banks, trade unions and farmers form a clearly-defined *for-profit sector* of human activity. Our security and our government of the whole are cared for by those whom we elect and the civil servants they appoint, comprising the *political sector*.

The third leg of the tripod of modern Western society, however, - *the independent sector* - is ill-defined and amorphous - a veritable hodgepodge of varied human activity, ranging from charities to fraternal orders, from universities to political pressure groups, and from religious institutions to private foundations and endowments. Sir George Haines once called these free-standing, non-profit institutions « the capillary system of a modern democratic society » (3). Our individual Western societies could not do without them.

This Report concerns a portion of this « independent sector » - those private voluntary associations (PVAs) and other independent non-profit bodies which undertake private initiatives in the public interest. Our scope is further limited to groups whose work is directed at the interaction of the peoples and the governments of the Western democracies. For the purposes of this Report, we shall call these groups » PVAs » (private voluntary associations).

Social Invention on an Unprecedented Scale

If one looks back at the period 1947-1965, one can see a tremendous time of « *international architecture* » - a flowering of political creative ness in the West which brought into being such important elements of world order as NATO, the OEEC (later OECD) and the Marshall Plan, the European Communities, the Council of Europe, EFTA, NORAD, ANZUS, and other subsidiary but also very important arrangements among the key countries of the West and, later, Japan. The proliferation of many less formal yet tangible and practical ties among these governments also tended to strengthen what gradually became a remarkably efficient and resilient international system.

In the private economic sector, the international integration of institutions took place with equal swiftness and significance. World trade burgeoned, international banking developed exponentially, and the multinational business enterprise became a prominent fixture of the global scene. Not only did the Western countries greatly increase their trade with one another, but they began to invest heavily and extensively in one another's economies on a direct and active basis.

Alongside these important political and economic developments, from the early 1950s grew a more or less parallel set of *non-government (independent sector) bodies* expressing the will of the peoples concerned and the desire of civic leaders and intellectuals to buttress the new intergovernmental and economic creations with the "social tissue". of community relationships at all levels. In some cases, private associations and international « think tanks » afforded innovative thinkers the chance to move out ahead of governments and chart new paths for international cooperation. The OECD, for example, was not alone - or even especially - a creation of the governments concerned. Three or four different bodies of eminent persons outside government conceived the idea and, in private partnerships that reached across national borders, lobbied effectively for the establishment of that body, which was able to establish a high priority on development aid for the entire West, tie the United States to Europe economically, and give Japan its proper place in the Western economic firmament, sharing both benefits and responsibilities.

In the European community-building process a few PVAs (e.g., Monnet's Action Committee for a United States of Europe) were extremely effective. On the Atlantic level, an event such as the Atlantic Congress of 1959, initiated and carried out by members of parliaments and private groups, can be cited as an outstanding example of citizen action at work.

In the 1970s, the private Trilateral Commission convinced leading governments that the World Bank should open a new « *loan window* for less-developed countries.

At times when NATO needed public support for difficult and urgent decisions, bodies such as the Atlantic Treaty Association or the Atlantic Institute responded with new ideas or with public declarations and educational campaigns by groups of private citizens. It is common knowledge among those who were part of the history of this particular period that many of the unprecedented political creations of the time, including the European Communities, would probably never have come about had not a powerful effort been undertaken to organize private, non-governmental support by intellectuals, academics, businessmen, labor leaders, and other essential sectors of the societies concerned.

In the modern, interdependent, highly complex post-1945 world - and especially among the advanced democracies - major questions of war and peace, international prosperity, or of democracy itself have not been left, nor could they have been left, to governments alone to sort out. If new international arrangements were needed, or if governments had to move ahead within old arrangements simply to do the minimum that was necessary, they needed the support of publics, and above all of the thinking, educated elements of their electorates. To manage international interdependence successfully, especially among the countries which are most interdependent (for shorthand purposes, the overlapping 16 countries of NATO and the 24 countries of OECD), private bodies had a vital role to play. With hindsight, it seems essential for cooperating governments and intergovernmental bodies to have relied in major ways on the support, as well as the independent criticism, of the private, non-profit *independent sector, organized internationally*. That sector is the focus of this Report.

This development was unprecedented in world history.

The Role of the Independent Sector in Public Affairs

Overwhelmed by the complexity of the modern world and bombarded by fast-media coverage of events - often hapha-

zard, superficial, and irresponsible - the ordinary citizen of an advanced democracy has great difficulty making sense of his world, knowing how to instruct his elected officials, or how to make his voice heard when it comes to complicated international matters. It is difficult enough to cut through the complexities of local or national civic affairs; to do so with respect to world matters is today virtually impossible, except in the most general terms, for the average person.

But with or without an informed public, governments must act. And it is one burden of this Report that those who run modern governments today do not, by themselves, constitute an adequate « *critical mass of leadership* » to get the necessary and important things done among and between and by the industrial democracies. An indispensable intermediary - in fact, often the key to political action - is the leadership *outside* the governments of the countries involved, interacting with those inside governments and with the *electorates*. Very few important international steps, short-term or long-term in nature, today can be expected to succeed unless both these elements of leadership, governmental and non-governmental, are at work and interacting well. Indeed, one measure of the truth of this statement may be the present lack of consensus among non-governmental leaders in most democracies as to the dimensions of our current predicament and what should be done about it - on the one hand - and the timidity, fractionated consensus, and narrow national views now surfacing within and among allied political circles, on the other.

Collectively the PVAs have so far played an important and helpful role in keeping alliance relationships on an even keel, in filling gaps in public knowledge caused by media distortions, in keeping the publics at least somewhat informed with respect to the » basics » of international affairs, and (through independent research) in helping governments form policy based on sound knowledge and information.

Such is the historical case for building strong, well-led voluntary associations and independent research institutions, to mix liberally in the « *community affairs* » of the advanced democracies, playing an important role in the education of the general public. What has heretofore been done in modern democracies on a domestic basis, should become a permanent feature of their international life together; so far, however, this is only partially and tentatively the case.

The network of non-governmental, non-profit bodies which was built up rather laboriously over the past 30 years to support and stimulate the democratic governments in their work of international community building has recently become seriously weakened.

Many of these valuable independent, voluntary organizations are struggling today for survival, most of them under-financed, some in financial peril. Some have brought problems on themselves. Many are working with old ideas and old methods. Some are more or less quiescent. Ageing leadership characterizes a good number. But other problems of the PVAs are those of society at large. In particular, the problem

of the « successor generation » has hit these institutions and associations with a vengeance, just as it has also, in a larger sense, eroded the continuity of allied policy, the base of public support for, and the very structures of, international cooperation. Furthermore, public fads and fashions - such as the emphasis on « development » in the South at the expense of cohesion in the North itself - have led to

further deterioration of the funding base for a private educational effort and knowledge-building which must necessarily be of a long-term nature. The network of PVAS is still an asset of peoples and governments in the West, but it is today a wasting asset. The remainder of this Report is devoted to an examination of PVAs and their problems, and to a set of recommendations for action.

THE STATE OF THE PVAS

In the Spring of 1983, Battelle completed a one-year inquiry into the work of 155 PVAs in a dozen key Western countries. Information about the financing, scope of activity, constituencies, relationships with other bodies, and general problems common to the field was gathered and analyzed, with the advice of a number of independent, knowledgeable persons with foundation and government experience. The detailed findings of this inquiry, available from Battelle, are contained in a separate document, Part II : *Notes and Documentation. A Directory of Organizations* (Part III), with details on more than 200 PVAs. has also been compiled.

Some broad conclusions as to the state of PVAs which work to improve communication, understanding, and cooperation among the Western democracies are set forth below, in the hope that more knowledge of these institutions and their problems will lead to more effective support for them in their important work of building a better international environment.

Who are the Private Voluntary Associations ?

They share these characteristics :

1. Independent, self-directing, and non-profit-making.
2. Self-chosen governing bodies.
3. Private professional staffs, not civil servants; also, volunteers in conspicuous roles.
4. Finances usually or mainly from private sources, with a minority (4) receiving substantial funds from government.
5. Primary purpose : private initiatives for the public good.
6. Operating, not grant-making, organizations.

In our inquiry, we consciously excluded religious institutions and (except in a few cases) universities, because their proper study would have exceeded the resources at our command. We have also omitted most groups whose character was judged to be ephemeral, or « *single-issue* », e.g., those organized to protest nuclear weapons or promote the single tax.

Our main concern has been with groups whose main activity is devoted to the NATO and OECD group of countries. We have also studied some other PVAs whose work has a broader cast, but who nevertheless make a significant contribution to improved Western relations.

Here are the main categories of organizations we have examined :

- a. Leadership groups, such as Bilderberg or the Ditchley Foundation, which bring together people of influence and authority to discuss public issues.
- b. Partisan political groups who wish to promote their chosen approaches to public issues internationally. (Examples : Socialist International, Heritage Foundation, Centre for Independent Studies [Sydney]).
- c. Non-partisan « cause » groups; examples - Committee for the Free World, Federal Union, and the Atlantic Treaty Association.
- d. Independent research centres, studying public problems and policies. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies.)
- e. Media-sponsored educational or research institutions, including programs of Japanese, Italian, and French newspaper or book publishers. (Il Mulino, Bologna; Yomiuri Research Institute).
- f. General education institutions (other than schools and universities), such as World Affairs Councils, The European-Atlantic Movement, or the Aspen Institute.
- g. « Hyphenated » organizations (including France-Etats-Unis, the Carl Schurz Gesellschaft, or the English-Speaking Union) which strive to create goodwill among peoples, usually on a bilateral basis.
- h. Educational exchange organizations (A.I.E.S.E.C.. Youth for Understanding).
- i. Group interchange and civic bodies, e.g., Sister-Cities, People-To-People.
- j. Professional groups whose main purpose is to promote the public interest

(e.g., German-American Lawyer's Association, Interallied Confederation of Reserve Officers, the Association of Former Members of Congress, and counterparts in other Western countries).

- k. Alumni associations of people who have shared a common educational experience; for example, the British Fulbright Scholars Association; the Anciens of the NATO Defense College.

We have been able to identify around 200 PVAs of the kind described above. There are no doubt more; the combined size and complexity of the Western societies insures that no survey net could be fine enough to screen them all. Furthermore, new PVAs are continually surfacing, others falling away.

Increasingly, these PVAs are forming into networks to promote kindred ideas, cut costs, or learn from one another. Among these webs of interest are international groupings of economic institutes, of defense and strategic studies centers, of peace institutes, of groups who espouse various kinds of economic models, of bodies which support NATO or other inter-governmental organizations, of groups promoting Pacific basin cooperation, and of others which specialize in US-European Community relations.

Whom do the PVAs Serve ?

Most such groups try to reach « leaders », or people they think will become leaders, with their various program activities. Such elite participants are called by various names : « influential », « opinion-leaders », « decision-makers », or « multipliers ». But it is clear that the principal target is people to whom other people listen, whose opinions count more than ordinarily, or who are actually involved in helping to shape public policy.

It is difficult to know with any accuracy how many individuals are touched by the combined programs of these 200 PVAs. but we can estimate conservatively that the audiences total several hundred thousand each year.

The social groups which PVAs cited most frequently as their « target audiences » are

businessmen, academics, political leaders, journalists, and government officials. Trade union leaders and teachers are also important constituencies, although less so. There are many small, specialized PVAs which tailor their programs to very particular sectors of society, such as » trans-cultural workers », » economists », » lawyers », or « aides to parliamentarians ». A few rather large PVAs (and some smaller ones) concentrate on the broad category of » youth »: most of these are engaged in arranging for student exchanges or » homestays » abroad. The wells of alumni of these exchange programs are many and deep among the democracies: one organization alone, the Experiment in International Living, counts more than 200,000 alumni, mainly in Western countries. The new « Summit Countries Youth Exchange Program », proposed by President Reagan in 1982, will augment the numbers of such private interchanges; youth exchange has suddenly become a growth industry.

One of the problems faced by many PVAs is the *renewal of constituencies*; one often hears the complaint that « meetings contain the same old people », or that « it is getting more difficult each year to attract Americans of stature » to conferences in Europe. Still other PVAs complain that they are « preaching to the converted », but that it is not easy to change. *Age is an especially important factor; many well-established groups have difficulty recruiting younger persons to their programs*, and also in « retiring » older persons gracefully from positions of authority.

These are illustrative problems of the PVAs, but in this field there are also growth and new opportunities. It appears, for example, to be relatively easy to approach and involve politicians. The phenomenal development and public service record, for example, of the Association of Former Members of Congress and similar bodies among Western European and Japanese parliamentarians is notable. Associations of young political leaders are flourishing in many countries; an Australian counterpart has just been organized within the network. The advent of the « Pacific Democrat Union » (of conservative parties in Pacific democracies) and the American Political Foundation provide further evidence that informal international cooperation among political people is growing apace.

In another sphere of politics, the « peace movement » has brought forth a new response in the form of youthful groups in various countries which see « peace » as a much broader, deeper question than proposals for freezes or unilateral disarmament. CONWEST-USA, CONWEST-Europe and a number of new initiatives in the Netherlands and England are all examples of this trend.

While some sectors of the public are thus being paid more attention, *there is one very*

special constituency that is being demonstrably short-changed: those who would study the areas and cultures of their closest allies and partners. A recent Rockefeller Foundation study (5) showed that Western European area studies programs in the US, both in university-affiliated and independent research institutes, had suffered large declines in income. By contrast, American area studies programs directed towards the Middle East and Asia showed substantial gains. The study of the United States in Europe, both at secondary and tertiary levels, has also tended to decline and solid corrective work is needed, both in research and education (6).

How PVAs Work

Virtually all PVAs we know of work in one of two main ways: either they are involved in education and persuasion, formally or informally - or they engage in study, research, and analysis of international problems and policies. A few, of course, mix the two. Holding seminars and conferences is the most frequent technique employed by PVAs. The publication of articles, pamphlets, books, and other printed matter is also common. Some groups seek to get their ideas circulated indirectly, by working with the communications media. It is interesting, however, that the most important « fast medium » of all, television, does not figure in the programs of most of these PVAs; there is still a pronounced preference for face-to-face encounters between individuals and groups, whether in exchange programs or meetings of a wide variety.

