

TRANSNATIONAL

ASSOCIATIONS

TRANSNATIONALES



**Social Movements
Internationally**

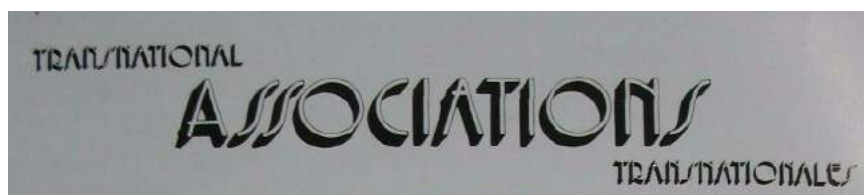
**International Meetings:
Towards a Code of Practice?**

1988 - n° 1

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This publication, produced by the UAI, appears six times a 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 regardless of the consequences.

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 to association officers, research workers 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 PUAI, 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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1988 - N° 1

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NGOs, the complete and positive answer to the crisis sweeping across the world in so many domains? Yes... but...

In this issue of «Transnational Associations» you will find some articles concurring with the above statement, but also a series of more reserved observations, analyses which are critical or even bitter, surveys in which the negative outweighs the positive.

We wanted to draw together in this issue a range of in-depth contributions devoted to non-governmental organizations as seen from the outside.

In the light of Lomé III, Marc Luyckx emphasises the cultural dimension of development and asks of Northern NGOs a «cultural disarmament» — no «clean sweeps», no imported strategies, no monologue but a true dialogue through unmediated relations in a cross-cultural context.

More radical, and also more provocative, Dominique Temple proceeds to eliminate any illusions the Northern NGOs might have retained on their ability to achieve positive results in the domain of development: their stance is qualified as «economicidal» and «ethnocidal». Terry Molner tells us of an experiment which is out of the ordinary, impossible to classify, certainly cooperative, no less certainly non-governmental, at the root of a particular social attitude of the individual; the Mondragon cooperative system explores the possibilities of a radically different way of organizing society: to think about...

No one denies that social movements play an important role in life national and «transnational»; but how to comprehend them, place them, define them? Non-governmental in essence, these movements underpin, influence and sometimes constitute real NGOs. Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes produce nine propositions on social movements which assist us to better understand their nature — unstructured, mobile, autonomous yet dependent, impermanent yet stirring to the very depths, producing conflict yet uniting...

M.V. Rajasekharan explores the NGO networks of Southeast Asia through the experience of the Commonwealth — a positive experience, enriching and full of promise for the future.

Aware of the importance placed on information, particularly in the NGO networks of Latin America, Gabriel Rodriguez alerts NGOs to the «information myth», that of being valuable for its own sake. New technology is a magnificent instrument which must certainly be adopted but must also be transcended. For NGOs this is a very good lesson in the philosophy of management.

Les ONG, réponse positive et complète à la crise que traverse le monde dans bien des domaines? Oui... mais...

Dans ce numéro de «Associations Transnationales», vous lirez des articles confortant l'affirmation ci-dessus, mais aussi une série de réflexions plus réservées, des analyses sévères et parfois acerbes, des bilans où le négatif l'emporte sur le positif.

Nous avons voulu réunir dans ce numéro un ensemble de contributions consacrées à certaines facettes de l'organisation internationale non gouvernementale, vues de l'extérieur et étudiées en profondeur.

A la lumière des textes de Lomé III, Marc Luyckx met l'accent sur la dimension culturelle du développement et demande aux ONG venues du Nord, le «désarmement culturel»: pas de table rase, pas de stratégie importée, pas de monologue, mais un vrai dialogue fondé sur le contact humain direct dans un contexte pluriculturel.

Plus radicale, plus provocatrice aussi, Dominique Temple procède à l'élimination de toutes les illusions que pouvaient encore entretenir les ONG du Nord sur leur capacité de faire du bien dans le domaine du développement: leur comportement est qualifié de «économocidaire» et «ethnocidaire».

C'est une expérience hors du commun que nous raconte Terry Molner: véritablement inclassable, coopérative certes, non gouvernementale non moins sûrement, à la racine d'un certain comportement social de l'individu humain, la formule coopérative «Mondragon» explore les possibilités d'une organisation radicalement différente de la société: à méditer...

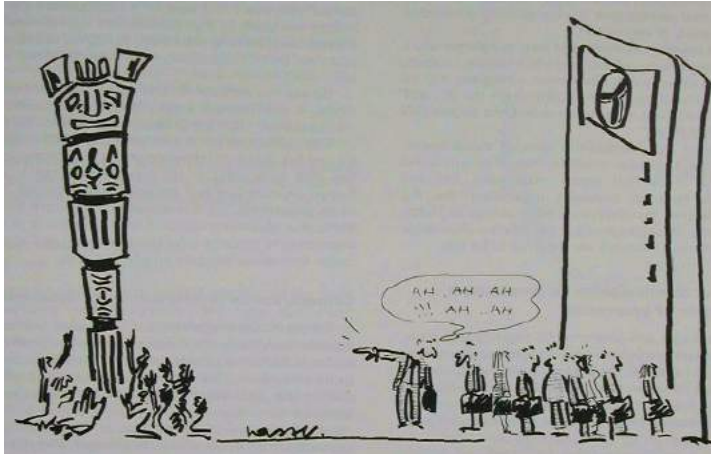
Personne n'ignore que les mouvements sociaux sont une part importante de la vie nationale et «transnationale», mais comment les appréhender, les situer, les définir? Par essence, ces mouvements sont non gouvernementaux, ils sous-tendent, influencent et parfois constituent de vraies ONG. Gunder Frank et Marta Fuentes émettent 9 thèses sur les mouvements sociaux qui nous aident à mieux en comprendre le caractère: in-organisationnel, mobile, autonome mais indépendant, temporaire mais agissant en profondeur, conflictuel mais rassembleur...

M.V. Rajasekharan explore les réseaux ONG du sud-est de l'Asie à travers l'expérience du Commonwealth: expérience positive, enrichissante et pleine de promesses pour l'avenir.

Conscient de l'importance prise par l'information, notamment dans les réseaux ONG d'Amérique latine, Gabriel Rodriguez met en garde les ONG contre le «mythe de l'information», celle-ci étant recherchée pour elle-même: les nouvelles technologies sont de magnifiques instruments qu'il faut absolument adopter, mais dépasser. Pour les ONG c'est une très bonne leçon de philosophie du management.

How can the new technology help NGOs in Latin America?

by Gabriel Rodriguez*



The myth of information as a springboard for development

Since the early eighties, non-governmental organizations in Latin America have become more and more concerned with having documentation centres that serve as well-organized information systems for consultation : systematizing experiences in development work (successful or otherwise) through the compiling of information and designing of records for use in future experiments.

With the arrival on the scene of micro-computers, this thirst after systematizing information has grown and is now being used to justify investments in equipment and the training of staff of various levels.

The following article is an excerpt from a study carried out in 1986 by Mr. Gabriel Rodriguez, on behalf of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development (FFHC/AD). Entitled *Red de cooperación informática entre organizaciones no gubernamentales de América Latina*, which will be made available to a wider audience sometime during 1987. For our readers who would like to contact Mr. Rodriguez, his address is: ILET (Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales), Casilla 16637, Correo 9. Santiago, Chile.

Anything that helps to process the maximum amount of information in the minimum amount of time seems to be getting top priority now. This «managing», «processing» and « handling » of information is reinforced by the need to supply distribution organs - newsletters, information services, etc. - which are avidly demanding voluminous amounts of information.

The information that is being conveyed is mostly of two kinds. There is the kind people need to know «what is going on»: extracts from newspapers and magazines, news that does not get into the press, interviews, accounts of experiences, etc. And there is the kind people need to know « how to do things » : methodologies of implementing projects, evaluation, plans, etc.

One of the reasons for this insatiable demand is the undeniable fact that there are broad sectors of the population which do not have access to the information they want and need : how to democratize, how to set up alternative information facilities, how to provide channels for information that the «establishments» minimizes or marginalizes.

But the consequence is that information is beginning to seem like an asset in itself, that can be amassed, organized, consulted and manipulated, almost like a source of energy which, merely by being used (read or transmitted).

How can the new technology help NGOs in Latin America?

produces results. This may sound exaggerated, but if we look carefully at the various initiatives which are giving priority to accumulating information in documentation systems, setting up data bases, etc., we shall see that it is not far off the mark.

It would seem that there is an unconscious assumption that information IS development. Technological developments in recent years are partly responsible for this. A computer technology basically dominated by «data processing», «information retrieval», etc., has reinforced this conception of computer technology and of human requirements in this field as primarily the management of information. And this has given rise to a belief that action for economic and social development is «know-how», understood as the availability of information.

Thus we see that, for some time now, the «know-how» approach has been the guiding principle in training courses, development projects and information collections «to be used by developing countries». Examples are the DEVNET system in Canada and, to a certain extent, the original DIN project of IPS/UNDP.

Criticism of this mechanistic view of development, which has been expressed mainly by the non-governmental organizations linked with social movements, has not reduced this fever for amassing information. For the impression is given that the manipulation of data and information results, almost magically, in the creation of development opportunities. And this we know not to be true.

The myth of communication for development as the transfer of information

Latin American non-governmental organizations have, over the last two years, been giving importance to setting up information networks. But the fact that this phenomenon is recent does not mean that it should be tied up, from the outset, with telecommunication facilities.

Such facilities do of course exist and have been used



for some time now in other sectors of society (by defence, government services, police, transnational corporations, etc.). The non-governmental world is a relative newcomer on this scene.

The network issue brings up the information issue again, although in a slightly different form. The questions normally posed are: how to accede to the information that others possess, how to distribute one's own information better, how to carry out projects that provide marginalized social sectors with information that is both timely and truthful, etc.

But the networks, which started out by linking people and experiences, now run the serious risk of becoming almost «physical» channels for «transporting» the information produced by the development organizations. Top importance is starting to be given to FLOWS of information and their DIRECTION (South-South, North-South, and so on).

Behind this concept of information lies an electronic model, in which there is a transmitter, a transmission channel, a receiver - and the possibility of distortion by noise.

This concept, which is quite valid in the field of electronics and the design of infrastructure for telecommunication, has little or nothing to do with communication among human organizations and between human beings. It may seem paradoxical, but it is essential to abandon this electronic idea of communication if what we want is to design organizational systems in which information and communication technology can play an effective role.

Conversation as communication for development

Communication is basically a process of conversation between individuals. Organizations do not exist as distinct bodies in the conversations (central or marginal) conducted by their members. This was true in the past and it will continue to be so. Rather, they constitute «conversation networks».

In this sense, communication is understood as the capacity to coordinate efforts to generate effective action, or the capacity to interact so as to open up possibilities that can be transformed into reality through effective action. As such communication acquires a central role.

The entire process just described is a conversational process. And it is something that takes place within every organization. Effective action is therefore intimately linked with the development of «communication skills». This presents a big challenge to the organizations working in popular education and development programmes. It is around this nucleus that the real dimensions and importance of the accumulation and exchange of information and experience should be understood. Information is a framework, a background, for conversations to produce concrete actions or to open up possibilities. If removed from its context of human communication it becomes an inanimate «product», incapable of generating any action.

The user as object in designing information and communication systems

As we know, computers are only instruments which do what they are programmed to do. But this fact, which is clear at the beginning of any project that wants to use new technologies, is gradually lost sight of in the welter of «information processing».

If such is the focus of our « informatic » work within an organization, then the computer - whether micro, mini or mainframe - will become a holy monster. It will have to be fed with sufficient information, the information will have to be kept up to date, and ever more sophisticated classification and retrieval systems will have to be evolved. In short, a considerable part of the organization's activities will start revolving round the computer rather than being conducted with the help of a computer.

Many of the computerized information systems now in use or about to be installed in non-governmental organizations suffer from this defect. Information systems are being developed which are very remote from the users and which are based on the exaltation of the concept of information. To quote a worldfamous (and unusual) cybernetics expert, Stafford Beer, in setting up an information system the main concern should be:

«not so much of data acquisition as of right storage,
not so much of storage as of fast retrieval,
not so much of retrieval as of proper selection,
not so much of selection as of identifying wants,
not so much of knowing wants as of recognizing needs ».

Each of these points should be the subject of careful reflection among the development organizations which are on the verge of using the new technologies.

The opportunities opened up by the new technologies

Great progress has been made during the last few years in developing micro-computers: they are now much cheaper and easy for non-specialists to use. As a result, people who had never given the matter any thought before are now considering the possibility of using them.

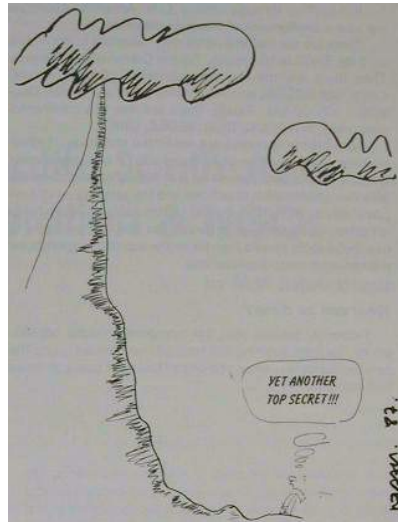
In the case of Latin America, this change has taken place very rapidly. Micro-computer technology is spreading in all countries and a large number of institutions are using micro-computers for various purposes. According to statistics provided at a meeting of Latin America computer salesmen, there is a potential market of more than 6 million micro-computers in the region between now and 1990.

The supply of micro-computers is becoming relatively standardized under the commercial influence of the USA. Most of the 8-bit machines are CP/M of various makes. For 16-bit machines (the common standard at present), IBM or IBM compatible systems in a DOS environment are by far the most popular, followed (in education and the home) by the Apple standard. There is far less range of makes among these second generation machines.

This type of technology is used mainly for processing texts, maintaining data bases and archives, and processing numbers - the first use being by far the most frequent.

The use of computers as tools for communication and for the generation of networks is, of course, nothing new, but we are now witnessing an explosive growth in this field, because the advent of the micro-computer makes access so easy.

This ease of access, which has been made possible by micro-computers, is the most radical innovation introduced by the new technologies. From the viewpoint of the non-specialized user we may speak of «technological transparency». The user is faced with the concrete application of what interests him/her and technology as a *tool* disappears because of the automatic way in which it is used. We may



therefore say that these technologies are objects of skill and not of knowledge for most of the users. Learning to use them is more like learning to ride a bicycle or drive a car, than learning a technical process. This has important implications for the design of training programmes.

In this sense communication via computers is not just another function added to the existing list. It is a function which places all the previous ones in a different context. Communication enables networks to be developed within which the advantages of the uses previously identified multiply particularly because of the possibility of sharing resources, acceding to other collections of information, broadening one's own world of information and basically coordinating actions.

This type of application restores the computer to its function as a tool for communication and not for processing. The approach has important consequences for the organization of work in the tertiary sector, to which non-governmental organizations belong. In its present stage of development, information and communication technology offers completely new opportunities, which cannot be understood solely as linear projections of the previous one.

The information networks of Latin American NGOs

Nowadays it is repeatedly said that non-governmental organizations - one of the most dynamic and creative sectors of Latin American society - will play a key role in any development project. In other words, it is affirmed that there can be no development without active participation by this sector.

How can the new technology help NGOs in Latin America?

In travelling through various Latin American countries we saw a proliferation of network initiatives.

There are the national networks - Alternex in Brazil, RRI in Chile, FACS in Nicaragua, Acción Campesina in Mexico. Then there are the regional networks - CRIES, Alforja, CRES, COHEDUCA, and the continental ones - ALOP, CEL-ADEC, ICI, CEAAL. Finally, there are the intercontinental networks - INTERDOC, IRED, REDES, GRIS.

But all these networks are facing the challenge of effectiveness. A network must be more than a well-intentioned gesture of solidarity. It must be a structure able to generate effective coordination of actions and the opening up of new possibilities. Reflection on the communication opportunities provided by the new technologies and the best way to use these tools should now be at the top of the agenda for non-governmental organizations.

What can be done ?

I strongly believe that the non-governmental organizations, far from ignoring the possibilities opened up by the new technologies, should be one of the main users of these technologies.

But it is extremely important that they realize that these technologies offer radically new opportunities which must not be interpreted as merely linear developments of what has been available to us to date.

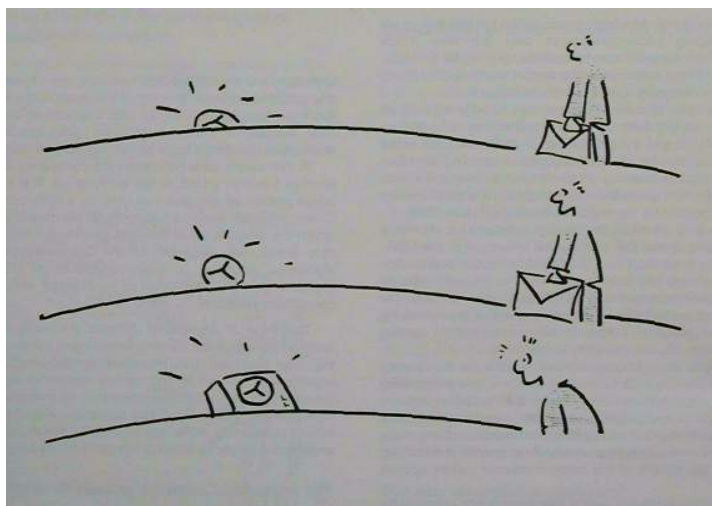
Finally, they must never lose sight of the fact that the communication component of development is not just an exchange of information, but a conversational process for coordinating actions and opening up possibilities which completely reformulates the use of technology.

For Latin American NGOs in particular there are a number of lines of action to take.

They can promote communications between themselves. In each country a growing number of organizations are using micro-computers in their work. An investment of no more than 1000 US dollars per institution, plus a monthly expense of 200 US dollars, would ensure that each institution can accede to forms of communication that they can hardly imagine at present.

A project carried out by ILET in Santiago (Chile) to experiment with communication networks in the non-governmental world has provided some concrete results which make it possible to draw up specific designs for such networks.(1)

(1) Institute Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET) published at the end of 1986, a *Manual of Communications and Networks* for NGOs, giving the results of this experiment.



The Commonwealth, South Asia Regional Cooperation & NGOs

by M.V. Rajasekharan*

Upsurge of people's movement

A continuing exploration of alternatives in development is essential for development policy and its implementation. Regional cooperation in the world has emerged of late as one such alternative. It has come to be regarded as an effective multilateral policy expedient for accelerated growth. The success of European Economic Community (EEC) in fostering economic integration and helping fast economic recovery in Western Europe popularised regional approach to economic cooperation in the Third World. Regionalism has become a viable policy alternative among the developing countries. Winds of change are blowing in South Asia creating a momentum for North's fusion of prosperity with South's poverty. Here, the Commonwealth operates on a non-sectarian basis fostering contacts with those who share the goals of the creation of a new world founded on human values. The Afro-Asian Region shows promise of development and seems well set to emerge as a new centre of regional cooperation with its quest for identity. With enlightened economic policies in the offing, the Third World is poised for a spectacular growth with advances in technology. Herein lies the role of NGOs providing ideas, concepts and concrete plans without craving for a position of power, prestige and profit. This reflection calls for a conceptual affirmation of NGO's crucial role in the meaningful implementation of Commonwealth's development policies. It is a commendable suggestion of a former Indian diplomat pleading for the creation of a consultative status to NGOs by the Commonwealth as NGOs could become the fearless voice of the conscience of mankind and work against backward-looking economic dispensation. It was the upsurge of

the people's movements in India led by Mahatma Gandhi which changed the political map of the world from imperialism to independence and again it was the voice of people's movement which compelled the US government to end the Vietnam war. The recent people's upheaval in Philippines is an historical document.

Commonwealth and NGO's feats of statesmanship

NGOs have shown great feats of statesmanship and economic management. Accelerated development is visible in the Commonwealth countries where NGOs are prominent in the scenario of internationalism. This is the optimistic thesis of NGOs on which large-scale international cooperation development is launched. The First World countries should accept a moral responsibility to promote the economic advance of the Third World countries with NGOs for multilateral cooperation. Sir Geoffrey Wilson Commonwealth Committee's Report in 1977 entitled *«From Governments to Grassroots»* proposed a number of measures, several of which have since been put into practice by governments. NGOs and notably the Commonwealth Foundation. Its suggestion that the Commonwealth Foundation extend its existence into the area of rural development and NGOs, was endorsed by the Heads of Commonwealth at Lusaka in 1979. The Foundation is now playing the leading role in setting up NGOs Liaison Units to bring together the NGOs in the 49-nation Commonwealth and break the isolation they suffer.

The formation of Commonwealth NGOs Liaison Units, linking voluntary bodies with each other, governments, and other countries in their region is a welcome measure as a positive and constructive initiative which will have a catalytic effect on the progress of grass-root level cooperation in the region. The Summit meetings with NGOs will generate great expectations among people, and therefore, a step-by-step approach would be more productive. As a well-known

* Executive Trustee and Coordinator, Asian Institute for Rural Development (AIRD), BANGALORE - 560 004. This paper was presented at the Commonwealth Foundation, Symposium for the Formation of Commonwealth NGO Liaison Units at Bombay on March 16, 1987.

thinker puts it: « *The present Commonwealth search for a new international economic and social order reflects the build-up of NGO sector in development strategies* ». In this conceptual climate, periodical development dialogue within the gambit of Commonwealth NGO Liaison Units will ensure that NGOs can play a complementary role to governments in pursuance of national doctrine. These Units will undoubtedly pave the way for early concrete efforts for the integrated programme of action. It would unmistakably contribute a milestone. Shared perceptions and values are an important factor for the success of any venture. The Liaison Units are both pragmatic and realistic in outlook. The aim is to draw NGOs closer together and to the mainstream of decision-making. The Units will be able to help small local NGOs draw on the resources of their powerful Commonwealth-wide counterparts and overall the isolation from which NGOs so frequently suffer could be greatly reduced.

South-South Commission

The UN Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD), Nagoya, Japan, in its recent meeting emphasised the NGO leap to lead in realising the visions of the future, regional socio-economic changes, sectoral development trends and rural strengths. NGO's are an important regional rural development tool advocating effectiveness of the self-reliant, rural-focussed welfare strategy providing substantive results. Dr. Julius Nyerere, a veteran African leader and statesman, has described the NGOs of the Third World as «trade unions of the poor» which have already made a considerable contribution to social and economic development with the crusading spirit of trade unionism. The South-South Commission headed by Dr. Nyerere consisting of twenty international intellectuals, will initially function as a think tank along the lines of the Brandt Commission. It is expected not merely to identify the causes of under development but to produce common strategies for developing

countries to combat poverty, human illiteracy, and economic stagnation especially in rural areas. The Commission is expected to produce a report and to adopt positions as appropriate on issues affecting developing countries. Its promotion of South-South regional cooperation with a positive role of NGOs may lead to the establishment of a permanent South-South Secretariat. The Nyerere Commission is a major step in setting in motion a strategy for the formulation of an action programme for South-South NGOs to strengthen people's development programmes synthesizing concrete proposals and embodying North-South NGO relationship.

South Asian regional cooperation

The South Asian Region today is well set to emerge as a new centre of regional cooperation showing promise of development, though passing through a critical stage in its quest for identity. The dream of the President of Bangladesh, Zia-Ur-Rahman, who conceived the concept of regional cooperation in 1980, became a reality on August 2, 1983 with the launching of the South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) by the Heads of Governments of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. SAARC is hailed as the nucleus of a viable regional order formally embarking upon a new course of cooperation in the region uniting a billion people who all belong to non-aligned community in spite of their being multi-racial and multi-religious and following different political systems. The Declarations of Delhi, Dhaka, and Bangalore inaugurating the Integrated Programme of Action (IPA) to achieve the objectives of SAARC in the fields of agriculture, rural development, meteorology, telecommunication, science and technology, health and population, transport, postal services and sports, arts and culture, stresses that it should be based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, contributing to mutual trust, better understanding and sympathetic appreciation of one

Commonwealth Foundation sets up liaison units

Progress towards the establishment of a network of Commonwealth Liaison Units (CLUs) in Commonwealth countries has been a highlight of the work of the Commonwealth foundation in the past two years. The Foundation's proposal for setting up these units was welcomed by Heads of Government at Their Nassau summit in 1985.

The units are designed to assist co-operation among non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and between them and governments. They will also promote links with NGOs in other Commonwealth countries and with Commonwealth official organisations. While enabling NGOs jointly to make their views known on issues of common concern, the CLUs will also promote understanding of the Commonwealth and its activities.

Meetings organised by the Foundation in three regions - the South Pacific, Asia and the Caribbean/Canada - have led to the establishment of CLUs in the majority of the countries taking part. Two more regional meetings have been scheduled, for European Commonwealth countries this month and for Africa early in 1988.

Another initiative of the Foundation which is about to enter its fourth year is its scheme of Fellowships for the Promotion of Commonwealth Understanding. Twelve fellowships are awarded each year to outstanding individu-

als who are in a position to influence others. They are drawn from the professions and from governments, and take part in a one-month programme. This is structured to enable them to get an informed view of the major issues addressed by the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth's contemporary role, and the working of important Commonwealth organisations, both official and unofficial.

Another new activity launched by the Foundation has been its Induction Programme for Commonwealth Diplomats, which has now been offered for two years. It assists newly posted diplomats from Commonwealth countries to become acquainted with the working of Commonwealth organisations. At its start, participants were drawn only from Commonwealth High Commissions in London but the programme has now been extended to enable diplomats stationed in European capitals within easy reach of London also to take part. Diplomats working in Bonn and Brussels have so far benefited from the programme.

The work of the Foundation, financed by 42 member governments, is guided by a Board of Governors, currently chaired by veteran Canadian legislator Robert Stanfield, who was leader of the Opposition in the Canadian House Of Commons from 1967 to 1976. Its director is senior Tongan diplomat 'Inoke Faletau.

another's national aspirations. The effort has a wider significance in that it represents a refreshing break from the past and a readiness to usher in an era of positive cooperation even if it is only on a moderate scale for the present. It is in this spirit that the participating countries have shed their initial inhibitions and come forward to open a new and positive chapter in their relations.

SAARC aims at the promotion of a spirit of collective self-reliance with an accent on making a modest start in a constructive method and concentrate on areas of common welfare to improve the quality of life of their people to fulfil their national aspirations. The basic purpose is to complement and not supplement bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region, on the basis of complete unanimity of all decisions and total exclusion of contentious issues from the ambit of cooperation. The preambular paragraphs of the Declaration deal with the rationale of this regional cooperation, the principles of peace, amity and good neighbourliness that provide the motivation, and the shared commitment of the South's Seven countries.

The level of technology, administration, skills and the growing modernisation of its societies places South Asia as the most promising area for cooperative efforts in the Third World. No other region needs harmonious and cooperative relations among its countries than South Asia. Each one of the seven countries has its own priorities, predilections and preferences. Each of them is a number of the non-aligned movement surging with its own individuality and distinctive perception. The recent Bangalore Declaration initiating a programme of mutually beneficial cooperation on the basic facts of international interaction has given political underpinning to the SAARC concept as an historical event.

His Majesty Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, King of Nepal, says : *«After a long winter of suspicion this Region of South Asia certainly looks forward to a new spring giving birth to new era of enlightened self-interest based on a common desire to replace conflict with cooperation, to substitute discord with harmony, and finally move from an attitude of self-centredness to a widening horizon of contacts in the region on a spirit of reciprocity, give and take, live and let live».*

Real task before South Asian region

The real task before the Region is to break the psychological and emotional barriers, which have so often in the past bedevilled relations among these countries. Step-by-step through a process of cooperation and accommodation in various fields and through regular conferences and consultations, they would create mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems and aspirations that would not be an easy task nor could it be achieved overnight, it would require patience and political will in abundant measure. The path of cooperation these countries have chosen calls for much accommodation and adjustment. The Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi aptly says: *«SAARC is the expression of our belief that national effort should be complemented by regional cooperation. Regional cooperation cannot emerge merely from the fiat of leaders, it has to grow from contacts between the professionals at all levels ».*

Vital role of NGOs as think tank

NGOs have a vital role as a Think Tank representing the modes and mores of the national aspirations in the effec-

tive implementation of the subjects of regional cooperation operated by Governmental machinery about the day-to-day living levels of the common people. The review and assessment of these cooperative projects to be put into steam by South Asia Seven may be assigned to these NGOs who are in a better position in view of their representative status in the body politic of a nation. It is imperative that NGOs of these seven countries may assemble periodically to take stock of the situation and assist them with an effective coordination. There is every reason to hope that with the strengthening of cooperation among the South Asia Seven, the region will be in a happier position to pull together, face strain and take challenges effectively.

South Asia partnership

South Asia Partnership (SAP) which has been a unique experiment in building bridges of understanding between the peoples of Canada, a Commonwealth country, and those of South Asian countries, is five-year old in February 1987. It is based on a proper appraisal of the problems, needs and requirements of the under-privileged people of an area, and a healthy response to their request for assistance so that they can rise above the poverty line. By enabling the establishment of direct contacts between the NGOs in Canada and the grassroot level agencies in South Asian countries, SAP facilitates the smooth flow of information and funds, often increased by personal visits and discussions by the Canadian partners. The rapid growth and development of SAP is a matter of satisfaction to all those who pioneered this historic venture. It has made a significant contribution towards the promotion of North-South understanding and regional cooperation built upon firm foundation of mutual trust and confidence. Started in 1982, as a Partnership of Canadian NGOs with the NGOs of Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka, soon the SAP will have Nepal & Pakistan. AIRD heads SAP-India Council. The achievement sums up SAP's experience acting as a pragmatic document guiding South Asia's rural development structures. With the development of South Asian economy, its rural development undertakings will have a modernisation drive training millions of qualified people. Over the years, SAP looks at new ideas, motivate new innovative thinking and encourage NGOs of South Asia to adopt more imaginative approaches. Within South Asia, there is a collective interest to share experiences as well as a desire to have from each other. *In fine*, the SAP believes it can play a significant role in the region and strongly surmises that the presence of viable and responsive developmental system in South Asia is important to the region's growth. What is the contribution made by SAP in the consolidation of regional cooperation in South Asia? Of Mr. Richard Harmston, SAP's Executive Director, answers: *«About 300 NGOs of Canada have stretched their funds in a modest way. They have contributed 200 million Canadian Dollars to 250 NGOs of Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka, for the development of their grass-root organisations. These projects are designed to instil skill among the villagers in furthering their development. Thus, these Asian countries have shown a trend towards the spread of cooperation to the regions of the South».*

South Asia is the cradle of several NGO networks, partnerships and development agencies striving with a mission to achieve the desired fruitful goals. The setting in motion of Commonwealth NGO Liaison Units in the region should neither hinder the activities, nor duplicate their advocations

with the result that the avowed objectives of the NGO concept will have negative spell on the development domain. An innovative viable and sustainable project different in content and quality from other existing projects may be assigned to those NGO Liaison Units, so that an all-pervasive and panoramic progress may be achieved in the region. The Asian NGO Coalition (ABGOC); Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific (CIR-DAP); Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD); Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN); Centre for the Development of Human Resources for Rural Asia (CENDHRRRA); Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD); Association of Voluntary Agencies in Rural Development (AVARD); Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh (DAB); Indonesian Secretariat for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (INDHRRRA); and Sri Lanka National NGO Council, are some of the NGO networks that are engaged in the development pursuits of the Region.

Living vibrant grouping

The coming days will answer: what is the outlook for regional cooperation in South Asia? To what extent the

Commonwealth-sponsored NGO Liaison units will prove as a living vibrant grouping or a nominal force? AIRD during its decade-long service has been striving to create an international countryside of self-reliant poverty-free societies, through a series of training programmes, technology transfer in sericulture courses, seminars and workshops, people's action plans, field projects, national and international linkages and partnerships with international NGO networks like Canadian International Development Agency; South Asia Partnership; Development Innovations and Networks; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, etc., all directed towards the healthy growth of rural hemisphere. We hope that in the years to come there will be more contacts with Third World countries, so that all of us can learn from each other's experience and strategies and achieve progress in our development and establish solidarity which in course of time will pave the way for better understanding and cooperation between North and South. The Commonwealth NGO Liaison Units serve as a moving pointer in this direction. Gurudev Tagore wrote: « *If life's journey be endless where is its goal ? The answer is, it is everywhere. The world is not a mere road, but a home. With our road, the gain is at every step, for it is the road and the home is one* ». Let our road be smooth and our homes happier.

