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Les ONG et la démocratie dans la nouvelle Europe

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43rd year

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.

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

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

Son programme, conforme aux principes et aux méthodes de l'UAl, 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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CSCE :
A Potential Fertile Ground For NGO Action

by Alexander S. Kamarotos *

The CSCE process, far from been recent, has its origins back in 1973, when it was called to fill the gap of East-West relations. At that early time it represented a hope for establishing a basic framework of cooperation. Being the result of long negotiations, the Helsinki process, as it was defined by the Helsinki Final Act (1975) and by the meetings in Belgrade (1978), Madrid (1980/1983), Stockholm (1986), Vienna (1989) reflected certainly the complex evolution of East-West relations.

In fact, at the end of the nineties due to the démocratisation process in Eastern Europe and the détente among most of the countries involved, new perspectives seemed, firstly, to consolidate the process and secondly, to widen the range of issue areas in the political, economical, military, humanitarian, cultural and human rights fields (1).

What has been the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the CSCE process ? What are the perspectives for the future ?

These are the main questions that this article attempts to illuminate.

First of all we should say that the Helsinki Act did not provide for any kind of non-governmental cooperation or consultation. The only reference to NGOs was a recommendation to the governments concerning the part entitled "Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields" : It recommends the *"expansion of contacts by way of further developing contacts among governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations and associations, including women's organizations, the participating States will facilitate the convening of meetings as well as travel by delegations, groups and individuals"*. However, this paragraph was the result of a proposal of Eastern countries and has never been implemented (2).

Nevertheless, as the experience of the League of Nations has proven, NGO action does not always depend on formal consultative status; in addition, a great part of non-governmental contribution remains informal even when consultative arrangements exist (eg. NGO networks at the UN framework). In all the CSCE meetings without exception, NGO representatives were present. Even if they did not even had the right to attend as observers, they managed to influence the process.

The Conference of Madrid (1980) constitutes a turning point for the participation of non-governmental organizations at the CSCE. A substantial number of NGOs, very heterogeneous, imposed their presence in the Spanish capital. Being conscious of their exclusion from the formal meetings, they organized their own meetings as well as a great variety of parallel demonstrations. The most important was the organization of a NGO Conference, which was taking place at the same time as the CSCE Conference. This conference was organized by a NGO, The World Federation of United Nations Associations (Consultative status I at the U.N.), with the support of the Spanish government, including a financial contribution (3). The general title of the Conference was: "Towards promoting the implementation of the CSCE Final Act". Thirty-two NGOs and fourteen national associations of the United Nations participated in the meetings. It should be noted, however, that the organizations of dissidents (including the different national Helsinki groups) did not participate in this Conference and formed a separated group of consultation (4). The Conference was closed with the adoption of a NGO Final Declaration (5).

After the Conference of Madrid, NGO Conferences became almost a tradition for all the CSCE meetings. Naturally, the process of démocratisation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, facilitated even more the access of NGOs and national Helsinki groups to the meetings. In spite of this, there was no evolution in the formal level, and it was becoming obvious that there was a need for a formal framework of NGO participation and consultation. For the first time the final document of the Vienna meeting gives the possibility to ask for the collaboration of NGOs and to

(*) The author of this article is a Ph. D candidate and teaching assistant at the Graduate Institute for International Studies in Geneva.

invite their contribution on particular issues. It gives to NGOs access to the plenary meetings and authorises their presence during the Conferences. Following this, several NGOs were invited to contribute in the meetings of Sofia, Bonn and the 1989 Conference in Paris for the human dimension of the CSCE.

In the Final document of the Copenhagen meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (1990) in its paragraph 30, Part IV, which deals with the rights of minorities, it is stated that the participating States *"recognize the important role non-governmental organizations, including political parties, trade unions, human rights organizations and religious groups, in the promotion of tolerance, cultural diversity and the resolution of questions relating to national minorities"* (6).

During the same year the historical document of the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, in its "Guidelines for the future", with a separate paragraph concerning non-governmental organizations, the participating States *"Recall the major role that non-governmental organizations, religious and other groups and individuals have played in the achievement of the objectives of the CSCE and will further facilitate their activities for the implementation of the CSCE commitments by the participating States. These organizations, groups and individuals must be involved in an appropriate way in the activities and new structures of the CSCE in order to fulfil their important tasks"* (7).

These two references to the role and the importance of NGOs in the CSCE process and especially in the Human dimension of the CSCE, constitute an important step forward for the institutionalization of their participation and their active contribution especially in the meeting of experts on national minorities (July 1991), in Geneva and the meeting in Moscow of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (September 1991).