This leads to a conclusion we believe is important: *In a world so obviously dominated by television, PVAs may be missing an important opportunity.* The results of important independent research on major Western policy questions, for example, surface only infrequently in newspapers, hardly ever in TV. This is not to say that constructive new insights and ideas do not find their way by other means from private sources into government or other decision-making circles (for they often do), but that independent research centers and PVAs whose mission is largely educational do not seem to be using the « fast media » in ways which might help to reduce the gap in perception between the general public and those who are better equipped to « filter » international information in balanced and sophisticated ways.

The specific problem we see here is this: Since around 1950, when many of the PVAs considered here were founded to fill large gaps in scholarship and public understanding the social means of transferring information has changed radically. In Western society most notably, we have now entered the electronic age; the advent of cable and direct-satellite TV, improvements in radio reception and inter-

national news coverage, the VCR, computers and computer data banks - these and many other new channels spread before viewers and listeners a veritable cornucopia (some might choose another expression) of supposed « facts » and general information. Add to this communications phenomenon the great burgeoning of international travel which has accompanied rising standards of living and continually improving jet service, and one senses that today's average citizen of a Western democracy knows a great deal more about his counterparts abroad than did his parents thirty years ago.

But can it be said that the average citizen's understanding of the world has been improved? Doubtfully. There may indeed be a great deal more confusion and uncertainty today. Perhaps the certainty of an earlier age reflected a more passive citizenry, more ready to accept the judgment of those in authority, especially with respect to international affairs. Indeed the ordinary person around 1950 received much less information « input » on which to base intelligent judgments. Many other factors have no doubt been at work. The results of today's « information explosion » are certainly good mixed with the bad. But there can be little doubt that, in confronting this recent explosion of public information, the average citizen is poorly-equipped to sift what is important from what is not, out of all the « input » coming his way. Nor does he have the background - the mental framework - with which to make intelligent appraisals of what is happening internationally. If he cannot analyze his "input" properly, his « output » in elections and other civic activity will inevitably be defective, too.

In view of this important gap between information and accurate perception, we draw two conclusions: (1) *the long-term educational mission of PVAs, helping persons who seek a better overall comprehension of world affairs, is much more important than it was previously;* and (2) *PVAs ought to consider much more seriously how they themselves can work with and use the communication media - and especially TV - to further these educational ends.*

Governments cannot ordinarily do much about this problem of creating better « filters of input », except insofar as the curricula of schools and, to a lesser extent, colleges can be affected by legislatures and other public authorities. But even if successful, such efforts are directed mainly at tomorrow's voters, not today's. There is a tremendous challenge to fill this gap, it is most urgent among the peoples of the advanced democracies, whose « media exposure » is greatest and whose opinions, in the form of votes and occasionally through political pressure groups, count for much more than in countries where elections are non-existent or pro forma. The challenge is world-wide, but the main work for some time to come will still be in the West.

PVAs have Leadership Problems

Many PVAs, especially those which began then work in the early days of the Cold War, are suffering from an *ageing of leadership*: several groups told us, « We need younger board members and sponsors ». In discussions with foundation executives and government officials to whom such groups often come for funds, this view was confirmed : a significant number of PVAs (although certainly not all) have been run by essentially the same generation of leaders for many years. In such cases, some - changing of the guard » is inevitable with the passage of years, but those who retire are usually replaced by other sexagenarians or septuagenarians. Sometimes organizations have been formed to do important work specifically among such groups of « elder statesmen » ; in such cases, the formula « fits ». But in other cases, the problem is acute and seriously affects the continuity of the work of many PVAs -even their existence. A solution to the ageing question is not so easy as it might seem. Older leaders are often reluctant to turn over affairs to younger ones (a more or less normal state in human affairs), but many times even if the elders genuinely desire to do so, *they cannot find young laders willing and able to carry on the work*. As one of our respondents explained to us :

«Older» people in charge... have a cause they feel strongly about. This may be the basic difference. They believe strongly that the teamwork and cooperation of the members of the Western Alliance are basic to the stability and the peace of Western Europe. The younger generation does not have the strong conviction that makes it possible for them to take on responsibilities of (this) kind. They don't, in other words, have a cause of the kind the older generation has - partly because they weren't involved in the developments of the post-war period.

Perhaps our friend, to some extent, was dodging the question or rationalizing. From other, younger people we have heard the opposite complaint - that they might see the world differently from the elders; but that now it's « their turn » , in any case, and they are still denied the chance. Which leads us to yet another conclusion : *A combination of demographic and historical factors dictate that many PVAs will face a leadership crisis in the next few years, if they have not already come to it.* PVAs which do not arrange a successful transition, involving some synthesis of views and priorities among younger and older leaders, will find one of two other things happening :

Either the Successor Generation - oblivious of the elders - will take over the leadership, revamping the PVAs methods, purposes and agenda... in short, doing things its way; or the PVA will die, along with all its old leaders.

There is another important aspect to the leadership problem. So far, we have been

writing mainly about *lay* leaders-members of boards of directors and trustees, important sponsors and participants in the work of the institution... Its decision-makers. But most PVAs in the field of our inquiry are directed in their day-to-day work by professional paid staff. Many other groups badly need, but cannot afford, paid staff. *It is not easy to find good staff members for non-profit voluntary work.* In part, this is because industry and government can afford to pay talented people more; raising PVA pay-scales, while often difficult to do, could help. Many able people, however, are attracted to the ideal of service and are willing to work anyway for less recompense in the knowledge that they are helping their society and the world. Finding such people, however, is difficult, and training them properly, in our opinion, is even harder. While there are apparently a few higher-education programs in the *management* of non-profit institutions, we know of none devoted to a broader form of education, for *leadership* of PVAs. *There are ample educational opportunities for those who want to enter government service or business, but very few such opportunities for professional leaders in the independent sector.*

Finances

Two-thirds of the PVAs consulted in our inquiry say they face money problems. Half of them cited funding as their biggest problem.

Very few are as fortunate as the European Cultural Foundation, for example, which by law receives a fixed proportion of the proceeds from the Dutch national lotteries. One US voluntary association, which conducts a widespread international interchange program for young people, operates a virtually self-financing program by charging participants fees which cover costs. About one-third of the groups queried in our investigation said they had no financial problems at present. However even many of these said they could accomplish a great deal more if they could find more income. By definition, most PVAs could always use more financial support.

Most PVAs operate with a fixed overhead. Many of these are in a position to expand programs substantially without increasing overheads, which suggests opportunity for them and for funding organizations. But the reverse situation can also be found; for example, one private German educational group receives ninety percent of its budget from its government. It has an independent board, sets its policies, develops its own programs. But by virtue of its governmental charter, it can only receive money from non-governmental sources for program costs, not overheads. Recently the government cut back this QUANGO'S subsidy by about ten percent. Result : the cuts had to be taken in programs, because the administrative structure had previously been cut to the bone.

This PVA suffered a *thirty percent* program cut.

Inflation has hit particularly hard over the last decade. Government grants have been generally reduced or eliminated at a time when it has been increasingly difficult for most PVAs to find support from business or private foundations. This is particularly true in Europe, where government assistance has traditionally been a much more important source of income for PVAs than in the United States or Canada. A great deal of cost-cutting has been going on in PVAs. Modernized office equipment, including computers, has been introduced by groups which could afford it. A substantial number of groups appear to have taken cuts which hurt programs and - as one PVA put it - » limit productivity »,

Every PVA must pay the fixed costs of rent, utilities, pensions, bookkeeping, medical insurance, amortization of office equipment, and the like. No organization, profit or non-profit, governmental or non-governmental, can operate without incurring such overheads. Yet it seems to be the assumption of many funding agencies that they can, and should.

One of the biggest financial problems facing PVAs is the reluctance of foundations, and » or the past decade, that grant-making bodies have told only for projects, sources and these A few overheads for and grant-making they support of general to pay operating attributed permit in- » the requests programs These sal- charges to re-

This syndrome might be called « project-

itis ». It has affected PVAs in many negative ways. Accounting becomes more complicated and expensive. Long-term planning is more difficult. It is harder to build up the nucleus of a permanent staff. The time of the chief executive becomes concentrated heavily on the search for funds.

Project-itis also means that PVAs are con- strained, more and more, to follow the « fash- » extent dictated by government) the foundations (and to some set their own priorities. This last point is particularly of detrimental independent to centers of long-term work on international set their own by tradition they have what fields are important to study, but » project-itis » skews these agendas. Many have been pushed more and more by this process into contract research, af- fording them less and less opportunity to initiate studies of policy - the very essence of the value of policy the independent sector as we have described it.

PVAs have a further complaint about foundations : they like to start projects and new organizations, then leave them to their fate. Most foundations relish » pioneering », understandably. Repeated grants to the same PVAs for more or less the same purposes, become boring. Despite the inclusion of provisions for matching funds or for descending scales of contributions, in many cases PVAs cannot maintain the momentum once the original funds dry up. This is not of course exclusively the fault of foundations, but the problem does pose a serious question : who is going to provide basic, ongoing support year-in, year-out, for international activities that only pay off over the long-term, that are best undertaken in the independent sector, that benefit Western society as a whole ?

Pinched financially, more and more PVAs have turned from private corporations and foundations to governments for help. Until very recently, this has been the case even in the United States, where PVAs traditionally » stand on their own feet ». Although a number of new foundations have been started in Europe and Japan over the past two decades, government financing of private activity has always been relatively more pronounced than in the United States. In a short-term sense, as noted above, governments have been cutting down such subsidies, but the *long-term trend in most of the Western democracies is clear : let government do it or at least pay for it.*

There are perhaps ways in which state funds allocated to private uses can be insulated from political pressures, as the university grants process in the United Kingdom, or the work of the National Endowment for the Humanities or the National Sciences Foundation in the United States, suggest. But this is not an easy arrangement to construct or maintain. And where inherently political aspects of foreign affairs are directly involved, a good many of the PVAs we are discussing would find their independence compromised (or it would seem to outsiders to be compromised - which is virtually just as bad) if they were wholly or largely dependent on government for subsidies.

One of our conclusions thus is : *if it can be done, it would be extremely important to increase the private funds available - from foundations, business firms, wealthy individuals, and the general public - for the work of PVAs, and thus enhance their independence.*

American foundations, and primarily a few large ones, have provided a substantial source of funds over the past three decades for the PVAs we have studied, in all Western countries, not just the US. Sheila Avrin McLean, in a report to the Committee for International Grantmakers, stated that - *in 1980, foundations gave about \$2.8 billion in grants, of which approximately \$ 96 million or about 3.5 percent was spent for international purposes »* (7).

A decade and a half earlier, the international giving of US foundations reached a high-water mark: in 1966, international grants totalling \$ 141 million, constituting 21 percent of all grants made by all foundations, were reported. In 1961, comparable figures were \$ 62 million and 17 percent. By the end of the decade (1970) only seven percent of all foundation grants (\$ 59 million) was going for international-related purposes (8).

The Ford Foundation was the main factor in these totals in the 1960s; its international grants in 1965 amounted to \$ 96 million out of a \$ 128 million total for all foundations. Ford's international giving in the field which we are examining, the affairs of the Western democracies, was a minor portion of its overall international total during this period, but the sums were still substantial. A study of the Foundation's annual reports for the decade produces this approximation :

1961 \$ 7 million for Western affairs
1963 \$ 10 million
1965 \$ 12 million
1966 \$ 24.5 million
1968 \$ 5.4 million
1969 \$ 1 million (or less)

The decline after 1967 was precipitate. The decade of the Seventies brought a small but insignificant increase by Ford in the area of Western (including Japanese) affairs.

In 1968, the Rockefeller Foundation, the second biggest US donor in the international field, spent \$ 3.7 million « for international relations support »; in 1977, \$ 2.9 million, in 1981, again \$ 2.9 million.

There is an indication that some American foundations and corporations are now concerned about this downward trend. « Grantmaking International » (now called « the Committee for International Grantmakers ») was formed after discussions at the 1981 annual meeting of the Council on Foundations. It produced the McLean report to « assess the obstacles to enhanced private grantmaking for international purposes » and it is seeking to draw the attention of foundations, corporations and other philanthropic sources to this area of need.

Both the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations have recently reappraised their grant-making patterns and reportedly taken steps to alter previous trends.

Another major factor in the dwindling of funds available for this work is the decline in US Government assistance to PVAs in Europe and other countries. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Foreign Service developed a remarkable support system for many of the PVAs promoting understanding and cooperation in the West. State Department and USIA grants to foreign universities to help the development of American Studies programs and the Fulbright ex-

changes are two examples of this kind of assistance. Many indigenous European organizations which promoted mutual understanding and cooperation - from foreign affairs study groups to the - hyphenated » bi-national friendship groups mentioned earlier - were assisted financially. In recent years, other Western governments, including most notably West Germany, France, and Japan, have made similar grants to foreign organizations and undertaken other support activities, but they can hardly fill the large gap caused by the withdrawal of US support.

For about two decades officials of the US Government made a conscious effort to help develop private institutions, networks, and logistical infrastructures. But under the impact of waves of cost-cutting, the mesmerism of Vietnam, inflation, recession, and a general American feeling that priorities should go to domestic, not foreign, problems (reflected as well in the foundation figures we have cited above), the large part of this official support structure for the work of PVAs was swept away. At its heart had been knowledgeable foreign service officers who knew Europe and its independent sector well. Most of these officers have now been dispersed, through inchoate personnel-assignment and training policies and finally by superannuation, not to be replaced.

Some individual US embassies retain residual contacts with the remains of this former network, but it is now extremely doubtful that an approximation of these once-useful programs and structures could ever be reproduced through the direct efforts of government. Even if an attempt were made to rebuild such programs, experience suggests strongly that the effort could not be sustained.

Thus another pillar of support, on which many PVAs depended, has withered.