The «Unofficial» Commonwealth"

It is widely recognised that much of the strength of the Commonwealth is derived from the contact which takes place, not between governments, but in the unofficial sphere. One of the reasons why Commonwealth intergovernmental relations have evolved as far and as fast as has been the case is that the element of continuity and stability has been assured to a great extent by non-governmental, or non-overtly-governmental, contact. Negative adjectives such as «unofficial» or «non-governmental» are incomplete as a means of defining the factors and forces at issue. We need to define them positively. We are concerned with what may be described as the « organic » or the « functional » Commonwealth.

Political theory is familiar with the concept of a functionalism », the belief that, by co-operating on matters of practical importance, countries may hope to develop and strengthen their political relationships. This is different from the « top downwards » proposition that practical co-operation springs from the evolution of political relations. During the Second World War, theorists such as David Mitrany emphasised the extent to which

functionalism could play a role in the maintenance of peace. Hence, in part, the elaboration of the United Nations System in the shape of a network of specialised agencies. On a worldwide basis, functionalism may seem to have a somewhat unconvincing and mechanistic character. But it can be more convincing when applied to an association of countries which are organically linked by past connections, as is the case with the Commonwealth of today. There has grown out of the imperial past a network of professional and administrative connections which have survived the dissolution of the imperial links because they correspond to current needs. The emphasis, in other words, is on intrinsic usefulness rather than on whether the activity in question is strictly speaking governmental Or « unofficial ». The Commonwealth Secretariat publishes a directory of official and unofficial organisations in the Commonwealth entitled Commonwealth Organisations. The blurring of the distinction between the official and the «unofficial» side of the Commonwealth emerges clearly from the directory. The « unofficial » organisation includes a number of bodies in various sectoral fields whose work is of great value to governments and whose meetings and activities involve officials, however «unofficial» in any formal sense the auspices may be. The emphasis is on professional and expert contact serving practical needs, rather than on the precise governmental or non-governmental nature of the Commonwealth organisation which makes the contact possible.

A good example of this blend is to be found in the work of the expert groups, established by decision of Heads of Government or of other Commonwealth ministerial meetings. These expert groups are composed of Commonwealth personalities acting in their personal capacities, whether they are in government service or not; yet they are serviced by the Commonwealth Secretariat. Their reports are submitted to governments. But the benefit from those reports may well be derived, not by governments alone, but by the private sector, especially professional associations, as well. The emphasis once again is on the organic and the practical. The question is how far frank, friendly, expert contact among people who talk the same language, metaphorically as well as literally, can contribute to dealing with the problems of everyday life.

Important as it is to give full weight to the extent to which governmental and non-governmental elements blend in the professional, « organic » Commonwealth, it is no less important to appreciate at its full value the role which non-governmental bodies play in their own right. Bodies such as the English-Speaking Union, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the Royal Overseas League and the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship together play a leading role in fostering international contact and understanding. The joint Commonwealth Societies Council organises the Commonwealth Day Observance in Westminster Abbey, attended by The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh.

¹ This text is an excerpt from «Why the Commonwealth matters to Britain», an address by Sir Peter Marshall K.C.M.G., Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General (Economic), at the English-Speaking Union International Summer Conference, Jesus College, Oxford, 18 July 1987.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and Commonwealth associations concerned with information and the media are likewise of great importance.

The Commonwealth Secretariat and the

Commonwealth Foundation

The Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Foundation were established in 1965. The idea of an inter-governmental secretariat to service the Commonwealth goes back to the beginning of the century. It ran up against the twin obstacles of a reluctance to establish an international secretariat and the tenaciously held view that the responsible organ of the British government could and should do whatever was necessary. However, the situation changed with the growing number of Commonwealth countries achieving independence during the 1960s.

The Commonwealth Secretariat, if it is to serve the Commonwealth adequately, must differentiate its product from that of other international secretariats. Above all, as already noted, it needs to be responsive to the needs of member countries. It should be at the elbow of Commonwealth Governments, rather than sit across the table from them. It needs to be small and highly interdisciplinary, and play the role of catalyst and gap-filler, to which reference was made above. Likewise, it must serve both the consultative element in Commonwealth activity and the element of functional co-operation. The latter is organised through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. Its budget like that of the Secretariat itself is very small: £25 million annually. The Secretar-

iat's budget is only £5 million. Britain pays 30 per cent of each. It has been suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat is in reality a group of management consultants to governments. There is an element of truth in this. The danger against which it is necessary to guard is that the existence of the Secretariat and the development of its working methods and ideas, as part of its search for effectiveness and efficiency, may lead to over-institutionalisation of the Commonwealth and the loss of the spontaneity which is such a fruitful element of Commonwealth co-operation.

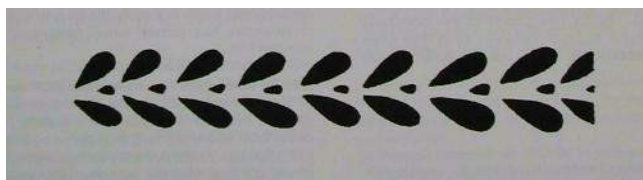
The Commonwealth Foundation was originally established to promote professional co-operation within the Commonwealth. But it soon became apparent that any neat distinction between the role of the Secretariat in servicing intergovernmental activity and the CFTC in dealing with the professions did not correspond with reality. Its mandate was widened to cover areas such as culture, information, social welfare, the handicapped and the role of women. This illustrates yet again the interdependence between governmental, professional and non-governmental activity. The Foundation's budget is tiny: £1 million or so annually.

The «London Factor»

A further element in the blending of the official and unofficial Commonwealth is provided by the nature of London life. In an overtly political sense, the Commonwealth is not anglocentric. Yet the fact that the headquarters of the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Foundation are in London and that there are no separate «branches» or missions in their Commonwealth countries

(as is the case, for example, with the UN system or the European Economic Commission), means that there is de facto collective influence on the Commonwealth of the different strands of London life. There are large numbers of Commonwealth citizens in Britain, especially in London. Commonwealth High Commissioners are concerned both with bilateral relations with Britain and with Commonwealth affairs generally. Commonwealth countries have numerous bilateral links with Britain. These are indistinguishable in many cases from the perceptions which these countries have of the Commonwealth. Overall, therefore, there is a sense in which the Commonwealth survives at a political level on a basis which is a function of London's role as an international market for ideas and influences. The anglophone aspect of all of this, needless to say, is central.

London political, business, professional, media, cultural and intellectual life is - by metropolitan standards at least - closely integrated. There is a profusion of bodies concerned with international affairs. The London School of Economics needs no introduction. The Royal Institute of International Affairs and the International Institute for Strategic Studies have a worldwide reputation. So, indeed, do bodies specifically concerned with the problems of developing countries and development co-operation, such as the Overseas Development Institute and the Third World Foundation. The «London factor» should be interpreted broadly in a geographical sense to include such important centres of discussion as the Ditchley Foundation as well as the British university scene generally. As a Cambridge man I am even willing to be generous and include Oxford.



The Cultural Dimension of Development

by Marc Luyckx*

«Many development workers believe that the villagers have only an empty mind, which is just a sort of vessel awaiting to have some sort of « message» injected» (Vdvikking 4, 1985).

Introduction

One fine day, technicians from Europe arrived in an African village to provide the villages with running water in their houses. Isn't technology marvellous; the water was soon flowing from the taps! The Europeans were proud of their speedy and useful work.

The villagers, having offered their thanks as politeness demanded, were not, however, very enthusiastic. After a few weeks many of the women became sad and depressed. Without having consulted or prepared them psychologically, the Europeans had cut out their long walk to the well, which was the only chance they had to talk to each other away from the village and their husbands. As a reaction, the women got together and decided to start going to the well again, to get their drinking water. To keep the Europeans happy, they would continue to use the tap water for other domestic purposes.

There are thousands of stories like this which demonstrate the naivety of Europeans who think that they can solve all the fundamental problems by technological means. They do not take account, however, of the men and women who are the targets of this aid, nor of the way they look at life, that is, their culture in its widest sense.

Too often, it's the Europeans who pose the questions, decide what are the problems to be solved, put forward the answers and put them into practise. The dialogue remains a monologue. And for this reason the actions proposed are too often rejected. History has shown us the enormous power of ACP people to resist culturally what they often perceive to be economic, technical, but also cultural domination.

There are also some positive examples. A recent book (Lloyd Timerlake : « *Africa in crisis: the cause, the cures of environmental bankruptcy* », Earthcan, London 1985) tells how production in Zimbabwe increased by 35% in one year, despite the drought, because the Government started a dialogue and meaningful consultation with the peasants and then took action that responded to their demands; for example, loans and guaranteed markets for their produce.

These two examples serve to place the theme in context. To talk of the cultural dimension of development is to talk of the failure to take account of the mentality, the real needs and the way of seeing problems of the targets of development.

We ask first of all why Lomé III talks about this aspect of development and then we look at what is actually said in the Convention, which entered into force in March 1985.

We then continue the analysis in an effort to distinguish the questions and hopes raised by this issue for NGOs and for other development agencies too.

2. Why Lomé talks about the question

2.1. A new fad?

There are many people in NGOs and in the EC institutions who fear that this cultural dimension of development is merely a new invention designed to occupy development professionals and, in the end, to camouflage the failure of development itself. Is it really the time to start talking about irrelevancies like culture when millions of Africans are starving?

2.2. An idea which has come from ACP countries

But this insistence on the cultural dimension is not a gimmick invented in the North. It is a deeply-felt aspiration of the ACP countries, long expressed by them in the ACP-EEC dialogue. And it is thanks to the tenacity and the depth of the dialogue initiated by some ACP ambassadors and groups of officials from the European Commission's Directorate-General for Development (DG 8), that a debate took place during the preparation of Lomé III leading to not only the writing of Title 8 (Cultural and Social Cooperation) but also to the addition of a first part (General Provisions of ACP-EEC Cooperation) which defined the objectives and the very principles of the cooperation.

* The author is a member of EECOD, the European Ecumenical (Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox) Organisation for Development. This office informs the Churches and NGOs who are members of the 12 EEC countries on what is at stake in EEC debates and decisions, and also lobbies the EEC to try and shift its policies for development in favour of the poorest. EECOD recently helped to launch the NORTH-SOUTH NETWORK ON CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT, whose provisional secretariat is with EECOD, 23 av. d'Auderghem, 1040 BRUSSELS. (Tel: 230.61.05).

2.3. Why this insistence on culture from the ACP countries?

Many ACP people speak of a feeling that is fairly widespread in their countries, of being dominated, not only economically, but also culturally. During decades of colonial domination, the African population ended up assimilating cultural domination to the point where they undervalued and forgot their own culture and their own roots in trying to take on the white man's culture, which claimed to be superior. Today again, one finds on one side the «developers» who are motivated by the best intentions but who are too often caught in a complex of cultural superiority and, on the other, the ACP population, hesitating between their fascination with the white, technological civilisation towards which they have a complex of cultural inferiority and their loyalty to their ancestral and cultural roots.

Too often also, developers have an unthinking mentality which resembles that of 19th century missionaries wanting to implant the true religion on a tabula rasa. They felt that in order to convert the pagans they would have had first to strip all their religious culture which was full of superstition.

The justification for this attitude was the «undoubted superiority of the True Religion». Today, the justification of the same attitude is «The Superiority of our Technology» unchallenged even in the solving of human problems (1). It seems as if the white race has an irrepressible need to give, to bring.

If it's not religious truth it can be technological or political truth. A superiority complex (by definition unthinking) can prevent a real dialogue in the majority of cases (2).

Third World people want a dialogue on the fundamental questions which occupy them; is it possible for them to acquire certain technology without losing their own cultural roots? Without becoming like us, «the civilised» who they say seem to have lost our «joie de vivre» and our respect for some essential values.

3. What does Lomé III say about the cultural dimension ?

3.1. The General Context

As we said above, the special nature of Lomé III is that it begins with an opening section called «General Provisions of ACP-EEC Co-operation».

In Chapter 1 of this opening section we find article 4 which defines the kind of development co-operation that the Convention encourages :

«Support shall be provided in ACP-EEC co-operation for the ACP States' own efforts to achieve more self-reliant and self-sustained development based on their cultural and social values, their human capacities, their natural resources and their economic potential in order to promote the ACP States' social and economic progress and the well-being of their population through the satisfaction of their basic needs, the recognition of the role of women and the enhancement of people's capacities, with respect for their dignity».

3.2. Pour Ever-Wider Definitions

Let us look now at Title VIII, which is entirely devoted to «Cultural and Social Cooperation». To clarify things, here

is a definition of the concept of culture which consists of four successively wider frames.

3.2.1. The narrowest definition, which nevertheless finds a place in the Convention, is the notion centred on objects of the past; i.e. culture as represented by objects which represent cultural activity of the past (literature, painting, sculpture, music, etc.). From this comes the importance of museums and possibly of retrieving cultural objects of great symbolic value which have been plundered by other countries. This notion of culture is found in the final articles, nos 127 and 128.

3.2.2. Culture - objects of the present

A second definition of culture is that it is the current expression of the life of a people (Literature, arts, but also TV, cinema, video, etc.). Articles 126 and 128 open up new possibilities in this field notably by permitting subsidisation and support for dissemination of culture in Africa as much as in Europe.

3.2.3. Culture - recognition of human resources

The third kind of definition found in the Convention is much wider; it presents culture as a way of recognising the human potential of populations through action in «operations covering education and training, research, science and technology, information and communication, participation of the population, the role of women and health». (Article 118). All of Chapter 2 is devoted to this approach. Article 119 opens up possibilities of support for education and training institutes, including support for renovation and adaptation to meet development objectives : other types of non-traditional training are also provided for, such as literacy training, as are training of trainers and exchanges, twinning and transfers of technical knowledge between universities, etc.

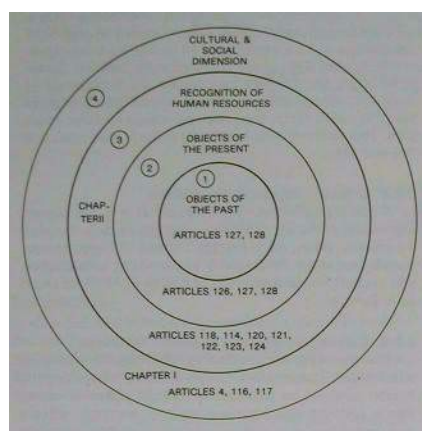
Training activities will have to be integrated into development programmes and priority will be given to activities organised in an ACP State or in a beneficiary region. This latter stipulation is new and changes the practice whereby Africans are often sent to be trained in Europe.

Article 120 supports ACP States' efforts in order to acquire their own scientific and technical capacity both at national and regional level. Currently, the great majority of research done on ACP countries is carried out outside their territory. It's a question therefore of reversing this and giving these countries the chance to reflect themselves about their problems in a way that reflects their culture.

Article 121 supports the establishment of national and regional communication methods, as well as very local communication tools, to allow the grass-roots population to express itself.

In the same way, the Convention also stresses the participation of basic communities in development activities (ART 122) and also recognition of the role of women, their access to decision-making, to loans and to technology (Art. 123). This reflects women's role as the practitioners of a great part of Africa's subsistence agriculture. The Convention finally devotes an article to health improvement, especially among disadvantaged groups (Art. 124).

This diagram shows the 4-level definition of culture



3.2.4. Culture as a way of seeing life

This definition is much wider and includes the economy, sexuality, family and social structures, concepts of time, work, nature, money, happiness, death, etc.

It encompasses the four preceding definitions and is related to a very basic way of life, and allows one to reflect on the meaning of life. This cultural approach shows the different values in different cultures and that there is no principle reason why one set of values should be superior to another.

The Lomé Convention recognises this broad definition of culture. It considers it as the most important development strategy and affords it the first chapter, whose title is « *Cultural and Social Dimension* ».

From now on « *The design, appraisal, execution and evaluation of each project or programme shall be based on understanding of, and regard for, the cultural and social features of the milieu* ». (Art. 116).

As far as the Convention is concerned, this means a real knowledge of the social context, (which is not always the case for the promoters of projects, even among NGOs), as well as good information, participation of the local population, use of local technology, etc.

In short, development is much more than technological, it has to become an integrated programme of promotion of human resources (Art. 116).

The Convention gets more precise in differentiating between social and really cultural aspects (Art. 117). On the social side, it's a question of promoting self-help, changing the role of women, promoting employment, training, demographic balance, etc.

Among purely cultural aspects, all projects from now on will have to be adapted to the cultural context; this means recognising and using the experiences of local culture, especially the value systems, lifestyles, materials and ways of thinking and doing things, but also the way in which knowledge is acquired and transferred and the manner in which people from ACP countries perceive their relationship to nature and to their environment.

3.3. Anti-Discrimination

Lastly, we must mention the Joint Declaration on ACP migrant workers and ACP students in the Community (annex IX).

All the states who are party to Lomé III have committed themselves to permit no racial, religious, cultural or social discrimination against anybody coming from another signatory state.

4. Towards a new logic of development ?

If one notes the different kinds of definition of culture found in Lomé Mi and the emphasis placed on the widest definition, it is clear that Lomé III has chosen a new logic of development, a new way of seeing development. Because if one wants to base policy on the mentality, the vision and the aspirations of the population concerned, if one wants to have a dialogue with young people (and youth is only mentioned once in Lomé III !) and with women who, after all, are responsible for a large part of subsistence agriculture, if one really wants autonomous and self-supporting development, a lot more will have to be done than merely combining each project with a small amount of consultation with the local people. If one takes the Convention seriously, we must not only progressively change our mentalities and get rid of our cultural superiority complexes, we must also recognise the clear incompatibility of a proper recognition of the cultural dimension with the current logic which is based, for example, on increasing export-oriented agriculture.

It is likely that, if one bases policy on the local peoples' culture, it will be necessary to abandon many technologically sophisticated projects which can not be implemented by the « natives ». It is also likely that we'll have to forget the long-term aim of integrating Africa in the European market, thinking instead in terms of partially delinked (disconnected) economic sub-units (Samir Amin).

If we start talking to famine-struck peoples, it is probable that more and more stress will be laid on strategies of food self-sufficiency and that we will have to stop externalising ACP economies, that is, orienting them towards exporting. Europe will have to therefore cut its soya and maize imports. R. Preiswerk's schema shows clearly that if we want to respect the cultural diversity (No. 12), we have to switch from the « dominating strategies » into the « proposed strategies ». (See diagram).

5. Consequences for NGOs:

« Cultural Disarmament »

It is vital that NGOs concentrate more and more on macroeconomic issues.

But, if NGOs start a real dialogue with other cultures, they will find out little by little that certain « obvious » things like development, progress, the need for technology, the

	<i>Proposed strategies</i>	<i>Dominating strategies</i>
<i>Starting point</i>	<i>Under & over-developed regions & sectors, as much in the North as in the South; globally the world is badly developed.</i>	<i>The North is developed, the South is under-developed.</i>
<i>Level of analysis</i>	<i>Centres and peripheries. Human beings.</i>	<i>States.</i>
<i>Roots of under-development.</i>	<i>Dominating & exploiting forces in the rich centres creating growing inequality both inside and between countries.</i>	<i>Poor masses without education. Gap between them and complex modern societies.</i>
<i>Aim of development</i>	<i>Satisfaction of basic material and non-material needs above a minimal level, but below a maximal one.</i>	<i>Economic growth.</i>
<i>Main priorities</i>	<i>Agriculture, industry, health, homes, education.</i>	<i>Infrastructure, education, industry.</i>
<i>Role of material goods</i>	<i>Primacy of sharing out.</i>	<i>Primacy of production.</i>
<i>Relation to nature</i>	<i>Harmony and balance.</i>	<i>Exploitation and domination. Anthropocentrism.</i>
<i>Relation between developing areas and outside world.</i>	<i>Dissociative. Selective dissociation. Resorting to its own strengths and use of own resources.</i>	<i>Associative. Growing integration in the existing world economic system.</i>
<i>Conception of structures</i>	<i>Structural transformation to reduce internal & international inequalities. Reduction of structural violence.</i>	<i>Respect or limited reform of existing national & international structures.</i>
<i>Conception of process</i>	<i>Global approach to development process. Intervention based on systematic analysis.</i>	<i>Fragmented and compartmentalized approach to limited sectors of development.</i>
<i>Temporal perspective</i>	<i>Solidarity with future generations, particularly in the use of resources and relations with the environment.</i>	<i>Short and medium-term planning. Development decades.</i>
<i>Application</i>	<i>Respect for cultural diversity and therefore the diversity of the development process.</i>	<i>Universal type applicable to all types of societies. Uniform.</i>
<i>Reference to economic theories</i>	<i>Institutional + school of eco-development economics. Concepts of entropy irreversibility and imbalance.</i>	<i>Neo-classic school + Keynesian school of thought. Mechanical interaction, reversibility balance.</i>

definition of basic human needs, are in fact concepts which all come from our culture and which we naively want to impose because, in our opinion, they represent the truth. It is likely, however, that ACP people also want a « good life », but not necessarily « progress » or « evolution » which, until now at any rate, have turned out to be largely unfavourable.

If ACP people reject one kind of progress, it is perhaps not because they are stubborn, but simply because they are saying they have another way of conceiving human development.

If NGOs really want to enter into the spirit of the new Lomé Convention, they will have to divest themselves of their monocultural superiority complex in the dialogue with their partners. Without such «cultural disarmament» they will never really get to know other cultures, never get inside them and never understand them from the inside.

In fact, the only real way to understand one's own culture is to look at it through somebody else's eyes. This is how we can see how much our «technological and materialist mentality» is linked to one type of culture, characterised notably by:

1. A passion for material analysis:
2. A purely quantitative and linear conception of time which fails to take account of its symbolic dimension:
3. An analytical mentality which gives priority systematically to the question of « how » and refuses to deal with « why » ;
4. A vision of women/man centred on individualism rather than on solidarity.

Other cultures, less interested in material things, have a more qualitative and cyclical conception of time and a much greater tendency to go to the heart of the matter, which allows them to concentrate more on the why than the how.

It is probable that they will never be at ease with a tool conceived in and by another culture. Must they then disappear or forsake their own culture in order to allow technology in? When these ACP people see Europe, they are struck by its cultural crisis. Basic concepts of our culture like liberty, equality, defence, justice and others seem to them to have lost their meaning or to be undergoing a transformation. «Yes, we want your technology, but we don't want to lose our soul » said a Zairean during a conference in Chantilly, France in June 1985.

A real intercultural dialogue can thus go a long way and make us conscious of our own cultural crisis. It can lead us to discover that it is absolutely necessary and urgent for our cultural survival, to enter into a profound and fundamental dialogue with the partners that we are lucky enough to meet in the Third World (2 bis).

In that way and only in that way will we discover that

other cultures have other concepts of truth. For us *truth is one and reality is manifold*.

This makes us want to convince, conquer, send missionaries, go on crusades, unite people in empires or in one Church or in groups as large as possible. For us, there is only one way to live, to think of happiness, progress, to believe in God. And we feel we have to convince everybody of that.

For other cultures, however, *reality is one and truth is manifold*. These cultures look at our unquenchable zeal for convincing, changing, uniting, developing and trying to put everybody into the same mould, THE same truth, with a certain amused or frightened amazement.

This new logic of Lomé III implies, therefore, a tough road for all, but one which could be extremely beneficial for Europeans as much as for the ACP partners.

NOTES

- (1) R. VACHON: «Pour une réorientation radicale des ONG. Du développement endogène à la solidarité interculturelle» in «*Le Développement, un requis universel?*» in «*Interculture*» Magazine of the «Centre Interculturel Monchanin », Montreal, December 1984, P. 38-62.
- (2) D. PERROT: «Transferts de Concepts et Développement», *ibid*, p. 6-11.
R. PANIKKAR: «L'Emancipation de la technologie», *ibid*, p. 11-22. «*Les Cultures Contemporaines et l'Education Universitaire*», *ibid*, July 1985.
(2bis) G. RIST: «Relations Interculturelles et Pratiques du Développement» in *Revue Canadienne du Développement*, Vol. V., no 2, 1984.
P.M. HENRY: «*Crise d'Identité Culturelle, progrès technique et transformation économique en Europe*», report of Chantilly Conference, June 1985 on «*the Role of Culture in Development Cooperation as defined by the Third Lomé Convention*» in «*Objectif Europe*» no 29-30, September 1985, p. 31. (c/o EECOD, 23, Av. d'Auderghem, 1040 Bruxelles).
- (3) «*Intercultural Learning*» Conference Papers. DOK. 1317/A/a IT/24.1.1985, from Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung, Hans Bockler Strasse 5, 5300 Bonn 3, F.R.G. See also: «*Kultur und Entwicklung - Themenbereich: Textsammlung Zusammengestellt von D. Dankwort und J. Horleman*». This contains several articles in German (some of which are translations) on the issue.
- (4) The papers from this Dutch conference can be obtained from Kerk en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, Prins Hendrikkade 48, 1092 AC AMSTERDAM, NL.
- (5) The speeches from the Chantilly Conference were published in the magazine «*Objectif Europe*», no 29-30, September 1985 by OCIFE, 221 rue de la Loi, 1040 BRUXELLES. Complete texts: speeches, debates and conclusions can be obtained from EECOD, 23. Av. d'Auderghem, 1040 BRUXELLES.
- (6) Documents relating to this Luxembourg conference can be obtained from Dr Yaouvi E. Randolph, Secretary Général, Club d'Afrique, B.P 772, Lomé (Togo).
- (7) The report of this conference on «*Culture & Liberation*» is available from INODEP, 49 rue de la Glacière, F-75013 PARIS.
- (8) Information may be obtained from Ambassador Chasle, Embassy of Mauritius, 68, rue des Bollandistes, 1040 BRUXELLES. See also *Transnational Associations* n° 1/87, p. 49-50.
- (9) Information from EECOD.
- (10) The secretary of this network is Professor C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuizen, 34 de Mildestraat, NL-2596 SX DEN HAAG. He is being helped by G. Rist (Geneva).

PRACTICAL ELEMENTS

1. Conference

Five conferences that we know of were organised on this theme in 1985.

- 1.1. In West Berlin, on 9-14 June 1985, the Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung organised a seminar on «*Intercultural Apprenticeship*» (3).
- 1.2. In the Netherlands, on 15-18 May, «*Kerk en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking*» (Churches' Development Committee) and the Centre «*Kontakt der Continenten*» (Contact between Continents) organised a conference on the theme «*Culture and Development*» (4).
- 1.3. In Chantilly, France, on 13-15 June, EECOD (European Ecumenical Center for Development, formerly Joint Task Force) in collaboration with the Institut Robert

Schuman pour l'Europe organised a colloquium with the support of the EEC and the Churches on «*The role of Culture in Development Cooperation as defined by the third Lomé Convention*» (5).

- 1.4. In Luxembourg, on 20-25 June, the Club d'Afrique organised a colloquium on «*Culture and Development: Conditions and Factors for a relaunch of the North-South Dialogue*» (6).
- 1.5. In India, in November, INODEP and Pipla Tree organised a seminar on the theme «*Culture and Liberation*» (7).

2. A Foundation and two Networks

- 2.1. At the request of the Chantilly and Luxembourg colloquia, an «ACP Cultural Foundation» was set up around Ambassador Raymond Chasle, who was one of the main ACP negotiators on this issue in Lomé III (8).

2.2. Following the Chantilly colloquium, EECOD was asked to set up a network of development planners and practitioners with the aim of, on the one hand, collecting and evaluating theoretical publications and research on this subject and, on the other, questioning ACP people about their opinions on the way in which different NGOs take cultural issues into account, in order to list projects which have achieved the most in terms of intercultural dialogue (9). This Network was set up officially on 28 May 1986.

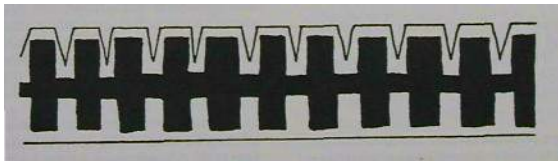
2.3. The specialised working group on Culture and Development in EADI (European Association of Development Institutes) made a proposal to establish a network on the theme in January 1986 (10).

A collaboration with the former Network is envisaged.

3. *Working Group on «Respecting the Rights of ACP Students and Migrant Workers in the EEC».*

A working group has been set up by OCIPÉ (Office catholique d'information sur les problèmes européens) bringing together NGOs, European Commission representatives, Ambassador Chaste, representatives of the Churches Committee on Migration and the Secretary General of CETMI (Study Centre on Migrant Workers).

This group hopes to sensitise the Commission and the Churches to the discrimination still suffered by too many ACP migrants, whether studying or working. Some legislation and administrative rules directly contravene the Lomé Convention and should be changed.



Les ONGs comme cheval de Troie

par Dominique Temple*

ONG et économicide

Les valeurs de prestige d'un système de redistribution et de réciprocité expriment naturellement la puissance du donateur et exaltent les caractères qui lui sont propres mais en même temps prétendent témoigner de l'être social auquel chacun participe. Celui-ci ne peut se réduire à une expression particulière car dans la réciprocité, l'être social naît de la relation à l'autre, c'est-à-dire que la conscience d'être est d'abord communautaire et ne se réfère pas à l'identité ou de l'un ou de l'autre mais à un tiers commun. Le prestige de l'autre est alors aussi important que le sien propre. C'est là une raison de ce que l'on appelle le « mimétisme » occidental du tiers-monde. Cependant cette soif des valeurs de prestige d'autrui n'explique pas seule que le tiers-monde adopte les représentations du prestige occidental.

Le système capitaliste est, lui, intéressé à substituer aux valeurs de prestige indigène des marchandises qui en tiennent lieu. Il s'agit d'imposer au système indigène de produire les biens d'exportation qui lui assurent les devises nécessaires pour acheter les biens de prestige qui lui sont proposés en lieu et place de ses propres valeurs.

Le moyen d'imposer cette production est le crédit. Du point de vue indigène, le crédit se traduit par une distribution immédiate de marchandises de prestige qui peut être interprétée dans ses catégories comme une redistribution justifiant la réciprocité, ici la réciprocité productive et inféodée : celle-ci se convertit en production de biens pour l'exportation qui peut se convertir en monnaie d'échange.

Le crédit, ou plutôt la dette, engendre une forme de tribut de production pour l'échange qui explique que les théories monétaristes aient pu s'imposer dans le tiers-monde. Rappelons que ces théories prétendent que le développement des pays du tiers-monde exige qu'ils se convertissent en producteurs de marchandises les plus avantageuses sur le marché de l'échange afin de disposer de la traduction monétaire qui leur permettra ensuite d'acheter ce qui leur est devenu nécessaire à ceux qui le produisent au moindre coût.

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Cependant si l'indépendance des Etats du tiers-monde permet une réorganisation des secteurs de l'économie de subsistance dans le cadre de la réciprocité à partir duquel se reconstituent les valeurs traditionnelles, l'axe « production occidentale de marchandises de prestige - production indigène de valeurs d'échange pour l'exportation » s'oppose à l'axe « production indigène de valeurs de consommation - régénération de valeurs de prestige indigènes ».

Par conséquent, pour les défenseurs du libre échange, il est impératif de détruire les systèmes de réciprocité traditionnels, aujourd'hui comme hier, partout où ces systèmes subsistent ou se manifestent de nouveau.

Pour les Occidentaux, il faut empêcher définitivement que puisse se reconstituer des systèmes de réciprocité communautaire. Il s'agit aussi de favoriser l'intégration de ces sociétés à l'économie occidentale capitaliste afin d'éviter leur exploitation par les mouvements communistes : il s'agit donc de remplacer la production indigène de réciprocité par une production destinée à l'échange.

Les programmes internationaux d'aide technique, financière ou de coopération économique et scientifique (révolution verte, transferts de technologie, etc.) se sont multipliés, contribuant à la destruction ou à la dépendance des économies régionales et nationales mais sans parvenir à atteindre définitivement les communautés rurales les plus isolées ou les communautés indigènes les plus résistantes à l'intégration.

Et c'est ici que les défenseurs du libre échange et des théories monétaristes laissent la parole aux organisations non gouvernementales (ONG). Celles-ci, en effet, utilisent des capitaux qui ne sont pas tributaires d'une nécessité immédiate de rentabilité et qui échappent aux contraintes de la production capitaliste. Ils peuvent donc être, au moins partiellement assimilés, mieux encore que le crédit, à des investissements à fonds perdus, c'est-à-dire au don.