The meeting of experts in Geneva, of particular interest for several NGOs working in the field of Minority Rights, deserves particular attention. Geneva has the advantage of being the basis of the United Nations headquarters in Europe and of a considerable number of NGOs, especially in the human rights and humanitarian fields. In addition the host country of the meeting, Switzerland, is particularly favourable to the participation of NGOs. On the other hand, non-governmental organizations were conscious of the fact that their participation was becoming more and more necessary for the progress of the CSCE process. According to the decisions already taken in Paris NGOs should have access to the conference. They could attend the Plenary sessions without having the right to attend the sessions of the three working groups.

A non-governmental organization based in Geneva, namely the International Service for Human Rights, took the initiative to co-ordinate the NGOs during the Geneva meeting of experts. The task was not easy at all, especially because there were no specific rules and everything had to be negotiated. The International Service for human Rights had the advantage of a considerable experience in NGO coordination, and good contacts with the Swiss and other delegations (8). The fact was that the mere access to the public gallery during the six plenary sessions did not mean much for about a hundred NGOs, national and international, willing to contribute to the substance of the questions and share their experience (9). After weeks of preparatory negotiations with the Swiss government the NGOs managed to assure their permanent presence in the conference building. They were given a conference room, next to the main conference room of the meeting. In that way they managed to establish a permanent input and output of information with the national delegations and follow the evolution in the three working groups. At the same time, the International Service for Human Rights offered a technical secretariat within a walking distance from the building of the conference. This room was not only the centre of technical assistance for NGOs (computers, xerox, etc.) but also an additional place for NGO meetings, informal consultations and coordination. During the session several delegations accepted to address the NGOs and inform them about the different proposal at the Working Groups (10). Other meetings organized by NGOs dealt with minority questions, including a special meeting on Yugoslavia.

During the twenty days, non-governemental organizations took advantage of the possibilities given to them. Instead of having a separate meeting as in Madrid they tried to get involved as much as possible in the process, and this is certainly a positive evolution. However, the limits set by the absence of any consultative arrangement were too restrictive. As it was expressed in a memorandum to the 35 Member-States, it is unthinkable that there could be a three-week meeting on minorities without taking into consideration the experience of the groups concerned. In this memorandum they referred also to the difficulties they had because of lack of time for adequate preparation, lack of information and shortage of contributions to cover the expenses. Several non-governmental participants experienced problems in obtaining visas and getting through bureaucratic red tape (11).

In conclusion, the recent experience of the CSCE meeting of experts on minorities comes to remind once more the urgent need for a genuine NGO participation (12). Giving full access to NGOs will help them contribute constructively to the CSCE process, especially in areas where NGO action is universally known such as the human rights area. In addition, this will give more transparency to the closed meetings of the CSCE which often reach stalemate (13). In this sense, Moscow is very likely to be a turning point: NGO participation will be put once again to the test.

Received July 1991.

(Follows on page 277)

Le Portugal ratifie la Convention du Conseil de l'Europe sur la personnalité juridique des O.N.G.

A Strasbourg, le 28 octobre 1991, te Portugal a ratifié la Convention européenne sur la reconnaissance de la personnalité juridique des organisations internationales non gouvernementales.

Cette convention est déjà en vigueur en Belgique, en Grèce, en Suisse et au Royaume-Uni. Elle entrera en vigueur au Portugal le 1er février 1992.

Avec cette convention, le Conseil de l'Europe a mis au point le premier instrument international qui traite directement de toutes les organisations internationales, à dimension européenne et mondiale. Elle fait obligation aux Etats contractants de reconnaître de plein droit leurs personnalité et capacité juridiques telles que prévues dans l'Etat contractant de leur siège statutaire.

Pour bénéficier des dispositions de la convention, une organisation internationale non gouvernementale doit remplir les conditions suivantes :
— avoir un but non lucratif d'utilité internationale;
— avoir été créée par un acte relevant du droit interne d'un Etat contractant;
— exercer une activité effective dans au moins deux Etats;
— avoir son siège statutaire sur le territoire d'un Etat contractant et son siège réel dans cet Etat ou dans un autre Etat contractant.

C'est l'Ambassadeur Gonçalo Aires de Santa Clara Gomes, représentant permanent du Portugal auprès du Conseil de l'Europe, qui a déposé l'instrument de ratification de cette convention entre les mains de Catherine Lalumière, secrétaire général du Conseil de l'Europe. Debout, *a* droite, Frits Hondius, directeur adjoint des Affaires juridiques du Conseil de l'Europe.