Detailed and reliable statistics concerning both public and private trends are virtually impossible to compile. But taking into account those figures which are available, the anecdotal data offered by PVAs and other knowledgeable sources in the course of our inquiry, the known facts concerning US Government assistance, and also allowing for substantial inflation during the decade of the Seventies, it seems quite clear that *since the late 1960s the net real funds available to PVAs and independent research institutions on both sides of the Atlantic and in Japan that were available to support the cohesion of the democracies, have declined precipitately.*

PVAs in the Face of Adversity

In addition to the problems already cited, PVAs have others.

They are not able, generally, to communicate their function and their situation well to governments, to other sources of sup-

port, or to the general public. Most of them are too small to mount » public relations » campaigns successfully alone.

In the majority of cases, PVA operations we studied are marked by unsatisfactory working conditions and inadequate, antiquated logistical backup systems. Many PVAs suffer from cramped and dingy quarters. There is a shortage of inexpensive conference facilities and travel funds which makes it much more difficult for them to communicate with constituencies and to undertake their educational and cooperative research activities. Books and other materials needed for research and educational work in many cases are not readily available. (Paradoxically, while there is a general » information overload », many important works slip through the cracks of perception.) The human and

intellectual resources of these institutions are a priceless asset to the West, yet their « product » is unevenly distributed at best, their records in most cases are badly kept, their resources inadequately used, their programs and participants in those programs poorly « followed up ». Forward planning is generally insufficient, for understandable reasons. The large majority of these groups is unable to maintain proper historical records, which is a substantial handicap in many cases.

Faced with these unsatisfactory conditions - plus the underlying cancer of a deteriorating financial base (not in every individual case, but certainly overall) - PVAs, in our opinion, can muster only a fraction of their collective potential impact. This situation has not dismayed the groups in question. Many have redoubled

their efforts to find fresh sources of funds, sometimes with success. Others have recast their programs to meet changed conditions and renewed their leadership. Some have combined to share administrative facilities and offices. A few mergers - although perhaps not as many as the situation might call for - have taken place.

Cooperation and rationalization among PVAS is occurring, but its scale could usefully be increased. However, it seems clear that the PVAs themselves are not capable of initiating and carrying through most such changes on their own. They will need more encouragement, recognition, advice, financial support and other stimulus from » the outside » if collectively they are to perform the important function that they could perform, for the whole community of the West.

THE CASE FOR PRIVATE INITIATIVES

Just as private voluntary associations and independent research institutions are essential to the domestic health of Western democracies, they are indispensable to the further developments and coherence of the evolving Western community.

We can summarize the case as follows :

1. *PVAs identify and train leaders*, exposing them to foreign peoples and international problems, giving them opportunities to grow and to learn to think and operate internationally.
2. Independent research institutions create new knowledge which can help those in authority (so often without time for study reflection) to understand international problems better and see new policy options.
3. *Policy oriented PVAs help build transnational consensus* about the nature of international challenges and « what ought to be done ».
4. *PVAs can help reduce international tensions*, by providing « back channels » of communication between nations and opportunities for private unhurried dialogue.
5. *PVAs help beleaguered societies learn from each other.* Urban development, educational change, motivation in industry, and the role of philanthropy and civic initiative all represent areas where PVAs have helped to transfer knowledge essential to growth and constructive change.
6. *PVAs can take initiative to overcome bureaucratic and political inertia:* they can influence the foreign policy debate in several countries at once, introduce new ideas, help to fill vacuums that leaders are avoiding.

7. *PVAs reduce the cultural barriers to international understanding and communication*, by bringing people from different countries together for educational purposes, for the sharing of significant experiences, and for teamwork in the service of the public good.

spirit which accompanied them and has grown alongside them, has allowed us to expect much more of the West than we can of the sadly-fractured global agglomeration of all the nations.

Activities such as those of the PVAs we have described contribute powerfully to the sense of community, the « we-feeling », which community on mankind's next historic level - the level above the nations - requires. Of course the work of the independent sector alone cannot be sufficient to create such bonds. Governments of the Western nations bear the major responsibility. But they, in the end, may show themselves incapable of proposing the sacrifices or devising the myriad solutions which are essential to institutionalize cooperation on a sound and permanent basis. They may fail in this historic effort of community-building, no matter what the state of public feeling. On the other hand, without the solid base of » community-minded » public support, schemes for cooperation and efforts to resolve big issues, no matter how ingenious, precedent-making, or well-meant, will almost surely fall short. It is both the strength and the weakness of democracy that this should be the case.

The West, in a very real way, has been and should continue to be the main political and social laboratory for an eventual world community. In the work of the private organizations outlined in this report, one can see the development of methods for promoting consensus and for nurturing understanding and goodwill which, with time can be expected to help other regional communities to form themselves effectively. With the passage of time, such quiet, private efforts might also pay off in laying the groundwork for a new era in East-West relations and ultimately for a stable, peaceful global community.

8. *PVAs help to raise the general level of education concerning international affairs*, thus strengthening the electoral process and democracy itself.

9. *PVAs create international goodwill and networks of friendship* which act as a resilient backdrop - « a psychological safety net » - to the conduct of relations between states when the going gets tough.

10. *PVAs can muster public support for initiatives which in further the West's general cause are, by their very nature, Good PVAs » building community ».*

Together, these groups form a *growing social substructure* of the most significant international community of nations, the Western democracies. So far, this is the only international community which really « works ».

In a family, members do not always agree, but there is normally sufficient tolerance and mutual respect to overcome the inevitable stresses and strains. Strong nations are bound internally by such family feelings. So *might* it be among the nations, were mankind sufficiently advanced. But unfortunately the common expression - *the family of nations* - remains but a pious platitude, especially in a global sense. Among the Western peoples, however, the idea of a true international community is much closer to reality. The advent of such novel institutions as the European Community are NATO, and the « family »

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

To sum up :

For a period of roughly two decades-from the late Forties to the end of the Sixties-an unusual network of private initiatives developed in the West. This network, in a sociological sense, supported the work of governments in creating what was then called » the Atlantic community », a web of economic, political, and defense partnerships among the Western democracies. These private initiatives drew on the financial support of individuals, business firms, foundations, governments, and other institutions in many countries.

In this initial period, two sources of assistance, however, were of critical importance to the enterprise : US foundations and the United States Government.

By the late Sixties had come changes in the balance of the world economy, new emphases in America on domestic needs as against foreign, the fractured consensus (not only in the US) on international affairs beginning with the Vietnam War, and important changes in European and Japanese world views and roles. American contributions, both private and public, which had supported these earlier private initiatives began to dry up. To some extent, other governments, some non-US foundations, and corporations in a number of countries helped to fill the resulting gap. But the » deficit » was never completely wiped out. First inflation, then a deep world recession have compounded the difficulties of maintaining and strengthening these important private efforts.

And the deficit has not involved only shortages of funds. It is clear that today, in an overall sense, no individuals or institutions, private or governmental, accept responsibility to assist, or even to monitor, these private efforts. On the support side, as well as on the side of those who use funds to undertake programs, what is left of this independent effort is today fractionated and disjointed. Although some individual organizations do well, many others do not. *It is the principal judgment of this inquiry that as a whole, this web of private networks, which seems so important to the future of the West, is in serious trouble.*

A new rallying point - a major source of support, in all senses of that word - is called for.

The Principal Recommendation of this Report therefore, is that a new, private foundation established, to do three main things :

1. Monitor and nurture the overall development in this important area of Western civic initiative;
2. Make grants which will sustain worthy and promising institutions and programs in this field, and encourage new efforts as they are needed; and

3. Promote cooperation and a rationalization of effort.

It is suggested that this Foundation at this point, let us not give it a name, but simply capitalize the generic term) be established under US law, primarily because the largest single group of donors would probably be American, and because US charitable law is liberal and flexible by comparison with that of other nations.

Such a Foundation would need to be in a position to make total annual grants on the order of \$ 10 to \$ 20 million, if it were to have appreciable impact on the field. Whether a capital sum sufficient to generate income of this magnitude could be amassed is an open question; a great deal would depend on what sources were approached, in what manner, and by whom. To be able to rely on a large endowment, rather than engaging in periodic appeals, has obvious advantages.

From what sources could one expect such sums to come ?

Existing foundations, business corporations, other private institutions, wealthy individuals, and the general public might all be invited to contribute. Not only US sources, but those of other countries as well, should be solicited. In the event that there were substantial non-US contributions, it would be appropriate to include members of other countries on the board of trustees. Alternatively, groups in European countries or Japan might prefer to set up parallel but separate funds.

The Foundation would make grants to the kinds of institutions, described in this Report, whose activities conduce to the strengthening of ties among the Western nations and peoples and to the study of their common problems. A small staff would plan and oversee a grant-making program; in the process, these professionals would become well-acquainted - and remain so - with key individuals and institutions in the world of voluntary associations and independent scholarship.

Two main strategies for the Foundation's program are suggested: (1) *to put great emphasis on nurturing institutions*, rather than on project support (although that should not be excluded); and (2) *to promote the development of future leaders for the Western community*.

The careful reader will note that the foregoing discussion has not mentioned a role in the new Foundation for governments. We considered that idea, because it is not at all certain that private sources would be sufficiently forthcoming to make such a foundation as effective as it must be. We have been dissuaded, however, from proposing the creation of what one might call

a » public-private » foundation, for several reasons :

(1) The US Government would be the most obvious - indeed essential - public source, yet the past history of its involvement with alleged covert funding of private efforts overseas would handicap the new Foundation considerably, and unnecessarily, from the outset. The changes in public perception, abroad as well as in the United States, over the past decade-and-a-half suggest the wisdom of this judgment.

(2) To make this a truly « community », affair, and to minimize the implications of US official involvement, one might envisage inviting most or all governments of, say, the NATO or OECD countries to contribute. But the political, legal, and practical difficulties of both setting up the Foundation and of managing its affairs counsel against this extremely complex undertaking.

(3) It would be extremely difficult to « alienate » government monies from their source, so that a privately organized and perpetuated board could spend the without political consideration or interference. And even if it could be done, it might not be justifiable, in terms of relinquishing public control.

(4) The argument that most Western governments give money regularly, more or less with « no strings », to universities and scientific research institutions, is cogent. But in the field under consideration, at least some activities the Foundation trustees might wish to fund would be of a political nature, broadly-seen, and thus much more difficult to insulate from day-to-day politics in the member-states.

(5) There is also a matter of principle: if the arguments set forth in this Report in favor of preserving and strengthening the «independent sector» as against the much stronger economic and political powers of Western society are correct, then it would seem to favor the tenets of democracy and of citizen-action to create this new Foundation on the basis of purely private initiative, and to sustain it by purely private means, indefinitely.

Before passing from this point, it should be noted that we are not entirely confident that private powers can or will be sufficiently animated to do what is necessary. In the event that such a private initiative were to fail, serious thought should be given to a quasi-governmental, or intergovernmental, alternative. But it is definitely a « second-best » idea.

Why one might ask, should the various possible sources of contributions suggested earlier, want to contribute to such a new Foundation for the West ? Here are some possible reasons ;

1. Business corporations, especially those with important international involvement, would see the connection with their long-term interests; such firms have a strong need for a reasonably stable, predictable, and free international environment in which to conduct their affairs. Furthermore (as the McLean report suggests(9)) it is cumbersome and sometimes questionable, in a legal sense, for corporations to make gifts in other countries; one central Foundation, whose trustees were obviously persons of great judgment and integrity, could make contributions on behalf of many for the general good of the Western community. Also, while many corporate heads approve the idea in principle of making contributions for international purposes, they do not know where to start, or how to establish priorities; the proposed new Foundation would offer an intelligent way for them to participate in the broad affairs of the Western community, without having to make detailed decisions.
 2. Many foundations would be constrained by their charters or by established policies from contributing to such a new Foundation. But other, particularly large general-purpose foundations and new foundations, might find inviting the prospect of major capital transfers for such a vast and significant public undertaking.
 3. Wealthy individuals; It is patent that there are numerous persons and families throughout the Western world who have profited immensely over the years - in some cases, over generations - from the creative, productive environment afforded by the free and relatively stable institutions of Western democracy. Many such persons no doubt would like to make substantial gifts for important aspects of the international public welfare, but are constrained - like some corporations - by their inability to see how such funds could be administered with wisdom and probity, and intelligent priorities set. If they understood the stakes and had confidence in the persons of stature who presumably would govern such a new Foundation, many might give generously. A bequest program might be particularly efficacious in this connection.
- How should one proceed? We see several possibilities.
1. The Council on Foundations (Washington, DC), and more specifically its Committee for International Grantmakers (see page 15), above, might wish to take the lead in conducting studies and consulting foundations and other interested parties in the United States and abroad. It might develop detailed proposals for such a new Foundation.
 2. An exploratory project might be taken on by one foundation, perhaps with joint sponsorship by several others in different countries.
 3. The International Chamber of Commerce, or a similar business-oriented institution, might convene an international meeting to explore the idea.
 4. A committee of private persons might be formed to initiate appropriate proposals.
- All sectors of Western society that would tend to be affected by such a foundation - including governments - should rightly have a say in the conception and consideration of such an important new institution (10).
- A Foundation for the West, such as we have proposed, correctly conceived and led, and endowed on an adequate scale, could do much to shore up the problematical situation of the democracies.
- Additional Recommendations for the Independent Sector.*
- In the course of our inquiry, additional ideas surfaced which also might be helpful in strengthening the work of PVAs. These are briefly detailed below, along with some suggestions for implementation.
1. *Foundations and governments should consider seriously the importance of the PVAs described in this Report, and their needs, whether or not a new Foundation is created. They obviously will want to make their own assessments; we suggest that they consider sharing these with each other, internationally as well as nationally, and develop insofar as possible a more regular system of consultation concerning the needs of this field. It is suggested that many more foundations than heretofore embark on international grant making and that those already in the field consider enlarging the sums available for this particular sector: PVAs that strengthen Western cohesion.*
 2. *Foundations and governments should review carefully the current emphasis on project-by-project grantmaking; would it be wise to develop a supplementary strategy of nurturing and building strong institutions?*
 3. *Voluntarism, philanthropy, and independent research should be given special assistance in democratic societies where the «independent sector» is weak. Foundations and PVAs which specialize in the transfer of knowledge for dealing with the problems of modern societies could have a special role here.*
 1. *PVAs, as a group, should be encouraged and assisted to set up swifter, cheaper communication networks, using the most modern technical means.*
 5. *PVAs themselves should cooperate and consult more fully, and should be given financial help to do so. They should in particular find out what other PVAs with similar interests are doing, work to eliminate duplication of effort, share costs where possible, and develop new ways of working together where their interests will be well-served. New PVAs should be established only if they will add something new and important, or can do a job better; «mergers before birth» might well be encouraged.*
 6. *Better educational use should be made by the international community of the «alumni» of international exchange and educational programs. The proposed new Foundation might promote such an effort, or a council of PVAs be formed to do so.*
 7. *Consideration should be given to forming a data bank on PVAs, a permanent institutionalized memory to chronicle and analyze the history of private initiatives for the public good, so that their functions and problems can be studied and better understood on a long-term basis, and so that they can be provided with the information necessary to make cooperation with other PVAs easy. Again, the proposed Foundation might operate such a fund of data; the information arising from Battelle's inquiry could be available to those who would begin such a task.*
 8. *PVAs should consider how to reach some special sectors of the public more effectively, especially TV audiences who would welcome more background education in the «basics» of world affairs, and «threshold leaders» (30s and 40s), who presently are slighted in favor of the more mature and the very young.*
 9. *The rudimentary networks of PVAs (strategic studies, discussion, clubs, economic institutes, sister-cities, others) should be encouraged, expanded.*
 10. *Government should pay more attention to PVAs and to their role in strengthening Western unity. Nationally, and through intergovernmental organizations such as NATO, OECD, and the European Communities, they should try to encourage and assist PVAs. It is especially important to centralize liaison with such groups and to preserve durable corps of officials to undertake complex work of this kind. Governments should also consider legal and other steps which can be taken to encourage further the development of philanthropy, voluntarism, and independent initiative.*
- These are Our principal recommendations.