Les ONG peuvent toutes se prévaloir d'être donatrices ou protectrices. Plus que leur efficacité économique, ces titres expliquent leur crédit et leur succès dans le domaine de l'aide et de la coopération des pays occidentaux. La

reconnaissance du prestige qui est nécessairement liée au don par les communautés indigènes les établit comme autorité politique.

On peut distinguer les ONG donatrices et les ONG d'assistance technique qui ne disposent pas directement de fonds et de pouvoirs économiques. Les ONG donatrices peuvent avoir leur propre service de techniciens comme certaines organisations nationales de coopération bilatérale ou bien elles utilisent les ONG d'assistance technique comme intermédiaires pour gérer, contrôler ou redistribuer les fonds des programmes d'aide.

Les organisations indigènes et paysannes contestent cette tutelle. Après avoir revendiqué le contact direct avec les ONG de financement et le contrôle des ONG techniques, elles recherchent aujourd'hui des contrats de réciprocité directs avec des « professionnels » ou encore des partenaires de réciprocité ; c'est-à-dire qu'elles désirent maîtriser l'orientation et la définition des programmes de développement et remplacer les techniciens occidentaux par les leurs.

(nutife de dire qu'il n'existe pas d'ONG de financement ou techniques qui ait accepté ce type de contrôle ou de contrat.

Face à ces revendications des organisations indigènes ou paysannes, les ONG préfèrent chercher des partenaires nationaux, relais des ONG techniques nationales qui se proposent comme nouveaux intermédiaires et qui se légitiment au nom de l'indépendance nationale.

Il reste cependant aux ONG pour être efficaces, de s'adapter aux dimensions des structures de réciprocité indigènes ce qui justifie une stratégie d'intervention au niveau micro-économique car les structures de réciprocité indigènes ont été dissociées voire atomisées par la colonisation. Il s'agit d'adapter les projets de développement au niveau de l'entreprise communautaire du village, c'est-à-dire au niveau de l'unité principale de réciprocité.

Ce redéploiement de l'action des ONG sur les structures de réciprocité, cette adaptation, permet la substitution du pouvoir à un niveau ethnique ou familial selon les cas et, grâce à cette substitution d'autorité, le technicien ou l'organisme de financement peut décider des projets des investissements en lieu et place de l'autorité villageoise, de l'autorité communautaire ethnique ou familiale. Comme il traduit son autorité dans les termes de ses compétences, il induit, qu'il le veuille ou non, un développement de type Occidental.

On peut illustrer ce comportement économicidaire d'un exemple nord-américain en Bolivie.

On sait que dans les communautés de réciprocité, lors des cérémonies rituelles qui permettent à des particuliers d'accéder ou de participer à un statut supérieur, une personne autorisée est choisie pour exprimer la tradition ou dire la loi de la communauté. Lors du mariage, par exemple, dans les communautés des Andes, la personne élue pour témoigner de la communauté et de sa tradition doit donner l'exemple de ce qui engendre la valeur pour la communauté : le don. Être choisi pour bénir le mariage, pour en être le parrain oblige d'abord à donner puis à unir par la parole les deux parties qui souhaitent fonder une relation de réciprocité matrimoniale. Donner est ici l'acte qui établit

le parrain dans son rôle de référence éthique. Dans d'autres circonstances, il ne donne pas lui-même mais assure la redistribution des offrandes des uns et des autres comme un centre collectif de relations de réciprocité symétrique afin que toutes se traduisent par un sentiment commun, une loi et une parole unique. Il redistribue les dons qu'il reçoit et cette redistribution lui confère l'autorité qui consacre l'identité ethnique.

Une des ONG les plus importantes de Bolivie, nord-américaine, s'est nommée «*Plan para el Padrino*» (Plan pour le parrain). Elle prétend établir des relations similaires à celles de la parenté entre familles indigènes et nord-américaines. Ces dernières restent anonymes mais offrent de l'argent. Le parrainage est assuré par l'ONG elle-même qui redistribue les fonds. A travers ces dons, elle s'assure de l'autorité indigène mais proclame des valeurs religieuses nord-américaines et non pas les valeurs de l'éthique des communautés aymaras ou quechuas.

La substitution de pouvoir est évidente. La substitution de références aussi, tant au niveau économique où l'argent vient remplacer les valeurs de redistribution indigène (feuilles de coca par exemple) qu'au niveau de la représentation culturelle où les idées religieuses et les croyances se substituent aux valeurs traditionnelles. L'anonymat des familles nord-américaines permet à l'institution de gérer librement les fonds selon une stratégie qui ne permet jamais à l'Aymara ou au Quechua d'échapper à la nouvelle loi, c'est-à-dire l'inféodation morale quand ce n'est pas le tribut matériel. En réalité, c'est l'inféodation morale que recherche cette ONG afin de substituer au prestige aymara le prestige défini en termes occidentaux et au «*padrino* » indien un dieu nord-américain.

Si toutes les ONG ne déclarent pas si ouvertement leurs intentions, toutes doivent leur autorité au don.

Certaines ONG prétendent défendre les cultures autochtones et font même appel à une caution anthropologique mais il est facile de remarquer que sous le prétexte du respect de la culture indigène, il s'agit en réalité de la dissocier de l'économie de réciprocité. Pour réussir cette séparation, elles définissent l'économie politique en termes occidentaux (la production de valeurs d'échange). Comme il n'existe généralement pas d'économie de ce genre dans le monde indigène, elles se réfèrent à la thèse anthropologique selon laquelle l'économie d'échange serait en réalité cachée, masquée ou intégrée (1). Cène thèse autorise donc les techniciens occidentaux à la découvrir, la démasquer ou plutôt l'inventer en réinterprétant en termes occidentaux les catégories indigènes et, ainsi, justifier leur intervention.

L'anthropologue culturaliste pour sa part y trouve l'intérêt d'acquiescer une autorité sur la culture indigène elle-même.

L'un prétend être le spécialiste de la culture, l'autre de l'économie. Ils se partagent la communauté ou l'ethnie, l'un le corps, l'autre l'âme, chacun selon ses compétences.

Mais cette manière de dissocier la culture indigène de l'économie qui la soutient en refusant d'admettre qu'existent d'autres systèmes économiques que celui de l'échange permet aux Occidentaux de développer la pro-

duction pour l'échange sous couvert du respect de la culture indigène, ce que l'on peut appeler une politique « de la fleur coupée ».

Au niveau des racines économiques, le travail du technicien occidental est de remplacer le processus de réciprocité indigène par un procès de production « rentable » (qu'il estime, lui, rentable en termes de valeur d'échange). L'effet de cette politique est de développer sur les territoires délaissés par les entreprises coloniales ou capitalistes (ou par la coopération technique bilatérale, internationale) des formes de production privatisées ou collectivisées qui orientent la production indigène vers l'échange et vers la création de monnaie d'échange.

Il est cependant très difficile de dénoncer ces ONG comme ethnocidares. Elles se défendent de cette accusation avec beaucoup de conviction, faisant immédiatement appel à la garantie anthropologique. Elles exploitent d'autre par un certain capital de confiance indigène. Parfois elles se présentent même derrière des responsables indigènes. Bref, elles se présentent comme les Grecs dans le cheval de Troie face aux Troyens. Le cheval de Troie est ici le don, l'aide au tiers-monde elle-même (2).

Il faut reconnaître que leur action ethnocidaire n'est qu'indirecte. Ce sont les infrastructures économiques mises en place qui joueront ce rôle: elles engendreront en effet leurs propres représentations lesquelles entreront en concurrence avec les représentations traditionnelles. La substitution de références culturelles s'effectuera par la solution d'un conflit de génération mais ce sont les indigènes eux-mêmes qui assureront cette transformation. Ici l'ethnocide est particulièrement bien masqué.

L'action des ONG n'en est pas moins directe au niveau économique: elle consiste à substituer à l'infrastructure de réciprocité une infrastructure d'échange. C'est ce que je propose d'appeler l'économicide. C'est la fonction essentielle et systématique des ONG occidentales.

L'économicide n'est pas l'exclusive des ONG. Il est aussi caractéristique de la coopération technique et de l'aide internationale. Mais les ONG sont pratiquement les seules forces occidentales qui puissent intervenir sur les communautés indigènes. Elles constituent le front « pionnier » du développement de la production pour l'échange, mais « masqué », car ces organisations à caractère caritatif, religieux, humanitaire se présentent comme une alternative aux institutions gouvernementales et intergouvernementales. Elles drainent l'aide désintéressée de particuliers, des associations occidentales privées, au nom de la solidarité, de la lutte pour la justice sociale, des droits de l'homme et des peuples. Si la coopération officielle ignore le plus souvent les communautés paysannes et indigènes et ne trompe plus personne, les ONG elles se trompent d'abord et trompent deux fois, les donateurs occidentaux et les communautés indigènes.

Les conséquences de leur intervention sont cependant devenues si évidentes qu'elles sont aujourd'hui de plus en plus contestées par les communautés et organisations indigènes quand celles-ci ont droit à la parole et qu'elles ont accès aux médias.

On doit préciser que cette remise en cause n'a rien à voir avec l'exploitation de l'échec des ONG par une critique néo-libérale aux motivations douteuses. Cette critique a

pour effet d'autoriser une justification tiers-mondiste qui a facilement raison d'arguments démagogiques mais qui profite de l'occasion offerte pour étouffer la critique faite par les communautés indigènes.

Cela ne veut pas dire que les peuples du tiers-monde ignorent l'échange. On peut dire au contraire que depuis les origines toutes les communautés connaissent l'échange mais elles l'utilisent seulement à leurs frontières ou pour des activités serviles et non pas pour engendrer la valeur. Pour engendrer la valeur, elles ont recours à la réciprocité de telle façon que l'échange reste finalement peu utilisé, voire plus du tout, au sein des communautés indigènes. Or, aujourd'hui, le libéralisme économique prétend que l'échange doit diriger l'économie des communautés et engendrer la valeur de référence.

On ne peut non plus prétendre que les communautés ne souhaitent pas pratiquer elles-mêmes l'échange avec les Occidentaux, puisque c'est là la seul moyen de commercer avec eux du moins lorsque cela est à leur avantage. Elles développent d'ailleurs certaines bases de production destinées à l'échange, ce qui explique quelques alliances de communautés indigènes avec des entreprises occidentales, mais, dans ce cas, on doit souligner que ces activités sont dirigées vers le marché d'échange, à l'extérieur des communautés et non à l'intérieur des frontières communautaires. De telles initiatives restent normalement inféodées à l'autorité indigène déterminée, elle, exclusivement par les lois de la réciprocité intra-communautaire. C'est la réciprocité qui, dans ce cas, inféode l'échange et non le contraire. C'est dire qu'il existe une alternative indigène au développement promu par les Occidentaux et c'est pourquoi les autorités qui dirigent le processus économique indigène doivent affronter les tutelles étrangères de type ONG.

Cette autorité indigène est celle des responsables légitimes du développement communautaire ou de l'ethno-développement, et il existe donc bien une ligne de front entre les responsables des communautés et les représentants économistes ou ethnologues de l'Occident sur la question de la définition du développement et du contrôle des moyens de celui-ci.

Cette ligne situe les avant-postes d'une part de la société de « l'homme unidimensionnel » ou de l'*homo aequalis* » avec son matérialisme idéologique, son économie d'échange et de concurrence, ses aliénations idéalistes et religieuses et, d'autre part, des sociétés du tiers-monde fondées sur la réciprocité, des valeurs éthiques et une praxis où la vie concrète et spirituelle ne sont pas aliénées l'une par l'autre.

Cependant, pour ces dernières, il est dramatique que ne soient pas reconnues les lois de leur système et que chacune reste prisonnière de son imaginaire quand la reconnaissance de leurs raisons théoriques leur permettrait de se comprendre les unes les autres et d'institutionnaliser, de frontière à frontière, des relations de respect mutuel et de solidarité, de façon peut-être universelle.

La confusion entre la charité et le don

On a coutume de dire que c'est en toute bonne foi qu'agissent les ONG et que leurs actions vis-à-vis du tiers-monde ne s'inscrivent pas dans un plan concerté d'ethno-

cide. Mais comment expliquer les faits: faut-il les considérer comme l'actualisation de leurs principes fondamentaux? Ce qui pourrait les expliquer serait peut-être une confusion de ces institutions entre la charité et le don.

Il est symptomatique que l'église catholique par exemple essaie de réduire la théologie de la libération au silence, comme le rappelle l'interdiction faite au théologien L. Boff d'exprimer ses idées sous le prétexte que la traduction de la foi dans une praxis marxiste aux côtés des paysans en lutte constitue un compromis avec le monde, un compromis politique, alors que les œuvres missionnaires qui se fondent sur la pratique du don désintéressé matériellement seraient, elles, des œuvres spirituelles et légitimes car apolitiques.

Le don ne représente pas pour les religieux un acte d'économie politique mais, au contraire, un acte anti-économique car ils se réfèrent aux définitions de l'économie politique occidentale. (Il est anti-économique en effet dans une économie d'échange). Mais une telle définition de l'économie est caractéristique d'un ethnocentrisme occidental exacerbé que l'on peut rapprocher du racisme. On appelle économie politique l'économie politique de l'échange et l'on considère ensuite que l'économie de réciprocité des sociétés du tiers-monde doit être une forme archaïque de celle-ci sinon il ne s'agit pas d'économie...

A partir de cette tautologie, il est facile aux églises de dire qu'elles ne pratiquent pas de compromis économique ou politique lorsqu'elles établissent leur pouvoir sur le don. Cependant, l'autorité des missions sur les communautés indigènes est celle que les indigènes reconnaissent aux donateurs et la pacification religieuse, depuis la fondation des réductions en Amérique du Sud par les Franciscains et les Jésuites jusqu'à celles des missions nord-américaines d'aujourd'hui, est fondée sur le don.

Les églises ont d'ailleurs traduit l'autorité acquise en termes de prestige pour qu'elle soit reconnue des indigènes eux-mêmes: c'est ce que manifeste en Amérique l'extraordinaire faste des cérémonies religieuses. Il est vrai, cependant, que les fêtes religieuses sont des lieux d'affrontements culturels complexes car les Indiens utilisent, en effet, les images des saints, des vierges et des dieux pour, comme à leur abri, conserver leurs propres traditions, qui elles correspondent à leurs structures de réciprocité et non pas à des motivations chrétiennes. Mais il serait difficile aux églises de soutenir qu'elles utilisèrent les fêtes et le prestige sans connaître le bénéfice qu'elles pouvaient en retirer. En réalité pour obtenir l'autorité, elles utilisèrent et utilisent toujours sciemment le don et utilisent les fêtes, danses, chants au profit de représentations religieuses dans l'espoir de substituer les croyances occidentales à l'éthique des peuples indigènes.

Autrefois, les missionnaires dépendaient de l'administration ou des colons pour disposer des biens matériels qu'ils redistribuaient, haches de fer, machettes, bétail, tissus manufacturés, etc. Aujourd'hui ils distribuent une part de l'aide au tiers-monde (dispensaires, hôpitaux, écoles, ateliers, scieries, coopératives, services de presse et d'édition, imprimeries, etc.) mais c'est le même principe qui leur permet d'usurper l'autorité politique et spirituelle.

J'en donnerai un exemple à partir d'un souvenir personnel. Un jour où j'accostai dans un endroit isolé d'Amazonie

où vivait un missionnaire en contact avec une communauté dirigée par un chef légitime, ce dernier me dit «Ce prêtre est venu ici il y a dix ans apportant avec lui un bateau, plus tard il apporta un dispensaire; ensuite une scierie. Pour qu'il demeure encore ici, le temps est venu qu'il donne autre chose : pourrais-tu lui suggérer qu'il apporte des tôles ondulées pour les toits car depuis que nous sommes installés ici, les palmiers aux alentours ont tous été coupés et nous n'avons pas de palmes pour renouveler les toits de nos maisons». Le missionnaire ne se rendait pas compte, semble-t-il, que son pouvoir venait uniquement de ses dons. Le jour où ses services disparaîtraient, son pouvoir s'évanouirait. C'est ce que confirmait l'évêque de la région. «Il y a quatre cents ans que nous sommes ici et quand nous partirons, nous pourrions dire qu'il ne restera aucune trace de notre passage».

La raison me semble en être que l'autorité conquise par le don doit être reproduite périodiquement par un autre don et lorsque ce n'est pas le cas, le prestige disparaît. C'est là, la difficulté des missions qui pensent pouvoir établir leur autorité sur le don.

Elles rencontrent cependant une autre difficulté qui explique que leur pouvoir reste toujours sans contenu. Dans le système de la réciprocité, la légitimité de l'autorité appartient à qui produit le don et les Indiens par exemple savent bien que ce ne sont pas les prêtres qui produisent ce qu'ils distribuent... L'autorité que les indigènes concèdent aux missionnaires devrait, dans leur esprit, être restituée aux producteurs du don. Les indigènes acceptent facilement que les missions soient tributaires des administrations coloniales sans voir en elles autre chose qu'un pouvoir politique transitoire ou de délégation mais qui renvoie à un pouvoir supérieur, celui de la société occidentale tout entière et donc à son système économique, le système capitaliste.

Si le don des missionnaires et des prêtres est tributaire du système qui le produit matériellement, cela révèle leur alliance avec le système de production et d'exploitation capitaliste. Ainsi le compromis politique des églises, en dépit de leurs protestations d'autonomie, est très clair.

Le don oblige celui qui le reçoit à le reproduire, quand cela est possible, pour reconquérir sa dignité perdue lorsqu'il accepte le don d'autrui, sinon à s'inféoder et accepter le nom du donateur, le nom de chrétien par exemple. C'est pour cette raison que les missionnaires purent christianiser les indigènes et organiser leur production au service de notre civilisation. Mais donner, c'est toujours dominer et recevoir se soumettre, et c'est par cette voie que les missions et réductions ont imposé leur loi aux sociétés du tiers-monde.

On ne peut malheureusement identifier les représentations religieuses occidentales avec celles de la réciprocité indigène. En effet, la société occidentale, en réduisant l'économie politique à l'économie d'échange réduit la notion de valeur économique à celle de richesse matérielle et les autres dimensions de la valeur sont rejetées dans un univers métaphysique qui devient le champ de prédilection de l'inconscient et de la religion.

Cette dichotomie quasi schizophrénique de l'économie politique et de la religion s'oppose à ce que les missionnaires et les anthropologues appellent le syncrétisme indi-

gène. Mais le syncrétisme semble plutôt être une cohérence des faits et de leurs représentations, une vie dialectique des uns et des autres, une praxis et aussi l'intégration de l'image de l'autre à (a) construction de l'identité et de l'unité humaine. En réalité les églises occidentales ont peu d'espoir de parvenir à imposer leurs idéologies, leurs croyances, si elles ne réussissent pas, au préalable, à détruire les systèmes de réciprocité indigène. Pour obtenir un quelconque succès, elles doivent s'associer longtemps à la répression coloniale directe ou indirecte comme au temps de Marcos aux Philippines, de Duvalier à Haïti, de Somoza au Nicaragua, de Stroessner au Paraguay, etc., avant d'hériter d'une situation où elles pourront tenter de reconstruire des bases sociales conformes à leurs objectifs, des bases occidentales en somme. L'ethnocide est un préalable des églises, et l'économicide est en réalité leur principale arme pour le réaliser. C'est à ce niveau que se trouve l'alliance profonde, indéfectible des églises avec la colonisation et au delà avec le libre échange et le système capitaliste.

On peut résumer: donner c'est dominer mais la domination de la mission est tributaire de la colonisation du système capitaliste dont la logique est de dominer pour prendre. La politique des églises est une politique d'alliance tout à fait objective que l'on peut qualifier de politique conservatrice.

Pour ceux qui ne veulent pas se compromettre avec la politique de droite, c'est-à-dire avec le système capitaliste, reste la solution d'entrer réellement dans le jeu révolutionnaire indigène, ce qui est alors dénoncé par les conservateurs comme politique de gauche (la théologie de la libération par exemple au Brésil ou en Pérou). Mais cette église silencieuse, cette église du silence ou «des pauvres» est alors confrontée à un problème théorique encore plus grave qui exige de sa part une conversion importante.

Il faut se rappeler ici que les communautés de réciprocité et les sociétés de redistribution sont fondées sur des structures de réciprocité génératrices de valeurs éthiques y compris lorsqu'elles se sont aliénées dans des évolutions où la réciprocité devient inégale et où l'éthique est dominée par l'imaginaire du prestige. Derrière les structures les plus complexes de la réciprocité on retrouve toujours des structures de base qui assurent à l'être social sa réalité la plus humaine. L'échange s'oppose directement à cette dynamique de création d'un être supérieur, communautaire, parce qu'il est l'expression de l'intérêt individuel, de l'intérêt privé. Dans la réciprocité, la définition de l'homme ne peut se réduire à celle d'une quelconque identité, ni la sienne ni celle de l'autre; elle est celle du «grand Autre». celle d'un être supérieur à soi-même et à l'autre pour résulter de leur interaction: un «tiers inclus» donc, c'est-à-dire exactement le contraire du «tiers exclu» de la logique de l'échange (qui est aussi la logique occidentale). Ce «tiers inclus», dans les sociétés de réciprocité, est l'être même de la communauté. Il reçoit évidemment le nom de l'humanité.

Tous ceux qui participent de relations de réciprocité peuvent se prévaloir du titre «nous les vrais hommes». Bien que ce nom soit spécifique de chaque communauté en vertu des caractéristiques, des conditions matérielles de la réciprocité, bien que ce nom-là puisse se pétrifier dans des représentations imaginaires singulières qui peuvent devenir antagonistes les uns des autres, il se reproduit de façon

systématique, partout où se reconstituent des structures de réciprocité. C'est pour cela qu'il peut être défini comme le nom de toute l'humanité et non pas comme celui d'une seule communauté ethnique et donc recevoir un nom propre universel: Dieu, par exemple.

Mais il vaut mieux appeler cette réalité de l'être social du nom de l'humanité elle-même et conserver le nom de Dieu pour son aliénation en un absolu dont la fétichisation devient l'âme d'un pouvoir particulier, celui des religieux et des prêtres.

Mais peut-être est-ce pour cela que beaucoup de religieux se sentent mal à l'aise dans leurs églises lorsqu'ils sont au contact du tiers-monde et qu'ils rompent avec elles pour se reconnaître en tant qu'hommes au sein des nouvelles communautés en lutte dans le tiers-monde. Cette rupture semble être le phénomène religieux le plus important de notre époque dans les sociétés occidentales parce qu'elle révèle une vraie vie spirituelle au cœur même de l'Occident et qui a un sens universel. Cependant, ces religieux se trouvent confrontés aux forces de libération populaires dont la praxis est souvent de type occidental et nombreux sont ceux qui doivent accepter d'emprunter le sillon des analyses marxistes et pratiquer l'idéologie marxiste, idéologique parce que c'est pure idéologie, que de vouloir imposer à la réalité du tiers-monde une voie de libération fondée sur la critique de l'aliénation du système occidental, alors que les sociétés du tiers-monde n'appartiennent pas à ce système. Cette critique ne se justifie que sur les marches coloniales de l'empire capitaliste et à l'intérieur du système capitaliste; au delà de ses frontières elle n'est plus pertinente et doit laisser la place aux théories de la réciprocité.

Collectivisation et communauté

La principale confusion marxiste qu'il est possible de dénoncer ici est celle de la collectivisation comme système de production communautaire.

Le marxisme originel est la critique du système économique de la société de droit privé occidental, déterminé par l'échange. Cette critique dénonce la privatisation des moyens de production qui a pour conséquence l'exploitation du travail et la réduction de la valeur à une quantité de travail biologique, en définitive une quantité d'énergie «matérielle». Avant d'être matérialiste par lui-même, le marxisme dénonce le matérialisme de l'échange qui conduit à la réduction de «l'homme total» à une énergie de production à l'intérieur d'un monde privé de praxis éthique et contraint à la dépendance de religions et morales métaphysiques, éthérées.

Cependant, après la critique, le marxisme se trouve devant la nécessité de proposer une alternative. C'est là que le communisme s'est fourvoyé car à partir de ce point zéro il reste rive à la notion de l'échange; ce qu'il propose c'est l'échange égal généralisé mesuré par la quantité de travail produit. Il requiert, pour ce faire, la socialisation des moyens de production. Ce que généralise le marxisme, c'est toujours une production de valeurs matérielles. La proposition de base continue d'être matérialiste. A défaut d'une critique de l'échange lui-même, le système communiste reste matérialiste, et en ce sens, inhumain.

Ici, il faut bien comprendre en quoi consiste l'antagonisme entre échange et réciprocité. Par l'échange s'engen-

dre une valeur exclusivement matérielle alors que par la réciprocité s'engendre une valeur enrichie d'autres dimensions jusqu'à la plus haute qui est celle de l'éthique. Il faut regretter que le marxisme n'ait pas reconnu cet antagonisme et qu'il soit demeuré prisonnier de l'échange et d'une conception matérialiste de la valeur aussi matérialiste en définitive que celle du libéralisme économique. Il est vrai que la valeur éthique peut s'aliéner dans les imaginaires du prestige propres à chaque identité ethnique; on pourrait parler d'ethnicité peut-être comme aliénation de l'éthique universelle, mais elle ne s'y aliène jamais autant que dans l'échange où elle disparaît complètement.

Cette aliénation de l'éthique, dans les limites de l'imaginaire ethnique qui peuvent conduire à des exclusions réciproques, a conduit des critiques à interpréter ces limites comme sources de racisme. D'autre part, l'aliénation du don a permis d'interpréter les valeurs de renommée ou de prestige comme des signes de despotisme et donc des obstacles à la révolution.

Mais il ne faut pas oublier que dans tous les systèmes de réciprocité, la valeur de prestige traduit aussi la valeur éthique. Cette équivalence est d'autant plus précise que la réciprocité est plus égalitaire. Elle est moins précise quand la réciprocité devient inégale ou tributaire comme elle l'était devenue dans les grands systèmes de redistribution des anciens empires. Mais la colonisation a désorganisé ces empires, découvrant les bases du système comme d'innombrables structures de réciprocité élémentaires, libérées de l'inégalité et du tribut. Celles-ci sont devenues autant de sources autonomes de la valeur étroitement liées au sentiment de justice. C'est ce qui fonde la justice comme moteur économique. On peut dire que la justice a sa propre force en tant que dynamique de l'économie pour être un besoin de l'homme plus important encore que les nécessités de subsistance même.

C'est alors que peut se réaliser une alliance avec les organisations marxistes, sur le thème de la justice sociale, bien que les revendications des uns et des autres procèdent de déterminations diamétralement opposées: en effet, les uns veulent améliorer les conditions de l'échange tandis que les autres essaient de diminuer son importance pour rétablir la réciprocité. Mais une alliance sur l'objectif d'un «prix juste» est empiriquement possible. Les uns voient dans le prix juste la rémunération de leur force de travail, les autres entendent par là le respect de leurs équivalences de réciprocité. Ethique et matérialisme apparaissent ici comme un couple de forces produisant leur effet dans le même sens contre un adversaire commun mais qui, une fois au pouvoir, révéleront qu'elles sont contradictoires.

Mais il est clair que la collectivisation va à rencontre de cette dynamique d'entraînement de la production. Elle supprime en effet l'individualisation de la renommée, le prestige ou la responsabilité personnelle et par conséquent entrave toute concurrence entre les uns et les autres pour produire plus ou mieux. L'annulation du prestige a pour conséquence immédiate de rendre inutile le travail créateur ou producteur d'excédents. Il ne reste aux individus pour motivation de la production que l'autoconsommation biologique. La collectivisation constitue donc une dynamique du sous-développement des communautés de réciprocité. Son échec est d'ailleurs évident dans les sociétés paysannes de l'Union soviétique, de la RDA, de la Pologne, de la Tchécoslovaquie, du Vietnam, du Nicaragua, de la Chine, du moins avant que celle-ci ne réhabilite l'exploitation familiale et communautaire.

Dans ces pays, le moteur de la production collectiviste est surtout la nécessité, la pénurie dans la consommation, l'auto-subsistance biologique. La confusion entre communauté et collectivité est en définitive aussi grave que celle de la charité avec le don. Elle provoque en effet l'arrêt de la croissance et de l'évolution économique.

On peut donc dire que, de la privatisation à la collectivisation occidentales, les communautés du tiers-monde vont de Charybde en Scylla.

Le tiers-mondisme d'inspiration marxiste ne vaut pas beaucoup mieux que l'aide au tiers-monde capitaliste. L'un utilise le don comme cheval de Troie pour détruire l'économie du tiers-monde, l'autre refuse de reconnaître le don et la réciprocité comme fondements d'un autre système économique que celui de l'échange généralisé. Aucun des deux ne reconnaît le don et la réciprocité comme bases de la communauté et principes d'un développement post-capitaliste (et post-marxiste).

Chacun veut détruire, et en cela ils sont objectivement alliés, les frontières des communautés du tiers-monde pour imposer sa loi : la loi de l'échange inégal pour les uns, pour les autres celle de l'échange égal mais collectivisé. Cependant, les deux montrent qu'ils obéissent bien à la logique de l'échange alors que c'est sur la réciprocité que se fonde la communauté.

L'économicide consiste donc à détruire les bases économiques de réciprocité des communautés soit pour imposer la privatisation soit pour imposer la collectivisation. Cet economicide est aujourd'hui l'arme la plus secrète mais peut-être la plus efficace, en tout cas, la mieux masquée de l'Occident face au tiers-monde.



Nine theses on social movements internationally

by André Gunder Frank*
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The 'new social movements' today are what most mobilise people in pursuit of common concerns. Far more than 'classical' class movements, the social movements motivate and mobilise hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world — mostly outside established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to serve their needs. This paper discusses the character of these social movements, their strengths and limitations.

This essay will develop the following theses:

1. The «new» social movements are not new, even if they have some new features, and the «classical » ones are relatively new and perhaps temporary.
2. Social movements display much variety and changeability, but have in common individual mobilisation through a sense of morality and (in)justice and social power through social mobilisation against deprivation and for survival and identity.
3. The strength and importance of social movements is cyclical and related to long political-economic and (perhaps associated) ideological cycles. When the conditions that give rise to the movements change (through the action of the movements themselves and/or more usually due to changing circumstances), the movements tend to disappear.
4. It is important to distinguish the class composition of social movements, which are mostly middle class in the West, popular/working class in the South, and some of each in the East.
5. There are many different kinds of social movements. The majority seek more autonomy rather than state power, and the latter tend to negate themselves as social movements.
6. Although most social movements are more defensive than offensive and tend to be temporary, they are important (today and tomorrow perhaps the most important) agents of social transformation.
7. In particular, social movements appear as the agents and reinterpreters of « delinking » from contemporary capitalism and «transition to socialism».
8. Some social movements are likely to overlap in membership or be more compatible and permit coalition with others, and some are likely to conflict and compete with others. It may be useful to inquire into these relations.
9. However, since social movements, like street theater, write their own scripts - if any - as they go along, any prescription of agendas or strategies, set alone tactics, by outsiders - not to mention intellectuals - is likely to be irrelevant at best and counterproductive at worst.

1 The «new» social movements are old but have some new features

The many social movements in the West, South and East that are now commonly called « new » are with few exceptions new forms of social movements which have existed

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through the ages. Ironically, the « classical » working-class/union movements date mostly only from the last century, and they increasingly appear to be only a passing phenomenon related to the development of industrial capitalism. On the other hand, peasant, localist community, ethnic/nationalist, religious, and even feminist/women's movements have existed for centuries and even millennia in many parts of the world. Yet many of these movements are now commonly called «new», although European history records countless social movements throughout history. Examples are the Spartacist slave revolts in Rome, the Crusades and countless religious wars, the peasant movements/wars of sixteenth-century Germany, historic ethnic and nationalist conflicts throughout the continent, and women's movements that unleashed backlashes of witch-hunts and more recent forms of repression. In Asia, the Arab world and the expansion of Islam, Africa and Latin

America, of course, multiple forms of social movements have been the agents of social resistance and transformation throughout history.