(Photo Conseil de l'Europe)

ONG, droit d'expression des citoyens: quel accès aux médias audiovisuels?

par Ignacio Ramonet *

Dans une société démocratique, l'action des ONG se fonde, en particulier, sur deux libertés fondamentales: la liberté d'expression et la liberté d'association. Elles permettent effectivement la participation du citoyen à des expériences précises visant à améliorer le fonctionnement politique, social, économique ou culturel de la cité. Elles lui offrent la possibilité de défendre concrètement tous les droits de l'homme à travers la planète sans la barrière des frontières ou les réserves légitimes qu'imposé la diplomatie aux Etats.

Le savoir accumulé par les citoyens présents sur ces innombrables chantiers est immense. Au cœur du concret, au ras de la vie quotidienne, des souffrances et des espoirs des hommes, les ONG acquièrent une vision à la fois plus globale et plus précise des maux qui affectent la planète. Elles mesurent souvent les dégâts que peuvent causer des décisions politiques et économiques adoptées à l'échelon national ou planétaire. Présentes systématiquement là où les dysfonctionnements de tous ordres provoquent des points de douleur, de malaise ou d'insatisfaction, les ONG apparaissent, en cette fin de siècle, comme des témoins privilégiés de la vie vraie des hommes.

Quel profit tirent les médias de tout ce savoir, de toute cette connaissance accumulée?

Font-ils partager à leurs audiences de masse certaines des conclusions auxquelles parviennent les ONG? Informent-ils correctement de l'action de ces ONG? A toutes les questions que nous pouvons nous poser la réponse est claire: les médias, en particulier audiovisuels, parlent peu des ONG et souvent mal de leur action. Que faire pour corriger cette situation, pour vaincre l'apathie, l'inertie des médias?

* Directeur du *Monde Diplomatique*.

L'article qui suit est le rapport introductif au sous-thème II "ONG, droit d'expression des citoyens: quel accès aux médias audiovisuels?" de la conférence "parlementaires - ONG" sur "politique et citoyens - La politique au service des citoyens et la participation des citoyens à la politique", Budapest 15 - 17 mai 1991, organisée par l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe.

Avant toute chose : comprendre comment fonctionnent aujourd'hui les médias sous la domination, l'empire du modèle télévisuel. Pour avoir plus facilement accès aux médias, les ONG doivent en premier lieu s'interroger sur les critères actuels du fonctionnement de l'information télévisée et se demander pourquoi les lois du spectacle ont fortement bouleversé le discours de l'information à la télévision et, de proche en proche, dans l'ensemble des médias. Comprendre pourquoi désormais les médias s'adressent plutôt à l'émotion des citoyens plutôt qu'à leur raison ou leur intelligence.

Chacun a pu constater, en fonction de ses propres expériences, combien les médias pouvaient trahir la réalité, proposer une version simplifiée d'un événement complexe. Qui parmi nous, ayant vécu une situation polémique - participation à une manifestation, à une grève, à un mouvement social, à un colloque, à un débat... n'a pas été surpris par la version raccourcie, simplifiée, déformée, châtrée qu'en proposent les médias?

Comment contourner cet obstacle?

Il nous faut d'abord poser une question d'ordre politique: les médias censurent-ils l'information en fonction de son contenu? Ce n'est pas aussi simple. Cette suspicion, très forte dans les milieux de gauche durant les années 70, n'est pas toujour légitime. Certes, les médias de masse - et la télévision en particulier - hésiteront à rendre compte d'une activité civique si celle-ci contredit frontalement la *doxa* politique dominante. On a pu voir récemment en France combien l'impact du livre de Gilles Perrault *Notre ami te roi* bousculait les scrupules de nombreux médias qui hésitaient jusqu'alors à évoquer la vraie nature du régime marocain. Sous l'effet du livre, le regard des médias s'est . modifié; et alors que de nombreuses ONG avaient depuis longtemps, sans succès, alerté sur la situation des droits de l'homme au Maroc, soudain les médias confirmaient l'analyse des ONG, les sollicitaient et reprenaient enfin leurs informations. Ainsi donc, s'il y a modification de la *doxa*, du consensus politique, les médias enregistrent et adoptent instantanément cette modification.