The thrust of this Report has concerned the West, but the world's problems are not circumscribed by the Western countries or their concerns. We believe that while the West must serve in this era as the vital core for the lion's share of the international tasks that need doing, the necessary efforts cannot be limited to the West, and in many cases must be concentrated elsewhere, obviously in consultation with - and with the participation of - people from the area. Concerned young people understand this particularly well. They are in the process of setting their own agendas. It would be well, if the foregoing suggestions are to be taken seriously, that a coalition of older and younger people, and some « in between », be formed to study and act on behalf of the Western community.

Implementation

It is hoped that a foundation, or the US Council on Foundations (especially its « Committee for International Grantmakers »), or a group of PVAs (such as the Standing Conference of Atlantic Organizations), or a business-led institution might use these findings and recommendations as a basis for developing an agenda for public discussion and help thus to concentrate public attention on what we believe is a most important problem, as

well as a significant set of opportunities for constructive action. It would be extremely useful if similar institutions in other countries of the Western community could take similar action, and that international discussions along these lines could take place. We hope, by means of this inquiry, to have helped in a small way to begin a process which can be fruitful for all of Western society.

(1) *Uniting the Democracies : Institutions of the Emerging Atlantic-Pacific System*. New York : New York University Press, 1980.

(2) Two companion volumes to this report are also available : Part II : Notes and Documentation; and

Part III : Directory of Organizations.
(*) By the - West - is meant the democracies linked by alliance, partnership, and tradition within such bodies as NATO and the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) - roughly, North America and Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The term « Industrial dem-

ocracies » is often used to describe this group, but we prefer « the West » because « industrial » does

not connote the political and cultural affinities which also link the modern democracies. It is our experience that thoughtful Japanese, like Turks, do

not mind this - Western - terminology; despite their non-Western cultural roots, their attachment

to Western democracy, their incorporation of

Western thought and technique into their way of

life, and their perception of vital common interests

with the West, all seem to amply justify this shorthand use of - the West -. No analysis of this kind could justifiably omit the Japanese, and we have

simply chosen a concise method of referring to

their participation in the Western community in this

way.

(3) Sir George was chairman of the UK Council of Voluntary Agencies. For a fuller discussion of this in this im-

portant area of human activity, see Waldemar Nielsen, *The Endangered Sector*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1979.

(4) Sometimes called - QUANGOS - - quasi non-governmental organizations.

(5) *A Survey of United States Institutions Engaged in International Relations Research and Related Activities*. New York : 1981.

(6) J.-R. Comtois, *Report of the Sub-Committee on the Successor Generation*, North Atlantic Assembly, Brussels, November 1982, 1.

(7) U.S. *Philanthropy : Grantmaking for International Purposes*. Council on Foundations. Washington, DC, 1982-84.

(8) *Foundation Directory*. The Foundation Center and Columbia University Press. New York, 1971, xvi.

(9) Op. cit., 28-33.

(10) *At this writing, plans are being discussed in Washington DC for a new « National Endowment for Democracy » which would be funded by the Congress and organized analogously to the National*

Science Foundation and National Endowment for

the Humanities. It would make grants to special

foundations organized by the Republican and

Democratic national parties, and to labor unions, employers groups, and PVAs. These, in turn, would undertake programs designed to assist democratic forces in countries where democracy's hold is tenuous. If it comes into being, such a National Endowment might overlap in function, to some extent, with the private Foundation we have proposed. Preliminary investigation suggests, however, that

significant duplication could be avoided and that the two indeed could be complementary. If US

Government funds, by this indirect means, could assist worthy PVAs globally (and, we assume, primarily in non-Western countries), there could be a

net gain for all concerned. But in our opinion the existence of this project, if it indeed were to materialize, would not supplant the need for the wholly private, international foundation which we propose, whose aims are complementary but different.

RADIOSCOPIE DES ONG FRANÇAISES

« Le bazar de la solidarité » par Louis Beriot*

Sous ce titre quelque peu déroutant on ne s'attendrait pas, à première vue, à trouver un solide ouvrage remarquablement documenté sur d'importants aspects de la vie associative contemporaine en France.

Le terme de « solidarité » résume dans l'esprit de l'auteur la substance de l'action associative basée essentiellement sur le bénévolat, l'entraide et aussi sur le goût de l'initiative et l'indépendance à l'égard des autorités extérieures; - le bazar - dénote l'état d'aliénation qui se manifeste dans le monde des associations dont beaucoup «sont soucieuses plus de leur propres intérêts que des causes pour lesquelles elles ont été créées » et deviennent des bureaucraties financées par les pouvoirs publics, souvent inféodées aux partis politiques.

* Editions J.C. Lattes Paris 1986, 236 p

Louis Beriot aborde son sujet en connaisseur de la spécificité de l'action associative et de ses rapports avec les pouvoirs publics. Outre son activité de journaliste et de producteur de télévision il a publié plusieurs ouvrages consacrés aux problèmes concrets de l'administration publique (« 36000 maires en procès »; « Les pieds sur terre »). Il a pris une part active aux discussions publiques sur les structures de décentralisation en France. Et il est fondateur, en 1976, d'une association à but écologique « Espaces pour demain ». C'est en militant pour cette association et pour celle intitulée « Adopter un arbre » qu'il a acquis l'expérience directe de la force et de la faiblesse de l'action associative.

L'ouvrage contient beaucoup de chiffres intéressants sur les associations françaises. Selon les données de l'Institut national de statistique s le nombre d'associa-

tions à l'heure actuelle s'élève à quelque 600.000, avec 20.000.000 d'adhérents et employant quelque 750.000 personnes (ce nombre de « permanents » égale l'ensemble des personnels employés par les communes et les départements en France). La moitié des associations n'emploie personne.

La thèse principale de L. Beriot tend à démontrer, avec une impressionnante documentation à l'appui, que de trop nombreuses associations françaises succombent à la tentation de vivre essentiellement des subventions des organismes publics. Cette dépendance les conduit inévitablement à abandonner la vocation d'une association libre et à devenir pratiquement des succursales des administrations publiques. La gestion de ce type d'association favorise une pléthore de « permanents » et une centralisation bureaucratique des activités.

Associations subventionnées

L'auteur dénonce « la mise à disposition » à certaines associations, des personnels prêtés et financés par les autorités. Cette pratique avait toujours cours en France mais il semble qu'elle a été intensifiée outre mesure sous le gouvernement socialiste actuel.

Dans les listes publiées par l'auteur des associations qui reçoivent des subventions soit directement, soit sous forme de « mise à disposition » du personnel une écrasante majorité est constituée par des associations ayant des liens avec les partis socialiste et communiste. Le nombre de « mises à disposition » (cité en parenthèse) est particulièrement élevé dans le cas des associations suivantes :

- Ligue de l'enseignement et de l'éducation populaire (550);
- Centre d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active (120);
- Fédération nationale de Léo Legrange (activités de jeunesse) (119);
- Culture et Liberté (39);
- Tourisme et Travail (31).

Dans plusieurs cas les mises à disposition avaient déjà été accordées par le gouvernement précédent et le gouvernement actuel en a augmenté le nombre :

- Fédération des maisons de jeunes et de la culture (298-457);
- Fédération des francs et franches camarades (43-67).

Il est à noter que le gouvernement actuel accorde des avantages matériels également aux associations qui ne partagent pas son idéologie : Union française des centres de vacances (gauche chrétienne) (37-56); Guides et Scouts de France) 11-34); Action Catholique et l'enfance (0-4).

Il existe une catégorie d'organisation qui ne sont pas des associations authentiques mais des créations des autorités publiques, nationales ou territoriales. Celles-ci ont recours à ce procédé pour pouvoir gérer leurs activités avec plus de souplesse et efficacité. Les associations en question ne sont que des « relais » (appelées familièrement dans les ministères « faux nez ») généreusement subventionnées, qui ne font que démultiplier la machine administrative. L'extension de cette « technique » et les sommes octroyées sont impressionnantes : sur les quelques 13.000 subventions répertoriées au niveau national 2.000 « associations relais » obtiennent presque la moitié de fonds d'Etat destinés aux subventions.

Parmi les bénéficiaires les plus importants en 1982 citons :

- Association pour l'accueil des personnes étrangères (60 millions);

- Centre national des œuvres universitaires sociales (140 millions);
- Association française d'action artistique (1903; 135.000.000);
- Association pour la diffusion de la pensée française (35 millions);
- Association nationale de la recherche technique (18.200.000). Outre les autorités nationales, des municipalités accordent fréquemment des subventions aux associations. Ainsi la Ville de Paris en fournit 2.500, dont 700 aux associations sportives et 300 aux associations de quartier.

Associations « vraies »

Après avoir critiqué sévèrement et d'une manière circonstanciée les associations qui « se fourvoient dans les sentiers embourbés d'une bureaucratie, attirées par des intérêts particuliers et des privilèges », l'auteur consacre un chapitre aux

« vraies » c.-à-d. aux associations qui réunissent les caractéristiques authentiques des mouvements de solidarité. Les « vraies » sont « des groupes ou des communautés qui ont choisi d'agir ensemble bénévolement, sans chercher à en tirer quelque profit politique ou financier, sans désirer d'autre gloire que celle d'accomplir la mission qu'ils se sont assignée ». Rentrent dans cette catégorie notamment des associations « humanitaires » tels « Secours Catholique » : (40.000 bénévoles, pas plus de 2% du budget couverts par des subventions); « Comité Catholique contre la faim et pour le développement » dont le champs d'action est international (1200 associations affiliées, 15.000 animateurs bénévoles); « Le Secours Populaire » d'inspiration socialiste, fondé en 1936 (20.000 bénévoles, près d'un million de donateurs).

Sans subventions et souvent sans « permanents », certaines associations de dimensions modestes parviennent à obtenir des résultats impressionnants dans le domaine d'aide aux enfants et aux adultes en détresse. On cite dans ce contexte « Frères des Hommes », « Terre des Hommes », « Médecins sans Frontières », « Aide et Action » - une branche française de l'association d'origine britannique « Action-aid » - s'employant à faire parrainer par une famille un enfant du tiers-monde; « ATD Quart Monde » (Aide à toute détresse) qui poursuit le but d'améliorer le sort des plus pauvres en les associant à son action, avec le concours des volontaires prêts à fournir une contribution financière régulière.

L'auteur est convaincu que c'est au sein des associations de dimensions modestes que l'on trouve le plus souvent l'esprit d'initiative et la souplesse nécessaires pour répondre aux nouveaux besoins. Ainsi « Delta 7 » crée en 1973 imagine des solutions nouvelles pour mieux vivre ensemble (p. ex. télé-alarme pour person-

nes âgées). Les associations « Admiral » and « Archipel » ont pour but d'intéresser le monde des entreprises au mécénat. L'Association régionale « Le Puy du Fou » (Vendée) a suscité un intérêt exceptionnel auprès de la population de 13 communes pour des représentations théâtrales auxquelles participent des centaines de figurants bénévoles. « L'Association régionale pour la protection de l'environnement » (Var) a créé en 1984 le premier centre expérimental solaire en France.

De nombreuses associations créées au cours des dernières années s'occupent de chantiers de restauration des monuments. L'association « Etudes et Chantiers » offre des possibilités de participer aux 200 chantiers en France et aux 25 à l'étranger. L'association « Rempart » compte parmi les plus actives, avec 110 branches locales autonomes une centaine de chantiers en France et à l'étranger, 4000 bénévoles et 8 « permanents ». Une autre association authentiquement bénévole est « L'Atelier d'expression culturelle et de voisinage » née en 1977 à l'initiative de la Mairie de Paris. Dans le cadre de cette association des artistes professionnels - peintres, sculpteurs, musiciens, acteurs - viennent diriger des ateliers et initier le public à leurs métiers. En 1983, 350 ateliers avaient attiré 120.000 personnes. Pour conclure le chapitre sur les associations authentiques l'auteur cite un exemple pittoresque d'une association née d'une passion d'un individu. Il s'agit de « L'association régionale des amis des moulins de la Beauce ». Son fondateur, ancien ouvrier agricole, s'est épris à tel point des moulins à vent qu'il s'est mis à en restaurer dans sa région. D'abord tout seul et puis avec plusieurs compagnons partageant son attachement.