Only the ecological/green movement(s) and the peace movement(s) can more legitimately be termed « new », and that is because they respond to social needs which have been more recently generated by world development. Generalised environmental degradation as a threat to livelihood and welfare is the product of recent industrial development and now calls forth largely defensive new ecological/green social movements. Recent technological developments in warfare threaten the life of masses of people and generate new defensive peace movements. Yet even these are not altogether new. World (colonialist/imperialist) capitalist development has caused (or been based on) severe environmental degradation in many parts of the Third World before (as after the Conquest of the Americas, the slave wars and trade in Africa, the Rape of Bengal, etc.) and has aroused defensive social movements. These included but were not confined to environmental issues, like North American Indian and Australian Aborigine movements again today. Of course, war has also decimated and threatened large populations before and has elicited defensive social movements from them as well. Foreshadowing our times, Euripides described a classical Greek women's/peace movement in his play *Lysistrata*.

The « classical » working-class and labour-union movements can now be seen to be particular social movements, which have arisen and continue to arise in particular times and places. Capitalist industrialisation in the west gave rise to the industrial working class and to its grievances, which were expressed through working class and union(isation) movements. However, these movements have been defined and circumscribed by the particular circumstances of their place and time - in each region and sector during the period of industrialisation - and as a function of the deprivation and identity that it generated. «Workers of the world unite » and « proletarian revolution » have never been more than largely empty slogans. With the changing international division of labour, even the slogans have become meaningless; and working-class and union movements are eroding in the West, while they are rising in those parts of the South and East where local industrialisation and global development are generating analogous conditions and grievances. Therefore, the mistakenly « classical » working-class social movements must be regarded as both recent and temporary, not to mention that they have always been local or regional and at best national- or state-oriented movements. We will examine their role in the demand for state power, when we discuss the latter below.

A new characteristic of many contemporary social movements, however, is that - beyond their spontaneous-

appearing changeability and adaptability - they inherit organisational capacity and leadership from old labour movements, political parties, churches and other organisations, from which they draw leadership cadres who became disillusioned with the limitations of the old forms and who now seek to build new ones. This organisational input into the new social movements may be an important asset for them, compared to their historical, more amateurishly (dis)organised, forerunners but it may also contain the seeds of future institutionalisation of some contemporary movements.

What else may be new in the «new» social movements is perhaps that they now tend to be more single-class or stratum movements - middle-class in the West and popular/working-class in the South - than many of them were through the centuries. However, by that criterion of newness, the « classical » old working-class movements are also new and some contemporary ethnic, national and religious movements are old, as we will observe when we discuss the class composition of social movements below.

Whether new or old, the « new social movements » today are what most mobilises most people in pursuit of common concerns. Far more than « classical » class movements, the social movements motivate and mobilise hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world - mostly outside established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to serve their needs - which is why they have recourse to « new » largely non-institutionalised social movements. This popular « movement to social movements » is manifest even in identity-seeking and/or responsive social mobilisation or social movement with little or no membership ties: in youth (movement?) response to rock music around the world and football in Europe and elsewhere; in the millions of people in country after country who have spontaneously responded to visits by the Pope (beyond the Catholic Church as an institution); and in the massive spontaneous response to Bob Geldorf's extra- (political) institutional Band Aid, Live Aid, and Sport Aid appeals against hunger in Africa. The latter was an appeal and response not only to compassion, but also to a moral sense of the (in)justice of it all. Thus, some of these non-membership forms of social mobilisation have more in common with social movements than do some self-styled « movements ». like the Movimiento(s) de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) in Bolivia, Chile, Peru and Venezuela, which are (or were) really «Leninist» democratic-centralist political parties, or the Sandinista « movement » in Nicaragua which formed a coalition of mass organisations, and all of which sought to capture and manage state power. This is not to mention the Non-Aligned Movement, which is a coalition of states or their governments in power and certainly not a *social* movement or a liberation *movement* of the peoples themselves.

2. Social movements differ but share moral motivation and social power

It may aid our examination of contemporary social movements to identify some ideal types and selected characteristics which emerge in (or from) their review below-although, of course, this exercise is rendered hazardous by the movements' variety and changeability. (We refer to « ideal » types in the Weberian sense of an analytic distillation of characteristics not found in their pure form in the real world). We may distinguish movements that are offen-

sive (a minority) and defensive (the majority). On a related but different dimension, we can identify progressive, regressive, and escapist movements. A third dimension or characteristic seems to be the preponderance of women rather than men - and therefore apparently less hierarchisation in the movements' membership or leadership. A fourth dimension is that of armed struggle, especially for state power, or unarmed and especially non-violent

struggle, be it defensive or offensive. It can be *no* coincidence that the armed movements coincide with more hierarchical ones and the unarmed ones with movements in which women's participation is preponderant (even if women also participate in armed struggle).

Few movements are at once offensive, in the sense of seeking to change the established order, and progressive in the sense of seeking a better order for themselves or the world. Characteristically, these movements are largely led and/or peopled by women, notably of course the women's movement(s) itself/themselves. Most movements by far are defensive. Many seek to safeguard recent (sometimes progressive) achievements against reversal or encroachment. Examples are the student movements (which in 1936-87 reappeared in France, Spain, Mexico and China in masses not seen since 1967-68) and many thousands of Third World community movements seeking to defend their members' livelihood against the encroachment of economic crisis and political repression. Some defensive movements seek to defend the environment or to maintain peace, or both (like the Greens in Germany). Other movements react defensively against modern encroachments by offering to regress to an (often largely mythical) golden age, like seventh century Islam. Many movements are escapist, or have important such components, in that they defensively/offensively seek millenarian salvation from the trials and tribulations of the real world, as in religious cults.

Varied as these social movements have been and are, if there are any characteristics they have in common, they are the following : that they share the force of morality and a sense of (in)justice in individual motivation, and the force of social mobilisation in developing social power. Individual membership or participation and motivation in all sorts of social movements contains a strong moral component and defensive concern with justice in the social or world order. Social movements then mobilise their members in an offensive/defense against a shared moral sense of injustice, as analysed in Barrington Moore's *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt*. Morality and justice/injustice

3. Social movements are cyclical

Social movements are cyclical in two senses. First, they respond to circumstances, which change as a result of political-economic and, perhaps, ideological fluctuations or cycles. Secondly, social movements tend to have life-cycles of their own. Social movements, their membership, mobilisation and strength, tend to be cyclical because the movements mobilise people in response to (mostly against, less for) circumstances, which are themselves cyclical.

There seem to be cultural/ideological, political/military, and economic/technological cycles, which affect social movements. There are also observers/participants who lend greater or even exclusive weight or determinant force to one or another of these social cycles. The name of Sorokin is associated with long ideological cycles. Modelski with political/war cycles, and Kondratieff and Schumpeter with economic and technological ones. Recently, Arthur J. Schlesinger Jr., drawing in part on the work of his father, has described a 10-year, political-ideological cycle in the United States of alternating progressive social-responsibility phases (of the Progressives in the 1910s, the New Deal in the 1930s, and the New Frontier/Great Society - civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements in the 1960s) and

(perhaps more than the deprivation of livelihood and/or identity through exploitation and oppression through which morality and (in)justice manifest themselves), have probably been the essential motivating and driving force of social movements both past and present. However, this morality and concern with (in)justice refers largely to « us », and the social group perceived as «we» was and is very variable as between the following : family, tribe, village, ethnic group, nation, country, First, Second or Third World humanity, etc., and gender, class, stratification, caste, race, and other groupings, or combinations of these. What mobilises us is this deprivation/oppression/injustice to « us », however «we » define and perceive ourselves. Each social movement then serves to combat deprivation, but in so doing also to (re)affirm the identity of those active in the movement, and perhaps also the «we» for whom the movement is active. Thus, such social movements, far from being new, have characterised human social life in many times and places.

At the same time, social movements generate and wield social power through the social mobilisation of their participants. This social power is at once generated by and derived from the social *movement* itself, rather than from any institution, political or otherwise. Indeed, institutionalisation weakens social movements and state political power negates them. Social movements require flexible, adaptive, and non-authoritarian organisation to direct social power in pursuit of social goals, which cannot be pursued only through random spontaneity. Such flexible organisation, however, need not imply institutionalisation, which confines and constricts the social movements' social power. Thus, the new self-organising social movements confront existing (state) political power through new social power, which modifies political power. The slogan of the women's movement that the personal is political applies a fortiori to *social* movements, which also redefine political power. As Luciana Castellina, a participant in many social movements (and some political parties) observes, «we are a movement because we move » - even political power.

individualist phases (of the Coolidge 1920s, the McCarthyist 1950s, and the Reaganomic 1980s), which is to generate another progressive social movement phase in the 1990s. The renewed world economic crisis and technological invention of the last two decades has led scientific and popular attention to worldwide long economic/technological cycles - and to their possible relations to, or even determinant influence on, political and ideological cycles. Detailed examination thereof (and of the disputes about whether ideological, political or economic cycles are dominant) is beyond our scope here. However, to understand contemporary social movements, it is essential to view them in the cyclical context(s), which shape if not give rise to them. Moreover, it is not amiss to consider the possibility (we would argue the high probability) that there are political-economic cycles with ideological components and that we are now in a B phase downturn of a Kondratieff long wave or cycle, which importantly influences if not generates contemporary social movements (including those examined and predicted by Schlesinger).

The Kondratieff long cycle was in an upward phase at the beginning of this century, in a long downward «crisis»

interwar phase (where the two world wars belong in the circle is also in dispute), a renewed postwar recovery, and again in a new downward «crisis» phase beginning in the mid-1960s or more visibly since 1973. Social movements appear to have become more numerous and stronger in the last downward phase from 1873 to 1896 in the preceding century, during the war and interwar crisis period of this century, and again during the contemporary period of economic, political, social, cultural, ideological and other crisis. The historical evidence may be read to suggest that social movements decline in number and strength during economic upturns (although the 1960s witnessed many social movements in North and South America, Europe, Africa and Asia), and revive during the economic downturn. However, at the beginning they are largely defensive and often regressive and individualist (as in the past decade). Then, when the economic downturn most detrimentally affects people's livelihood and identity, the social movements become more offensive, progressive, and socially responsible. Schlesinger prognosticates this for the 1990s in the United States, and it is perhaps incipiently visible there already in the popularity of new protest rock music and the success of the stage play *Les Misérables* in 1987, etc. Of course, this «movement to social movements» has already occurred in many community and communal movements in the Third World in response to the spread of the world economic crisis there, which in Latin America and Africa is already deeper than the one of the 1930's.

Thus, much of the reason for and the determination of the present proliferation and strength of social movements must be sought in their cyclical historical context, even though many of their members regard themselves as moving autonomously in pursuit of timeless and sometimes universal seeming ideals, like the true religion, the essential nation, or the real community. The development of the present world political-economic crisis and its multiple ramifications in different parts of the world is generating or aggravating (feelings of) economic, political, cultural and identity deprivation and is a moral affront to their sense of justice for hundreds of millions of people around the world.

In particular, the world economic crisis has reduced the efficacy of, and popular confidence in, the national state and its customary political institutions as defenders and promoters of the people's interests. In the West, the Social-Democratic welfare state is threatened by economic bankruptcy and political paralysis, especially in the face of world economic forces beyond its control. In the South, the state is subject to domestic militarisation and authoritarianism and to foreign economic dependence and weakness. In the East, the state is perceived as politically oppressive (as in the South) but economically impotent (as there and in the West) and socially corrupt, and therefore also not an attractive model for emulation elsewhere. Hardly anywhere, then, during this crisis, is «state power» an adequate desideratum or instrument for the satisfaction of popular needs. Therefore, people everywhere - albeit different people in different ways - seek advancement, or at least protection and affirmation, or at least freedom, through a myriad of non-state social movements, which thereby seek to reorganise social and redefine political life.

In many cases, particularly among middle-class people, newly deteriorating circumstances contradict their previ-

ously rising aspirations and expectations. More and more people feel increasingly powerless themselves and/or see that their hallowed political, social and cultural institutions are less and less able to protect and support them. Therefore, and in part paradoxically, they seek renewed or greater empowerment through social movements, which are mostly defensive of livelihood and/or identity (like rural and urban local-community, ethnic/nationalist and some religious movements), or often escapist (like the mushrooming religious cult and spiritualist and some fundamentalist movements). Ecological, peace, and women's movements - separately or in combination also with the other social movements - also seem to respond to the same crisis-generated deprivation and powerlessness, which they mostly seek defensively to stem or redress. Only marginally are these movements offensively in pursuit of betterment, like the women's movement, which seeks to improve women's position, and society itself, albeit at a time when the economic crisis is undermining women's economic opportunities.

As social movements come and grow cyclically in response to changing circumstances, so do they go again. Of course, if the demands of a particular social movement are met, it tends to lose force as its *raison d'être* disappears (or it is institutionalised and ceases to be a social movement). More usually, however, the circumstances themselves change (only in part if at all thanks to the social movement itself) and the movement loses its appeal and force through irrelevance or it is transformed (or its members move to) another movement with new demands. Moreover, as movements that mobilise people rather than institutionalising action, even when they are unsuccessful or still relevant to existing circumstances, social movements tend to lose their force as their capacity to mobilise wanes. This susceptibility to aging and death is particularly true of social movements that are dependent on a charismatic leader to mobilise its members. The various 1968 movements, and most revolutionary and peasant movements, are dramatic examples of the cyclical life-cycle of social movements.

Of course, history also has long-term cumulative trends as well as cycles. However, the cumulative historical trends seem not to have been generated primarily by social movements. Some major social movements may nonetheless have contributed to these trends. Examples may be past major religious movements, like Christianity. Islam or the Reformation. Political movements like the French, Soviet and Chinese revolutions are widely regarded as having changed the world for all future time. Yet it is equally arguable that they had no cumulative effect on the world as a whole, and that they have been subject to considerable reversal even at home. As we will argue below, «real existing socialism» does not now appear to be an irreversible, cumulative long-term trend, as its proponents claimed and some still think. Most social movements by far, however, leave little permanent and cumulative mark on history. Moreover, probably no social movement has ever achieved all of or precisely what its participants (who frequently had differing and sometimes conflicting aims) proposed. Indeed, many if not all social movements in the past brought about rather different consequences from those that they intended.

4. Class composition of social movements

The new social movements in the West are predominantly middle-class based. This class composition of the social movements, of course, in the first instance reflects the changing stratification of Western society from more to less bi-polar forms. The relative and now often absolute reduction of the industrial labour force, like the agricultural one before it, and the growth of tertiary service sector employment (even if much of it is low-waged) and self-employment have increased the relative and absolute pool of middle-class people. The decline in industrial working-class employment has reduced not only the size of this social sector but also its organisational strength, militancy and consciousness in « classical » working-class and labour-union movements. The grievances about ecology, peace, women's rights, community organisation, and identity (including ethnicity and minority nationalism), seem to be felt and related to demands for justice predominantly among the middle classes in the West. However, ethnic, national, and some religious movements straddle class and social strata more. In particular, minority movements, such as the Black civil rights and the Latin Chicano movements in the United States, do have a substantial popular base, though much of the leadership and many of their successful demands come from the middle class. Only nationalist chauvinism and perhaps fundamentalist religiosity (but not religious cultism and spiritualism) seem to mobilise working-class and some minority people more massively than their often nonetheless middle-class leadership. Although most of these people's grievances may be largely economically based (through increased deprivation, or reduced or even inverted social mobility), they are mostly expressed through allegiance to social movements, which pursue feminist, ecological, peace, community, ethnic/nationalist and ideological demands.

In the Third World, social movements are predominantly popular/working class. Not only does this class/stratum have more weight in the Third World, but its members are much more absolutely and relatively subject to deprivation and (felt) injustice, which mobilises them in and through social movements. Moreover, the international and national/domestic burden of the present world economic crisis falls so heavily on these already low-income people as to pose serious threats to their physical and economic survival and cultural identity. Therefore, they *must* mobilise to defend themselves - through social movements - in the absence of the availability or possibility of existing social and political institutions to defend them. These Third World social movements are at once cooperative and competitive or conflictive. Among the most numerous, active and popular of these social movements are a myriad of apparently spontaneous local rural and urban organs at various levels, which seek to defend their members' survival through cooperative consumption, distribution, and also production. Examples are soup kitchens; distributors and often producers of basic necessities, like bread; organisers, petitioners or negotiators, and sometimes fighters for community infrastructure, like agricultural and urban land, water, electricity, transport, etc. Recently there were over 1,500 such local community/movements in Rio de Janeiro alone; and they are increasingly widespread and active in India's 600,000 villages.

In other words, «the class struggle» in much of the Third World continues and even intensifies; but it takes -or expresses itself through - many social-movement forms as well as the « classical » labour (union) vs. capital and « its » state. These popular social movements and organisations are other instruments and expressions of people's struggle against exploitation and oppression and for survival and identity in a complex dependent society, in which these movements are attempts at and instruments of democratic self-empowerment of the people. In the Third World, region, locality, residence, occupation, stratification, race, colour, ethnicity, language, religion, etc., individually and in complex combination, are elements and instruments of domination and liberation. Social movements and the « class struggle » they express must inevitably also reflect this complex economic, political, social, cultural structure and process.

However, not unlike working-class and peasant movements before, these popular movements often have some middle-class leadership and now ironically offer some opportunities for employment and job satisfaction to otherwise unemployable middle-class and intelligentsia professionals, teachers, priests, etc., who offer their services as leaders, organisers or advisors to these community and other popular Third World social movements.

More often than not, these local community movements overlap with religious and ethnic movements, which lend them strength and promote the defence and assertion of people's identity. However, ethnic, national and religious movements also straddle class membership more in the Third World. Ethnic, religious and other « communal » movements in South Asia (Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, Tamil, Assamese and many others) and elsewhere in the Third World - perhaps most dramatically and tragically in Lebanon - also mobilise peoples against each other, however. The more serious the economic crisis, and the political crisis of state and party to manage it, and the greater the deception of previous aspirations and expectations, the more serious and conflictive are these communal, sometimes racial, and also community movements likely to grow in the popular demand for identity in many parts of the Third World.

The (so-called) Socialist East is by no means exempt from this worldwide movement to social movements. The ten million mobilised by Solidarity in Poland and various movements in China are well known examples, but other parts of Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union are increasingly visited by similar movements. However, corresponding to the Socialist East's intermediary or overlapping position between the industrial capitalist West and the Third World South (if these categories still have any utility or meaning, which is increasingly doubtful), the social movements in the Socialist East also seem to straddle or combine class/strata membership more than in the West or the South. Ethnic, nationalist, religious, ecological, peace, women's, regional/community and (other) protest movements with varied social membership are on the rise both within and outside of the institutional and political structure throughout the socialist countries for reasons, and in response to changing circumstances, similar to those in the rest of the world.

5. Social movements and state power

Most social movements do not seek state power, but autonomy, also from the state itself. For many participants and observers, this statement is a truism since not seeking - let alone wielding - state power is a *sine qua non* of a social movement, and state power would negate the very essence and purpose of most social movements. This incompatibility between social movement and state power is perhaps most intuitively obvious for the women's movements). On the other hand, for both participants and observers of social movements, it is hardly satisfactory to define or even describe them in terms of what they are not, instead of what they are. The most numerous - because individually small-scale - social movements, which are community based, of course cannot seek state power. However, similarly to the women's movement, the very notion of state or even political party power for them would negate most of their grassroots aims and essence. These community movements mobilise and organise their members in pursuit of material and non-material ends, which they often regard unjustly denied to them by the state and its institutions, including political parties. Among the non-material aims and methods of many local community movements is more grass-roots participatory democracy and bottom-up self-determination. These are sensed as being denied to them by the state and its political system. Therefore, the community movements seek either to carve out greater self-determination for themselves within the state or to bypass the state altogether. These community movements have recently mushroomed all over the South and West, although perhaps less so in the East. Of necessity, in the South the community movements are more concerned with material needs - and often survival itself - while in the West many can afford to devote greater attention to local grassroots participatory democracy. Of course, the for them uncontrollable forces of the the national and world economy severely limit the community movement's room for manoeuvre. Not even national states have sufficient power - and do not protect the communities - in the face of world economic forces beyond their control. That is why - perhaps ironically since they are even more powerless - the local communities attempt protection on a self-empowering do-it-yourself basis. Collective action and direction are consciously pursued and safeguarded, and concentration of power is shunned as corrupting (as though speaking Actonian prose).

The other side of this same coin is - especially during the economic crisis - the increasing disappointment and frustration of many people with the economy itself. « Economic growth », « economic development », « economic ends », « economic means », « economic necessities », « economic austerity » - so many economic slogans and « solutions » - and they do not satisfy people's needs for community, identity, spirituality, or often even material welfare. Moreover, political (state) institutions are perceived as handmaidens rather than alternatives or even satisfactory directors of these supposed economic imperatives. No wonder that particularly women, who suffer the most at the hands of the economy, are in the forefront of non- and anti-economic extra-institutional social movements, which offer or seek other solutions and rewards.

Many social movements also respond to people's frustra-

tion with, and sense of injustice towards, political-economic forces beyond their control. Many of these economic forces - some(times) perceived, some(times) not - emanate from the world economy in crisis. Significantly, people increasingly regard the state, and its institutions, particularly political parties, as ineffective in face of these powerful forces. Either the state and its political process cannot or it will not face up to, let alone control, these economic forces. In either case, the state and its institutions, as well as the political process and political parties where they exist, leave people at the mercy of forces to which they have to respond by other means - through their own social movements. Accordingly, people form or join largely protective and defensive social movements on the basis of religious, ethnic, national, race, gender, ecological, peace, as well as community and various « single » issues. Most of these movements mobilise and organise themselves independently from the state, its institutions and political parties. They do not regard the state or its institutions, and particularly membership or militancy in political parties, as adequate or appropriate institutions for the pursuit of their aims. Indeed, much of the membership and force of contemporary social movements is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with - and their search for alternatives to - the political process, political parties, the state, and the capture of state power in the West, South and East. The perceived failure of revolutionary, as well as reformist, left-wing parties and regimes, in all parts of the world, adequately to express people's protest and to offer viable and satisfying alternatives, has been responsible for much of the popular movement to social movements. However, in many cases people's grievances are against the state and its institutions; and in some cases social movements seek to influence state action through mostly outside - much more rarely inside - pressure. Only some ethnic and nationalist, and in the Islamic world some religious, movements seek a state of their own.

One of the major problems of and with social movements, nonetheless, is their co-existence with national states, their political institutions, process and parties. An illustration of this problem is the Green Movement/Party in Germany. The originally grassroots ecological movement became a political party in Parliament. The « Realo » (realist, realpolitik) wing argues that the state, parliament, political parties, etc., are a fact of life, which the movement must take account of and use to its advantage, and that influence is best exerted by entering these institutions and cooperating with others from the inside. The « Fundi » (fundamentalist) wing argues that participation in state institutions and coalitions with other political parties like the Social Democrats compromises the Greens' aims and substitutes their fundamentals, including that of being a movement. Ethnic, national, religious, and some peace and community movements, face similar problems. Whatever they can do outside the state, the pressure sometimes, becomes irresistible also to try to act within the state, as or as part of, or through, a political party or other state institution. But then the movement(s) run the danger of compromising their mission, demobilising or repelling their membership, and negating themselves as movements. The question arises, whether the end justifies the means and is

more achievable through other more institutionalised non-movement means. Moreover, the question arises whether old social movements which were often created as mass front organisations of political parties are now replaced by new social movements, which themselves form or join political parties. But in that case, what difference remains

between the old and the new social movements, and what happens to the non-/extra-/anti-state and party sentiments and mobilisation of many movement members? Perhaps the answer must be sought by shifting the question to the examination of the life-cycle of social movements and the replacement of old new movements by new movements.

6. Social movements and social transformation

Social movements are important agents of social transformation and new vision, despite their above-mentioned defensiveness, limitations and relations to the state. One reason for the importance of social movements, of course, is the void they fill where the state and other social and cultural institutions are unable or unwilling to act in the interests of their members. Indeed, as we have observed above, social movements step in where institutions do not exist, or where they fail to serve, or violate and contradict, people's interests. Often, social movements step in where angels fear to tread. Although many social movements, and particularly religious ones, invoke the sanctity of traditional ways and values, other social movements are socially, culturally and otherwise innovative. Nonetheless, if the circumstances that give rise to and support a social movement disappear, so does the movement. If the movement achieves its aims or they become irrelevant, it loses its appeal. It loses steam and fades away, or it becomes petrified.

Much social transformation, cultural change and economic development, however, occurs as the result of institutions, forces, relations, etc., that are not social movements, nor the political process in national states. World economic development, industrialisation, technological change, social and cultural «modernisation», etc. were and are processes, which are hardly driven or directed by social movements or political (state) institutions. Their intervention has been more reactive than promotive. Although state intervention should not be underestimated (as it is by the free marketeers), its limitations are ever greater in a world economy whose cycles and trends are largely beyond control. Even «socialist» state ownership and planning is now unable to direct or even to cope with the forces of the world economy.

This circumstance should make for more realism and modesty about the prospects of social movements (or for that matter of political institutions) and their policies to counteract or even modify, let alone to escape from, these world economic forces - but they do not. On the contrary,

the more powerful and uncontrollable the forces of the world economy, especially in the present period of world economic crisis, the more do they generate social movements (and some political and ideological policies), which claim both autonomy and immunity from these world economic forces and which promise to overcome them or to isolate their members from them. Much of the attraction of many social movements, of course, comes precisely from the moral force of their promise to free their participants from the deeply felt unjust (threat of) deprivation of material necessities, social status, and cultural identity. Therefore, objectively irrational hopes of salvation appear as subjectively rational appeals to confront reality - and to serve oneself and one's soul through active participation in social movements. The message becomes the medium, to invert Marshal McLuhan.

The reference in this context to «antisystemic» (social) movements, for instance by Amin and Wallerstein, requires clarification, however. Many social movements are indeed anti-systemic in the sense that the movements and their participants combat or otherwise challenge the system or some aspect thereof. However, very few social movements are *antisystemic* in their attempt, and still less in their success, to destroy the system and to replace it by another one or none at all. There is overwhelming historical evidence that social movements are *not antisystemic* in this sense. As we observed above, the social consequences of social movements themselves are scarcely cumulative. Moreover, their effects are often unintended, so that not infrequently these effects are incorporated - if not co-opted - by the system, which ends up being invigorated and reinforced by social movements, which were anti-systemic but did not turn out to be antisystemic. There is scarce contemporary evidence that in the future the prospects for social movements and their consequences will be very different from the past. Indeed, the systemic means, ends, and consequences of social movements - even if some are subsequently co-opted - are to modify the system «only» by changing its systemic linkages.

7. Delinking and transition to socialism in social movements

Social movements today and tomorrow may be regarded as offering new interpretations and solutions to the *problématiques* of «delinking» from capitalism and «transition to socialism». Southern dependent national state delinking from the world capitalist economy and its cycles proved to be impossible during the postwar period of expansion. Eastern socialist states and their planned economies have been relinked to the world economy, and both its cycles and its technological development, during the present crisis in the world economy. No national economy or its state, and hardly any political parties anywhere in the world today, seriously regard delinking a national economy to be a seri-

ous practical proposition. Therefore, the thesis about delinking - «Stop the World, I Want to Get Off!» - is in for an agonising reappraisal from those (like one of the present writers) who have sustained this as an option and a necessity. However, if the national state and economy are not and cannot be independent today or in the foreseeable future, perhaps the idea of «delinking» can and should be reinterpreted rather than abandoned altogether.

The *problématique* of «delinking» may be reinterpreted through the different/new links, which many social movements are trying to forge, both between their members and society and within society itself. The women's movement

and some green ones are examples. Many social movements seek to protect their members physically or spiritually from the vagaries of the cyclical world economy and propose different kinds of links for their members to the economy and society, which they also propose to help change. Perhaps « delinking » should be amended to read «different linking» or «changed links». In that case, it is the social movements, which are changing some links into different ones for their members today. This would include those religious and spiritualist movements, which claim to offer isolation and protection from the traumas of the secular world to their true believers, and some (especially minority ethnic ones), which seek to affirm identity among members and different links with the society around them. Similarly, the problématique and prospects of transition to socialism may be reinterpreted in view of the experience with « really existing socialism » and contemporary social movements. « Really existing socialism » has proven unable to delink from the world capitalist economy. Moreover, despite its achievement in promoting extensive growth (by mobilising human and physical resources), it has failed to provide adequately for intensive growth through technological development. Indeed, the same state planning which was an asset for absolute industrial autarchic national growth has proven to be a liability for competitive technological development in a rapidly changing world economy. The related political organisation of «really existing socialism » has lost its efficacy at home and its attraction abroad. Most importantly perhaps, it is becoming increasingly clear that the road to a better « socialist » future replacement of the present capitalist world economy does not lead via «really existing socialism». As the Polish planner Josef Pajestka observed at a recent meeting at the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, « really existing socialism » is stuck on a side track. The world, as one of the present authors remarked, is rushing by in the express train on the main track even though, as Pajestka retorted, it may be heading for an abyss.

Indeed, the Utopian socialists - whom Marx condemned as Utopian instead of scientific - may turn out to have been much less Utopian than the supposedly scientific socialists,

whose vision has turned out much more Utopian than realistic. In seeking and organising to change society in smaller, immediate but realisable steps, which did *not* require state power, the Utopian socialists were perhaps more realistic than the scientific ones - and they were more akin then to the social movements of our time than the « scientific » socialists of the intervening century. What is more, many Utopian socialists proposed and pursued social changes and particularly different gender relations, which were subsequently abandoned or forgotten by scientific socialists. In *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, Barbara Taylor documents the struggle, and where possible the implementation, of women's rights and of participatory democracy by the (Robert) Owenite Utopian socialists, and the importance of the same as well among those associated with Fourier and Saint-Simon. Participation was also present in the early Marx as an antidote to the alienation which concerned him and, again, many social movements today. Thus, some contemporary social movements might benefit from greater familiarity with the goals, organisation, and experience of earlier Utopian socialists - and of some anarchists as well. The real transition to a «socialist» alternative to the present world economy, society and polity, therefore, may be much more in the hands of the social movements. Not only must they intervene for the sake of survival to save as many people as possible from any threatening abysses. We must also look to the social movements as the most active agents to forge new links, which can transform the world in new directions. Moreover, although some social movements are sub-national, few are national or inter-national (in the sense of being between nation-states), and many, like the women's, peace and ecological movements could be trans-national (that is non-national) or people to people within the world system. Not surprisingly perhaps, there is more transnationality among metropolitan-based social movements than among the more fragmented ones in the also more fragmented dependent Third World. This real social(ist) transformation - if any - under the agency of the social movements will, however, be more supple and multifarious than any illusionary «socialism in one country» repeated again and again.

8. Coalitions and conflict among social movements

It may be useful - without seeking to give any advice - to inquire into likely possibilities of conflict and overlap or coalitions among different (kinds of) social movements. Euripides already remarked on the relation between women and peace in *Lysistrata*. Riane Eisler has traced this same relation even farther back in human society in her *The Chalice and the Blade*. Today, the women's and peace movements share membership and leadership and certainly offer opportunities for coalition. Substantial participant or membership and leadership overlap can also be observed between women's movements and local community movements. At least women are especially - and in Latin America preponderantly - active in community movements, where they acquire some feminist perspectives and press their own demands, which serve to modify these movements, their communities, and hopefully society. In the West, there is a similar if lesser overlap between community and peace movements, also with marked woman leadership, which expresses itself in « nuclear-free » communities for instance. Again, environmental/ecological/green move-

ments in the West share compatible goals and membership with women's, peace, and community movements. Therefore, these women's, peace, environmental, and community movements - all of which shy away from pursuit of state power and most entanglements with political institutions - offer widespread opportunities for coalitions among social movements. Moreover, thanks to their preponderance of women, they also manifest more communal, participatory, democratic, mutual support, and networking instead of hierarchical relations among their participants and offer hope for their greater spread through society.

Other areas of overlap, shared membership, and compatibility or coalition may be observed among some religious and ethnic/national and sometimes racial movements. The movement led by the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and some of his followers elsewhere in the Islamic world is the most spectacular example, which has the most massive and successful mobilisation of recent times to its credit. The Sikhs in Punjab, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, perhaps Solidarity in Poland, Albanians in Yugoslav Kosovo, and Irish Catholics in

Northern Ireland, are other recent examples. Notably, however, these religious-ethnic-nationalist movements also seek state power or institutional autonomy and sometimes incorporation within a neighboring ethnic/national state. If communities are religiously and ethnically homogeneous, there may be overlap or coalition with these larger movements.