Obéissent-ils au pouvoir politique? Au pouvoir de l'argent? Sans doute, en partie, à l'un et à l'autre. Dans nos sociétés de libertés, nous avons connu des périodes où les médias dominants (radio, télévision) étaient fort dociles, fort respectueux à l'égard du pouvoir politique. Que l'on pense à ta France des années 1958-1974, lorsque le ministère de l'Information imposait de manière appuyée une "ligne" politique aux médias d'Etat. Ce type de rapport pouvoir/médias s'est de nos jours fortement atténué, du moins en France. Reste le pouvoir de l'argent, celui qu'imposé l'impératif de la rentabilité, de l'audience, de l'écho de masse. Cet impératif détermine en grande partie la politique en matière de publicité dont la manne n'est à la portée que des médias de masse. C'est l'importance de l'audience qui détermine le prix de la publicité que diffusera une chaîne et donc sa rentabilité. Choisir de diffuser telle ou telle information dépend souvent, aujourd'hui, non pas de sa nature politique mais de l'audience qu'elle peut concerner, toucher, mobiliser, émouvoir.

Ainsi peu à peu, les médias de masse, et en premier lieu la télévision, se sont habitués à se structurer sous la forme de fiction, de spectable, de divertissement dont le souci principal est de distraire le téléspectateur et non pas de l'informer.

Informer, dans l'univers de l'information-spectacle, est trop sérieux, trop ennuyeux, trop difficile, trop complexe pour pouvoir intéresser les millions de spectateurs qui feront masse et justifieront le prix élevé de la publicité qui, à elle seule, amortit souvent les médias écrits, parlés ou télévisés.

A l'heure des marchands, les médias veulent des informations rapides, pleines d'émotions fortes, de violence, de sang et de mort. La télévision est particulièrement nécrophîle, la mort (en direct si possible) la fascine jusqu'au vertige.

Dans ces conditions, les ONG paraissent désarmées pour accéder à la visibilité qu'offrent les médias. Car la plupart d'entre elles proposent sur leur propre mission, leur propre expérience et leur propre savoir un nombre de données précises souvent liées à une conception rigoureuse, exigeante, élevée du civisme collectif. Leurs rapports sont ardus, minutieux; leurs descriptions détaillées; leurs propositions raisonnables et réfléchies. Rien de tout cela, ou presque, n'intéresse les médias dominants. Même le récit des abus, des atteintes aux droits de l'homme lassent les médias saturés, blasés, insensibles à cette somme interminable de souffrance.

Et ce fonctionnement se vérifie quel que soit le sujet. On se souvient, récemment, à propos de la crise du Golfe, du défi que le président américain George Bush lança au président irakien Saddam Hussein. Il le mit au défi de diffuser sur les chaînes irakiennes un message de M. Bush à l'adresse des citoyens irakiens. On sait que M. Saddam Hussein accepta, à condition qu'à leur tour, les médias américains diffusent son propre message.

Que se passa-t-il? Le message de M. Bush fut effectivement diffusé intégralement par la télévision de Bagdad aux heures de grande écoute. En revanche celui de M. Saddam Husein ne fut diffusé intégralement que par la chaîne câblée CNN, à 3 heures du matin; les grands réseaux se contentant de diffuser, aux heures de grande écoute, seulement de très courts extraits. Pourquoi cette différence de traitement, alors qu'il est clair que l'Irak est un Etat où la liberté d'expression n'existe pas et les Etats-Unis le "pays de la liberté"?

La raison de cette différence tient-elle au contenu politique des messages?

En réalité, les conseillers de M. Bush n'ignorent pas les lois qui régissent le fonctionnement des médias aujourd'hui alors que ceux de M. Saddam Hussein les méconnaissent. M. Bush avait envoyé un message de trois minutes. M. Saddam Hussein un discours de plus d'une heure! Aucune chaîne de masse américaine ne pouvait diffuser le discours du Président irakien à une heure de grande écoute alors que chaque minute lui rapporte des centaines de milliers de dollars. L'audience aurait été - a-t-on estimé dans les états-majors de chaînes - trop faible pour amortir le coût de la diffusion.

Est-ce à dire que le message de M. Hussein était sans intérêt? Certes pas mais le coût financier de sa diffusion était inférieur, semble-t-il, à sa valeur politique.

Tel est le système qui régit aujourd'hui les médias. C'est pourquoi certaines ONG - Médecins sans frontières, Amnesty international, etc. - ont elles-mêmes lancé des campagnes publicitaires reprenant des thèmes-choc pouvant toucher les citoyens-téléspectateurs et insistant sur des aspects qui peuvent susciter la pitié, l'émotion, l'adhésion sentimentale.

Communiquer avec le cœur, plutôt qu'avec la raison, telle semble être la leçon que nous donnent aujourd'hui les médias. Dès que l'on souhaite s'exprimer à propos d'actions sérieuses engageant le destin des hommes nous sommes confrontés aux lois de la communication dominante.