Une « race distincte » d'associations sont des « groupes de pression ». L'auteur cite deux exemples d'une action efficace accomplie par une association d'origine canadienne « Green Peace ». Celle-ci, grâce à l'action de ses militants bénévoles et courageux dans plusieurs pays a empêché en 1983 les gouvernements du Royaume Uni, de l'URSS et du Japon de déverser des déchets nucléaires en mer. Un autre résultat concret obtenu grâce aux efforts coordonnés des équipes de Green Peace est la décision de la Commission baleinière internationale en 1982 de réduire les quotas de chasse à la baleine.

Les associations engagées dans la défense des droits de l'homme appartiennent aux groupes de pression. Au premier rang de celles-ci l'auteur place « Amnesty International » (et sa section française) qu'il considère comme « une initiative aussi belle que fut la Croix Rouge au siècle dernier ». Ses sympathies particulières vont aux deux associations fondées en 1981 : « SOS Citoyen » et « L'Institut du Citoyen ». Elles ont pour objet l'éducation civique et la promotion de la liberté du

citoyen. Elles ne sont affiliées à aucun parti politique et sont résolument œcuméniques sur le plan philosophique et culturel.

Nous avons tenté de résumer brièvement les caractéristiques de divers types d'associations décrites par l'auteur pour donner une idée de la richesse d'informations concrètes qu'il fournit sur le paysage associatif en France. Nous pensons que le lecteur appréciera particulièrement les informations inédites sur les associations créées au cours des dernières années pour répondre aux besoins actuels.

Une catégorie d'associations nous paraît manquer dans cet ouvrage autrement fort complet: association françaises affiliées aux organisations internationales non-gouvernementales, les activités de quelques associations de ce type citées par l'auteur relèvent uniquement des trois domaines suivants: humanitaire, écologique, droits de l'homme. Or, des dizaines d'autres associations françaises ont des liens statutaires internationaux. Leur compétence s'étend pratiquement à toutes les branches spécialisées de sciences, de techniques, d'éducation, des activités culturelles, de communications. Nous pensons qu'une analyse de la composition et du fonctionnement de ces associations révélerait des caractéristiques que L. Bériot attribue généralement aux « vraies » associations: le sens d'une solidarité nationale et internationale; une bonne participation des bénévoles et un financement extérieur réduit au minimum.

Le procès intenté par L. Bériot aux associations vivant essentiellement des subventions extérieures semble justifié dans la mesure où ces associations tendent à échapper au contrôle de leurs membres et se transformer en une machine administrative, à cet égard, les renseignements fournis sur certaines associations françaises sont troublants. Cependant ce phénomène se manifeste dans d'autres pays où la dépendance financière excessive par rapport ressources extérieures peut altérer la nature et l'esprit associatifs de certaines organisations.

L. Bériot a rappelé éloquemment et vigoureusement les valeurs intrinsèques de l'éthique de la solidarité qui sont à la base de la création et de l'action des associations « vraies » au sein desquelles on pratique, naturellement, l'entraide, le geste gratuit, le bénévolat. Des exemples de telles associations cités par l'auteur prouvent que ces valeurs sont toujours vivantes et qu'elles constituent l'honneur et une inspiration permanente du monde associatif.

Il convient toutefois de noter que ce type d'associations rencontre des problèmes de financement et de gestions et que le recrutement des bénévoles devient de plus en plus difficile - problèmes que l'auteur semble passer sous silence. Il mentionne, par ailleurs, que plusieurs associations de cette catégorie reçoivent des subventions. On pourrait conclure, par conséquent, que l'acceptation d'une subvention n'est pas condamnable en soi et que le facteur décisif en la matière est le contrôle exercé démocratiquement par les membres de l'association quant à l'utilisation de la subvention.

La tâche à laquelle sont confrontés les partisans et les promoteurs de la cause associative paraît moins l'opposition des deux catégories d'associations définies par L. Bériot que l'aménagement des conditions dans lesquelles la vocation d'une solidarité véritable et une liberté interne continuent à se développer au sein de toutes les associations petites et grandes, qu'elles reçoivent des Subventions ou non.

Les associations « faux nez » que critique sévèrement L. Bériot ne méritent peut-être pas une condamnation sans appel. En s'adressant à elles les administrations officielles admettent que grâce à ces associations non gouvernementales les activités prévues et financées par les services gouvernementaux peuvent être effectuées d'une manière plus souple et plus efficace. Il s'agit là d'une modalité de coopération entre une association et un service gouvernemental, coopération dont les résultats sont jugés satisfaisants par les deux partenaires.

Dans ses conclusions L. Bériot constate (p. 217) que « le mouvement associatif n'est plus en phase avec les exigences d'une société moderne comme la nôtre; il est en crise comme la société elle-même ». Ce diagnostic n'appelle-t-il pas une recherche de nouvelles formes associatives qui, fidèles aux fondements de toute action associative authentique, répondraient avec imagination aux nouveaux besoins de la société et respecteraient le principe d'un pluralisme de structures et de méthodes de travail ?

Vladimir Hercik

ADDENDUM

Nous avons omis de signaler dans le dernier numéro (N° 2) d'*Associations transnationales* que l'article de M. Elikia M'Bokolo intitulé «Les nuages où gronde le tonnerre» avait paru précédemment dans *Le Monde* du 12 août 1984.

ECHOS DE LA VIE ASSOCIATIVE

NEWS ON ASSOCIATIVE AFFAIRS

ONG et droits de l'homme

Le Sous-comité des ONG sur le racisme, la discrimination raciale, l'apartheid et la décolonisation, organise une conférence internationale d'ONG pour marquer le 40^e anniversaire de la fondation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et le 25^e anniversaire de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur la décolonisation. Cette conférence, sur la lutte contre le colonialisme et le racisme - 40 ans d'activité aux Nations Unies, se tiendra les 4 et 5 juin 1985 au Palais des Nations, Genève. Le Sous-comité des ONG a invité le Comité spécial des N.U. sur la décolonisation, le Conseil des N.U. sur la Namibie et le Comité spécial des N.U. contre l'apartheid à participer à cette importante conférence et à collaborer à son organisation. La conférence constituera un des événements principaux organisés par les ONG pour étudier les conséquences de l'action vitale menée par l'ONU pendant les 40 ans de son existence. Elles tireront également des leçons de la 2^e guerre mondiale et de l'impact de la victoire sur le nazisme et le fascisme.

*Inscriptions: Secrétariat de la Conférence
c/o WILPF
Case postale 28
1211 Genève 20
Suisse.*

Murs

L'Association française pour le Mouvement universel de la responsabilité scientifique annonce la sortie du numéro 01 des Cahiers du MURS, que l'Association a l'intention de publier trois ou quatre fois par an à partir de 1985.

Les Cahiers auront pour but de mettre l'essentiel des travaux animés par l'Association à la disposition d'un public plus large que celui des auditoires. Ils proviendront de cours publics, colloques et séminaires qu'elle organisera régulièrement.

*Contact: MURS-France. 127 boulevard Saint-Michel, 75005 PARIS.
Tél. (1)325.43.98.*

Sud-Nord

La revue mensuelle « Nord-Sud », publiée par les associations sans but lucratif « Nord-Sud » et « Office général de développement » (OGD) situées toutes deux à Bruxelles, a été rebaptisée « Sud-Nord ». Ce changement de titre reflète la volonté de son comité de rédaction de s'ouvrir aux journalistes des pays du Sud et de contribuer à un meilleur équilibre de l'information.

Bien que de format modeste, la revue a établi un réseau de correspondants couvrant les cinq continents et collabore avec IPS Third World Agency.

Contact: Rue du Framboisier 35, 1180 Bruxelles. Tél. 02/374.77.18.

Villes et pouvoirs locaux

A l'initiative de M. Enrique Tierno Galvan, maire de Madrid, une réunion tenue le 7 décembre 1984 a groupé les représentants du Conseil des communes et régions d'Europe, de la Fédération mondiale des villes jumelées, de l'Union internationale des villes et pouvoirs locaux et de l'Union des villes capitales ibéro-américaines. Il a été décidé que le projet d'un congrès international, organisé en commun par les différents mouvements et portant sur les problèmes de la famine, va

être soumis aux instances dirigeantes des organisations présentes. Un groupe de travail sera constitué en vue de préparer cette manifestation. Dans le communiqué final, il est précisé que des rencontres régulières seront organisées et ouvertes à la participation d'autres mouvements internationaux des villes et pouvoirs locaux.

Bourse d'information sur le développement

Le Centre international d'études, de recherche et d'action pour le développement (CINTERAD) annonce l'organisation d'un Séminaire d'information sur le développement ou « Bourse d'information sur le développement » (BID) qui se déroulera du 21 au 25 octobre 1985 à Bruxelles dans le cadre du 40^e anniversaire des Nations Unies. Le Séminaire est appelé à se répéter dans l'avenir et fait partie d'un projet à long terme intitulé « Programme d'information sur le développement » (PID). Celui-ci vise à offrir aux ONG du Nord comme du Sud la possibilité d'accroître leurs échanges d'informations, à favoriser l'émergence de structures Sud-Sud et à promouvoir les synergies Nord-Sud dans les perspectives de développement de la dynamique non gouvernementale.

Le Comité d'organisation se compose de ; Centre d'information et bureau de liaison des Nations Unies ; Bureau international du travail (BIT) ; Centre d'études de l'Amérique latine de l'Université libre de Bruxelles ; Universitair Centrum voor Ontwikkeling en Vrede van de Vrije Universiteit Brussel ; Union des associations internationales (UAI) ;

International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA);
Centre national de documentation scientifique et technique (CNDST), Bruxelles;
Centre national de coopération au développement, Bruxelles (CNDIC);
Nationale Centrum voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, Brussel (NCOS);
Centre d'étude et de promotion des relations entre les pays de la CEE et de l'Amérique latine (CERCAL);
Groupe de recherche pour une stratégie économique alternative (GRESEA): CINTERAD.

Le CINTERAD et le Centre d'études de l'Amérique latine ont par ailleurs créé, avec la collaboration de partenaires arabes et asiatiques, le Centre d'information sur le développement (CID). Installé à Bruxelles, celui-ci s'organise pour exploiter de façon rationnelle et optimale les réseaux d'information disponibles dans les pays industrialisés et dans le tiers monde, comme le réseau LIANE des pays industrialisés. Le Séminaire d'octobre prochain devra notamment permettre aux pays du Sud de contribuer plus encore à la production d'informations sur le déve-

loppement par la mise sur pied du projet « Système d'informations sur la communauté de base dans les pays du tiers monde » (SICOB).

Contact: - pour les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique, du Bassin méditerranéen et d'Asie: - CINTERAD, Boulevard Général Jacques 186, 1050 Bruxelles.

- Pour l'Amérique latine: Centre d'étude de l'Amérique latine, U.L.B., Avenue Jeanne 44, 1050 Bruxelles.

- Pour les pays industrialisés: ICDA, c/o CINTERAD.

IPD

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENT: PID. WHY?

1. FROM THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT TO THAT OF CO-DEVELOPMENT

The growing interdependence between the North and the South, clearly shown by the works of the Club of Rome, leads to our familiarization of the concept of co-development which interprets the idea, more and more accepted, that actions taken in favour of development in the less industrialised countries increase the efficacy of development programs applied even in the industrial countries.

2. PERISH OR GROW TOGETHER

The necessity thus appears to bridge the gap between governmental and non governmental systems, between the North NGOs and those of the South to promote the circuit of information at all levels. PID wishes to ensure the research of ways and means that create the dispositions susceptible to develop, thereafter harmonise, relationships between the users, through their active participation on the formulation of the problems. A framework of dialogue and of consultation is therefore necessary for a global growth.

3. PID. A CONTRIBUTION

By proposing the International Program of Information on Development (PID), the intention of the NGOs is not only to attract the attention of the milieu concerned on the gravity of the subject but essentially to give rise to constructive debate which leads to correct solutions.

The three way PID project:

- first is made up of its object which indicates the manner in which to offer a better access to existing products,
- the second way leads to the emergence of a structure of the type South-South,
- the third way, envisaged in the long term, is meant to favour the synergy North-South in the perspective of the development dynamics of NGOs.

Thus, the PID wishes from this triple point of view, a center of essential communication: the future of the populations to the synergies North-South.

A. PID, A MEANS OF ACTION

Within the framework of the co-operation North-South, it clearly stands out that the result of the intervention for development depend more and more on the quality of information available and of the manner to gain access to it.

Definitively,

- the actual misunderstanding of the importance of information on information,
 - the difficult access by the South to data banks and to existing data bases,
 - the slow installation of exchange circuits of information on information in the South-South direction,
- Create an increasing disequilibrium damageable to common and specific interest. PID is presented as a working instrument of multiple usages. It consists of:
- sub-programs which have as role to produce projects,
 - projects which are realised through concrete operations in which the Exchange of Information on Development.

5. OPERATION BID: EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENT

A lot of governmental and non governmental institutions elaborate a system of information on information. An inventory is generally furnished under the form of catalogues for which the diffusion must be stressed.

Notwithstanding, the catalogues have an abstract character and the users do not very often have the means for a correct appreciation.

This is why it appears appropriate to envisage a direct meeting between producers and consumers of information. The form envisaged is that of a period of exchange during which confrontation between supply and needs aims at favouring choice and selective acquisition, improvement of the existing, or the realization of

new products conforming to the revealed needs.

It is a meeting which periodically, under the form of a seminar, bring together different milieux and personalities connected with information.

The Exchange of Information on Development is also defined as a crossing point of information on series of existing informations and which are all related to development.

On this occasion the consumers seize the opportunity to hear their needs and also their appreciation on the existing products, the improvement expected, and the orientations desired. Also on this occasion, the suppliers seize the opportunity to expose with precision the characteristics of their products, and the circuits of distribution.

6. ORGANIZATION OF THE DAY

The days are organised following a global approach (full session) and a sectorial approach (agriculture, industry, economy, health,... technology, communication systems).

Themes to be developed are:

- information and development
- information and co-operation
- networks and systems of information
- data bases and banks
- access modalities
- costs and contracts
- technical problems

The purpose is an organizational framework which facilitates the relationship between the suppliers and the users as well as the co-operation between the users for the promotion of exchange South-South and North-South.