Opportunities for compatibility or coalition among different social movements are enhanced and may be found when they have common participants/membership and/or common enemies. The common membership of women in general in various different social movements has already been noted above. However, common membership also extends to individuals and particularly to individual women, who dedicate active participation to various social movements at the same time and/or successively. These people are in key positions to forge links, if not coalitions, among otherwise different social movements. Such links can also emerge from the identification of one or more common enemies like a particular state, government or tyrant; a certain dominant institution or social, racial or ethnic group; or even less concretely identifiable enemies like «the West», «imperialism», «capital », « the state», «foreigners», «men», «authority» or «hierarchy». Moreover, both the opportunities for coalition and the massiveness and strength of social mobilisation are probably enhanced when people perceive that they must *defend* themselves against these enemies.

There are also significant areas of conflict and competition among social movements. Of course, movements of different religions and ethnicities or races conflict and compete with each other. However, all of them also seem to conflict and compete with the women's movement(s) and often with the peace movement. In particular, virtually all religious, ethnic and national(ist) movements - like working-class and Marxist-oriented movements and political parties as well - negate and sacrifice women's interests. Moreover, they successfully compete with women's movements if any, which lose ground they may already have gained to the onslaught of religious, ethnic and nationalist movements. Religion and nationalism, and even more so the two combined, seem to sacrifice women's interests and movements. Shiite Iran deliberately increases

women's oppression. In Vietnam, Nicaragua and elsewhere, women first participated actively in and benefited from nationalist struggle, but subsequently also saw further advances of their interests sacrificed to the priority of «the national interest», and in Nicaragua also to Catholic support. Similarly, nationalist and national liberation movements in many parts of Asia and Africa tend to overlook and neglect, or even to suppress and combat, minority ethnic and other movements and their interests.

Often, social movements also have serious internal conflicts of ends and/or means. Of course, when social movements are coalitions, especially for temporary tactical purposes, the participants may have different and sometimes conflicting ends and/or preferences among means. These have been common, for instance, among anti-imperialist national liberation and socialist movements in the Third World. The combination of religious with other social movements, such as those with significant elements of liberation theology, also contain the potential for internal conflict. Indeed, most religious or strongly religiously-oriented movements seem to contain important seeds of internal conflict between progressive and regressive, and sometimes also escapist, aims. Appeal to religion, not to mention a church, may be the main or even the only recourse for people to mobilise against a repressive regime or to overcome oppressive and/or alienating circumstances. In this sense, religion offers a liberating progressive option, like liberation theology and church-related community movements in Latin America, the *Polish* Catholic Church, the movement against the Shah in Iran, and some ethnic/religious communal (defence) movements in Asia. However, the *same* religion and church also contain important regressive and reactionary elements. Regressive or even escapist elements are the offer to bring back the golden age of seventh century Islam or even to eliminate all traces of Westernisation. Literally reactionary are the Islamic and Catholic attempts to turn back or prevent the further development of progressive developments in gender relations, including divorce, birth-control and socio-economic opportunities for women, and other civil rights and liberties. Indeed, religion is more often an instrument of reactionary than of progressive forces in the West, East and South.

9. The impropriety of « good » outside advice to social movements

As long as the social movements have to write their own scripts as they go along, they cannot use and can only reject as counterproductive, any prescriptions from on high, or outside as to where they should go or how they should get there. In particular, the social movements cannot use the kind of imaginary blueprints for the future which Smith and Marx avoided but which have been so popular among many of those who claim to speak in their name. For this reason also, good advice from intellectuals and other well-meaning people is both hard to find and hard to assimilate for the social movements. Most inappropriate perhaps is supposed counsel from non-participant observers (like us?). On the other hand, many social movements can and do benefit from the vision and organisational skill inputs by participants and more rarely from transient outsiders, who transfer some vision and/or experience from

other movements, parties, and institutions. Many community movements, especially, also benefit from or even depend on the support of outside institutions, such as the church, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and occasionally even the state. Such aid, and especially dependence, also involves dangers of co-optation by these institutions of individual leaders or intermediaries, the leadership and its goals, or even the social movement itself. Nonetheless, what most characterises social movements is that they (must) do their own thing in their own way. In fact, perhaps the most important thing that social movements have to offer both to their participants/members and to others in the world is their own participatory self-transforming trial-and-error approach and adaptability. Herein is the hope they promise for the future.

Mondragon : Worker's Cooperative

by Terry Mollner*

Introduction

A synergistic solution to the capitalist-socialist duality seems to be present in an unusual social experiment in Spain. This experiment began in a small, rather isolated Basque village called Mondragon in the Pyrenees Mountains. The word «synergy» needs to be used instead of «synthesis» because Mondragon is so different from capitalism, socialism, communism, and other forms of cooperativism that it seems to transcend the combination of its parts into something wholly different and unique.

Mondragon is the center of a stunningly successful new social order which stretches into every basque neighborhood. Nearly 400,000 families deposit their money in the Caja Laboral Popular («The Bank of the People's Labor») which is a cooperative bank with 120 branch offices. The Bank's main task is to create worker-owned jobs for the community. Since the Bank was founded in a church basement in 1958, nearly 20,000 guaranteed-for-life, worker-owned jobs in over 100 cooperatives have been created by the Mondragon community.

Eighty-six of the cooperatives are industrial enterprises. Collectively they are the top producers of appliances (refrigerators to toasters) and tools (die presses to plastic rulers) in Spain. Their productivity per worker is the highest in the country and their profitability is nearly double that of their competitors. In a study by the Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society, the management was found to be some of the most aggressive and innovative ever seen by the Foundation's staff. The other worker-owners were found to be highly motivated and fulfilled by their jobs. Yet the salary scale is restricted to the ratio of four and one half to one, that is, no one can receive a salary plus overtime in excess of four and one half times that of the lowest paid person. In the U.S. the salary ratio exceeds 100 to 1.

To keep the focus on serving the entire community through worker-owned job creation, the lowest salary is kept not far above minimum wage. Thus, the highest sala-

ries are significantly below their counterparts in the conventional sector. These lower salaries and wages are offset by the worker-owners' share of profits, if any, each year.

There is very little turnover of worker-owners. In addition, there always have been groups waiting in line for the bank to assist them in forming a cooperative enterprise.

In the late 1950s early 1960s, the small pre-order and storefront food cooperatives joined with the Bank to create a sophisticated, growth-oriented consumer cooperative, Eroski. Today it has 120,000 members and 72 stores throughout the Basque region, some the size of corner stores and others more like K-Marts. There are six agricultural cooperatives, fourteen housing cooperatives, 43 cooperative schools, and four secondary cooperatives which provide services to the cooperatives. These four are the Bank, a technical research institute (Ikerlan), the League of Education and Culture (which includes a Polytechnical College, a Business School and a Professional College), and a social security and medical cooperative (Lagun-Aro).

The bank's commercial loan policy: Mondragon has a 100 per cent success rate at forming industrial cooperatives and making loans to them. Compare this to the statistics on new small businesses in the United States: only 10 per cent to 20 per cent are in business after five years. Venture capital firms here assume a majority of their investments will fail and hope to make their large profits on the few companies that do well.

Mondragon not only assumes every new business will succeed, it makes a commitment to the business until it does. It backs this pledge with a highly skilled staff in the Bank's Entrepreneurial Division and a policy of lowering the interest on loans to worker-owned cooperatives as the loan gets riskier. The people at Mondragon believe they are all in business together - worker-owners, consumers, Bank depositors, and community. They arrange it so that each worker-owned business is ultimately successful, the worker-owners will have jobs they can control for life, the business will avoid wasteful crisis management, the Bank depositors will feel secure about their savings, and the community will not have to worry about disruptive plant closings or absentee owners.

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How does the Bank make loans to businesses so they never fail? It simply reverses the priorities of the capitalist system. In a capitalist society, the four main ingredients of a business are ranked as follows: 1) capital, 2) product, 3) managers, 4) workers. «Things» are given the highest priority, and people are the lowest. Most important to the capitalist is the increase in capital. The second concern is the product or service that will be the vehicle to accomplish it. Managers and workers are commodities that are rented as needed. The workers are the least important of the four major factors. The capitalist will abandon workers, but never his or her capital.

Mondragon has reversed these priorities as follows: 1) workers, 2) managers, 3) product, 4) capital. People are given the highest priority and «things» the lowest. Because capital is mainly stored labor and since the entire community is behind the creation of any business, nothing - not even capital - is ever abandoned. As long as the community is willing to put labor into the formation of a business, there will be capital available. Thus, Mondragon forms a business as follows: First, the staff of the Bank's Entrepreneurial Division interviews groups requesting the Bank's assistance. The Bank only interviews groups, never individuals. Since the business is to be a cooperative, one of the pre-conditions must be friendship bonds between the people in the starter group. The loving relationships among the first worker-owners form the foundation of the new business.

When the Bank selects a group, it joins in a partnership with it to create a new worker-owned cooperative business. The agreement between the Bank and the business is viewed as a partnership because both are committed to never abandoning the other until the business is running profitably and smoothly. To make this partnership real, each member of the starter group loans the new business a substantial amount of capital so both the Bank and the group members are at risk. Serving the community in this way is considered an honor in Mondragon.

The group then meets alone and chooses one of its members to be their manager. This person will spend at least two years at the Bank under the guidance of an expert (affectionately known as the «Godfather»)- Together they will develop a business plan and a community development plan. This latter requirement was added in the early 1970's. No business can come before the Bank's Board of Directors for approval until the Community Development Division of the Bank is confident that all the housing, park, commercial, and other community services will be provided for the maximum number of worker-owners who could work in the planned facility.

Notice that nothing yet has been said about the product. The starter group doesn't care what product they produce except that it be good for people. They are a group of friends who want to work together and serve the community by producing good, needed products and by creating worker-owned jobs. Of course, the group will usually have skills in a general area, electronics or plastics, for instance; but there is little concern about the particular product they will produce. To help them in this area, there are two Bank worker-owners in the Entrepreneurial Division whose sole job is identifying new products for Mondragon businesses. Once a product is chosen, the two years of planning accomplished, and the go ahead given by the Bank's Board

of Directors, the business begins. If at any point the manager ceases to be effectual, he or she is demoted (at Mondragon, no one is fired save for treasonous acts) and a new manager is selected. If the product ceases to be viable, a new product is found even if it is necessary to acquire entirely new machinery. The more trouble the business encounters, the more capital the Bank loans it at decreasing interest rates (first at 13 per cent, then at 7 per cent, then at 0 per cent, and sometimes loans are forgiven). Once there is a successful business, the loans are eventually repaid and the Bank, thereby, never has a defaulted loan. As this loan policy reveals, Mondragon is different. The Basque people who founded it have a very strong collective self-identity as opposed to an individualistic self-id entity. When an American reflects on who he or she is, he or she easily dwells on his or her particular body and personality. When a Basque person reflects on who he or she is, he or she easily dwells on the Basque people. The «I» is very much inside the «us» rather than outside it. This quality is reflected in and flows from their history.

History of Mondragon Cooperatives

In their history books, the Basques describe themselves as the direct descendents of Cro-Magnon Man. Their language is unlike any other in the world. Yet they have been dominated by other people for as long as they can remember. These conditions have forged a deep solidarity among the Basque people. In the 1920's many Basque villages were active in the Spanish anarchist movement. Some even eliminated money from their villages and replaced it with a simple barter system. The Spanish Civil War in the 1930's ended these experiments. The Spanish government promised the Basque people independence if it defeated Franco. When Franco won he reinforced the Basque's deep solidarity by outlawing their language. All media, schooling, commerce, etc., henceforth, had to be in Spanish.

A priest named Father Jose Maria Arizmendi fought in the Civil War, was captured, and then released at the end of the war. He returned to his studies in the seminary and, upon graduation in 1941, was sent by his Bishop to Mondragon. He was directed to assist the young and the poor while he waited for World War to end so he could study philosophy in Holland. He never left Mondragon. By 1943 he had organized the youth of the town and helped them start a cooperative technical school, using funds donated by the community. During the 1940s and 1950s, he taught a sophisticated understanding of Catholic Social Doctrine which emphasized cooperation and «the primacy of labor among the factors of production». The Catholic Church has never supported capitalism or socialism as social theories. Father Arizmendi not only taught in the classrooms, but also in the bars and drinking clubs. He was not charismatic, but he was sure of his views, consistent, and persistent.

By 1954, five of his eleven youth group boys who had gone to college had worked their way up to management levels at the large industrial company in town, the Union Cerajera. However, they became frustrated in their efforts to apply Father Arizmendi's ideas. So they left and formed a new company (ULGOR) where they could implement his teachings. They raised funds from local townspeople, just as they had when they started the technical school. In 1956, they opened a small paraffin stove factory with 24 people. When butane gas arrived in Spain, they converted

to butane stoves and caught the industrial wave entering Spain. Within one year, they had 117 worker-owners and bought two nearby foundries.

Father Arizmendi did all the legal research to find an appropriate structure. He discovered that only agricultural groups could be structured as cooperatives. He incorporated ULGOR and the future industrial enterprises as agricultural cooperatives to secure the cooperative structure. Since this was technically illegal, the Mondragon Cooperatives kept quiet about their legal structure, which is one of the reasons you probably have not heard of Mondragon until now.

This collective secret, of course, deepened their solidarity as a group. Also, after the Civil War a vengeful Franco had not only outlawed their language but his Spanish police treated the Basque region like an occupied territory. The Mondragon Cooperatives provided the means to express the strength of the Basque people in a manner which both avoided being politically threatening and contributed to the gross national product and industrialization of Spain. The Spanish could join in this win-win deal. When they discovered the illegal cooperative structures, they looked the other way until the laws were modified in the 1970s.

The Philosophy of Arizmendi

Next let's answer the question « *What was the philosophy of Father Arizmendi which gave rise to Mondragon and do its resulting structures suggest a third way?* » Many people have difficulty imagining Mondragon-style structures being implemented in America not because they cannot find friends with solidarity among themselves like the Basques had, but because they try to place Mondragon on the left-right political axis. Many see it as a better form of socialism - one easily utilized inside a capitalist society. Even the popular BBC film « *Mondragon: An Experiment* » suggests it is a descendant of the English cooperative movement begun by the Rochdale Cooperatives. My research while visiting Mondragon and my study of its structures and procedures suggests to me that Mondragon goes beyond the left-right axis. Mondragon is based on the non-material (call it « mind » or « spirit » or « relationship »). People come before things.

What is the right relationship among people? We all know from our personal experience that the one word answer to this question is « love ». But how does love play itself out in the structuring of a business enterprise? Philosopher Arizmendi observed that lovers behave differently around «things» than enemies do. If we are loves and we have an apple which we both want, we probably will split the apple as evenly as possible and share it. If one of us has not eaten all day and the other just has had a full meal, the latter will take a little piece and give the rest to the former. Lovers behave as if they have only one mind and one body. With little effort they share resources as easily together as they make decisions alone.

Enemies, on the other hand, behave in the opposite manner. If we are enemies and we have an apple, one of us might try to gobble it down while the other is not noticing. Or, if too smart for that, we might agree to share it by cutting it in half. They would both try to take the bigger piece. Enemies behave as if they have two different minds and bodies. This is because they think «things» are most

important. There being only so many things around at any one time, they try to acquire as many of them as they can. Life for them is a process of competing and taking. The difference between friends and enemies lies in the fact that the relationship among friends can be timeless and spaceless. For instance, if we make a mistake with a loved one, apologize and are forgiven, it can be as if it never happened. Yet materially it did happen. Relationships can be timeless and spaceless; matter is the time and space. If the relationship is truly loving, there will be no conflict around matter. This was Father Arizmendi's main discovery.

Having articulated his philosophy, Father Arizmendi asked his young students and the men and women in the bars and drinking clubs, « *If these ideas are true, what kind of an organization does it suggest?* » First, they realized that if they wanted to have a loving organization, they could not define seemingly opposite roles, for example, «workers» and «owners» as the responsibility of different people, as if these roles could be separated in time and space. To have easy and freely chosen one-mindedness, the «owner» and the «worker» in a business must be the same person.

If I am the person who decides what movie to go to and you are the person who goes to the movie, that will seem ludicrous to us. In this example we easily can see that to separate the « choosing » and the « doing » from one another in time and space (into different bodies) brings fear into the relationship. We will each fear that the other will not be sensitive enough to our needs and wants. The potential for conflict is great. If I am the «chooser» and the «doer», however, I have no fear at all. I know I will be sensitive to myself. Because I know I will be sensitive to my needs and wants every moment, the relationship between the chooser and the doer, being both in me, is inner peace. This peace is the result of my freedom; the capitalist in me is happy.

If you and I are going to a movie together and we both are the chooser and the doer, then our relationship can be timeless and spaceless. If we are lovers and you want to go to movie A and I want to go to movie B, we will talk about it. If you want to go to movie A more than I want to go to movie B, we will decide to go to movie A. We will both be happy - yet in the material world I did not get anything I initially wanted while you got everything you first wanted. We are happy because we acted with one mind. The limitations of the material world are fully accepted - we could only go to one movie together. There is relationship peace. This peace is the result of solidarity; the socialist in us is happy.

So, the first rule of a Mondragon cooperative is that the chooser and the doer, the owner and the worker, must be the same person. This merger of roles must go beyond titles and become the actual inner and outer (operational) experience of each member. In terms of the inner experience, every worker works in the business all day so there is no need to do more to be sure he or she is invested in this role. However, for the business to succeed the worker also must become equally invested as an owner. To ensure this, every member is required to loan the cooperative a substantial sum (uncollateralized) which is the equivalent of the lowest paid person's annual salary - about \$10,000 in US dollars. The new member does not have to possess this capital on day one. He or she simply signs a note and it will

be withheld from his or her salary over time with no interest attached. Membership, thereby, is open to all, regardless of financial circumstances. If the business goes bankrupt the next day, however, the worker-owners will still need to pay off the loan to the bankruptcy courts. In other words, even though the capital was not loaned on day one, the worker-owner is fully at risk and invested as an owner from the beginning.

The rest of the structure of a Mondragon Cooperative is equally insightful into human nature. Only members of the cooperative can be on its board of directors. This assures adult-adult psychology patterns. (Many worker cooperatives in the past have invited non-members to be on their boards, resulting in parent-child [chooser-doer] psychological patterns). Each board has two main committees - the management council and social council. The manager is a worker-owner who is hired as manager for a four-year term. During that time the manager cannot be told what to do; he or she can only be fired. This unique aspect of the Mondragon design is based on the recognition that management is a specialty skill. So Mondragon hires skilled managers and then gets out of their way and lets them do their jobs. This has solved perhaps one of the greatest problems of all other worker cooperative experiments.

In past efforts, managers were suspect because the workers had come from capitalist enterprises where the

hierarchy was used as a power tool. As a result managers often did not have specialized training and, even if they did, the other worker-owners used their influence to demand changes in management's business plan without sensitivity to the sophistication of its design. Because of these tendencies toward ineffective management, it has been widely believed that worker-ownership could never compete in a capitalist society. Mondragon has solved this problem by identifying the essence of hierarchy... They discovered that its essence is «efficiency» and not «power». A hierarchical division of labor is the most efficient way for a group of people to do a complex task. If the relationships among the people are of the timeless and spaceless variety described earlier, then hierarchy is «only» an efficiency system.

Thus, Article 4 of the Social Statutes of ULGOR (the first cooperative), as written by Father Arizmendi, reads: «*Work is the means adopted for attaining a higher level of satisfaction for human aspirations and demonstrating collaboration with the other members of the community to promote the common good. To ensure that it is contributed freely, productively, and in a manner that makes everyone's collaboration viable, the members shall respect its discipline, namely 3 hierarchy...*» At the same time, the social council provides the equivalent of a union «within» the cooperative structure and also serves as a forum for full participation in management.

Co-operatives: engine of rural progress

Collective granaries help to bridge the gap between harvests. Villagers jointly build the shop where they go for staple commodities or the clinic that dispenses primary health care to all the population.

The increase in the number of co-operative groups at the village level are improving the living conditions in the African countryside. These projects are being carried out in some 15 African countries by the ILO with financial aid from the UNDP as well as Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway.

The co-operation also occupy an important place in the economy of a number of African countries. In Nigeria some 22,500 co-operatives bring together about 2 million people, in Botswana they attract 45 per cent of the households, in Kenya they represent 40 per cent of the GDP and employ an estimated 30,000 salaried workers. Côte d'Ivoire co-operatives give priority to the production and marketing of commodities destined for export — coffee, cocoa, cotton, peanuts — and constitute a source of precious foreign currency.

Along with the successes, some difficulties have emerged in running co-operatives and they are going through an identity crisis in several countries.

For example, the unit is too often co-operative only in name. The traditional mutual help - generally based in African communities on ethnic, religious or family ties - can hinder more than help a system requiring respect of democratic regulations. Also financial constraints have

been imposed in countries particularly affected by the economic crisis. Further, a lack of training at all levels is a major obstacle to autonomous development.

On the other hand, the remarkable dynamism of rural co-operative groups is illustrated in Burkina Faso. The training activities of the ILO, operating through the regional programme known by its French acronym as ACOPAM, are part of the total efforts of different rural development institutions under the supervision of the national administration.

In the isolated sector of Zorgho, which includes part of the Volta Valley repopulated after the eradication of onchocercosis and a plateau region poor in agricultural potential, more than 100 groups of villagers have created 57 diverse economic units ranging from cereal banks to maternity hospitals, the primary health care clinic, supply stores and pharmacies. In certain villages various collective works have been completed including dam reservoirs and reforestation.

In Zimbabwe the co-operatives constitute one of the principal points of support of the government's economic and social policy. In three years spectacular results have been achieved in the realisation of the major goal: to raise the level of training for all the co-operative members in an area where some 800,000 families live. More than 40 co-operative management counsellors have been trained. A multimedia campaign aimed at approximately 40,000 members of some 360 basic co-operatives has been launched in agree-

ment with the Ministry of Development of Co-operatives. Some 2,000 leaders have been trained and through them the campaign has reached at least 12,000 co-operators. Co-operative training is also given to all third-year university students.

In Burundi a recent ILO evaluation report noted the inadequacy of the national cadres who are «poorly paid, negligibly motivated and insufficiently trained». However, the project can claim a largely positive balance sheet. A tight network of 250 co-operatives and assimilated groups has been established with a total of 60,000 members, nearly 2,000 full-time or part-time employees and a turnover of more than \$ 10 million a year.

The initial objective — to enable rural dwellers to provide themselves with consumer goods at reasonable prices — has been achieved. Now the co-operatives are diversifying to market coffee and food (beans, sorghum, unhusked rice and vegetables), to support agropastoral production and to complete 35 co-operative mills that would lighten the house-hold chores for women. The training activities started within the framework of the ILO project are being taken care of by national personnel.

Thus, anchorage points are progressively being established in rural life. Through the co-operatives concrete answers are being found to everyday problems: insufficient income, scarcity of foodstuffs and consumer products, poor sanitary and social environment, and geographic and human isolation.

(ILO)

Every division of 20 to 50 worker-owners in each business conducts at least a monthly work group meeting to discuss any issues which have arisen. Each division has a representative who will later meet with all the other representatives as the social council. The board delegates to the social council all the issues with which unions are normally concerned - job descriptions, salary scales, fringe benefits, safety, etc. It is also responsible for donating 10 per cent of any annual company profits to charity. During these work group meetings, the worker-owners can discuss anything they choose. Management and their social council representative are part of the group, of course, and a member of the group who has been elected to the board may also participate. Through this system, every worker-owner can be involved in managing every aspect of the enterprise.

Whether a worker-owner becomes enthusiastic about management issues or traditional union issues, his or her substantial capital investment keeps the commitment as an owner and a worker both 100 per cent present in his or her mind. All worker-owners have one share of voting stock. This keeps them all equal in power. Thus, their relationship within themselves and among each other is a one-minded one. The structure of the cooperative reflects this one-mindedness in time and space. The capitalist system's equivalent of management and union are each present and distinct. However, they both are inside the «us» of the cooperative, and are subservient to the board which assures their total integration and coordination. If the board ever fails in this task, the general assembly of all the worker-owners, which wields the ultimate power within the cooperative, can overrule the board.

Each cooperative elects representatives to the Association of Cooperatives. The Association in turn elects the board of the secondary cooperatives, such as the Bank, the research institute, and the insurance and social security institutions. The main focus of the Association of Mondragon Cooperatives is the creation of worker-owned jobs. There probably is no better service to themselves. Job creation gives the current worker-owners greater job security and allows them to be enthusiastic about automation. They are very aggressive in robot development. They recognize that it both eliminates repetitive and dirty jobs and increases productivity, which is important in an international marketplace. At the same time, they view worker-owner job creation as the best service to the community at large. Once a person has a worker-owned job in a Mondragon cooperative, it is guaranteed for life. Thus the person's family will never be dependent upon public assistance but will continually contribute to the needs and development of society. Therefore, every act of each worker-owner every day is experienced as providing for one's self and serving society, both simultaneously and both 100 per cent. The for-profit vs. non-profit personality split we are so familiar with in our society is absent in the attitude of the Mondragon member. When you walk through a factory, you feel like you are visiting with someone in their kitchen.

The entire association of cooperatives is private. There is no government involvement.

Finally, the uniqueness of Mondragon is demonstrated in the way profits are distributed by a cooperative. Seventy percent are distributed among the worker-owners based on salary scale and the number of years with the cooperative. However, these profits are not given out in cash. They are

allocated to the worker-owners' internal capital account and regarded as a loan from the worker to the cooperative. Each year, just before Christmas, the worker receives, in cash, the 6 per cent interest paid annually on his or her internal account. Thus, the worker-owner's investment in the cooperative increases and the cooperative reinvests the worker's profit to create more worker-owned jobs. The business receives uncollateralized capital at a low interest rate normally the most difficult and expensive capital to borrow.

Ten percent of the annual profits are donated to charity, and the remaining 20 per cent is retained in the collective internal account and also reinvested to create more worker-owned jobs. If the cooperative ever ceases to exist, this collective account will be donated to charity because it is regarded as the portion of profits which is collectively owned and managed for the general welfare. So, even the profits escape the time and space material axis by seeming to go in two directions at the same time. The worker-owner has the use of his or her portion of the 70 per cent because it can be used as collateral at the Bank for a loan which will be at an interest rate only a point or two over the 6 per cent it is earning. Yet the cooperative has the use of the capital at the same time.

A Similar System in Poland

There is a group of enterprises much like Mondragon in Poland. The Polish group began their businesses in the 1940s, and both groups grew to substantial sizes before they became aware of each other's existence. They are structured almost identically, except the Poles used an investment fund instead of a bank for their capital company. 175,000 people work in the Polish cooperatives, which are predominantly labor intensive firms since their government owns the capital intensive firms. Interestingly, both the Basques and the Poles were oppressed by occupying foreign forces (the Russians in Poland) when they formed their first cooperative enterprises; and they both, without knowledge of each other, created identical structures. This suggests that people in modern industrial societies (whether capitalist or socialist) who feel a deep solidarity as a community will be prone to express it by forming cooperative systems similar to those at Mondragon.

The Emergent «Third Way» in USA

This «third way» social order is occurring not only in the Basque region and Poland. To a greater or lesser extent, it is emerging all over the world, in both capitalist and socialist countries. In Russia, which I visited in 1983, agricultural cooperatives are sprouting construction and manufacturing divisions while the government looks the other way. There is a system similar to Mondragon in Sri Lanka and there are Mondragon imitations emerging in other European countries, Asia, Africa, and South America. In the USA, there are efforts to imitate Mondragon by an increasing number of companies. However, of greater significance is the emergence of virtually the same cooperative company structure in a uniquely American way. PEOPLExpress Airlines is one of the best examples.

PEOPLExpress was founded in April 1981 by Donald C. Burr. Its workers each own and control at least 100 shares

of common stock. Together they control more than one-third of the stock in the company with the remainder publicly traded. Thus, they control the company. Everyone has the word «manager» in their title, and there are only five titles. The company is worker managed through a team system without supervisors. The underlying philosophy is stated in a few short phrases and discussed rather than written in paragraphs. Its essence is one of placing «PEOPLE'S people before customers» which, it is believed, will result in better service for the customers. The salaries are low compared to other airlines; however, there is a generous profit-sharing plan and stock dividends. Basically, all workers have gone on commission based on the total performance of the company. The productivity and profitability is very high and the workers think of the airline in family terms. This new set of internal corporate relationship has allowed PEOPLExpress Airlines to offer substantially lower airfares in today's deregulated market. As a result, it has been growing at a phenomenal rate and had more than 6,000 employees by September 1984. The entire airline industry is being forced to adjust to PEOPLExpress, which can only easily be done by adopting its methods.

The sense of «us» within the company does not at this time extend beyond it. PEOPLExpress is not a member of an association of similar companies and it does not control a bank, alone or with other firms. However, as with Lincoln Electric, Hyatt Clark Industries, Weirton Steel, W.L. Gore & Associates and many other U.S. companies, workerownership, control and management have brought a competitive edge, and greater personal and social fulfillment for the people who work there. Other groups, such as the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, the Calvert Social Investment Fund, and Trusteeship Institute, are developing financial vehicles which hopefully will be the equivalent of the Caja Laboral Popular in the United States in the future. However, the people-oriented capital priorities and the partnership relationship between lender and borrower of the Mondragon method is not yet an option for worker-owned and controlled enterprises in the United States.

Conclusion

Capitalism and socialism are adversaries because capitalism favors freedom of the individual over the responsibility of the individual to society. Socialism favors the society over the individual. They both project the rules of matter onto human relationships, make the dividing up of the apple more important than the relationships among the interested parties. In the world of matter, there are always trade-offs. We cannot, with our minds, make two apples where there is one. However, in the world of the mind one can choose either to make the apple or the relationship more important. If the apple is given top priority, competition will prevail. If the relationship is emphasized, cooperation will be rule. Relationships are not three-dimensional objects. They are mutual understandings.

The «third way» is leading us beyond both capitalism and socialism. It seems to be taking the form of a society and an economy based on the relationships among people. Therefore, this third way is referred to by this writer as the emergent «Relationship Age». It is as if the new pattern caused by nuclear weapons is changing every aspect of society around the planet. We once could kill off our enemy and be done with him or her. With nuclear weaponry, we run the great risk of killing ourselves in the process. No longer do we have a choice to just kill the enemy. The enemy has become our inability to relate peacefully with our adversaries. Mondragon has demonstrated that loving relationships can be given priority and institutionalized into a social order that can not only outperform both capitalism and socialism on their own terms, but bring inner and social peace at the same time. Individual freedom is not compromised and each person freely takes responsibility for their interdependence with everyone else through a social system which maintains everyone in a position of equal power.

We need to remember that Karl Marx died before Sigmund Freud became well known. Marx's strength was not psychology. He made the fatal error of thinking that the end could be different from the process - that class struggle would bring a classless society. It wasn't until Mahatma Gandhi that we heard a prominent person argue that capitalism and socialism were both lacking because they placed things before people and goals before process. Gandhi became the «Father of Humanistic Economics» as a result of his theory of «trusteeship» which defined the relationship among the participants as more important than anything else, in much the same way as Father Arizmendi. Father Jose Arizmendi has clearly demonstrated how to institutionalize Gandhi's theories as a social order. If just may be the fulfillment of Gandhi's dream.

It may also be the realization of the hopes of our American founding mothers and fathers and every wave of immigrants to the present day who came to America searching for a better way. In the 18th and 19th centuries, they described their dream as a «cooperative commonwealth». In 1800, less than 2 per cent of free Americans worked for someone else. To do so was viewed as one tiny step above slavery. Today, 95 per cent of Americans work for someone else. The story of America during the 1800s is one of failed efforts by Americans to prevent the erosion of the «cooperative commonwealth» they knew in their rural townships. Neither capitalism nor socialism were their choice. Mondragon may be the «third way» which returns us to the original course of the American dream.

Given that nuclear weapons are forcing the entire population of the planet to view itself as one community in solidarity against an external enemy - nuclear war (or perhaps it is an «internal» enemy), this hypothesis warrants further study.

Associate Members preview new UIA research data

Within the scope of its scientific activities, UIA has followed, for the last 50 years, the worldwide development of international organizations and reported on their existence, objectives, activities, meetings etc. Information on the latest development of this unique data bank was one of the objects of the 1987 Associate members' meeting.

Bidding for a Congress

by Geoffrey Smith*

Every Autumn, the annual meeting of UAI Associate members is a highlight of the congress industry; and the most recent was no exception.

Associate members represent commercial organisations, Foundations or other groups who have an interest in the International Association Congress field; in the main, they are convention bureaux, national tourist organisations, convention centres, airlines, PCO's and hotel groups, the suppliers who play an essential role in the development of Congresses all over the world.