Débats télévisés, entretiens, interventions se font avec une préoccupation centrale chez l'animateur ou le journaliste qui dirige l'émission : faire court, être bref, clair, simple ... Or chacun sait et les ONG mieux que quiconque - que pour exposer certaines situations, rapporter certaines expériences, il faut parfois être long, complexe, précis ...

L'accès aux médias de masse, s'il est indispensable aux ONG, exige donc de leur part d'accepter ces lois qui privilégient le spectacle plutôt que la réalité, l'émotion plutôt que la raison, la fiction plutôt que le document.

Il y a donc risque pour les ONG de perdre leur âme en acceptant de tels paramètres, intrinsèquement contraires au sens de leur propre engagement.

Parmi les grandes maladies dont souffre notre planète, celle qui affecte les médias n'est pas la moins nuisible, la moins périlleuse pour la démocratie.

Se mobiliser pour une communication moins superficielle, moins fausse, moins fascinée par les apparences est un objectif hautement civique auquel les ONG restent attachées. Il y va du droit des citoyens à mieux participer à la vie de la cité, du droit des ONG à voir reconnaître leur action.

Le rôle des ONG dans la promotion de la participation des citoyens à la politique

par Dirk Jarre *

La vie associative: un élément essentiel de notre démocratie

Des estimations parfaitement conservatrices disent que, parmi les plus de 400 millions de citoyens, jeunes ou adultes vivant dans les 25 démocraties parlementaires qui forment le Conseil de l'Europe, entre la moitié et les deux tiers appartiennent à au moins une association/organisation non gouvernementale (ONG).

Incontestablement, la vie associative, aussi bien sur le plan local que sur le plan national, est devenue élément intégrant, voire indispensable, de la société européenne puisqu'elle reflète deux principes fondamentaux de la démocratie: la liberté d'expression et la liberté de s'associer. Ainsi, les ONG font partie de notre culture politique et doivent être reconnues en tant que telles.

Une définition simple et opérationnelle des ONG pourrait être qu'elles sont des organisations non commerciales, créées par une décision "volontaire", et aptes, à des degrés divers, de choisir ce qu'elles font et comment elles le font, indépendamment des gouvernements.

Un autre aspect important des ONG est leur caractère désintéressé; ce sont des organismes "à but non lucratif". Si elles ont des activités économiques - parfois très importantes - elles les exercent pour servir une finalité qui ne cherche pas le profit mais la seule promotion sociale ou culturelle des populations et l'amélioration des conditions d'existence de certains groupes.

* Président du Conseil international de l'action sociale, Région Europe.

Le texte qui suit est le rapport întroductif au sous-thème I de la conférence "parlementaires - ONG" sur "politique et citoyens - La politique au service des citoyens et la participation des citoyens à la politique", Budapest 15-17 mai 1991, organisée par l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe.

Quatre fonctions principales des ONG

Pour mieux comprendre la nature, la spécificité et les capacités des ONG, il est utile d'analyser d'abord les différentes tâches qu'elles remplissent. Nous pouvons essentiellement distinguer quatre fonctions principales:

a. Fonction de service

Pour beaucoup d'ONG, la fonction de service est prédominante souvent même leur seule raison d'être. En offrant des services, elles peuvent répondre de deux façons bien distinctes:

- soit couvrir un manque, c'est-à-dire une absence de services;
- soit permettre à l'utilisateur un choix entre plusieurs services.

L'absence de services, de manière générale ou dans des domaines particuliers - par exemple de services publics pour personnes en détresse, pour des besoins éducatifs spécifiques, pour des activités culturelles ou de loisirs - peut constituer un manque ressenti par la population ou par certaines catégories de gens et demande une réponse. Dans le cas où les pouvoirs publics ne répondraient pas à ces besoins, les ONG peuvent créer - et évidemment le font souvent - ces services.

Une société démocratique est basée, entre autres, sur la notion du pluralisme et donc aussi sur le droit de pouvoir choisir. Ceci est particulièrement important dans le domaine des services. Les possibilités de pouvoir exercer un choix influencent, en bonne partie, le maintien de l'identité et l'épanouissement de la personne.

Les ONG offrent cette pluralité et le choix de services, alternatives entre services publics et privés, entre des appartenances ethniques, des orientations religieuses ou idéologiques, etc.