7. GENERAL AND PARTICULAR FRAMEWORK OF BID

The initiative undertaken by non governmental organizations is inscribed within the framework of the United Nation Day (24 October) and more especially within that of « International Day of Information on Development » (24 October).

This day is in fact celebrated every year, in accord with a decision undertaken by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Its objective is « to attract public opinion every year on the problem of development and the necessity to intensify the international co-operation leading to solving them ».

Steps to be taken to organise the co-operation facilitating access to information takes also in 1985, support on the 40th anniversary of the United Nations (24 October).

8. ORGANIZATION

A. FULL SESSION

The subjects will be treated by international personalities, experts and specialists known for their competence in the material.

The methodology adopted in each committee is based on the necessity to respond to the needs of the users. These are in the center of the debates.

B. COMMUNICATIONS

They would be presented in committees and in full session and will allow the participants to present works and subjects treated.

C. COMMITTEES

The participants in the committees will have diverse origins to facilitate the promotion of exchange. Also at the level of each committee an equilibrium must be maintained between :

- organization of public interest
- intergovernmental organizations
- private organizations
- non governmental organizations.

1. Technology Committee and Access Modalities to Systems of Information

- Technology, information and development, telematics : situation and perspectives (industrialised countries, less developed countries)
- Stockage techniques and transmission of information used by the NGOs.
- Technological problems relative to data bases.
- Costs and contracts.

2. Economic, social and human sciences Committee

Systems of information (supply and demand) in the field :

- Economy : macro-economy, econometrics, economic and social statistics, indicators, models, planning, forecast, international trade and finances, research and development.
- Social, human, politics, law and labour sciences,

3. SME, SMI, Cooperative Committee

The information system and the data banks and bases (supply and demand) in the field :

business management, financial aspects. capital markets, marketing studies... Useful informations to management and decision makers of SME. SMI. cooperative societies, public and private enterprises.

4. Committee on Information System, data bases and banks

Information systems, data bases and banks. The users would be able to precise their needs and be acquainted with supply.

The fields treated :

- agriculture, food, fishery
- health and urgent aid
- science, appropriate energy and technology
- industry and patent
- construction and agriculture.

5. Committee on Information and Training

- Study of systems and services of information on information (public, private, national, international, sectorial. global,...)

- Supply and demand on formation
- The costs and the conditions of access.

D. PRACTICAL WORKS AND VISITS

Demonstration and exercise stands will be installed by be private, and government appliers. Practical visits will give the users the possibility to test the existence, to appreciate the objectives and the constraints.

E. PARTICIPANTS: PROFILE

- Users, suppliers of information system or of technology
- teachers, researchers, research centres, documentation centres
- governmental and intergovernmental organisations
- decision makers, managers, experts
- non governmental organizations.

F. ORIENTATION OF THE WORKS

They are oriented in priority towards the needs expressed by the users.

The existing system or that to be created, the suppliers on computerized or non computerized systems, the objectives, the constraints, as well as the conditions of access to information will be examined with respect to needs.

G. WORKING LANGUAGES

There will be simultaneous interpretation in English, French and Spanish during full sessions. Provision will be made for French and English during committee sessions and possibility of simultaneous translation in Spanish will depend on steps already taken and the number of participants.

H. DOCUMENTATION

A basic documentation will be available at the beginning of the seminar. They will contain the major part of the whole texts of the conferences and the communication in their original language and a summary in English, French and Spanish.

I. COMMUNICATIONS

All documents should be typed-out and made available to the Secretariat of the organisers before the 16th of September. 1985 in their integral texts.

It should not be more than 10 pages format DIN A4, double interline. They must be accompanied by a page summary. The latter will be translated in the different working languages. It could be presented in full session or in committee.

J. PLACE AND DATE

Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, and Vrije Universiteit van Brussel (Belgium). From 21 to 25 October 1985.

K. LODGING AND MEALS

Possibilities for housing are provided in Brussels during the duration of the seminar, for the participants who wish. A reception is also organized.

L. SECRETARIAT

The organisers' secretariat will be prepared to respond to all enquiry concerning notably the program, reception of communication and the inscriptions.

Centre d'Etude de l'Amérique Latine.

Institut de Sociologie.

Université Libre de Bruxelles

Avenue Jeanne. 44

1050 Bruxelles

BELGIQUE

CINTERAD,

Centre International d'Etude,

de Recherche et d'Action

pour le Développement.

Bd Général Jacques. 186b

1050 Bruxelles

BELGIQUE

IPD PUBLICATIONS

On the occasion of the organisation of the program PID, « Transnational Associations » will publish a special issue on the problems related to information systems.

It is important to understand the role played by different associations towards information systems, the objectives to be attained, actions undertaken and problems encountered.

We are suggesting to you certain themes which are related to the existence of a number of organizations, notably :

- activities of some organizations:
- the attitude of some NGOs towards information systems : technology, data banks and bases ;
- technologies that could be appropriated by NGOs on information systems ;
- network and systems of information :
- useful information systems for NGOs ;
- NGOs'access to information ;
- the exchange of information North-South and South-South ;
- the cultural and human problems posed by the use of information systems.

Articles must get to the secretariat before or by August 15th 1985.

F. Gbosa,
General Secretary,
CINTERAD.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FISHWORKERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS

Preamble

While issues related to fisheries were being discussed at the international level to define strategies for future development and management, fishworkers and their supporters from many countries-particularly of the third world met together to exchange their experiences and analyse their problems.

The international conference of fish workers and their supporters took place in Rome from July 4-8 1984. 100 participants from 34 nationalities attended this conference. About half of them were fishworkers (men and women engaged as crew members, small fishers, processing workers and sellers) coming from all continents. Most of the fish workers were small-scale fishermen operating in the coastal and inland waters. The supporters were individuals and representatives of organizations who identified with the cause of the fish workers.

Nature and Objectives of Conference

The conference was an historical event. Fish workers, the main actors of fisheries development have been excluded from discussions and decision making, both at broad policy level and concrete project level. At this conference they decided to initiate a process of building international collaboration and solidarity. This process will enable them to overcome the barriers to shaping their own future. It was a peoples' initiative. Not waiting for an international governmental bodies invitation, they decided to meet on their own initiative, with their own style, own agenda and own working methods. This conference was not conceived as an intellectual experience. It became a living human experience in which spontaneity, life-sharing and self-expression at all levels played a major role.

It was a committed encounter. It carried an emotional meaning and an existential weight which added to its seriousness. It was a direct result of the fact that the participants live through the problems which they discuss and hence become dramatically concerned with solutions. It was a stage in an ongoing process of struggles and collective action. Rooted in direct experience at local level, this was an attempt to relate beyond national and regional boundaries.

In this conference the main concerns were:

- To share concrete life experiences.
- To gain further insights from problems faced and solutions found by fish workers organizations elsewhere.
- To reach a better understanding of the economic and political mechanisms operating at global level.

- To develop alternatives that ensure the future survival of the fish workers and the reappropriation of the sea.
- To devise ways of coordinating activities and building up solidarity at national regional and international levels.

Processes and content of the Conference

The Conference was conceived in a short time. From the very beginning it was understood as a first step towards building solidarity among fish workers organization throughout the world, particularly among third world countries. Regional and national assemblies of fishworkers organizations proposed the guidelines for the international conference, and participants by these assemblies.

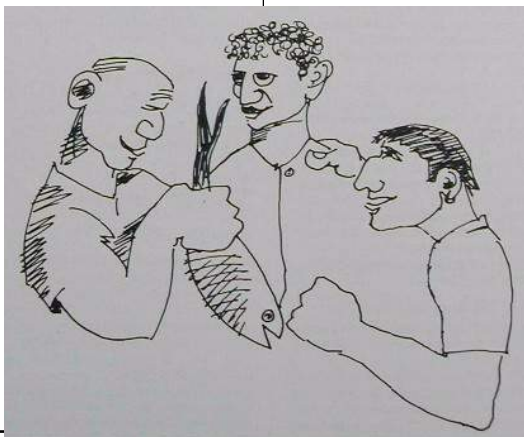
Aware of the different backgrounds of the participants, various approaches were utilized to stimulate participation and interaction:

- Country reports were given by participants.
- Plenary sessions were held with presentations on various issues followed by collective discussions.
- Meeting of inter-regional groups to further the analyses of the problems raised at the plenary sessions were held.
- Audio-visuals on issues of concern as experienced by the various participants were used.

- » An exhibition was mounted of various types of materials (newsletter, photographs, pedagogical material, models of fishing crafts etc), expressing the experiences of the people their work and life, joys and sorrows, their struggles and aspirations, their defeats and victories.

- A demonstration was held in the centre of Rome, with popular songs, dances and storytelling.
- A field visit was made to an Italian fishery cooperative,

Due to language barriers, the supporters acted as a bridge between the fish workers of different countries. Sufficient time was allotted to national delegations to discuss in their own languages. This ensured that discussions were well understood and that the fish workers communicated their point of view and reflected on these views in the light of their local experiences. The discussions built up gradually form concrete experiences to the formulation of larger overviews. The first stage of the conference focussed on the advantages, the problems and constraints as well as the future prospects of the small-scale fishing sector. This was an important point of departure as it enabled the small fishermen among us to assert themselves and share their experiences from the very beginning of the meeting. Thereafter, the impact of development assistance programs on the working and living conditions of the fish workers was



brought to the fore. The interrelations with the industrialisation process and the functioning logic of the capitalist system on the world level was emphasized. The relations between industrial and small-scale fisheries and in particular, the damaging effects of industrial over-fishing in near-shore waters were described. The problems of inappropriate technological choices were discussed in the same perspectives. The effects of industrialization and urbanisation on the ecological balance of aquatic systems were highlighted with the special reference to the experience of Latin American countries. Finally, the discussion was centred upon the response of fish workers to the problems they face in the course of collective action and struggles. The particularities of these responses were related to the broad political and economic context in the respective countries and regions.

Outcomes of the Conference

Two important general conclusions firstly, the participants raised that, despite various differences in the geographical, political social and economic conditions of their countries, common factors operate on the world scene giving rise to the same problems around the world. More particularly, they became aware that national and other boundaries which must be overcome, as they perform the major function of masking the alignment of the real economic forces which shape the peoples' situation with the backing of political systems, state machinery and international organizations.

Still more importantly, the participants came to understand that the issue is not one of nationality nor is it one of polarization between third world interests on the one hand and first world interests on the other. Unless the problems are analysed in the framework of a world capitalist system which integrates the economic sectors of all countries no effective solution can be found to improve the predicament of fish workers.

Secondly, while many positive lessons can be drawn from the experience of various countries, the forms of workers' organizations and of collective action must take account of the concrete socio-political context in which they operate. At the functional level, the following conclusions emerged:

1. The small-scale fishing sector has many inherent advantages. It is labor and local skill intensive. It is capital and fuel saving (especially so when engines are combined with fuel sailing devices). Its technology and mode of organization and management are well mastered by local fishing communities: the highly decentralised settlement pattern of coastal communities makes centralization, a prerequisite for large-scale operations, both socially and politically undesirable. It does not give rise to large income disparities

It is usually well adapted to tropical aquatic eco-systems (characterised by numerous species in small quantities which are widely dispersed close to the shore) and when its techniques are capable of destroying grounds, local fishing communities frequently possess built-in mechanisms and rules for preventing over-fishing. Far from being a stagnant sector, it has amply demonstrated in the last two decades that it is innovative and easily amenable to efficient improvements. It is characterized by a high degree of flexibility. It is well integrated into small-scale marketing and distribution channels, which are highly efficient.



Thus, the development of small-scale fisheries should not be advocated exclusively on social and welfare grounds. Small-scale fisheries should be supported for Economic, Technical ecological, organizational as well as social reasons. 2. For the decades to come, so long as there is no rapid Creation of alternative high-productivity job opportunities for the poor, there is no hope of alleviating the situation of the undernourished masses of many third world countries unless techniques and modes of organization, which keep the prices of basic necessities low, are used. With its low cost of catching, preserving, transporting and distributing the fish, the small scale fishing sector is

particularly suited to providing inexpensive proteins to the masses. More efforts should be directed to improve the efficiency of the small-scale fisheries, instead of displacing them through the indiscriminate encouragement of industrial fisheries.

3. The future of small-scale fisheries is threatened by the intrusion of industrial fishing vessels into coastal waters. Too often the national governments are purposefully passive due to their vested interests in joint ventures with foreign countries. The recent development of highly sophisticated industrial technologies for spotting and catching fish, combined with the ineffectiveness of protection measure by the coastal states, make biological over-fishing an impending reality for many third world nations endowed with fish resources of commercial value.

4. In many countries, the process of industrialization the growth of tourism, and the uncontrolled expansion of urban areas have caused a serious degradation of aquatic ecosystem through pollution and other obnoxious effect.

5. Projects of fisheries development, many backed by international assistance often fails mainly because of lack of participation of the local people in the conception, preparation and implementation of the programs.

6. In its assistance programs and development projects for fishermen, national governments often play an opportunistic role and frequently resort to manipulative practices. Where strong people's organizations exist, there is the possibility of determining the focus of such interventions in favour of the small fishermen.

7. The working conditions of workers employed in the industrial fisheries are hazardous and exploitative : insecure job agreements, absence of social security benefits, poor working conditions, low wages and excessive use of piece-wage system.

Recommendations

1. We, fish workers and their supporters from 34 countries of the world who struggle for survival and sometimes die for their cause.

2. We urge governments to be responsive to the demands of the local fish workers organizations to

- reserve and protect for small-scale fishing all near shore waters and fishing grounds accessible to it
- ban all technologies that disturb the balance of the ecosystem either through Over-fishing or pollution and prevent the use of chemicals that are forbidden in the industrialized countries
- associate local fishermen's organizations or fishermen communities in devising and implementing regulatory measures (with concrete possibilities of control)

- respect and guarantee the fundamental rights of fish workers to free association: withdraw all measures that penalize the workers.

3. We recommend that governments of the third world cooperate on a regional basis to ensure effective management of their fish resources in the long term.