In recent years, UAI Associates have been keen to invite representatives of international associations to participate too. This time, the invitation went to Secretaries-General and their colleagues located in Brussels to attend a buffet dinner in the UAI headquarters, and the following day's seminar-discussion.

As a result, about a hundred participants - Associate members and Association representatives - participated.

The programme was devised by a committee nominated a year previously. This consisted of Vincent van Wulpen (Netherlands Convention Bureau), Francois d'Heilly (Paris Convention Centre) and Roy Kendrick (Queen Elizabeth M Conference Centre), with your correspondent as Chairman.

This committee met in London and decided to concentrate on the way

* Geoffrey Smith, an honorary UAI member, was Chairman of the 1987 Associates' Meeting.



An attentive audience is listening to the debate from the members of the panel.

bids were made by cities and venues seeking future congresses, and how the decision processes were handled by some of the associations involved.

At the Committee's request the meeting started with a presentation by Ms Ghislaine de Coninck, UAI Congress Director, who unveiled significant new data from a survey among 7,000 international associations in 110 countries.

(See *Transnational Associations* n° 6, 1987, p. 363-369).

This was interesting data to those making bids for new business; the way it had been gathered, all agreed, was to the credit of the UAI Conference Department.

There was a valuable session when Mr. F.W.G. Baker, Executive Secretary of the International Council of Scientific Unions, discussed the meetings of his member associations; these include 20 Scientific Unions, 74 National Members, Associates and Observers, and 24 Scientific Associates.

They range from certain Scientific Associations which attract several thousand Congress delegates, to Commissions for less than ten. A conference from the Biochemists, for instance, can draw over 5000; they can have difficulty finding venues large enough.

There is almost always an invita-



tion from the national host, which may be a Science Academy or Research Council. Association executives look at facilities, cost, ease of access and transport, accommodation, equipment, services, technical visits, and pre- and post-tours.

Delegates are prepared to spend long periods at Congresses and work lengthy hours each day, even through the weekend.

Cost is important and financing often provides problems. A small scientific organisation can spend three or four years raising money for their next event. Mr. Baker felt closer cooperation between organisers and venues might help attract more participants for the same outlay, especially in terms of transportation.

Some bodies are experimenting with travel agents to develop cooperative arrangements, it was noted. It was important for costs to be kept low, to encourage younger scientists and students, he added. He was worried that some PCOs propose expensive hotels and it was important to offer a wide range, from top quality to low cost or university accommodation, Mr Baker emphasised.

He made a special point about visa problems. This is something, he said, which had affected ICSU for thirty years, and not enough attention was given to it. In some countries visas can be withheld from delegates or speakers simply because of their place of residence, and he saw this as unacceptable discrimination. ICSU

policy was non-discriminatory; if a visa problem cannot be overcome, that destination was a non starter - even if it had ideal attributes is other respects.

That's why, he added, one of our criteria for would be hosts is that they must guarantee the free passage of scientists to the event, no matter where they might come from.

A joint presentation to the meeting came from M. Pierre Laconte, Secretary-General of UITP, the International Union of Public Transport, and M. Constant Henrard, Hon. President of Union Belge des Transports Communs Urbains et Régionaux.

They described their processes of site selection and organisation, emphasising the relationship between the international office and the national associations involved.

UITP meets internationally every two years, and decides on the venue four years ahead. Invitations come from national branches. The Secretary-General evaluates the proposals, inspects the sites when necessary, and presents the options to his Board; a short list is then put to the Assembly, which votes by show of hands.

Cost is important to UITP, who have started to cover this through an exhibition of public transport equipment. It not only help financially, but also attracts more delegates. When they held their centenary event in Brussels, it had a 14,000 m² exhibition which covered 80% of the Con-

gress budget; the rest came from the 1,200 delegates.

In response to a question, M. Laconte said technical criteria were important in site selection, but the relationship with the national association could also be a factor, etc. length and size of membership, the need to move around the world - and also, perhaps, the views of neighbours. In looking at Budapest for a future Congress, for instance, UITP had been impressed by the support from nearby nations, he recalled.

Another query was about the value of detailed technical files on destinations. The speakers did not always need them, they said; but if a site was rejected, such a file might be usefully stored against use later. Following this, Vincent van Wulven and Francois d'Heilly introduced a session on some worrying aspects of bid procedures.

They reported instances where association clients had used unorthodox methods in deciding on a future site. There were instances where up to ten cities or centres had been invited to bid, sometimes thousands of miles away from base, involving costly expenditure on audio-visual presentation, hospitality, air fares, etc.

These were examples where only one winner was possible, and bidders had been surprised to find how many were short-listed in this manner. Sometimes, delegates claimed, firm deadlines were set, but subsequently breached when a particular, apparently favoured, destination, was permitted to enter the lists, even a year after the closure date - and to win the event.

Voting procedure in General Assembly also came under scrutiny; students and random visitors were sometimes permitted to vote for a destination, suppliers noted. Sometimes the bidders themselves could vote.

Members stressed that these situations were only met occasionally; most associations had an impeccable approach to site selection, and would never descend to the practices mentioned, all agreed.

Later, participants divided into groups, chaired by Francois d'Heilly and Roy Kendrick, and then returned to the final plenary session.

The meeting recommended that the Joint Industry Council (which

includes most leading international convention organisations, including UAI) should be invited to endorse a Code of Conduct; representatives of JIC member bodies present were asked to report to their own management committees and help draft such a Code.

A very useful meeting, all participants agreed. And it was especially appreciated that M. Jacques Raeymaeckers, New Secretary-General of UAI, attended throughout. The next UAI Associate's meeting will be in Brussels on 3-4 October, 1988.

The Joint Industry Council, meeting

in Vienna on 5 November, approved the Code, here under. UAI were invited by JIC to circulate it among international associations and invite their support in principle; this publication in Transnational Associations is in response to that request.



Among the members of the panel, M. FWG Baker, ICSU's Executive Secretary and Vincent van Wulven, Netherlands convention bureau.



Geoffrey SMITH OBE, chairman of the meeting and John Burt, London convention bureau.

Congress destination selection

A code of practice for international associations

Time, effort and money are often spent by national associations (sometimes in co-operation with their national tourist offices, city convention bureaus, convention centres, airlines, etc.) on inviting their associated international associations to hold congresses in their countries. Sometimes, much of this is wasted because the international association's site selection procedure is unclear or is not properly enforced.

The Union of International Associations, in co-operation with the other members of the Joint Industry Council therefore circulates here under the recommended «Code of Practice» for international associations, in the belief that implementation of the code will be of benefit to international associations and their national members/affiliates and also to suppliers to the conference industry.

The Code

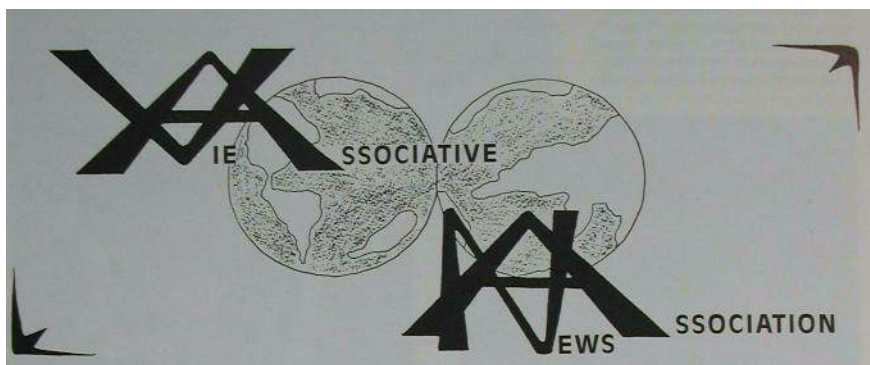
1) When an organisation's meetings are open to invitations from destinations, the organisation should develop a « site selection procedure», and make it available to its national members/affiliates and other representative of the bidding destination. This site selection procedure would incorporate the following elements:

- i) the date by which invitations must be submitted to the international organisation;
 - ii) the date on which the destination decision is taken and by whom;
 - iii) any essential criteria which any destination must be able to fulfil before being able to be considered;
 - iv) any other information which may be helpful to destinations considering issuing an invitation.
- 2) Having established a site selection procedure, the association should enforce its provisions and not accept, for example, inappropriate or late invitations.
- 3) When an international organisation receives a large number of invitations for a particular congress, a mechanism should be established for short-listing those invitations which go forward for final selection. Many organisations do this by means of their Secretaries General, their elected officers, their councils, boards or site selection committees. This procedure would avoid large numbers of national associations and their suppliers from spending time, effort and money on detailed bids and/or presentations. It is recommended that no more than three destinations

should go forward to the final selection procedure.

* The Joint Industry Council includes the following organisations.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| IACVB | - International Association of Convention & Visitor Bureaus |
| IAPCO | - International Association of Professional Congress Organizers |
| ICCA | - International Congress & Convention Association |
| MPI | - Meeting Planners International |
| AIIC | - Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence |
| EFCT | - European Federation of Conference Towns |
| AIPC | - Association Internationale des Palais des Congrès |
| AIVFC | - Association Internationale des Villes Francophones de Congrès |
| AACVB | - Asian Association of Convention & Visitor Bureaus |
| UAI | - Union of International Associations. |



Drogues

La lutte contre la drogue est un nouveau domaine particulier de collaboration entre la Commission et les ONG européennes.

Afin de tenir compte du souci exprimé par les ONG d'éviter une diversité des conditions de cofinancement suivant l'article du budget servant de source financière, les conditions seront, en règle générale, pour la lutte contre la drogue, aussi semblables que possible à celles régissant les projets de développement (art. 941). Les modes de présentation des demandes de cofinancement et ceux d'exécution, de suivi et d'évolution des actions seront, dans la mesure du possible, similaires.

Le budget pour ce nouveau programme est fixé à titre d'essai à environ 2 MECU sur le budget 1987. Il y aura lieu de ré-examiner ces conditions de cofinancement et de les compléter éventuellement, pour les années suivantes, à la lumière de cette première expérience.

Pour la mise au point de leur dossier, les ONG peuvent prendre contact directement avec le secteur «Formation, Réfugiés, Drogue» (Division I/H/3), chargé de gérer les aides à la lutte anti-drogue. Elles peuvent s'adresser et envoyer leurs dossiers à M. Van der Voeren (tél: 325.13.92) ou à Mme Muller (tél: 235.22.77) à la Commission CE, DG, VIII. 200 rue de la Loi, B - 1049 Bruxelles.

Hong-Kong

Un bon millier d'associations et de sociétés résidant à Hong-Kong sont répertoriées dans une brochure de 75 pages publiée par la Hong Kong Tourist Association. Outre l'adresse complète, on y trouve les noms et numéros de téléphone des président, secrétaire ou titre équivalent.

(35th Floor, Connaught Centre, Connaught Road, Central Hong Kong).

Rokkan Prize

The International Science Council, in conjunction with the Conjunto Universitario Candido Mendes (Rio de Janeiro) announces that the next Stein Rokkan Prize will be awarded in November 1988 at the ISSC General Assembly meeting. The prize is intended to reward an original contribution in comparative social science research by a scholar under forty years of age on 31st December 1988. It can be either an unpublished manuscript of book length, or a printed book, or collected works published after December 1985. (European Consortium for Political Research June 1987).

Abris

Dans un article intitulé «Les organisations non gouvernementales, partenaires importants dans les projets d'habitat»: et publié dans «Dimension 3» périodique bimestriel du Service d'infor-

mation de l'Administration générale de la coopération au développement (Août-septembre 1987) à Bruxelles, on peut lire: «Il est clair, dès à présent, que dans certains pays le travail accompli au profit des sans-abri par les ONG est supérieur à celui de la coopération bilatérale officielle, et moins coûteux. En Belgique, par exemple, de 1981 à 1985, les ONG ont réalisé en faveur des sans logis (Burundi, Zaïre, Indonésie, Chili, Guatemala, Cap Verde, Haïti, etc.) trois fois plus de projets que la coopération bilatérale et ce avec les deux-tiers des moyens financiers. Si l'on compare le nombre de sans-abri qui ont été aidés, on arrive alors, grâce aux ONG et à moyens égaux, à un chiffre presque huit fois supérieur à celui des projets bilatéraux».

Sang artificiel

«J'ai fabriqué du sang» A propos de cette annonce faite par un savant américain, Mario Feola, Albert Marmont, spécialiste mondial en hématologie, déclare "Il est étonnant qu'une nouveauté d'une potentialité aussi intéressante ne nous soit pas parvenue par la voie habituelle des congrès internationaux".

Family Law

The International Society for Family Law announces the creation of a new international journal, the "International Journal of Law and the Family", published by Oxford University Press and edited by

Mr. John Eekelaar (Pembroke College, Oxford) and Dr. Robert Dingwall (Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Wolfson College, Oxford).

The subject matter of the journal will therefore comprise :

- analyses of the law relating to the family which carry an interest beyond the jurisdiction dealt with, or which is of a comparative nature;
- theoretical analyses of family law;
- sociological literature concerning the family which is of special interest to law and legal policy;
- social policy literature of special interest to law and the family;
- literature in related disciplines (such as medicine, psychology, demography) which is of special relevance to law and the family;
- research findings in the above areas;
- reviews of books and relevant reports.

Orders enclosing payment should be sent to Oxford Journals, Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford. OX2 6DP, UK. Contributions should be sent to Mr. John Eekelaar, Pembroke College, Oxford OX1 1DW, UK.

Revitaliser le mouvement coopératif agricole

Bien des associations agraires du monde industrialisé ont une histoire longue d'un siècle ou plus. La continuité même des luttes menées pour améliorer les conditions de vie dans les campagnes et défendre les intérêts agricoles dans les affaires nationales a donné naissance à une certaine sagesse partagée par les partenaires. Au milieu des économies de marché incontrôlées qui caractérisaient les périodes où se sont constitués, de façon hésitante, les mouvements agraires, le défi que devaient relever les paysans était le suivant: comment faire front aux puissances commerciales, financières et industrielles qui gouvernaient leurs conditions de vie et déterminaient leurs moyens d'existence? La solution en face d'un pouvoir économique protéen résidait dans la mise en commun de la force productive - et des besoins - de milliers d'exploitants au sein d'associations coopératives. Obtenir des conditions de crédit plus favorables, un meilleur rapport entre le prix des intrants et celui des produits, tels étaient les principaux objectifs que poursuivaient les premières coopératives. En luttant pour le réaliser, elles allaient apprendre les principes d'une gestion bien comprise qui leur permettrait de devenir concurrentielles sur le marché. Leur efficacité à faire valoir les

intérêts économiques de leurs membres était à la mesure de la loyauté et de la discipline des coopérateurs. Leur poids sur la scène politique allait être à son tour proportionnel à leur réussite économique et à la détermination de leurs membres.

On trouve dans l'histoire récente des pays en développement quelques exemples encourageants d'actions coopératives qui ont su servir les intérêts économiques des producteurs et ont accru leur poids politique. Mais hélas, ces quelques exemples ne sont guère représentatifs de l'expérience coopérative du monde en développement.

Chacun des échecs de coopératives s'inscrit dans un contexte particulier, mais on peut néanmoins découvrir des dénominateurs communs parmi les facteurs qui y ont contribué. Au tout premier chef, il y a le rôle joué par l'Etat. Souvent, lorsque les anciennes colonies ont accédé à l'indépendance, des organismes d'Etat ou des institutions para-étatiques sont venus jouer le rôle qui dans le monde industrialisé avait été celui des banques, des fournisseurs d'intrants et des négociants en produits agricoles, ce phénomène étant plus marqué dans le cas des cultures de rente ou d'exportation. Dans ces conditions, les efforts des producteurs pour unir leurs forces économiques et faire

HOW TO LOBBY HOW not TO LOBBY

by
MICHAEL BURRELL
London

DO:

- understand the political process that you seek to influence
- make sure that your information is accurate and up-to-date
- make your friends before you need them
- remember that politicians need to win elections
- keep your submissions brief
- respond to requests for information quickly
- listen to what politicians and officials have to say
- tell the truth
- understand the importance of permanent officials.

DON'T:

- use jargon
- bore your audience
- try to interest the entire Parliament or council
- over-estimate the influence of one person
- neglect opposition parties
- ask a committee to write your submissions
- miss the deadline
- be fooled by words of sympathy
- take any notice if they tell you not to make a fuss.

LE LOBBYING : MODE D'EMPLOI

CE QU'IL FAUT FAIRE:

- bien comprendre le processus politique sur lequel on cherche à peser
- vérifier si les informations dont on dispose, sont exactes et à jour
- se faire des amis avant d'avoir besoin d'eux
- se rappeler que les hommes politiques doivent gagner les élections
- être bref
- répondre rapidement aux demandes de renseignements
- écouter ce que politiciens et fonctionnaires ont à dire
- dire la vérité
- comprendre l'importance des fonctionnaires permanents.

CE QU'IL NE FAUT PAS FAIRE:

- jargonner
- ennuyer l'auditoire
- essayer d'intéresser tout le parlement ou toute la commission
- surestimer l'influence d'une seule personne
- négliger les partis d'opposition
- faire écrire une requête par un comité
- laisser passer les délais
- se laisser prendre à de vagues paroles de sympathie
- tenir compte de « leurs » conseils de ne pas faire de vagues.

valoir leurs propres intérêts risquaient d'être jugés contraires aux objectifs nationaux. Beaucoup de coopératives constituent plus souvent une sorte de prolongement des ministères ou des organismes para-étatiques, dans la mesure où elles sont chargées d'administrer des prêts, d'acheter des produits et d'assurer la distribution des intrants. Tous les producteurs (coopérateurs ou non) étant traités sur un pied d'égalité, devenir membre de la coopérative ne présente dès lors aucun intérêt. Et comme toutes les grandes décisions, de même que le plus gros de la marge bénéficiaire, reviennent à l'Etat, l'acquisition de compétences individuelles en matière de gestion n'en est guère favorisée, et bien peu se sentent encouragés à accumuler du capital pour se lancer dans de nouvelles activités.

Dans beaucoup de pays en développement, le caractère bimodal du secteur agricole soulève un autre problème: en effet, l'agriculture commerciale moderne, — qui produit des cultures de rente ou d'exportation — côtoie une agriculture traditionnelle de subsistance qui s'efforce de satisfaire ses propres besoins vivriers, en ne dégageant que des excédents commercialisables très modestes. Et l'on a fréquemment reproché au succès même des activités coopératives dans le secteur moderne, qui se prête le mieux au développement coopératif, de creuser l'écart entre paysans riches et paysans pauvres. Par ailleurs, les tentatives de favoriser délibérément les petits producteurs par des activités coopératives n'ont pas toujours abouti, car il faut constituer des réserves de capitaux et trouver des gestionnaires compétents.

Malgré ces revers, il semble évident que le point de départ logique de la transmission d'un pouvoir économique aux ruraux pauvres doit résider dans l'activité économique elle-même. Les groupes spontanés d'épargne — aussi modernes soient-ils — savent parfois trouver le moyen de lancer des activités génératrices de revenu et d'améliorer, partant, la situation économique de leurs membres — souvent des femmes démunies chefs de famille. Le fait que ces mouvements naissent souvent à l'échelon local porte à penser que la revitalisation des coopératives du monde en développement passe par leur transformation d'institutions tournées vers l'Etat en entreprises œuvrant dans le sens des intérêts de leurs membres. On commence à disposer d'une certaine expérience dans ce domaine grâce à un programme (parrainé par la PAO) de mise au point de systèmes appropriés de gestion à l'intention des coopératives agricoles. L'approche se fonde sur la constitution de groupes locaux de coopérateurs animés par les valeurs, les normes et les aspirations propres aux petites exploitations, et soutenus par un réseau intégré d'organisations nationales ou régionales gérées professionnellement, qui devront couvrir toute la gamme des activités économiques, de la production à la commercialisation. L'objectif clé du programme est de fournir une formation spéciale aux gestionnaires de coopératives: ils devront faire office d'initiateurs du développement ou de vecteurs de changement, tout en travaillant spécifiquement dans l'intérêt des coopérateurs.

«Church Organizations Involvement in International Affairs »

A Seminar was held on the 5th and 6th of October, 1987 at the Graduate Institute of International Studies of the Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations, Geneva. It gathered a group of approximately 25 individuals of various backgrounds and was chaired by Jean F. Freymond, Director of the Centre.

The objective of the two-day seminar was to focus on the involvement of Church Organizations in International Affairs with special reference to Protestant Church Organizations and the World Council of Churches. Although Church NGO's are one of the largest groups active on the world political arena, little is known about their activities.

It emerged that the rationale for Church involvement in international affairs is deeply rooted in the Bible. Church NGO's participation is based on a strong conviction for Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation. In particular Church organizations are committed in alleviating the injustice of world poverty and oppression and oppose the denial of fundamental Human Rights, as witnessed by their strong stand against the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Their activities transcend every political system and their focus of interest permeates every level of international life — Human Rights, Disarmament, Aid and Development, International Finance, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, etc.

Church organizations are not only staffed by people motivated by faith but are also contemporary international organizations utilizing all the modern tools

have built expertise in areas such as mediation, health, education and political analysis. Through their worldwide network they monitor closely the activities of national governments and multilateral institutions. At the same time they are themselves actors within the system. In a world marked by an increasing level of interdependence, Church NGO's are a constructive group. They are also a powerful group seeking positive change and the removal of abnormalities in the world community through the use of peaceful instruments such as opposing Apartheid via sanctions, disinvestment and other techniques of persuasion.

In recent years it has emerged that Church organizations are instrumental in raising to the world level issues such as Racism and the abuse of Human Rights. They have taken the lead in suggesting the integration of social values and business ethics in the corporate sector.

Their involvement is now an integral part of the international system and their contribution is seen as invaluable. In particular by the poor and oppressed of the world who have neither economic or political power. The seminar proceedings also noted that a possibility exists for constructive dialogue between the various actors on the international political spectrum. This process can be enhanced if the relevant actors avoid the pursuit of narrow objectives and concentrate their resources on formulating a broad range of options in seeking solutions.

(Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations)

- PERSONALIA -

of communications and diplomacy. They

- Au cours de son assemblée générale tenue en mai 1987, le Comité des églises auprès des travailleurs migrants en Europe a élu comme président le Pasteur Ivor Smith-Cameron (UK) et comme secrétaire Michael Mildenberger (RFA).
- L'Organisation catholique internationale du cinéma et de l'audiovisuel a renouvelé son comité de direction à l'occasion de son congrès triennal réuni à Quito en juin 1987. Le président est M. Ambroise Eichemberger (Suisse), le vice-président M. Jerry Martinson (Taiwan), le secrétaire général Robert Molhant (Belgique), le trésorier général Yvonne de Hemptinne (Belgique).
- L'Assemblée générale de la Fédération cynologique internationale réunie les 23 et 24 juin 1987 a renouvelé son conseil d'administration. Le président est M. Hans Müller (Suisse), le secrétaire général M. Edmond Defraiteur (Belgique).
- L'Association européenne de numérotation des articles a réélu à sa présidence le M. A. Heijn et à sa vice-présidence M. J. Collin (Belg) au cours de sa dernière assemblée générale tenue le 5 juin 1987.
- L'Assemblée générale (29 avril 1987) du Centre européen du carbon black a élu à sa présidence MM. Gerd Warnecke (RFA) et William May (USA).

- Le Mouvement international de la Croix-Rouge et du Croissant-Rouge est en deuil. Enrique de la Mata, président de la Ligue des sociétés nationales de la Croix-Rouge et du Croissant-Rouge pendant six ans est décédé subitement à Rome, le 6 septembre 1987.
- Le conseil d'administration de la Fédération européenne de la santé animale réuni à Bruxelles le 22 juin 1987 a élu M. Michael Leathes au poste de secrétaire général.
- La Société internationale de chirurgie orthopédique et de traumatologie a désigné à sa présidence Sir Denis Paterson (Australie) et comme secrétaire général M. J. Wagner (Belgique).
- Fin juin 1988, M. Jo Feingold quittera ses fonctions de secrétaire général de la Fédération internationale des producteurs agricoles (FIPA). Le Comité exécutif a nommé M. David King (Canada) pour le remplacer. David King sera seulement le 5ème secrétaire général de FIPA depuis sa création en 1946.
- Lors de la cérémonie inaugurale de sa 39^e assemblée médicale mondiale, tenue à Madrid le 4 octobre 1987, l'Association médicale mondiale a procédé à l'installation de son nouveau président, le Dr H. Lindsay Thompson de l'Association médicale australienne.

Dans le cadre de la coopération université - industrie, la Commission des Communautés européennes a adopté le 5 décembre 1985 un programme d'éducation et de formation dans le domaine des technologies, intitulé COMETT. Mis en œuvre de 1986 à 1989, COMETT disposera de 66 millions d'écus pour soutenir les cinq séries d'actions suivantes; mise en place d'un réseau européen d'associations université - industrie pour la formation (AUIF), programme communautaire d'échanges transnationaux université - industrie, projets conjoints de formation engagés par les entreprises de divers Etats membres, systèmes européens d'enseignement à distance et formation des formateurs, actions complémentaires et échanges d'expériences à l'intérieur de la Communauté.

Le 14 juin 1987 a été constituée à Bruxelles, conformément à la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919 l'International Civil Airports Association European Community Bureau. Il regroupe les aéroports civils de 9 pays : Royaume-Uni, Paris, Portugal, RFA, Italie, Vienne, Irlande, Espagne, Israël. L'association a pour objet « d'étudier et de s'intéresser d'une manière générale et scientifique aux activités d'aéroports, aux structures d'aéroports, aux frais d'aéroports et à l'amélioration, la sécurité, la protection et tous aspects opérationnels, environnementaux, financiers et Commerciaux des aéroports dans la communauté européenne ». L'assemblée générale a désigné pour trois ans les membres du conseil d'administration: le président en est M. John Mulker (britannique), le vice-président José I. de la Rasilia (Espagnol) et le directeur du bureau Philippe Hamon (Belge).

Le siège est établi: c/o CCN Gare du Nord, rue du Progrès 80, 1210 Bruxelles.

The 4th international symposium on adolescent health was held in Sydney March 1987. It was organized by the Australian Association for Adolescent Health and the Society for Adolescent Medicine (USA) acted as a co-sponsor. An important outcome of the symposium was the formation of an International Association for Adolescent Health. A charter was signed by sixteen delegates from 13 countries as members of an interim committee. A further 132 individuals also signed to record their agreement. «The members of the International Association for Adolescent Health are committed to the enhancement of adolescent health through education, research, the advancement of health promotion and the provision of high quality health care for adolescents in all regions of the world. The Association, formed to promote a new sense of partnership between adolescents and the many different professions and organizations interested in their welfare, is committed to maintaining and

expanding its international and its multi-disciplinary character». A «IAAH Newsletter» is published, the first issue of which is dated August 1987. (IAAH, c/o Canberra College of Advanced Education Health Service, P O Box 1, Belconnen Act 2616, Australia).

Les Annexes au Moniteur belge du 22 octobre 1987 publient les statuts de l'Organisation européenne - Groupement international des associations de parents d'élèves de l'enseignement catholique (OE-GIAPEC). Cette association qui bénéficie de la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919 est constituée comme entité européenne dans le cadre du Groupement international. Elle a passé une convention avec l'Office international de l'enseignement catholique. Le conseil d'administration comprend des représentants d'associations de parents de Belgique, France, Irlande, Italie, Monaco, Pays-Bas, Portugal. Le président est M. Jean Alain Vaujour (France), rue Guimard 1, B-1040 Bruxelles.

Dated 23 July 1987, a document drafted by the secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development gives the terms of reference for a future intergovernmental producer-consumer forum for copper. They are largely based on the terms of reference agreed for the International Nickel Study Group. They include : objectives, definitions, functions, membership, powers of the Group, headquarters, decision-making, committees, secretariat, legal status, budget contributions, annual assessment and report, obligations of members, entry into force, withdrawal, termination,... These terms of reference remain provisional since the international status of the body envisaged has not yet been determined. This draft was to be submitted to the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD, in July 1987.

Implantoral Club International est une association internationale fondée à Bruxelles le 5 mars 1987 et régie par la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919. Elle a pour but «la promotion et l'étude de tout apport scientifique permettant les progrès scientifiques dans le domaine de la stomatologie ». Les administrateurs désignés par l'assemblée sont: le Dr Pierre Doms (Belgique), secrétaire général, le Dr Frank Spahn (RFA), vice-président, et le Dr Gérard Scortecci (France).

Le siège est établi, rue Washington 40, B-1950 Bruxelles.

Les Annexes au Moniteur belge du 16 octobre 1987 publient les statuts de l'Institut international pour une connaissance réciproque des civilisations - Transcultur. L'objet de l'Institut est « d'organiser et de développer la pratique

d'une anthropologie réciproque entre l'Europe et les aires culturelles non occidentales en vue de susciter de nouvelles approches de l'évolution des sociétés, notamment grâce à une meilleure connaissance réciproque des représentations différentes que les partenaires se font du développement et, en ce domaine, à l'élaboration de termes et concepts nouveaux et transversaux inter-culturels. En particulier, l'association organisera des équipes mixtes de chercheurs venant de pays européens et de pays d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et d'Asie, afin de mener des travaux de recherche propres à faire se rencontrer les jeux de langage différents selon les cultures et d'engager une réflexion commune interculturelle sur les transformations du monde contemporain ». Le conseil d'administration comprend des représentants du monde universitaire de Belgique, France, Italie, Mali, Ile Maurice, RFA. Le président est A. Le Pichon (France), le secrétaire-trésorier F.V. Mulder (RFA).

Le siège social est fixé : Allée de Clerlande 1, B-1340 Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique.

International Secretariat of Orchestras est une association internationale régie par la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919. Elle a pour objet la gestion d'un secrétariat international d'orchestres, l'organisation au niveau international de manifestations culturelles et la stimulation d'aide aux artistes, groupes culturels, orchestres, ballets, ensembles, etc. ainsi qu'aux organisateurs dans le sens le plus étendu.

Le siège est établi Konijnestraat 12B, 8-1712 Vlezenbeek, Belgique. Le président est M. Peter Jacoby, le secrétaire M. François Cuvelier. Les statuts sont publiés aux Annexes au Moniteur Belge du 8 octobre 1987.

The Center for Mediterranean Studies was established in the autumn of 1987, as an inter-disciplinary research centre focussing on Mediterranean Europe - in particular, the four countries of Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal. Involved in this Centre are various departments of the University in the Faculties of Social Sciences and Arts. It will be located in the Department of Politics, University of Bristol, UK.

The activities of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies will include organizing collective research projects, in cooperation with those working in this field at home and abroad. The focus at first will be on problems of democratic transition and consolidation in Southern Europe.

Other projects, of an interdisciplinary nature, are also under consideration, such as on political and economic elites, environmental pollution and strategic concerns in the Mediterranean. In addition,

tion to Barcelona, the Bristol Centre will be forming special institutional links with the other countries of Mediterranean Europe.

Contacts are also being maintained with relevant associations in the UK, the countries of Mediterranean Europe and the USA. The Bristol Centre also hopes to be a point of attraction for postgraduate work in this field.

All queries about this Centre and its activities should be addressed to: Geoffrey Pridham, Director, Centre for Mediterranean Studies, Department of Politics, 12 Priory Road, Bristol, BS8 1TU, UK.

Anti-Atom International has set up a European network of scientists, trade unionist, lawyers and grass-roots initiatives to organize multinational defence against nuclear facilities. A scenario for phasing out nuclear energy, which transcends East-West barriers, will be worked out. Court cases are being prepared to challenge the legality of nuclear power.

Anti-Atom-International, c/o OH, Liechtensteinstrasse 13, 1090 Vienna, Austria).

The idea of a UN association of political scientists emerged in the course of discussions within a small informal group of individuals involved in the work of the UN and concerned about a situation characterized by mounting attacks against its universality and its institutions.

After a period of conceptual development and refinement, IAPSUN (International Association of Political Scientists for the UN), has now been established. Under its Provisional Statutes it is an autonomous, international, non-profit, NGO of individuals to promote, through scholarly work, the study of international organizations, institutions and progresses. Members are scattered over some 40 countries. Preparations are being completed for a major IAPSUN research project, the status of the academic study of international organization: a worldwide survey. Input information will be provided for the survey in response to a special questionnaire, now under preparation, to be sent to universities and research institutions in all regions.

IAPSUN organized a seminar on international terrorism from the special perspective of a possible role for the UN in dealing with this phenomenon (June 1987, Vienna).