La pluralité et la diversification des services offerts par les ONG contribuent non seulement à augmenter les possibilités de comparaison et donc de choix, mais peuvent encore stimuler la compétition et ainsi améliorer les services, aussi bien publics que privés, du côté qualité, prix, disponibilité, etc.

b. Fonction de réforme

11 n'y a pas de doute que *le rôle d'avocat, d'agent de changement ou de réformateur* est une autre fonction majeure des ONG. Le "lobbying", pour employer le terme anglais souvent utilisé dans ce contexte, comprend essentiellement les trois aspects suivants:

- défendre les intérêts d'un groupe particulier, groupe économique, professionnel, en situation de détresse, etc.;
- lutter contre certaines attitudes comme, par exemple, le racisme;
- œuvrer pour que certaines mesures soient prises ou non, que des changements soient effectués, par exemple dans le domaine de l'environnement, du cadre de vie, etc.

Dans ce contexte, on peut distinguer entre le rôle du "chien de garde" quand les ONG veillent à ce que les gens reçoivent ce à quoi ils ont droit et le rôle du "réformateur" quand elles œuvrent pour des changements d'attitudes ou de politiques, des prestations supplémentaires ou d'autres améliorations en faveur de leur "clientèle".

Beaucoup d'ONG agissent principalement comme porte-parole d'un groupe particulier et protègent ou soutiennent les intérêts de ce "groupe cible" dans des secteurs assez spécifiques: social, économique, culturel, éducatif. Quand, par contre, elles se concentrent sur un seul problème, souvent non matériel, nous pouvons les appeler des "groupes cause". Parfois ces organisations deviennent si grandes et obtiennent tant d'influence qu'elles se transforment en véritables "mouvements", comme, par exemple, le mouvement féministe, le mouvement écologiste ou le mouvement pour la paix.

c. Fonction de pionnier

Le rôle d'agent innovateur ou de pionnier doit être reconnu comme une des capacités les plus importantes des ONG. En effet, de par leur nature, elles sont beaucoup plus libres dans leurs décisions et méthodes de travail que les structures bureaucratiques et, par conséquent, infiniment plus souples dans leurs approches des problèmes nouveaux qui surgissent dans la société, des situations de détresse et des besoins changeants de groupes spécifiques ou de populations entières.

Leur potentiel innovateur se manifeste souvent dans des réponses tout à fait nouvelles et originales aux problèmes ou dans l'application d'instruments et de méthodes dans des circonstances ou dans des cas particuliers où ils n'avaient pas encore été utilisés. Souvent, les ONG combinent l'introduction de méthodes originales avec l'application d'un esprit d'entreprise, ce qui peut rendre leurs actions particulièrement efficaces.

En offrant des alternatives aux procédures existantes, les associations ont souvent changé les attitudes des gens à l'égard des structures et approches traditionnelles. Par ailleurs, elles ont été capables d'influencer considérablement la position des parlements et de changer la politique des gouvernements dans beaucoup de domaines.

Une société vivante a constamment besoin d'innovateurs indépendants et audacieux. L'imagination et l'expérimentation de nouvelles réponses aux problèmes nouveaux est d'une importance vitale.

d. Fonction de sauvegarde de certaines valeurs

La dernière fonction essentielle des ONG est de *sauvegarder certaines valeurs dans notre société.* Par leur nature propre, leur structure particulière et leurs orientations aussi bien que par leurs activités spécifiques, elles mettent en valeur et propagent les notions d'initiative, de volontariat, de participation et de pluralisme, mais elles défendent aussi les principes démocratiques de la protection des intérêts des minorités et de la nécessité de répondre aux besoins des plus démunis.

Ainsi, elles engendrent de la solidarité dans la société et multiplient l'énergie des individus en la développant dans des actions communes, orientées et coordonnées.

En stimulant la personne isolée et parfois passive à devenir membre actif de la société, à assumer ses responsabilités, pour elle-même aussi bien que pour la communauté, à participer activement aux processus de décision dans les domaines politique, culturel, social, économique et civique, les ONG sont de vraies écoles de démocratie.

Et en assurant la compréhension, l'enseignement et la pratique des valeurs fondamentales dans notre société, les ONG ne sont pas seulement importantes pour ce qu'elles *sont* mais encore et surtout pour ce qu'elles *font* et *comment* elles le font.

Problèmes cruciaux de la société moderne

La croissance rapide de la complexité et de l'interdépendance des structures, des processus et des problèmes de la société occidentale moderne provoque une concentration des mécanismes de décision et du management politique, économique, administratif. Ceci mène à une bureaucratisation croissante, centralisée et trop lourde au sommet, avec fragmentation excessive des différentes unités ayant des visions trop divergentes des mêmes problèmes.

Par ailleurs, le cloisonnement dans le système administratif est une des causes des coupures fréquentes entre les différents niveaux qui ont comme résultats: ignorance au "sommet" des besoins et des aspirations véritables du citoyen, mauvaise connaissance des conditions d'existence au niveau local, manque de "feed-back" quand des décisions prises à un niveau supérieur occasionnent des problèmes aux niveaux inférieurs, etc.