4. We stress the essential role of women in fishing communities considering their sensitivity to the deteriorating quality of life. We support them in getting organised to,

* Project their activities in the production process.

* improve their working conditions.

* alleviate the burden of their work

* actively reduce pollution and protect the environment.

We call for a collective effort in changing attitudes and values towards women in order to get their full participation in decision making at all levels.

5. We emphasize the positive contribution of governmental organizations in the development of technology and forms of participatory management that ensure the future of small-scale fisheries.

6. Priority should be given to lessening dependency on foreign capital, equipment and know-how.

7. We ask that all scientists who recognize the importance of conserving and enhancing person-nature relationship take a strong stand on behalf of the small-scale fishermen. We urge them to work in collaboration with local fishermen's organizations to complement their knowledge of the sea and to enable them to regain their rights over the sea.



Implementation

As a result of this conference, we shall structure at regional levels, a network that would do the following :

A. Direct efforts towards the creation of a solid mass based organization of fishworkers at national levels which would set the direction and control of the nature of assistance necessary in their struggle.

B. Facilitate communication with sub-regions among groups of fish workers regarding :

nature of concrete problems
their struggles réponses
specific needs such as appropriate technical assistance, financial and other educational needs.
Solidarity building through interaction on various levels such as meetings, seminars, exchange of written information... etc.

c. From each regional network representatives should take part in a larger coordinating committee for the purpose of studying concrete proposals for further action to strengthen concerted efforts in support of the fish workers' struggle at the respective national and regional levels.

D. Take necessary steps to see that small-scale and other fishermen's organizations get representative status in the international labour organization.

New... Creations... Plans... New... Creations... Plans

Southasia Hotels

At the initiative of the national hotel associations of South Asia, a regional office of the International Hotel Association was set up in Kathmandu on December 1, 1984. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are the founder members.

Sahadev S.J.B. Rana, president of the Hotel Assn. of Nepal, was elected chairman of the regional office, which was named International Hotel Association South Asia. Vice chairmen are Byram D. Avari, past president of Pakistan Hotels Association, and Hakim Ali, president of the International Hotel Association of Bangladesh. Ishwri Prasad Shrestha, executive secretary of the Nepal Hotel Association, was nominated executive director.

Michel Doo-Kingué, secrétaire général adjoint des Nations-Unies, directeur général de l'Institut des Nations Unies pour la formation et la recherche (UNITAR).

Le Fonds se propose d'attaquer le problème de la faim dans sa globalité en faisant de la famine et de ses effets la priorité centrale autour de laquelle viendront se greffer les autres priorités. Les recherches qu'il promouvra devront permettre, au-delà des plans de sauvetage à court terme, de lutter contre la disette en attaquant le fléau à sa racine.

Contact : Association mondiale de prospective sociale (AMPS)
Palais des Nations (UNITAR)
Ch - 1211 Genève 10
Tél. (022) 98 84 00 int. 477.

droit belge. Son siège est fixé provisoirement Quai de Londo 48, 8-4020 Liège.

Third world

Contre la faim

L'Association mondiale de prospective sociale a pris l'initiative de créer un « Fonds international de recherche contre la faim ». Celui-ci bénéficie d'ores et déjà du soutien de personnalités telles que Leopold S. Senghor, l'Abbé Pierre, Dom Helder Camara, le Prix Nobel, Ilya Prigogine, le secrétaire général de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine Peter Onu et

Etudes vietnamiennes

Un « Centre européen d'études vietnamiennes » a été créé à Liège (Belgique) en mars 1984. Il a pour but d'étudier les problèmes spécifiques de la culture vietnamienne en relation avec les cultures européennes, de conserver et développer le patrimoine culturel du peuple vietnamien. Il est constitué sous la forme juridique d'association sans but lucratif de

On Association 9-14 November 1984. the Consumers' International of Penang (CAP) held the an in-theme « The Third World conference on development or cri- sis ? » concerned The groups conference and brought together sis many in the Third on World various and aspects First of World both who are working problems papers faced by presented the Third is- World. and The with analysis of of economic, Third World concerned themselves in terms of of the last of day the social World and cultural in manifestations the of of the of the unequal world order. On the World Network of (TWN) confer- ence, a The Third President of S.M. the Consumers' Association of task Penang. CAP being Mohd. the Idris accepted the and of establishing Network will the Network, secre- tariat of the consolidate in the cooperation South as among to coordinate aim and groups The cooperation Network would along and South-South, de- velopment North. The cooperation North-South (87. Tel. Capen 37.35.11. Penang: 37.36.12. itate South-North, North-North Penang. Telex 37.37.13). Malaysia. 41089: Cable Tel. Capen 37.35.11. Penang: 37.36.12.

Reemployment

The International Reemployment Association, proposed as an international non-governmental organization and established in Brussels in 1985, is an outgrowth of work done since 1965 in the field of employment by its founders. This work ranges from the economics of employment, labour laws and industrial psychology, to management development, executive training, entrepreneurship and

History

The International Reemployment Asso-

The International Reemployment Association

ciation founded as an international non-governmental organization and established in Brussels in 1985 (*) is an outgrowth of work done since 1965 in the field of employment by its founders. This work ranges from the economics of employment labour laws and industrial psychology to management development executive training entrepreneurship and investment. It also includes studies of the broad societal needs of mankind in the twenty-first century.

Purpose

The Association views employment as the primary condition of human economic existence whether one is an owner or investor working or whose agents are working for return on capital or whether one receives a salary or wages or payment in commodities or payment-in-kind. Employment is also the primary value of capital wealth in other forms capital equipment and all the resources used to produce goods and services since they have value only productively - when they are employed. It is also considered fundamental that the economic dynamics of every society is iterative that is people and capital need to be replaced with time and other economic resources need to be replenished as well including raw materials. Thus the International Reemployment Association views society's economic behaviour in both an integrative and an iterative way. Its concern is with societal strategic planning that takes these factors into account.

Timeliness

Economic growth in many countries has slowed down. With world populations continuing to rise unemployment is affecting hundreds of millions of persons - both wage earners and their families. In addition the world's resources are being consumed too rapidly. The I R A seeks ways to maintain orderly economic activity that replenishes itself that creates jobs but more importantly - recreates economic opportunities for employment that is *reemployment* of people and of financial and physical resources.

investment. It also includes studies of the broad societal needs of mankind in the twenty-first century.

The Association views employment as the primary condition of human economic existence whether one is an owner or investor working, or whose agents are working, for return on capital, or whether one receives a salary or wages, or payment in commodities or payment-in-kind. Employment is also the primary value of capital.

Therefore, in addition to presenting proposals of ways to increase wage-earning

work, the Association is interested in furthering techniques of capital formation, distribution and investment, and in raw material conservation and ecological and environmental problems. Working towards societal strategic plans that are based on integrated and iterative economic dynamics, the International Reemployment Association feels, is the way to assure proper use of planetary material and human resources.

Relationships with other organizations

The Association anticipates cooperation with the United Nations' Economic and Social Committee and with other U.N. system organizations such as ILO, UNCTAD, UNIDO, etc. Also with the World Bank, the OECD and regional intergovernmental organizations such as the EEC, EFTA, DAS, ASEAN and others. It will, in addition, cooperate with the principal industry and trade associations. It seeks affiliation with a major European University or private research institute concerned with societal affairs. It will organize international conferences and provide speakers for conferences with applicable themes. It welcomes relationships with other non-governmental organizations and corporate sponsorship of research and other programmes.

Staff

The officers and staff, working on a voluntary basis, are highly qualified internationalists with years of issue-oriented professional and executive experience. All have lived in more than one nation, are at least bilingual, and many hold honours from their countries, advanced university degrees and other distinctions. Board members are people with exceptional careers in business, academia, government and public affairs. Many are available as consultants in their special fields.

Dr. Owen S. Victor
Acting Secretary-General

wealth in other forms, capital equipment and all the resources used to produce goods and services, since they have value only productively - when they are employed. It is also considered fundamental that the economic dynamics of every society is iterative; that is, people and capital need to be replaced with time, and other economic resources need to be replenished as well, including raw materials. Thus, the International Reemployment Association views society's economic behaviour in both an integrative and an iterative way. Its concern is with societal strategic planning that takes these factors into account. (*Dr Owen S. Victor, Acting Secretary General. BP 99. B-1050 Bruxelles*)

Cités unies

Pour son premier voyage comme Président de la Fédération mondiale des villes jumelées, M. Pierre Mauroy, ancien Premier ministre français, a posé les jalons d'une structure régionale des cités unies pour l'Amérique centrale. L'implantation d'un siège et d'une infrastructure devrait permettre aux villes membres des Caraïbes, de l'Amérique centrale, du Venezuela et de la Colombie de mener des actions en commun. Ce projet a été favorablement accueilli notamment par l'Union des villes de la Caraïbe.

Lyophilisation

Groupant des personnes de nationalité belge et française, un « Centre international des techniques de lyophilisation » a été créé en mai 1984. L'association a pour but de promouvoir les techniques de lyophilisation, d'assurer l'objectivité des informations fournies sur le plan technique au niveau du public ou des informateurs, de regrouper les constructeurs de matériel, propriétaires d'usines, ingénieurs, techniciens intéressés par ces questions. M. Guy Lafarge (français) a été nommé président du Conseil d'administration. Le siège est établi rue Américaine 219. B - 1050 Bruxelles.

Disarmament Fund for Development

The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDR) has published a new study « Establishment of an International Disarmament Fund for Development » which elaborates an idea first expressed in the 1981 Report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. This report of the United Nations Secretary-General had underlined the urgency for new departures in the domains of disarmament and development and had advocated the creation of an International Disarmament Fund for Development.

Under the project of the establishment of an international disarmament fund for development four technical studies were undertaken :

IAPCO looks to the future

The 1985 General Assembly of the International Association of Professional Congress Organizers, in Venice in March, was a time for consolidation of past efforts and a forward look ahead.

The future image of the Association was very much in the minds of members, as they now feel the Association is receiving recognition of its efforts on behalf of the conference industry.

Currently in hand is a number of projects which will benefit clients and organizers alike.

Nearing completion is the set of guidelines, mentioned in the last issue of this magazine, on the distribution of responsibilities between the different parties organizing an international conference. This started out as a guide to assist the convening group and the host country to reach an efficient and amicable agreement on their respective duties. It has turned out to be an invaluable checklist for them, and also revealed what an asset the professional congress organizer (PCO) can be - to such an extent that when comments were invited from a group of international association general secretaries in London, following the IAPCO lunch in Brussels, they asked that more on the PCO's role should be included. IAPCO is delighted to comply.

Dictionary

A conference terminology glossary and dictionary has been compiled in conjunction with language experts from the EEC, UN and IMF-World Bank. The dictionary section will have definitions in English. All the terms will be translated into French, Italian, Spanish and German, and there are plans to add Danish and Dutch. It is hoped publication of the volume will be later this year.

An audio-visual-aid handbook to help conference speakers in preparation and delivery is also in throes of production. These will join the list of publications already available from IAPCO. All are intended to help create and raise standards in the conference organizing world. The existing ones are:

1. Standard contract form, a model or basis of terms to be negotiated between

the PCO and the group responsible for holding an international meeting.

2. « Pre-requisites for a conference hotel », a leaflet stating what is usually expected of any hotel claiming such a title.
3. Multi-language conference term glossary.
4. The IAPCO brochure itself which defines the job of a PCO, the objectives of IAPCO and the qualifications demanded of an applicant for membership.

Conference research

In addition to the business matters of IAPCO, there was an interesting programme of discussion and debates for the 50 participants assembled in Venice.

Working groups reported on their progress in investigation into other subjects which could result in further standardization within the industry. A standard form for the submission of abstracts and posters is high on the list of priorities.

The reasons why people attend conferences is increasingly important as



competition grows all over the world to get meetings/tourism business. (UIA figures show an upward trend in the industry, with an increase of 11 % in 1983 over 1982, in numbers of events held throughout the world.) Under the guidance of Joan Gross who has pioneered conference research at McGill University Conference Office in Montreal, Canada, IAPCO hopes eventually to come up with some firm and valuable data on this subject.

IAPCO also hopes to gain the co-operation of some credit card companies to make registration simpler for participants, and maybe fix a special standard rate.

Other topics covered during the Assembly were the particular characteristics of church-related meetings; the advantages and disadvantages of conferences instigated by congress organizers themselves, at their own risk, instead of an outside client; and the internal organization of a PCO's office.

New technology rears its head everywhere these days, not least of all in the communication world. From teleconferencing to use of computers, lasers and printers, IAPCO members related their own experiences in the office and conference centre. They were emphatic that they must be able to judge when to use a ma-



A group of participants in the 1985 IAPCO General Assembly, held in Venice March 21 to 24.

chine and when personal contact is better.

On the questions of whether high technology would enhance business or put the PCO out of a job, outgoing IAPCO President Lars Christensen had these comments : « People are, in fact, slower to use new systems than we think. Personal computers did not sell in the numbers the manufacturers first thought they would. New things don't suddenly change methods. And with governments and unions cutting working hours, we shall have more time for ourselves, for travelling and leisure. That will keep our industry alive ».

Recruiting campaign

The search for new IAPCO members continues and this is to be stepped up in the Far East, Australasia and the Pacific in general, USA, Germany and France. In all these areas there are either very few or no members.

IAPCO has been in existence for 17 years and has 36 members from 18 different countries. Some changes were made to the statutes to clarify the different categories of membership. Nevertheless, eligibility requirements for membership remain as strict as ever. Individuals or companies

accepted will have proved themselves to be competent in every way in running a large, international conference.

At the start of the Assembly, Lars Christensen was pleased to welcome representatives of other associations and professions connected with the conference business. IAPCO's policy is to try to work more closely with their colleagues in other branches of the industry, and also to gain more exposure at trade meetings and exhibitions.

Island of Hope

Finally, a word in praise of the three Italian IAPCO members who hosted this year's General Assembly in appropriate style. Most of the sessions were held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini on the historic Isola di San Giorgio, a training centre, place of

learning and conference venue which has entertained summit meetings within its walls. In his introduction Professor Vittore Branca, Secretary General of the Fondazione Cini, said San Giorgio was known as the « Island of Hope ». This is exactly what IAPCO has for its reputation in the future.