In addition to the IAPSUN BULLETIN, a scientific quarterly on international organization issues is envisaged.

IAPSUN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Samir Al-Jijakli, Executive Secretary (Syria); Marcel Dubbelman (Netherlands); Ragab El-Shaer (Egypt); Bhaskar Menon (India); Enrique Pareja (Argentina); and Ahmed Rhazaoui (Morocco).

Address inquiries to IAPSUN, Postfach 18, 1229 Vienna, Austria.

The European Business Ethics Network (EBEN) is being created as the

outcome of a working group formed with the support of the European Foundation for Management Development. It organized several workshops and conferences culminating in the first European Conference on Business Ethics in Brussels in November 1987 - « *Business Ethics: Crucial Issues in Successful European Business* ».

The aim of the Network, like the European Conference, is to provide a focal point for the exchange of ideas and information between the many organizations, companies and professional people in European countries who are interested and active in the field of business ethics and ethical business.

Through the participation of its members, and with the support of its Executive Committee and Council, the EBEN will act as an information exchange and will promote debate by producing its European Business Ethics Newsletter and by organizing symposia and an annual conference in association with member organizations.

La garantie d'un revenu de base conçu comme un droit inhérent à la citoyenneté pour tous les pays européens, tel est l'objectif assigné à la nouvelle **Conférence européenne sur le revenu de base**, qui s'est tenue pour la première fois à l'Université de Louvain-la-Neuve en Belgique du 4 au 6 septembre. Il a été décidé de fonder une association européenne qui aura pour tâche d'élaborer des systèmes viables permettant d'assurer un revenu social de base auquel chaque individu aurait droit indépendamment de sa situation professionnelle, de son sexe, et de son état civil et sans exigence d'une période d'imposition.

La Conférence européenne sur le revenu de base est ouverte à tout individu ou organisation qui s'intéresse à la question du revenu de base et, en tant que réseau, elle doit servir de lien entre les individus et les groupes qui s'occupent des systèmes tendant à assurer un tel revenu ou qui ont un intérêt. Parmi les tâches attribuées au comité d'organisation figurent la coordination d'un réseau d'archives nationales d'informations et de documentation sur les systèmes de revenu de base, l'organisation de séminaires réguliers sur divers aspects des systèmes de revenu de base, la préparation d'une deuxième conférence européenne, et le lancement d'un bulletin d'information régulier.

Source: Guy Standing, Département de l'emploi et du développement, BIT, Genève.

The Centre for Telecommunications Development within the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is expected to become operational soon. Established in July 1985, the Centre is mandated to strengthen and expand the scope of advisory services and technical support to developing countries to help

remedy the imbalance in telecommunications distribution in the world.

To achieve this purpose the Centre will collect information on telecommunications policies and experience worldwide and disseminate it to developing countries to help them formulate policies for evolution of their own networks; offer administrative and financial advice on telecommunications developments; and provide specific assistance in such areas as preparation of project plans and specifications, manpower planning and training, management, and research and development.

Centre for Telecommunications Development, ITU, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland).

It's been more than two years since the Bhopal disaster took place, but large numbers of victims continue to suffer from a variety of serious health and socio-economic problems. Medical and relief measures for the Bhopal victims have been inadequate and slow.

With the continuing plight of the Bhopal victims in mind, seven non-governmental organisations, have, on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Bhopal disaster, collaborated to form **ICJIB - International Coalition for Justice in Bhopal**. Participants of ICJIB include the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (Hong Kong), Bhopal Action Resource Center (USA), Bhopal Disaster Monitoring Group (Japan), Bhopal Never Again Action Group (Netherlands), Bhopal Trade Union Solidarity Group (UK), Bhopal Victims Support Committee (UK) and the International Organization of Consumers Unions (Malaysia).

Contact: Martin Abraham, IOCU, POB 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia.

L'Atelier international sur les montagnes et les hautes terres africaines a créé une Association des régions montagneuses en Afrique. Nécessité de stratégies de recherches-développement, gestion des ressources et sécurité alimentaire, rôle de l'homme dans l'évolution de l'environnement montagneux en Afrique, processus et conséquences de cette évolution jusqu'à la fin du 20^e siècle - telles furent quelques-unes des questions abordées dans le cadre de l'Atelier (Ethiopie) du 18 au 27 octobre 1986, en présence de spécialistes de 10 pays d'Afrique et de 7 autres pays.

Une première étape consistera à publier un compte rendu des travaux de l'Atelier, que les participants estiment devoir constituer un instrument de référence sans équivalent sur les écosystèmes montagneux et semi-montagneux d'Afrique.

Les participants ont également adopté à l'unanimité une série de résolutions sur les problèmes de mise en valeur des ressources des régions montagneuses et semi-montagneuses d'Afrique.

YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

24th edition 1987/88

Changes of address

REF	NAME	ADDRESS
BB1247	International Association of Agricultural Librarians and Documentalists (IAALD)	Sec Treas: Jan van der Burg, PUDOC, Jan Kopshuis PO Box 4 6700 AA Wageningen, Netherlands. Tx 45015 bilhwg. SG: Col Roland Kesteloot, CISM. Rue Jordaens 26 B-1050 bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 647 68 52-
BB2262	International Military Sports Council	SG: Marie-Louise Heiri, Zollikerstr 128, Ch-8008 Zurich, Switzerland.
8B2355	International Philatelic Federation	Treas: Robert W Schrier. Univ of Colorado. Scholl of Medicine, Dept of Medicine, Box 6-179, 4200 East Ninth Ave, Denver CO 80262, USA. T. (1 303) 270 7765.
8B2559	International Society of Nephrology (ISN)	Dir Gen: Federico Mayor Zaragoza, 7 Place de Fontenoy, F-75700 Paris. France. T. (33 1) 45 68 10 00. C. Unesco Paris. Tx 204461 Paris. Fax 45 67 16 90.
BB3383	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	SG: Mme Caucanaz, ADMD France, 103 rue Lafayette, F-75010 Paris, France. T. (33 1) 42 85 12 22.
CC0146	Association of French-Language Writers	Exec Treas: David R Sanderson, Mayo Clinic Scottsdale, 13400 E Shea Bid, Scottsdale AZ 85259, USA. T. (1 602) 391 8000.
CC0349	World Federation of Right to Die Societies	Exec Sec: Dr Janos Schanda, PO Box 169, A-1033 Wien, Austria.
CC1410	International Bronchoesophagological Society	Last known address: Utrecht, Netherlands.
CC1561	International Commission on Illumination	Last known address: Wien, Austria.
CC1745	International Council of Homehelp Services (ICHS)	SG: Or Peter Corterier, Place du Petit Sablon 3, B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 513 28 65. Tx 24809.
CC1960	International Federation of Multiple Sclerosis Societies (IFMSS)	SG: Basil A Hermon, 69 Evans Lane, Kidlington, Oxford OX5 2JA, UK. T. (44 8675) 2769.
CC3004	North Atlantic Assembly (NAA)	Pres: R Van Essche, Rue de la Science 25, Boite 18, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.
CD4597	International Federation of Hospital Engineering (IFHE)	Last known address: Orly Aéroport, France.
CD6714	International Professional Association for Environmental Affairs (IPRE)	Sec: M R Subramanian, Asian Packaging Federation, c/o Indian Inst of Packaging, E-2 MIDC Area, Chakala - Andheri (E), Bombay 400 093, India.
DC0266	International Air Safety Association (IASA)	Sec: Dr T P McDonald, UT College of Veterinary Medicine, PO Box 1071, Knoxville TN 37901, USA.
DD0087	Asian Packaging Federation (APF)	SG: Claudie de Guillebon, Palais du Louvre, 34 Quai du Louvre, F-75041 Paris CEDEX 01, France. T. (33 48 04 99 55.
DD0105	International Society for Experimental Hematology (ISEH)	Last known address: Oslo, Norway.
DD0115	World Federation of Friends of Museums (WFFM)	Pres: Prof P Lefebvre, Institut de Médecine, Hôpital de Bavière 8, 8-4020 Liège, Belgium.
DD0126	International Guides' Club (IGC)	SG: Enrique A Fernández, Apart Postal 620, Frank Feliz Miranda 21, Santo Domingo, Dominican Rep. T. (809) 567 7725. C. SOLIOARIOS. Tx ITT 3460597.
DD0137	French-Language Association for Research on Diabetes and Metabolic Diseases	Last known address: Lisboa, Portugal.
DD0154	Council of American Development Foundations	Int Office: 45bis rue de la Glacière, F-75013 Paris, France. T. (33) 47 07 00 00.
000199	International Sightseeing and Tours Association (ISTA)	
000201	Brothers to All Men International (BAH)	

REF	NAME	ADDRESS
D0020S	Caribbean Congress of Labour (CCL)	Sec-Treas: Kertist Augustus, Rm 405 Norman Centre. Broad Street, Bridgetown, Barbados. T. (809) 429 5517. C. CARCONLAB.
DD0249	Liaison Committee of European Retail Trade Associations	Gen Dir: Marco Thyssen, Avenue E Iacomblé 17, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. C33 2) 736 04 04. Tx 20157 upal.
DD0265	Christian Democratic Union of Centrâl Europe (CDUCE)	SG: Konrad Sieniewicz, Via del Plebiscite 107, I-0186 Roma Italy.
DD0274	International Association of Dry Cargo Shipowners (INTERCARGO)	Last known address: London, UK.
DD0285	International cogeneration Society (ICS)	Pres: Glenn H Lovin, 309 Commonwealth Bldg, 2045 North 15th Street, Arlington VA 22201, USA. T. (703) 528 5755.
DD0343	Ibero-American Union of Law Colleges and Lawyers' Groups	Sec: Luis Hart Hingarro, Calle Serrano, 28001 Madrid, Spain.
DD0362	Latin American Association of Pharmaceutical Industries	SG: Francisco Alfonso, Esmeralda 130, 5 piso, 1035 Buenos Aires, Argentina. T. (54 1) 394 2990 - (54 1) 394 2998 - (54 1) 394 2963. Tx 19023 CILFAAR.
000569	International Society of Technology Assessment in Health Care (ISTA)	Sec: Dr E Borst-Eilers. Health Council of the Netherlands, PO Box 90517, 2509 LM Den Haag, Netherlands.
DD0375	Latin American Society of Hepatology	Pres: Prof Dr Luiz Carlos da Costa Gayotto, Fac Medicine, University of São Paulo, Av Dr Arnaldo 455 - 3 andar 01246 São Paulo SP, Brazil. T. (55 11) 853 0789.
DD0384	International Society for Chemotherapy and Immunotherapy	Contact: Prof Dr A Stacher, Henrich Collin Strasse 30, A-1140 Wien, Austria.
DD0388	Comparative Education Society in Europe (CESE)	Sec Treas: Prof Henk Van Daele, Rue d'Arlon 15, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 233 01 11. Tx 21 504.
OD0392	Confederation of European Soft Drinks Associations (CESDA)	SG: P E Fosseppez, Ave Général de Gaulle 51, Boite 5, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 649 12 86.
DD0399	Pan African Women's Organization (PAWO)	Last known address: Alger, Algeria.
DD0434	Women's International Tennis Association (WITA)	Secretariat: 2665 South Bay Plaza, Suite 1002, Miami FL 33133, USA.
DD0483	European Economics Association	Sec: Prof Louis Philips, Kastanjelaan 1, B-3030 Heverlee, Belgium.
DD0486	Asian Alliance of Appropriate Technology Practitioners	Exec Officer: Lilia O Ramos 1 Floor, philippine Social Development Center, Cor Real and Magallanes Sts. Intramuros. Manila, Philippines. T. (63 2) 49 82 42 - (63 2) 49 82 17 - (63 2) 49 82 25 • (63 2) 49 93 55.
DD0497	European Society for Human Reproduction and Embryology	Last known address: Bruxelles, Belgium.
DD0499	International Confederation of Music Publishers	Secretariat: 295 Regent Street, London W1R 8JH, UK.
DD0518	International Tire Association	Pres: Anne Evans. PO Box 1067, Farmington CT 06034, USA. T. (203) 677 7782. fx 4972720 perser. Fax (203) 228 9772.
DD0580	European Association of Senior Hospital Physicians	Pres: Pr Cottin, 31 Bd Lelasseur, F-44000 Nantes, France.
DD0620	Christian Democratic European Union (CDEU)	SG: Dr Thomas Jansen, Rue de la Victoire 16, B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 537 25 89. Tx 63885 popeur b.
DD0622	European Civil Service Federation (ECSF)	SG: L Rijnoudt, Rue Franklin 48, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 230 51 76.
DD0647	European Committee of Manufacturers of Refrigeration Equipment	SG: Hans Jürgen Schultz, Am Hauptbahnhof 12, D-6000 Frankfurt-Main, Germany FR. T. (49 69) 27 10 02 37. Tx 176997352 merkur.
DD0649	European Committee of National Federations of the Leather, Travel Goods and Allied Industries	Sec Admin: Fabienne Bantigny, 59 Bd Magenta, F-75010 Paris, France. T. (33) 42 41 44 55. Tx 216483F.
DD0652	European Committee of Pump Manufacturers (EUROPUMP)	SG: B Glanfield, c/o BPMA, Artillery House, Artillery Row - Westminster, London SW1P 1RT, UK. T. (44 1) 222 0830. Tx 8812939 Fax (44 1) 799 1855.
DD0671	Union of European Imitation Fashion Manufacturers	Contact: Arnost Lobl, 40 Greenacres, Hendon Lane. London N3 3SF, UK. T. (44 1) 346 0742. Tx 299396 LAMEZ G. Fax (44 1) 405 1462.
DD0672	European Water Conditioning Association	Secretariat: c/o Fabrimetal, Rue des Drapiers 21, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 511 23 70. Tx 21 070. Fax (32 2) 513 97 29.
DD0696	European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations	Sec: Admin gérante de la CEPT, Mrs Sybille Smith, Dept of Trade and Industry, Telecommunication and Post Office, Kings Gate House, 66-74 Victoria Street, London, UK.
000706	European Dialysis and Transplant Nurses Association • European Renal Care Association (EDTNA/ERCA)	Sec-Treas: Dr J Botella, Hospital Puerto de Hierro, 28080 Madrid, Spain.
000736	European Federation of Manufacturers of Feed Additives	SG: Dr G Behm, Roonstrasse 5, D-5300 Bonn 2, Germany FR. T. (49 28) 35 24 00. Tx 886391 awtd.
000740	Nordic Society of Hematology	Contact: Jorgen Ellegaard, Aarhus Amtssygehus, DK-8000 Aarhus, Denmark.

REF	Name.....	ADDRESS
000748	European Federation of Professional Florists Unions	Secretariat: FEUPF, c/o Federfiori, Via Massena 20, 1-10128 Torino, Italy.
000764	South-East Asian Mathematical Society (SEAMS)	Pres: Prof Lim CHong Keang, Hath Department, University of Malaya, 59100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
000767	International Federation of Air Line Dispatchers' Associations (IFALDA)	Head Office: 6135 Chatam Drive, Aliquippa PA 15001, USA.
DD0773	European Golf Association	SG: John C Storjohann, Case Postale, CH-1066 Epalinges Switzerland. T. (41 21) 32 77 05. Tx 450804 golf.
DD0789	European Oil Hydraulic and Pneumatic Committee	SG: Neil Percival, Artillery House, Artillery Row, London SW1P 1RT, UK. T. (44 1) 799 1585828 8128. Tx 8812939 COMMET C. Fax (44 1) 799 1852.
DD0814	European Movement (EM)	SG: Luigi Vittorio Majocchi, Rue de Trèves 66, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 230 08 51 - (32 2) 230 09 63 C. UNIEUROPA.
DD0818	European Organization for Caries Research (ORCA)	SG: Dr C Robinson, Dept of Oral Biology, School of Dentistry, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9LU, UK. T. (44 532) 440111 Ext 295.
DD0829	European Orthodontic Society (EOS)	Secretariat: Flat 31, 49 Hallam Street, London W1N 5LL, UK.
DD0858	European Society of Toxicology (EST)	Sec: Dr R A Ettlin, Sandoz Ltd, Toxicology, Bldg 881, CH-4002 Basle, Switzerland. T. (41 61) 61 00 11 Tx 963540 Fax (41 61) 61 00 02.
DD0878	International Translations Centre (ITC)	Dir: M Risseeuw, 2 Schuttersveld, 2611 WE Delft, Netherlands. T. (31 15) 14 22 42 - (31 15) 14 22 43. Tx 38104.
DD0892	European Union of Independent Home-Builders	Dir: L Wille, 43 rue de la Violette, B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 511 25 26.
DD0903	European Young Christian Democrats (EYCD)	SG: Filippo Lombardi, JDCE, Rue de la Victoire 16, B-1060 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 537 41 47. Tx 63885 Popeur b.
DD0937	Federation of European Connective Tissue Societies (FECTS)	Sec: Prof A van den Hooff, Lab of Histology and Cel Biology Academic Medical Center, Meibergdreef 15, 1105 AZ Amsterdam, Netherlands.
DD1108	Inter-American Housing Union	SG: Alfredo Tapia Garcia, Casilla 18-1366, Lima, Peru. C. UNIAPRAVI.
DD1145	Nordic Association of Plumbers and Tinsmiths	Head Office: c/o Platslageriarnas Riksförbund, Storgatan 36, S-114 55 Stockholm, Sweden.
DD1160	Scandinavian Packaging Association	Contact: c/o Norwegian Packaging Asn, Box 1754 Vikta, N-0122 Oslo 1, Norway.
DD1242	Nordic Insurance Pool	Sec: Gunnar Hjertquist, c/o Sjöassuradörernas Förening, Skeppsbron 26, S-111 30 Stockholm, Sweden.
DD1305	International Linguistic Association	Sec: Dr Edward G Fichtner, Dept of Gmc, Slvc and E Eur Langs, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing NY 11367-0904, USA.
DD1321	International Association of Organizers of Cycle Competitions	Secretariat: 4 rue Rouget de Lisle, F-92137 Issy les Moulineux CEDEX, France. T. (33) 40 93 20 20.
DD1353	International Association of Textile Dyers and Printers	SG: B G Hazel, Reedham House, 31 King Street West, Manchester M3 2PF, UK. T. (44 61) 834 7871. Tx 666737 BTEA G.
DD1523	Union of European Glass and Pottery Wholesalers Associations	Last known address: Paris, France.
DD1568	International Federation of French-Speaking Accountants	Last known address: Paris, France-
DD1570	Association of French-Speaking Data Processors	Secretariat: 61 rue de Vaugirard, F-75006 Paris, France.
DD1644	Christian Temperance Council for the Nordic Countries	Exec Officer: Ivar Gjerdi, c/o KE, Keysergate 1 4, N-Oslo 1, Norway.
DD1656	International Confederation of Art Dealers	Pres: Günther Abels, Stadtwałggürtel 32A, D-5000 Köln 41, Germany FR. T. (49 221) 40 70 49.
DD1667	Commonwealth Journalists Association (CJA)	Secretariat: UPI, 8 Bouverie Street, London EC4Y 8BB, UK.
001765	Nordic Association of Road and Traffic Engineering	Contact: NVF, c/o Vejdirektoratet, Postboks 2169, DK-1016 København K, Denmark.
DD1831	Union of Nordic Social Democratic Youth	Last known address: London, UK.
DD1852	Nordic Union for Forest Drainage	Contact: c/o SNS, PO Box 234, N-1430 As, Norway. T. (47 2) 94 19 53. Fax (47 2) 94 04 30.
DD1923	Nordjazz	Contact: Lasse Müller, Lagmansgatan 1DA, S-63232 Eskilstuna, Sweden. T. (46 16) 425252.
OD1991	International Federation of Railway Advertising Companies	Sec: Ko de Zeeuw, Alrecon, Rumpsterweg 2, Postbus 9, 3980 CA Bunnick, Netherlands. T. (31 3405) 64714.
D0204	International Federation of Tourist Centres	Last known address: Lausanne, Switzerland.
002151	European Nduroendocrine Association (ENEA)	Contact: Dr A Gomez-Pan, Serv de Endocrinologia, Hospital de la Princesa, Diego de Leon 62, 28006 Madrid, Spain.

REF	NAME	ADDRESS
002220	International League of Religious Socialists	SG: Dr G Barends, PO Box 19, 3890 AA Zeewolde, Netherlands T. (31 3242) 2375. Exec Sec and Head Office: Dr Charles Yrigoyen, Box 127 Madison NJ 07940, USA.
D02260	World Methodist Historical Society (WMHS)	Pres: James W Smith, 50 E 69 th Street, New York NY 10021 USA.
OD2298	International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ISAPS)	Sec: Anthony Chapman, Dept of Biology, Dalhousie University Halifax NS B3H 4J1, Canada.
002358	International Phycological Society	Pres: Dr Bernd Hallier, c/o ISB, Spichernstrasse 55, D-5000 Köln 1 Germany FR. T. (49 221) 57 993 - (49 221) 57 990. Tx 08 881 248. Fax (49 221) 57 993 45.
002453	Internation (ISSO)	Chairman: Prof A G Davenport, Univ of Western Ontario, Boundary Layer Wind Tunnel, London N6A 5S9, Canada.
DD2464	International Association for Wind Engineering (IAWE)	SG: Ms Bazzani, 20 avenue Reille, F-75014 Paris, France. T. (33) 45 81 25 90.
002494	European Federation of the Manufacturers of Abrasive Products	Pres: Prof H Boulangé, Faculté de Médecine, BP 184, F-54505 Vandoeuvre-les-Nancy, France.
DD2554	International Society of Medical Hydrology and Climatology (ISMH)	Last known address: Paris, France.
D02667	European Committee of Chemical Plant Manufacturers (EUCHEMAP)	Head Office: 31 Skinderagade, DK-1159 København, Denmark. T. <45 2> 15 53 00.
D02674	European Institute for Transnational Studies in Group and Organizational Development (EIT)	Contact: Vice Chancellor, c/o Tromsø University, PO Box 635, N-9001 Tromsø, Norway.
DD2730	Commission for Cooperation between Universities of Northernmost Europe	Dir: Prof I A Mjör, Kirkeveien 71B, N-1344 Haslum, Norway. T. <47 2> 58 01 00.
DD2734	Scandinavian Institute of Dental Materials	Presidency: UNIEP, c/o Hauptverband Dt Maler-und- Lackierernhandwerks, Speyerstrasse 3, D-6000 Frankfurt-Main. Germany FR. T. (49 69) 731410 - (49 69) 731490.
002739	International Union of Master Painters (IUMP)	Pres: Benjamin B Wolman, 240 E 76th, Apt 1-8, New York NY 10021, USA. T. (1 212) 628 1797.
DD2741	International Organization for the Study of Group Tensions (IOSGT)	SG: Walter Suter, UIP, Via F. Zorzi 10, Casella postale 142, CH-6902 Lugano (Paradise), Switzerland. T. (39 91) 54 52 14. TX 73 774 misu ch.
DD2758	International Union of Private Railway Truck Owners' Associations	Sec: Frank Sharman, 6 Totland Grove, Chester CH2 2EY, UK.
DD3150	Quaker Esperanto Society	SG: Oddmund Larsen, Samkjøringen av kraftverkene i Norge, PO Box 5093 Majorstua, N-0301 Oslo 3, Norway. T. (47 2) 46 19 30. Tx 19170 somno n. Fax (47 2) 52 28 48.
DD3180	Organization for Nordic Electrical Cooperation	
DD3184	Nordic Cooperative Organization for Applied Research	
D03190	European Society of Associations Executives (ESAE)	
DD3356	Latin American Union of Ecumenical Youth	
OD3366	European Business and Financial Press Association	
DD34Q6	Universala Ligo (UL)	
DD3477	International Committee on English in the Liturgy	
DD3555	Universal Medical Esperanto Association	
DD3672	European Conference of Associations of Telecommunication Cables Industries (EUROTELCAB)	
DD3712	European Group of Valuers of Fixed Assets (TEGOVOFA)	
DD3747	Atlantic Gas Research Exchange (ACRE)	
DD3749	Bureau of European Designers Associations (BEDA)	
DD3821	European Baptist Women's Union	
DD3858	International Committee of Slavists (ICS)	
DD3939	Asian Amateur Athletic Association (AAAA)	
DD4153	Sugar Association of the Caribbean	!!! NO ADDRESS !!! Pres: David Reed, 8 chemin du Loup, Bernex, CH-1233 Genève, Switzerland. SG: Armando Luza, ULAE, Av San Martin 253, Pueblo Libre, Apartado 110121, Lima 11, Peru. T. (51 14) 638827. Secrétariat: UPEFE, Zeeptstraat 55, S-2850 Keerbergen, Belgium. T. (32 15) 51 70 90. Secrétariat: c/o Mrs M Fischer-Mordacci, Parkstraat 26, 1544 AP Zaandijk, Netherlands. Secrétariat: 1275 K Street NW, Suite 1202, Washington DC 20005-4097, USA. SG: Dr Saburo Yamazoe, Maebashi-shi, Iwagami-machi 4-8-9, Gunma-Ken 371, Japan. T. (0272) 31 78 39. Sec: G J Shortell, Cable House, 56 Palace Road, East Molesey KT8 9DW, UK. T. (44 1) 979 4623. Tx 24893. Fax (44 1) 783 0104. Last known address: London, UK. Sec: Mr Eric Thornton, Gas Research Institute, 8600 West Bryn Mawr Avenue, Chicago IL 60631, USA. Secretariat: c/o CSD, 29 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3EG, UK. T. (44 1) 631 1510, Pres: Ms Julia Gerö, c/o Baptist Union of Hungary, Aradi utca 48, H-1062 Budapest VI, Hungary. Sec: Prof I Duridanov, Capaev 52, Bl 17, Sofia 1113, Bulgaria. Hon Sec-Treas: Balwant Singh Kler, c/o ATFS, Asian Asn of Track and Field Statisticians, PO Box 10035, 88800 Kota Kinabalu, Malaysia. Secretariat in Barbados: PO Box 719C, Bridgetown, Barbados. Sec: P A Adorian Paul Adorian Associates, PO Box 16, Billingshurst RH14 9YU UK. T. (44 403) 72 3182. Tx 877806 PAAG. Fax (44 403) 72 2014.

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004224	European Society for Engineering Education	SG: Dr Guy Haug Rue d'Arlon 15. B-1040 Bruxelles Belgium T. (32 2) 233 51 11. Tx 63528. Fax (32 2) 23301 50
004241	Central American and Caribbean Area Endocrine Association	Contact: Dr Baurillo Mora, ACEDYM, Apartado Postal 548, Colegio de Medicos, San José, Costa Rica.
004537	Nordic Council for Animal Welfare	Contact: Foreningen til Dyrenes Beskyttelse, Alsambravej 18 DK-1825 Frederiksberg C, Denmark.
004394	European Travel Commission (ETC)	Exec Dir: Robert Hollier, 2 rue Linois F-75015 Paris France. T. (33) 45 75 62 16. Tx 270974 Setour F. Fax (33) 45 79 90 20.
004422	Committee on Atlantic Studies (CAS)	Exec Sec: Prof Robert J Jackson, Dept of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa 1, Canada.
DD4460	Oil Companies' European Organization for Environmental and Health Protection (CONCAWE)	Contact: Babylon Kantoren-A, Kon Julianaplein 30-9 2595 AA Den Haag, Netherlands.
DD4548	European Neuroscience Association (ENA)	Pres: Dr Michel Cuénod, Inst für Hirnforschung Universität Zurich, August Forel Strasse 1, CH-8029 Zürich, Switzerland.
DD4551	International Society for Aerosols in Medicine (ISAM)	SG: Dr W Hofmann, Abteilung für Biophysik Universität Salzburg, Hellbrunnerstr 34, A-5020 Salzburg. Austria. T. (49 662) 8044 - (49 662) 5705 - (49 662) 5700.
DD4557	European Leisure and Recreation Association (ELRA)	Sec: Elisabeth Sauter, PO Box, CH-8022 Zürich, Switzerland. T. (41 1) 251 72 44.
DD4565	European Federation of Equipment Leasing Company Associations (LEASEUROPE)	Pres: RA Hans Kuschel, Avenue de Tervueren 267, Boite 9 B-1150 Bruxelles, Belgium.
004577	European Computing Services Association (ECSA)	Secretariat: Miss D Kirby, CSA, Hanover House 5th Floor 73/74 High Holborn, London WC 1V 6LE, UK.
DD4632	Joint Council of Nordic Federations of Industry	Last known address: Oslo, Norway.
DD4657	European Home Study Council (EHSC)	Contact: Mr Erling Ljosá, NKS, Postboks 5853, Hedehaugen, N-080 3, Norway.
DD4664	Commonwealth Association of Scientific Agricultural Societies (CASAS)	Pres: Alladin Hashim, AIM, c/o FELDA, Jalan Maktab, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
DD4672	European Working Group for Cystic Fibrosis (EWGCF)	Sec: Dr M H Schöni, Alpine Children's Hospital, Pro Juventure, CH-7270 Davos, Switzerland. T. (41 83) 36131.
DD4674	World Association for Bronchology	Last known address: Park Ridge IL, USA.
DD4676	International Society for Astrological Research (ISAR)	Sec: Carol Tebbs, 3423 Budleigh Dr. Hacienda Hgts CA 91745, USA. T. (818) 333 8702.
DD4686	International Committee on Plant Nutrition (ICPN)	Pres: Prof A van Diest, Dept of Soil Science, Plant Nutrition, Wageningen Agricultural University, PO Box 8005, 6700 EC Wageningen. Netherlands. T. (31) 837082383.
DD4696	Latin Languages Speaking Allergists and Immunologists	SG: Dr Georges M Halpern, 9 Hillbrook Drive, Portola Valley CA 94025, USA. T. (415) 851 4916.
DD4792	Commonwealth Association of Museums (CAM)	Sec: Ms Lois Irvine, Glenbow Museum, 130-9th Avenue SE, Calgary, Canada. T. (403) 264 8300.
DD4814	International Correspondence Society of Allergists (ICSA)	Dir: Dr Harold S Tuft, 3401 S Oneida Way, Suite D, Denver CO 80224-2833, USA.
DD4850	Circuits International	Secretariat: Nurburging GmbH, D-5489 Nürburg, Germany FR.
DD4925	Federation of European Chemical Societies (FECS)	Sec: Dr W Fritsches, Gesellschaft Deutscher Chemiker, postfach 90 04 40, Varrentrappstr 40-42, D-6000 Frankfurt-Main 90, Germany FR. T. (49 69) 79 17 320.
DD5272	Association of West European Shipbuilders (AWES)	Dir: Werner Fante, An der Alster 1, D-2000 Hamburg, Germany FR.
DD5282	African Judo Union	Last known address: Dakar CD, Sendgal.
DD5414	European Environmental Bureau (EEB)	SG: Ernst R Klatte Luxemburgstraat 20, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 647 01 99. Tx 8EE 62 720.
DD5468	European Group for Ecological Action (ECOROPA)	Last known address: Paris, France.
DD5539	International Association for Analytical Psychology (IAAP)	Exec Sec: Yvonne Trueb-Teucher, Postfach 115, CH-8042 Zurich, Switzerland.
DD5549	Nordic Peoples Travel Organization	Contact: Ivan Barington, Kampmannsgade 3, DK-1604 København, Denmark. T. (45 1) 139150.
DD5554	Nordic Committee on Building Regulations	Sec: Bengt Wahlström, Admin Sekretariatet c/o VTT/YRT Itätuulentie 2 SF-02100 Espoo, Finland, f. (358 0) 46 36 15.
DD5581	European Confederation of Auxiliary Occupations in the Wine Trade	Secretariat: CECAVI, Via Novegno 3, I-20149 Milano, Italy.
005794	International Association for Structural Mechanics in Reactor Technology (IASMIRT)	Contact: Sergio Finzi CCE-DG XII, Rue de la Loi 200, B-1049 Bruxelles, Belgium. (32 2) 235 11 11. Tx COMEU B 21877.
DD5801	European Accounting Association (EAA)	Secretariat: c/o EIASM Rue d'Egmont 13, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 511 91 11. Fax (32 2) 512 19 29 INAC B (EFMD).

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45 65 40 40.

SG: Dr Knut A Selvig, Univ of Bergen, School of Dentistry
17 Aarstadveien, K-5000 Bergen, Norway. T. (47 5) 29 48 60.

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Last known address: Singapore, Singapore.

Last known address: F-75116 Paris, France.

Last known address: Paris, France.