Souvent, la priorité de la croissance économique domine et sert de justification à la violation d'un système de valeurs plus large dans lequel des objectifs à long terme et des ressources vitales sont sacrifiés en faveur de bénéfices économiques immédiats ou particuliers.

Par ailleurs, le citoyen conscient et averti accepte de moins en moins les "idéologies des partis" qui lui présentent leurs "paniers de la ménagère" contenant des politiques plutôt rigides en différentes matières... à prendre ou à laisser dans leur totalité. Il se sent assez capable de se faire une opinion individuelle sur les sujets qui l'intéressent et d'exercer des choix selon ses besoins et ses préoccupations.

Les limitations du système de la démocratie parlementaire créent, de plus en plus, chez le citoyen, le sentiment que la "démocratie véritable" devrait être plus que le droit de voter pour choisir des représentants parlementaires tous les trois, quatre ou cinq ans.

Il résulte de ces facteurs un désintéressement croissant du citoyen pour les affaires politiques, en général, qui se traduit dangereusement par la baisse préoccupante du taux de participation aux élections dans presque tous les pays d'Europe.

Réponses indispensables du système démocratique

La réalisation d'un des principes de base de la démocratie: le droit du citoyen, voire sa responsabilité, de participer activement aux processus de prise de décision qui affectent ses conditions d'existence et le rôle du gouvernement d'y répondre, doit continuellement être assurée, développée et concrétisée.

Il y a donc un besoin véritable de faciliter et de promouvoir la participation effective et fréquente du citoyen aux affaires publiques et dans les processus de décision entre les élections. Le citoyen devrait être consulté - le plus souvent possible - sur les sujets le concernant directement, par des mécanismes appropriés. Sinon, la démocratie perdra son âme et sa vitalité, sa capacité à s'adapter aux circonstances et aux exigences qui changent rapidement et constamment.

Certes, la consultation fréquente du citoyen se fait le plus facilement au niveau local où prévalent des relations directes entre l'administration, les hommes politiques et leur électorat et où les problèmes d'actualité sont, en général, connus et compris par tous. L'intérêt et la compétence du citoyen sur le sujet en question peuvent être, et le sont le plus souvent, de précieux atouts garantissant la validité des décisions prises ou des actions entreprises.

La notion de la participation et la conception de la localisation des responsabilités se retrouvent dans le "principe de la subsidiarité" qui stipule que les organisations plus grandes et plus élevées devraient s'abstenir de prendre en charge des tâches qui peuvent être assumées par des organisations plus petites et moins élevées.

Ceci veut simplement dire que le gouvernement central, par exemple, ne devrait pas prendre de décisions qui peuvent parfaitement être prises, de façon compétente, par les autorités régionales ou locales. De même, l'Etat ne devrait pas s'occuper des problèmes qui peuvent tout à fait être résolus par des instances non étatiques, par exemple les ONG.

L'idée du pluralisme n'est pas moins importante et présente deux aspects. D'une part, elle stipule que le pouvoir et l'influence dans la société soient distribués largement, évitant ainsi qu'une élite ou une fraction de la société puisse la dominer de façon régulière. D'autre part, le pluralisme de structures et d'organisations offrant des services permet au citoyen d'exercer un choix selon ses besoins, ses tendances, ses goûts, etc. En même temps, la compétition pourrait avoir des effets positifs sur la qualité des services rendus, leur prix, etc.

Les ONG en tant que soutien de la société démocratique

Les ONG sont, d'une part, l'émanation de deux libertés fondamentales et garanties de la démocratie: la liberté de s'associer et la liberté d'expression.

D'autre part, il est évident que dans une société démocratique qui se veut garante des principes de la participation du citoyen, de la décentalisation des pouvoirs, de la subsidiarité et du pluralisme, les ONG jouent, tout naturellement, un rôle très important, sinon essentiel, en permettant par leurs caractéristiques, au moins en grande partie, la réalisation de ces principes.

Les ONG ont, entre autres, la fonction très importante de "structures médiatrices" entre l'individu dans sa sphère privée et les institutions complexes de la vie publique. Ainsi, elles servent de passerelle de communication entre ces deux sphères et en même temps de moyen de défense contre le danger de l'aliénation et la solitude de l'individu entouré de structures techniques impersonnelles.

Quand les ONG agissent comme innovateurs, quand elles offrent des services, quand elles font du lobbying ou servent d'avocat pour améliorer les conditions d'existence, quand elles essaient de garantir les valeurs de base de notre société démocratique, elles doivent et peuvent influencer les décisions prises par les parlements ou les gouvernements et les obliger à prendre les mesures appropriées.