A new IAPCO Council was elected at the meeting :

President : Christer Carlsson, Sweden;
Vice President : Gianluca Buongiorno, Italy;
Secretary General, Sarah Storie-Pugh, United Kingdom; Treasurer, Anthea Fortescue, United Kingdom; Council member : Vesna Drljaca, Yugoslavia.

Executive Secretary of IAPCO remains as Ghislaine de Coninck and the address for further information is: 40 Rue Washington, Brussels 1050, Belgium.

»
The new IAPCO Council for year 1985/6, elected at the General Assembly in Venice in March 1985. Top

Stockholm Convention Bureau; right : Gianluca Buongiorno, Vice President (General Manager of Assistenza Internazionale Servizi di Congresso (AISC) in Rome;

Director of Conference Associates Ltd., London); right : Sarah Storie-Pugh, Secretary General (Director, Concorde Services Ltd., London); bottom : Vesna Drljaca (Sava Centar Congress Department, Beograd.



(suite de la page 179)
(continued from page 179)

- » modalities for the establishment of an international disarmament fund for development » by Marek Thee, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (Norway);
- » Institutional, technical and political aspects of an international disarmament fund for development » by Pinn Solleie, The Fridtjof Nansen Institute, Oslo (Norway);
- » The establishment of an international disarmament fund for development : the regional approach » by Alain Pipart and Hugo Sada of the Institut National Supérieur d'Etudes de Défense et de Désarmement, Paris (France);
- » The main economic and political aims of an international disarmament fund for development » by Jacques Fontanel,

Université des Sciences Sociales,
Grenoble (France).

Laitages

Le 17 décembre 1984 a été créée à Soumagne (Belgique) l'Association internationale de défense des producteurs de lait, des agriculteurs et des industries de transformation connexes (AIDLAIT). Elle a pour objet l'étude, la protection et le développement des intérêts des producteurs de lait et de ses dérivés, des éleveurs, des agriculteurs et des industries de transformation connexes; elle s'efforcera également de promouvoir une réglementation conforme à l'intérêt général et à la santé publique. L'association est composée de membres effectifs et de membres adhérents. Trois cinquièmes des membres au moins doivent être de nationalité belge. (Secrétariat : Rue du Marais 2, B-4630 Soumagne).

Eastern Atlantic Hydrography

With the signing of its statutes by four Member States of the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO), the Eastern Atlantic Hydrographic Commission was established on 26 November 1984. The present signatories are France, Nigeria, Portugal and Spain.

The first meeting, to consider the establishment of the EATHC, was held in Lisbon, Portugal, 5-6 December 1983. States bordering the Eastern Atlantic included in NAVAREA II and which are IHO Member States are eligible for membership, while States within the above area but not yet IHO Members are welcome to become Associate Members. The EATHC will aim at promoting technical cooperation in hydrography, marine cartography and related fields.

YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

21st edition 1984/85

5th SUPPLEMENT Changes of address and/or name

For each organization concerned, the reference number and the name in English are given. If the organization's name or the Secretary General's name only are given, the address in the Yearbook has to be considered still valid. The address is given in full in any case where one or several of its components has been modified.

Chaque organisation concernée est répertoriée avec son numéro de référence et son nom en langue anglaise. Lorsque seuls apparaissent le nom de l'organisation ou celui d'un secrétaire général, c'est que la modification porte sur ces noms et que l'adresse mentionnée dans le - Yearbook - peut être considérée comme toujours valable. L'adresse est donnée en entier dès que l'une ou plusieurs de ses composantes a subi une modification.

Section A

A 3490 World Confédération of Labour (W.C.L.)
SG Jan Kulakowski, rue de Trèves 33, 8-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.

B 1850 International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP)
Head Office 21 rue Chaptal, F-75009 Paris, France. T. (1) 5260563.

B 2020 International Federation of Surveyors
SG C.W. Youngs, P.O. Box 5458, Postal Station E, Edmonton, T9P 4C4 Canada.

B 2079 International Geographical Union (IGU)
SG Tress Dr. Leszel Kosinski, Department of Geography, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada T6G 2H4 T. (403) 432-3329.

B 2117 International Industrial Association (IIRA)
Sec Alan Gladstone, same address.

B 2482 International Society for Education through Art (INSEA)
SG John Steers, NSEAD, 7 a High street, Corsham SN130ES, UK. T. (0249) 714625.

B 3326 Trade Unions International of Workers in Commerce
SG Ilie Frunza, UISTIC, Opletalova 57, 11000 Praha 1, Czechoslovakia T. 220501.

B 3456 World Assembly of Youth (WAY)
SG Smiv Khare, 4 Ved Bellahøj, DK-2700 Bronshøj, København, Denmark T. 880664.

B 3469 World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS)
Dir Miss Jo Caesar, World Bureau, Olave Centre, 12c Lyndhurst road, London NW3 5PQ, UK. T. 794 1181.

B 3501 World Council of Churches (WCC)
SG Emilio Castro, same address.

B 9945 International Council of Associations of Surfing (ICAS)
Exec Dir Winston Holt, Surf House, P.O. Box 2174, Palm Beach, FL 33460 USA T. (305) 8324420.

B 8038 Nordic Atomic Libraries Joint Secretariat (NAJLS)
Chief Librarian Eva Pedersen, Riso National Laboratory, DK-4000 Roskilde, Denmark T. (02) 371212.

Section B

B 0220 Catholic International Education Office
SG Paulus Adams, same address

B 0419 Coopération Centre for Scientific Research Relative to Tobacco
SG Pierre Ledez, same address

B 1161 International Amateur Swimming Federation
Hon Sec E. Allan Harvey, 206-3540 West 41st Avenue, Vancouver B.C. Canada V6N 3E6.

B 1188 International Association for Dental Research (A.A.D.R.)
Exec Dir John A. Gray, 1111 14th street NW Suite 1000, Washington DC 20005, USA T. (202) 898 1050.

B 1227 International Association for the Protection of Industrial Property (IA-PIP)
SG Alfred E. Briner, same address

B 1234 (English and French name) International Association for the Development of Cross-Cultural Communication
Association internationale pour le développement de la communication interculturelle (AIMAV)
SG Dr Eddy Rosseel, c/o Act of Applied Linguistics av 9 de Julho 3166 01406 São Paulo, Brazil.

B 1513 International College of Surgeons
SG Dr F.C. Ottati, 1516 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago IL 60610 USA T. (312) 9423555.

B 1447 International Cartographic Association (ICA)
SG Don Pearce, 24 Strickland Road, Mt Pleasant Perth, W Australia 6153.

Section C

C 6100 Association for Commonwealth Language and Literature Studies (ACLALS)
Chairman Prof Dr Edwin Thumboo. Dept English, University of Singapore, Kentbridge. Singapore 0511, Singapore

C 0534 Esperantist World Peace Movement
SG T Papp, Tromblais u 12. H-4031 Debrecen, Hungary.

C 1189 International Association for Earthquake Engineering (IAEE)
Pres Dr Yutaka Osawa, Kenchiru Kaikan, 3rd floor, 5-25-20 Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo 108, Japan.

C 1206 International Association for Research in Income and Wealth (IARIW)
Head Office Yale University, Economic Growth Centre, Box 2020, Yale station, New Haven CT 06520, USA.

C 1222 International Association for the Philosophy of Law and Social Philo-
sophy
SG Dr Heikki ES Mattila, University of Helsinki, PO Box 157, SF-00171 Helsinki, Finland.

C 1235 International Association for the Study of Ancient Mosaics
Sec-Treas Mme J. Christophe, 12 rue de Guyenne, F-78310 Maurepas, France.

C 1575 International Committee for Esthetics and Cosmetology
Pres Mme Guiliana Brambilla, Piazza Bernotti 1, I-15033 Casale Manferra-to A.L. Italy.

C 1585 (English name) International Federation of Palynological Societies (IFPS)

C 1881 World Federation of Agricultural Workers (WFAW-CMT)
Dissolved.

C 2044 International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations (IFW-EA)

(Spanish name) Federacion Internacional de Asociaciones para la Educacion de los Trabajadores (FIAET).

C 2328 International Organization of Plant Biosystematists (IOBP)
Sec/Treas Dr Lib Borgen, Botanical Garden and Museum, Trondhelmevei-en 23B, Oslo-5, Norway.

C 2329 International Society of Hypertension (ISH)
Head Office GKV, Frankfurterstrasse 57, D-6050 Offenbach 1, Germany FR.

C 2378 International Primatological Society
SG Dr Gisela Epple, Deutscher Primatenzentrum, Kellnerweg 4, D-3400 Gottingen, Germany FR.

C 2443 International Secretariat of Arts, Communications Médias and Enter-
tainment Trade Unions (ISETU)
Sec Irene Robadey, c/o FIET, 15 avenue de Ballexer), CH-1219 Châtellaine-Genève, Switzerland.

C 2461 International Shopfitting Organization (ISO)
(Spanish and Italian names) Organizacion Internacional de Acabado de Tiendas - Organizzazione Internazionale di Arrattatori di Negozi.

C 2541 International Society of Endocrinology
SG Prof L.H. Rees, Dept of Chemical Endocrinology, 51-53 Bartholomew Close, London EC1A 7BE.

C 2586 International Squash Rackets Federation (ISRF)
Exec Dir, R.J. Eady, National Sports Centre, Sophia Gardens, Cardiff CF1 9SW, UK.

C 3236 Society for the Study of the New Testament
Sec Prof Dr Catchpole, Dept of Theology, Univ of Exeter, Queen's Building, The Queen's Drive, Exeter EX 4 4QM, UK.

C 3331 Transplantation Society
Sec-Eastern Prof PROF Bell, Dept of Surgery, Clinical Sciences Building, Leicester Royal Infirmary, Leicester L42 7CX, UK.

C 3895 International Association for Mathematical Geology (IAMG)
SG Dr R B Mc Cammon, US Geological Survey, National Center 920, Res-ton VA 22092, USA.

C 3918 International Union of Pharmacology (IUPHAR)
SG Dr A M Barrett, University of Buckingham, Buckingham MK18IEG, UK.

C 4603 International Seismological Centre (ISC) (Spanish and German names)
Centro Internacional de Sismologia - Internationales Seismologisches Zentrum.

C 8492 (English name) International Article Numbering Association

C 9152 World Federation of Development Institutions
Head Office Serrano 1-3* Izqda. 28001 Madrid, Spain T 431 90 18 Tx 42093.

Section D

D 1264 International Sugar Confectionery Manufacturers Assciation (ISCMA)

Dir Antoine M van Tulder, avenue de Cortenbergh 172, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.

D 1396 Association of Writers in Esperanto (English name)
Association des écrivains en espéranto - Esperantlingva Verhista Asocio (EVA) (French and Spanish names)
Pres Tibur Sekeli, Kidriceva 15, YU-24000 Subotica, Yugoslavia.

D 1475 Latin American Thyroid Society (LATTS)
Sociedad Latino-Americana de Tiroides (SLAT)
SG Dr J.H. Romaldini, Endocrinologia 12º andar, CP 8570 - cep 01000 São Paulo, Brazil.

D 1612 Disabled Peoples' International
SG Jan Johnson, DPI, Box 36033, S-100 71 Stockholm.

D 1901 International Federation of Retail Distributors
Head Office Avenue Edouard Lacomblé 17, 1000 Bruxelles

D 2816 Nordic Oil Protection Union
Dissolved 1983.

D 3007 Commission for the Convention on Future Multilateral Cooperation in North-East Atlantic Fisheries (English name).

D 5028 (English name) International Congress of Phonetic Sciences (IC Ph S)

Section E

E 2368 Nordic Clinical Chemistry Project
Manager Erhni Leshinen, Kivälä Hospital, Sibelivksen Katv 12-14, SF-00260 Helsinki, Finland.

E 2369 International Council for the Publication of the Complete Works of Erasmus

Head office Erasmus Cinte, PB 3645, IDIOAK Amsterdam, Netherlands

E 2462 Committee or Dietetic Associations of the European Community
Pres R Frenz, Verband Deutscher Diätassistenten, Bismarckstr 960, Post-fach 8304, D-4000 Dusseldorf.

E 2738 Union of Cereal Storage Firms in the EEC
SG Klaus Bethmann, Matternwicke 2, 2000 Hamburg 11.

E 3144 Pro Mundi Vitae - International Research and Information Centre
Head office, 6, rue de la Limite, 1030 Bruxelles

E 3157 (English name) Organization of Reinforced Plastic Associations of the Common Market.

E 3277 Common Market Standing Committee on BIPAR

SG Jean Schouterden - same address.

E 3523 Delete the entry.

E 3774 Federation of Hunting Associations of the EEC

SG L.Petyt, avenue N. Plissart 14, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.

E 3828 Delete the entry.

E 3829 Delete the entry.

E 3830 Delete the entry.

E 3831 Delete the entry.

E 3832 Delete the entry.

E 3835 International Radiation Committee
Contact Dr J.E. Harries, Rutherford Appleton Lab, Chilton Didcot, OX11 0QX UK.

E 8711 Delete the entry.

E 8810 ASEAN Food handling Bureau (AFMB)
Dir Dr L. Fredericks.

E 9785 World Committee for Trade Action - WCL (WCTA)
Secretariat rue de Treves 33, B-1040 Bruxelles Belgium



YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS 1984/85

Edited by the Union of International Associations

The current edition of the Yearbook of International Organizations contains names and detailed descriptions of over 20,000 international organizations. The information given is based on data provided by the various organizations themselves and is therefore up-to-date and accurate. The wide range of organizations listed cover every field of human activity. The Yearbook is a unique and very valuable source of information referring to all types of international organizations.

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Arab and Islamic International Organization Directory (and Arab/Islamic participation in other international organizations 1984/85, 1st edition)

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Both Directories consist of three main parts :

PART I : Descriptions of Organizations

PART II : Secretariat Countries

PART III : Membership Countries

Each Directory also has a section with detailed statistical data which summarizes the information contained.

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