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SG: Franco Giuffrida, c/o Union Syndicale, Serv Public
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Sec: Dr W B Rossoco, Goddard Inst for Space Studies, 2880
Broadway, New York NY 10025, USA. T. (212) 678 5567.

DD5826 Latin American Council of Business Schools

DD6011 European Society for Respiratory Diseases in
Children

DD6230 Nordic Union of Hotel, Café and Restaurant Workers

DD6421 European Federation of Biotechnology

DD6770 European Association of Plastic Packaging
Manufacturers

DD6880 Fédération professionnelle arabe des travailleurs de
la construction, du bois et des industries des
matériaux de construction

DD6897 European Contact Lens Society of Ophthalmologists

D07351 Asian and Pacific Federation of Organizations for
Cancer Research and Control (APFOCC)

D07450 African Political Science Association

DD7490 European Manufactured Marble Association (EMWA)

D076S3 Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology

DD7720 European Brokerage Society

DD7750 European Building Design Association

DD8006 Young European Federalists (YEF)

DD8437 European Secretariat of the Liberal Professions

DD8610 League of Homosexual Esperantists

DD8S20 Organisation for Data Exchange through
Telettransmission in Europe (ODETTE)

DD8822 International Association in Defence of Artists

DD9042 International Action Against Hunger

DD9150 Scandinavian Association for Dental Research

DD9208 International Tobacco Information Center (INFOTAB)
DD9624 Asian Composers' League
DD9742 International Society of Ecotoxicology and
Environmental Safety (SECOTOX)
DD9817 International Academy of Environmental Safety (IAES)
DD9928 International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies
(ISECs)
DE0211 European Public Service Union

DE2680 Association of Caribbean Studies (ACS)

EC0175 Atlantic Association of Young Political Leaders
(AAYPL)

EE0037 International Working Group on Bacterial Blight of
Rice

EE0039 International Clubroot Working Group

EE0046 International Working Group for the Study of Viruses
and Virus Diseases of the Grape (ICVG)

EE0050 International Working Group on Gramineaceous Downy

EE0107 Southern African Wildlife Management Association

EE0134 International Commission on Planetary Atmospheres
and their Evolution (ICPAE)

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EE0161 Association of Sewing Machine Manufacturers of the	Secretariat: Grabbeplatz 2, PO Box 8231, D-4000 Dusseldorf 1, Germany FR. T. (49 211) 80 521. Tx 8584491.
EE0200 International Commission on Snow and Ice <ICS1>	Sec: Dr Bruno Salm, Inst für Schnee- und Lawinenforschung Weissfluhjoch, CK-Davos, Switzerland. T. (41 83) 532 64.
EE0230 International Churchill Society (ICS)	Chairman of the Board: Wallace N Johnson 9905 Devonshire Drive, Omaha NE 68114, USA. T. (402) 346 6000.
EE0291 International Committee for Radionuclide Metrology	Sec: Dr Dale D Hoppes, National Bureau of Standards, Gaithersburg MD 20899, USA. T. (301) 975 5535. Tx 898493 GARG.
EE0340 Common Market Committee of the Nitrogenous and Phosphatic Fertilizers Industry	Secretariat: chaussée de Charleroi 148, B-1060 Bruxelles Belgium. T. (32 2) 538 60 16.
EE0357 Common Market Working Party of the International Association of Users of Yarn of Man-Made Fibres	Last known address: Paris, France.
EE0368 International Copyright Information Centre (ICIC)	Dir: Abderrahmane Amri, c/o Unesco, 31 rue François Bonvin,
EE0371 IAU International Commission on stellar Constitutor	Pres: Prof D Sugimoto, Dept of Earth Sciences and Astronomy College of Arts And Sciences, Univ of Tokyo, Komaba Meguro-u, Tokyo 153, Japan. T. (81 3) 467 1171 Ext 452 :252. Tx 2426728 TOCAIK J.
EE0411 Association of the Central Alps	Pres: Dr Pierluigi Angeli, Piazza Dante 15, 1-38100 Trento Italy. T. (39 461) 981333. Tx 400 492 pa In I.
EE0425 Coordinating Committee for Satellite Communications	Sec: Gilbert Dupuis, Direction générale PTT, Dept des Télécommunications, CH-3030 Berne, Switzerland. T. (41 31) 62 36 49. Tx 311010 ptt ch. Fax (41 31) 62 25 49.
EED430 International Federation of Professional Relief Workers	Secretariat: Avenue Général De Ceuninck 77, B-1020 Bruxelles, Belgium.
EE0436 Human Rights Organisation for East-Africa (HURO-EA)	Last known address: Antwerpen, Belgium.
EE0439 Secrétariat européen du Mouvement chrétien pour la paix	SG: Maria Hartl, Rue Stévin 92, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 230 84 99.
EE0474 European Institute for Social Action	Last known address: Bruxelles, Belgium.
EE0482 ECSC Group of Wholesale Coal Merchants	Last known address: Paris, France.
EE0505 International Christian Centre for Research on Information about and Analysis of the Strip Cartoon	Dir: Roland Francart, Rue Murillo 2, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 733 30 87.
EE0542 European Federation of Trade Unions of Transport Workers	Contact: c/o IFTUTW, Rue de Trèves 33, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.
EE0615 Comité des ONG sur les questions de la famille	Contact: Helmut Schattovits, IUFO, Spiegelgasse 3/8, A-1010 Wien, Austria. T. (43 222) 513 28 83.
EE0645 European Cooperatives Coordination Committee (ECCC)	Coordinator: G Ravolet, c/o Groupement Banques Coop, Rue de la Science 23-25, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 230 11 24. Fax (32 2) 230 06 49.
EE0699 International Committee for Amateur-Built Aircraft	Last known address: Paris, France.
EE0960 Inter-American Centre for the Production of Educational and Scientific Materials for the Press	Last known address: Bogota, Colombia.
EE1010 Nordic Group of Air Traffic Controllers Association	s Secretariat: c/o Finnish Air Traffic Controllers Asn, PL 83, SF-01531 Vantaa 53, Finland.
EE1140 Committee of the Watchmaking Industries of the EEC	Secretariat: Poststrasse 1, Postfach 19 07, D-7530 Pforzheim, Germany FR.
EE1173 International Scientific Committee of Asian Congresses of Fluid Mechanics (AFMC)	Pres: Prof H Sato, Inst of Flow Research, 6-10-39-205 Akasaka, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
EE1215 Eastern Dredging Association (EADA)	Secretariat: c/o Home Consultants, 15 Scotts Rd, Suite 03-11, Thong Check Bldg, Singapore 0922, Singapore.
EE1267 Nordic Committee for the International Organization of Standardization	Last known address: Helsinki, Finland.
EE1510 World Committee for the Decade of Disabled Persons	Last known address: Berne, Switzerland.
EE1703 International Container Bureau	SG: P Fournier, 14 rue Jean Rey F-75015 Paris France. T. (33 1) 47 34 68 13. Tx UNINFER 270 835 F. Fax (33 1) 42 73 01 40.
EE1709 International Committee for the History of Technology (ICOHTEC)	Contact: Dr R A Buchanan, University of Technology, Claverton Down, Bath, UK.
EE1785 Joint Committee of the Textile Finishing Industry i the EEC	SG: Barry George Hazel, Reedham House, 31 King St West, Manchester M32PF, UK. T. (44 61) 834 78 71. Tx 666737 STEA G.
EE2040 IGU Commission on Geographical Data Sensing and Processing	Chairman: Prof D F Marble, Geographic Information Systems Lab Dept of Geography Ohio State University, Columbus OH 43210, USA. T. (614) 292 2250. Tx 6502184975.
EE2180 International Heat Flow Commission (IHFC)	Chairman: S Uyeda, Earthquake Research Institute, University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan.
EE256S Asian Packaging Information Centre (APIC)	Last known address: Kowloon, Hong Kong.

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EE2650	European Commission of the Corsetry' industry	Secretariat: British Clothing Ind Asn, 7 Swallow Place, Oxford Circus, London W1R 7AA, UK.
EE2758	ICA Women's Committee	Hon Sec: Ms M J Russell, 417a Hertford Road, Enfield EN3 5PT, UK.
EE2930	European Commission for the Promotion of Silk	Pres: Kans Georg Rhonheimer, Abraham AG Zollikerstrasse 226, CH-8034 Zurich, Switzerland. T. (41 1) 55 25 22. Tx 816815 ABRA CH. Fax (41 1) 55 25 11.
EE2933	Liberal and Radical Youth Movement of the European Community (LYKEC)	Contact: c/o IFLRY, PO Box 781, 8-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium.
EE3276	Eurogroup for Animal Welfare	Dir: Ian R G Ferguson, square Marie-Louise 17, Boite 6, B-1040 Bruxelles. Belgium. T. (32 2) 231 138 8. Tx England 878484 RSPCA. Fax (32 2) 230 1700.
EE3290	International Curling Federation - Ladies Committee	Chairperson: Ms Bente Hoel, Tvetenveien 233, N-0675 Oslo 6, Norway.
EE3296	Permanent International Vinegar Committee - Common Market	SG: Ottavio Gagliano, FEDERVINI, Via Mentana 2/B, I-00185 Roma, Italy. T. (39 6) 47 40 700 - (39 6) 47 44 412.
EE3369	Union of the Association of Semolina Manufacturers of the EEC	SG: Fabrizio Vitali. Via dei Crociferi 44, I-00187 Roma, Italy. T. (39 6) 678 5409. Tx 621487 MOLPAS I.
EE3398	International Committee on Economic and Applied Microbiology (ICEAM)	Chairman: Prof Arnold Demain, Dept of Nutrition and Food Science, Massachusetts Inst of Technology, Cambridge MA 02139, USA.
EE3457	Liaison Committee of Ferroalloy Industries in the European Economic Community	SG: Roger Carles, 30 avenue de Messine, F-75008 Paris, France. T. (33) 45 61 06 63. Tx CS METO PARIS 650438.
EE3543	World Food Programme (WFP)	Exec Dir: James Charles Ingram, Via Cristoforo Colombo 426 I-00100 Roma Italy. T. (39 6) 57971. C WORLDFOOD ROME. Tx 626675 wfp i. Fax (39 6) 513353.
EE3691	EEC Wine and Spirit Importers Group	Dir: Dr R J B Wallast Groenewoud. Van Eeghenlaan 27, 1071 EN Amsterdam, Netherlands. T, (31 20) 73 03 31 - (31 20) 73 16 54. Tx 10769 CNW.
EE3838	International Commission on the Meteorology of the Upper Atmosphere (ICMUA)	Sec: Prof G E Thomas, Lab for Atmospheric and Space Physics, Campus Box 392, University of Colorado, Boulder CO 80309 USA. T. <303> 692 7022.
EE3839	International Commission on Dynamic Meteorology (ICDM)	Pres: Prof H C Davies, Atmospheric Physics, ETH-Hönggerberg, CH-8093 Zurich, Switzerland. T. (41 1) 377 55 06.
EE3979	International Dragon Class Association	Contact: Donald F Biddle, 1 Riding House Street, London W1P 7PA, UK. T. (44 1) 637 5377. Tx 25187 SNIUILL G.
EE4516	Conference of Protestant Churches in the Latin Countries of Europe (CEPPLE)	Sec: Gérard Cadier, 291 rue Montesquieu, F-69400 Villefranche, France.
EE4714	Emmaus International	Secretariat: PO Box 91, F-94143 Alfortville CEDEX, France.
	Capillary Transport	Chairman: Prof Peter Gaehtgens, Physiologisches Institut, Freien Universität Berlin, Am Malle 22, D-1000 Berlin 33, Germany FR.
EE4845	International Book Committee (IBC)	Contact: Ralph Staiger, 701 Dallam Road, Newark DE 19711, USA. Tx 5106002813 reading.
EE5004	OCTI Staff Association	Contact: c/o OCTI, Gryphenhübeliweg 30, CH-3006 Berne. Switzerland. T. (41 31) 43 17 62. C. OCTI Berne. Tx 912063 OCTI CH.
EE5104	International Committee for Adlerian Summer Schools and Institutes (ICASSI)	Admin: Rolald Hawes, 103-2419 Bellevue Ave, Vancouver V7V 4T4, Canada.
EE5156	Federation of Associations of Periodical Publishers in the EEC	Secretariat: Rue Charles Martel 54, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium.
EE5517	International Six Metre Class Association	Contact: Didier Bottge, 44 avenue Krieg, CH-1208 Genève, Switzerland.
EE5548	Baltic Sea Hydrographie Commission (BSHC)	Contact: c/o Dt Hydrographisches Inst, Bernhard-Noch-Str 78, D-2000 Hamburg 4, Germany FR.
EE5565	Joint Committee of the Nordic Medical Research Councils	Sec: Ole Johan Sandvand, Council for Medical Research, NAVF, Sandakerveien 99, 0483 Oslo 4, Norway.
EE6204	International Committee for Unesco Universality	Last known address: Paris, France.
EE6342	World Federation of UNESCO Clubs Centres and Associations (WFUCA)	SG: Pierre Lesueur, 1 rue Miollis, F-75015 Paris, France. T. (33) 47 04 57 33.
EE6422	Union of International Nongovernmental Organizations Established in France	Pres: Mme Goncet, c/o CCI, 38 Cours Albert Ier. F-75008 Paris, France. T. (33 1) 47 66 75 10 - (33 1) 48 42 34 74.
EE6695	European Tourism Action Group (ETAG)	Contact: 2 rue Linois, F-75015 Paris, France. T. (33) 45 75 62 16. Tx 270974 Setour F.
EE6768	International Integration Institute	Last known address: La Paz, Bolivia.
EE7095	Nordic Social Statistics Committee	Sec: Johannes Nielsen Nososko, c/o Nordisk Statistisk Sekretariat, Sejrøgade 11, Postboks 2550, DK-2100 København, 800, Denmark. T. (45 1) 29 82 22.

REF NAME

EE7200 European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages

EE7230 European Group of Manufacturers of Corrugated Paper

EE7299 ASEAN Federation of Accountants (AFA)

EE7579 Asia-Pacific APREF Council

EE7664 World Union of North African Jews

EE8092 International Commission on Neurotransmitters and
Modulations

EES314 African Training and Research Centre for the
Performing Arts (Mudra Africa)

EE8948 International Committee of Artistic Advisers

EE9611 Joint European Medical Research Board (JAMRE)

EE9623 Virology Division, International Union of
Microbiological Societies

EE9972 International Project on Communication Aids for the
Speech Impaired

FC1394 International Bankers Association (IBA)

FD1391 Islam and the West International

FD3589 Latin American Movement of Working Women

FD3917 International Towing Tank Conference (ITTC)

FE0590 International Research and Study Centre for
Development

FE2840 Equity Policy Center (EPOC)

FF0193 Global Education Associates (GEA)

FF0196 International League for the Rights and Liberation
of Peoples

FF0229 The Hague Club

FF0240 World Runners

FF0277 Special Olympics

FF0295 European Trade Promotion Organization (ETPO)

FF0330 Pacific Islands Association (PIA)

FF0338 Latin American Network for Food

FF0339 European Conference Justitia et Pax

FF0377 Assist Card International

FF0407 Secretariat of the Convention on the Conservation of
Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS, UNEP/CMS)

FF0408 Scientific Council of the Convention on the
Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals

FF0422 European Center for Strategic Management of
Universities

FF0441 Foundation for International Exchange of Scientific
and Cultural Information by Telecommunications

FF0471 World Maritime University (WMU)

FF0479 world Sikh Organization

FF0543 Réseau africain de développement intégré

FF0645 INFOPECA

FF0710 World Life Saving (WLS)

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France.

Pres: José Blanco, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Avenida
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Last known address: Washington DC, USA.

Contact: Mazida N'diaye, Radi, 8P 12085, Dakar, Senegal.

Last known address: Panama, Panama.

SG: Edward L Bean, 191 Church Street, Toronto ON M5B 1Y7, Canada. T. (416) 364 3881.

REF	NAME	ADDRESS
FF0880	Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) Last known address: Minneapolis MN, USA.
FF0974	Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP)	Exec Dir: Stanley W Hosie, 777 United Nations Plaza Hew York NY 10017, USA. T. (212) 818 1188. C. FOSOPAC NEWYORK Tx WUL 62895.
FF116S	Foundation for the Acta Odontologica Scandinavica	Contact: Prof Ivar A Mjör, NIOM Kirkeveien 71B, N-1344 Haslum, Norway. T. (47) 58 01 00.
FF119S	Euro-Arab Secretariat	Last known address: Bruxelles, Belgium.
FF1200	International Banking Campaign Against South Africa (IBCASA)	Contact: Marion Wallace, ELTSA, PO Box 686, London NW5 2NW UK. T. (44 1) 485 8793.
FF1560	European Ki Society	Last known address: Bruxelles, Belgium.
FF1670	Network Africa	Secretariat: PO Box 42365, Nairobi, Kenya. T. (254 2) 28715 - (254 2) 336244.
FF2010	International Union for Development Cooperation	!!! NO ADDRESS !!!
FF2048	International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES)	Gen Sec: Chua Wee Hian, c/o IFES Admin Office, 55 Palmerston Road, Wealdstone, Harrow HA3 7RR, UK. T. (44 1) 863 8688 C Felinter Harrow.
FF2180	International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG)	Chairman: Charles E Grassley, 220 I Street NE, Suite 230, Washington DC 20002, USA. T. (202) 544 1902.
FF2192	International Lead Zinc Research Organization (ILZRO)	Pres: Dr Jerome Cole, PO Box 12036, Research Triangle Park NC 27709, USA. T. (919) 361 4641. Tx 261533.
FF2296	Latin American Peace and Justice Service	Gen Coordinator: Creuza Rosa Maciel, Rua da Lapa 180/1107 20021 Rio de Janeiro RJ, Brazil. T. (55 21) 232 8535.
FF2390	Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World (CESSTH)	Secretariat: Magnolia No 39. SN Jeronimo Lidice, Mexico DF 10200, Mexico.
FF2460	Belladonna	Last known address: Bruxelles, Belgium.
FF2500	European Group for Rapid Laboratory Viral Diagnosis	Sec: Dr M Grandien, National Bacteriological Lab, S-10591 Stockholm, Sweden.
FF2540	Women Speakers for the Commonwealth	Last known address: London, UK.
FF2620	Ecumenical Group of Women Religious (KAIRE)	Secretariat: 108 Avenue Lambeau, B-1200 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 735 09 08.
FF2702	Socialist Group in the European Parliament	Contact: Jan D Kurlmann, Informationsbüro des EP, Bonn center, Bundeskanzlerplatz, D-5300 Bonn 1, Germany FR.
FF2725	International Conference of Deans of French-Speaking Faculties of Medicine	Pres: Prof André Gouazé, Faculté de Médecine, Zbis Boulevard Tonnelie, F-37032 Tours CEDEX, France. T. (33) 47 37 66 73.
FF2777	International Rostum of Composers	!!! NO ADDRESS !!!
FF3399	Eckankar	Postal Address: PO Box 27300, Minneapolis MN 55427-0300, USA.
FF4139	Royal Agricultural Society of the Commonwealth (RASC)	Hon Sec: F R Francis, LVO • MBE, 55 Sleaford Street, London SW8 5AG, UK. T. (44 1) 627 2111.
FF4794	SESAH	Contact: c/o ESF. Edb-Systemleverandørernes Forening, Admiralgade 15, DK-1066 København K, Denmark.
FF5598	International Organising Committee for European Thermophysical Properties Conferences (ETPC)	Contact: Prof G Backstrom, Dept of Physics, University of Umeå, S-90187 Umeå, Sweden.
FF5673	International Lime Association	Sec: Pier Clémente Balsi, c/o Assocemento. Via di S Teresa 23, I-00198 Roma, Italy. T. (39 6) 86 43 14. Tx AITEC I
FF6222	Euro Travellers Cheque International	Sec: Mark Van Wauwe, Avenue Louise 327 - Bte 12, B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 641 59 72 - (32 2) 641 59 73. Tx 61 542.
FF6251	International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)	Sec: Dr John O Pastore, 126 Rogers Street, Cambridge MA 02142, USA. T. (617) 868 5050. Tx 4430017 IPPNW.
FF6414	European People's Party - Federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Community (EPP)	SG: Thomas Jansen, Rue de la Victoire 16, B-1060 Bruxelles, Belgium. T. (32 2) 537 25 89. Tx 63885.
FF6830	World Geniocratic Government	Secrétariat: CP 562, CH-1211 Genève 1, Switzerland.
FF7425	General Association of Asian Sports Federations	Secretariat: 34 Seosmoon-Dong, Seoul, Korea Rep.
FF7601	East Asian Stock Exchange Conference (EASEC)	Last known address: Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
FF7620	Pathfinder Fund	Exec Daniel E Pellegrom, 9 Galen Street, Watertown MA 02172-4501, USA.
FF8516	Universal White Brotherhood (UWB)	SG: R Bellemín, 2 rue du Belvédère de la Ronce, F-92310 Sèvres, France. T. (33) 45 34 08 85.
FF9411	Antarctica and Southern Ocean Coalition (ASOC)	Counsel: James H Barnes, 201 D St SE, Washington DC 20003, USA. T. (202) 544 2600. Tx 62949875.
FF9578	Colombo Plan Staff College for Technician Education	Secretariat: Block C, UL Complex, Meralco Ave, Pacig 3130, Metro Manila, Philippines. T. (63 2) 673 0886 - (63 2) 673 0890. Tx ITT 43175 SCOTE PM. Fax (63 2) 673 0891.
FF9790	Middle Atmosphere Program (HAP)	! M NO ADDRESS !!!

Répartition géographique des réunions internationales par continent, pays et villes

For the past 38 years, the Union of International Associations has undertaken, for the benefit of its members, statistical studies on the international meetings that took place worldwide in the preceding years.

Meetings taken into consideration include those organized and/or sponsored by the international organizations which appear in the «Yearbook of International Organizations» and in the «International Congress Calendar», i.e.: the sittings of their principal organs, congresses, conventions, symposia, regional sessions grouping several countries, as well as some national meetings with international participation organized by national branches of international associations.

This is a typical situation made following the researches compiled by the UAI Congress Department and using the current available information from international organizations.

Depuis 38 ans, l'UAL a établi à l'intention de ses membres, un relevé statistique des réunions internationales tenues dans l'année écoulée.

Les présents statistiques reflètent la courbe ascendante du nombre total des réunions internationales et sont basées sur des données recueillies par le Département Congrès de l'UAI et retenues selon les critères spécifiques décrits ci-dessous.

Sont prises en considération, les réunions organisées et/ou patronnées par les associations internationales reprises dans l'«Annuaire des Organisations Internationales» et dans l'«International Congress Calendar», c'est-à-dire : les assises de leurs principaux organes, congrès, sessions régionales (groupant plusieurs pays), symposia, colloques, etc... ainsi que certaines réunions nationales à très large participation internationale, organisées par les branches nationales des OING.

Sont exclues des statistiques: les réunions nationales, cérémonies/mémoires à caractère essentiellement religieux, éducatifs (cours), politiques, commercial (foires, salons), sportif (compétitions, tournois...) ainsi que les réunions très limitées dans la participation ou spécifiques: sessions régulières de comités, groupes d'experts etc... particulièrement nombreuses au niveau inter-gouvernemental: ces réunions se tiennent généralement au siège même des grandes OIG à New York, Genève, Bruxelles, Rome, Vienne...

Il s'agit d'une situation typique établie sur base des recherches compilées par le Département Congrès de l'IAI

AFRICA									
ALGERIA	8	-	8 +	0	NIGER	7 -	7 +	0	
CAMEROUN	10	-	10 +	0	SENEGAL	12 -	12 +	0	
EGYPT	29	-	26 +	3	SOUTH AFRICA	12 -	10 +	2	
ETHIOPIA	5	-	5 +	0	TANZANIA	8 -	8 +	0	
GHANA	7	-	7 +	0	TOGO	9 -	7 +	2	
IVORY COAST	7	-	7 +	0	TUNIZIA	18 -	15 +	3	
KENYA	31	-	31 +	0	ZAMBIA	10 -	10 +	0	
MALI	6	-	6 +	0	ZIMBABWE	22 -	20 +	2	
MOROCCO	13	-	12 +	1	OTHERS	54 -	54 +	0	
NIGERIA	12	-	9 +	3					
						280 - 264 + 16			

- Total of international meetings
- Number of international meetings organised/sponsored by international organisations
- Number of national meetings with large international participation

Explication des chiffres: * — * + * *

AMERICA				
ARGENTINA				
Buenos Aires	46 -	32 +	14	
Others	21 -	15 +	6	
BRAZIL				
Rio de Janeiro	32 -	19 +	13	
Sao Paulo	17 -	12 +	5	
Others	29 -	19 +	10	
CANADA				
Montreal	50 -	40 +	10	
Ottawa	18 -	16 +	2	
Toronto	29 -	21 +	8	
Vancouver	37 -	22 +	15	
Others	56 -	44 +	12	
CHILE				
		13 -	13 +	0
COLOMBIA				
		14 -	14 +	0
COSTA RICA				
		8 -	8 +	0
CUBA				
		14 -	11 +	3
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC				
		6 -	6 +	0
ECUADOR				
		11 -	9 +	2
JAMAICA				
		10 -	9 +	1
MEXICO				
Mexico City	18 -	17 +	1	
Others	20 -	15 +	5	
PANAMA				
		9 -	8 +	1
PERU				
		16 -	14 +	2
PUERTO RICO				
		10 -	9 +	1
URUGUAY				
		6 -	6 +	0
USA				
		684 -	559 +	25
Atlanta	13 -	10 +	3	
Boston	17 -	16 +	1	
Chicago	40 -	35 +	5	
Las Vegas	15 -	11 +	4	
Los Angeles	17 -	12 +	5	
New Orleans	13 -	9 +	4	
New York	72 -	65 +	7	
Philadelphia	12 -	10 +	2	
San Francisco	25 -	17 +	6	
Washington	75 -	69 +	6	
Others	387 -	305 +	82	
VENEZUELA				
			19 -	18 + 1
Caracas	15 -	14 +	1	
Others	4			
OTHERS				
		48 -	48 +	0
				1241 - 1004 + 237

ASIA				
CHINA				
Beijing	33 -	26 +	7	49 - 37 + 12
Others	16 -	11 +	5	
HONG KONG				
				54 - 29 + 25
INDIA				
New Delhi	32 -	29 +	3	
Others	42 -	38 +	4	
INDONESIA				
			34 -	33 + 1
Jakarta	16 -	- 15	1	
Others	18 -	18 +	0	
ISRAEL				
			78 -	38 + 40
Jerusalem	43 -	21 +	22	
Tel Aviv	20 -	6 +	14	
Others	15 -	11 +	4	
JAPAN				
			116 -	95 + 21
Kyoto	9 -	9 +	0	
Tokyo	56 -	43 +	13	
Others	51 -	43 +	8	
JORDAN				
			10 -	10 + 0
KOREA SOUTH				
			98 -	53 + 45
Seoul	84 -	49 +	35	
Others	14 -	4 +	10	
MALAYSIA				
			49 -	40 + 9
Kuala Lumpur	32 -	26 +	6	
Others	17 -	14 +	3	
PAKISTAN				
			7 -	5 + 2
PHILIPPINES				
			47 -	30 + 17
Manila	38 -	22 +	16	
Others	9 -	8 +	1	
SINGAPORE				
			100 -	58 + 42
SRI LANKA				
			6 -	5 + 1
TAIWAN				
			9 -	8 + 1
THAILAND				
			57 -	49 + 8
Bangkok	47 -	- 40	7	
Others	10 -	+ 9	1	
OTHERS				
			31 -	31 + 0
				819 - 588 + 231
AUSTRALASIA				
AUSTRALIA				
			109 -	84 + 25
Adelaide	19 -	11 +	8	
Melbourne	15 -	13 +	2	
Perth	8 -	6 +	2	
Sydney	27 -	20 +	7	
Others	40 -	34 +	6	
FIJI				
			7 -	7 + 0
NEW CALEDONIA				
			8 -	8 + 0
NEW ZEALAND				
			26 -	25 + 1
OTHERS				
			8 -	8 + 0
				158 - 132 + 26

	E	UR	E		
AUSTRIA		181 -		152 +	29
Salzburg	20-	17 +	3		
Vienna	106-	95 +	1 1		
Others	55-	40 +	15		
BELGIUM		265 -		184 +	81
Antwerp	39-	25 +	14		
Brussels	157 -	122 +	35		
Liege	19 -	5 +	14		
Others	50 -	32 +	18		
BULGARIA		24-		17 +	7
Sofia	13-	11 +	2		
Others	11 —	6 +	5		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		54 -		35 +	19
Bratislava	8-	4 +	4		
Praha	27 -	25 +	2		
Others	19 -	6 +	13		
DENMARK		123 -		93 +	30
Aarhus	10-	9 +	1		
Kopenhagen	63 -	43 +	20		
Helsingor	13 -	8 +	5		
Others	37-	33 +	4		
FINLAND		108-		85 +	23
Espoo	20 -	13 +	7		
Helsinki	52 -	45 +	7		
Others	36-	27 +	9		
FRANCE		631 -		338 +	293
Bordeaux	10-	7 +	3		
Cannes	11 —	8 +	3		
Lyon	12-	10 +	2		
Marseilles	13-	6 +	7		
Nice	24-	12 +	12		
Paris	358-	58 +	200		
Strasbourg	67-	54 +	13		
Others	136-	83 +	53		
GERMAN DEM REP		21 -		17 +	4
BERLIN EAST		8 -		8 +	0
BERLIN WEST		100 -		53 +	47
GERMANY FED REP		299-		186 +	113
Hamburg	28-	18 +	10		
Köln	21 -	12 +	9		
München	63-	30 +	33		
Others	87 - 1	26 +	61		
GREECE		48-		43 +	5
Athina	30 -	27 +	3		
Others	18-	16 +	2		
HUNGARY		78-		64 +	14
Budapest	53 -	42 +	11		
Others	25-	22 +	3		
ICELAND		11 —		8 +	3
IRELAND		39 -		28 +	11
Dublin	28 -	18 +	10		
Others	11 —	10 +	1		
TALY		278 -		184 +	94
Bologna	10-	3 +	7		
Firenze	29-	22 +	7		
Milano	33-	20 +	13		
Roma	69-	55 +	14		
Trieste	17 -	16 +	1		
Venezia	15-	10 +	5		
Others	1 05-	58 +	47		
LUXEMBOURG		34-		24 +	10
MONACO		21 -		10 +	11

NETHERLANDS			274 -	138 +	136
Amsterdam	84 -	49 +	35		
Maastricht	14 -	12 +	2		
Rotterdam	27 -	14 +	13		
The Hague	42 -	23 +			
Others	107 -	40 +	67		
NORWAY			43-	41 +	2
Oslo	24 -	23 +	1		
Others	19-	18 +	1		
POLAND			31 -	27 +	8
PORTUGAL			46 -	38 +	
Lisboa	28 -	26 +	2		
Others	18 -	12 +	6		
SPAIN			284-	193 +	91
Barcelona	96-	55 +	41		
Madrid	118-	76 +	42		
Others	70-	62 +	8		
SWEDEN			120-	100 +	20
Goteborg	10 -	7 +	3		
Stockholm	63 -	53 +	10		
Others	47 -	40 +	7		
SWITZERLAND			310 -	277 +	33
Geneva	180 -	172 +	8		
Lausanne	12 -	10 +	2		
Zurich	27-	24 +	3		
Others	91 -	71 +	20		
TURKEY			29-	27 +	2
UK			606 -	331 +	275
Birmingham	14 -	6 +	8		
Brighton	25 -	10 +	15		
Cambridge	13 -	6 +	7		
Edinburgh	27-	21 +	6		
London	258 -	158 +	100		
Manchester	19-	8 +	11		
Oxford	7 -	4 +	3		
Others	243-	118 +	125		
USSR			44 -	42 +	2
Moscow	12				
Others	32 -	30 +	2		
YUGOSLAVIA			64-	46 +	18
Dubrovnik	13-	10 +	3		
Ljubljana	15 -	11 +	4		
Zagreb	12 -	12 +	0		
Others	24-	13 +	11		
OTHERS			9-	9 +	0
			4	183-	2798 1385 +
TOTAL					
AFRICA	280 -		264 +	16	
AMERICA	1241 -		1004 +	237	
ASIA	819 -		588 +	231	
AUSTRALASIA	158-		132 +	26	
EUROPE	4183-		2798 +	1385	
+ NOT DETERMINED					
	61 -		61 +	0	

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