Dans leur argumentation, bon nombre d'ONG peuvent utiliser les expériences, informations et compétences accumulées dans les services qu'elles procurent. Ainsi, elles constituent des réservoirs extrêmement précieux de connaissances du vécu du citoyen et d'expertise qui peuvent très valablement être mis au profit de ceux qui assument des responsabilités politiques et administratives.

Sans les ONG, écoles de démocratie et gardiennes des valeurs de base de notre société, nous serions, en réalité, moins conscients des droits de l'homme et de ses applications, la participation aux affaires de la communauté serait moins répandue et l'individu serait plus dépendant des structures et décisions bureaucratiques, les citoyens seraient moins disposés à prendre des responsabilités pour l'intérêt commun, il y aurait moins de solidarité, moins d'entraide.

Et sans la compétence des ONG dans presque tous les domaines de la vie et de la société - compétence résultant de l'expérience directe de leurs membres - sans leurs efforts permanents en faveur d'un grand nombre et d'une vaste gamme de problèmes, les parlementaires et leurs partis, les gouvernements et leurs administrations auraient moins d'informations sur les problèmes actuels de la société, moins d'options de choix pour prendre des décisions et seraient donc moins capables de jouer leur rôle décisif dans le processus important de la recherche de choix équitables entre les différents intérêts qui se manifestent au sein d'une société démocratique vivante.

Dans une résolution sur "Les principes de la démocratie", datant de 1983, l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe constate courageusement:

"La tendance du citoyen de s'organiser dans des groupes de pression et des groupes d'intérêts particuliers (parfois hautement militants) est une mise en garde salutaire (et parfaitement compatible avec le principe démocratique de fa liberté) aux partis, afin qu'ils ne manquent pas à

leur fonction essentielle d'articuler les préoccupations réelles de leurs électeurs. "

Nous avons bien besoin, aujourd'hui, de cette tendance du citoyen à s'organiser lui-même et à créer des ONG afin de défendre ses intérêts légitimes. Certes, elles sont à la fois un défi à la démocratie parlementaire mais, en même temps, un élément tout à fait nécessaire, vital et complémentaire dans nos sociétés démocratiques européennes.

Quelques études de cos prises d'un colloque au Conseil de l'Europe sur le rôle des ONG

A l'initiative de la Commission de Liaison des ONG dotées du statut consultatif auprès du Conseil de l'Europe et avec le soutien de l'Assemblée parlementaire, le Conseil de l'Europe organisa, en novembre 1986 à Strasbourg au Palais de l'Europe, un colloque sur le sujet "Les associations: soutien ou défi pour la démocratie parlementaire?" (Interest groups: a help or a hindrance to parliamentary democracy?) pour prouver que la participation active et engagée du citoyen aux affaires de la cité est bien la condition sine qua non de la santé de la démocratie et que les pouvoirs publics doivent considérer les associations, phénomène organisé de la participation, comme interlocuteurs privilégiés et non comme adversaires.

Des associations nationales, régionales et locales de 17 pays membres du Conseil de l'Europe avaient présenté 308 études de cas sur leurs interventions respectives en faveur d'un certain groupe désavantagé. Leurs actions visaient l'amélioration des conditions d'existence de la population ou contre des mesures politiques, administratives ou d'intérêt économique négatives pour certains - et ceci dans des domaines aussi divers que les droits de l'homme, le social, l'environnement, l'éducation, la protection des animaux, les affaires juridiques, l'économie, la culture et les structures régionales.

Afin de démontrer concrètement le caractère particulier des ONG, leurs méthodes de travail et l'originalité de leurs actions, nous présentons ici brièvement trois exemples pris parmi les 44 études de cas sélectionnées (et publiées) pour le colloque. Des descriptions plus détaillées sont annexées au présent rapport.

Le *premier exemple*, intitulé "Sésame, ouvre-toi, mais ferme ta bouche", concerne les problèmes d'environnement dans la région frontalière belgo-néerlandaise. Un groupe de volontaires venant des deux pays s'organise en association BENEGORA et essaie de faire arrêter le transport de produits toxiques provenant de la zone industrielle frontalière de la Hollande en Belgique et leur dépôt illégal dans des décharges municipales de la ville d'Anvers.

Les membres de l'association BENEGORA font un véritable travail de professionnels malgré des moyens très limités: prise d'échantillons de déchets qu'ils analysent en laboratoire, compilation de preuves irréfutables du dépôt illégal, élaboration de dossiers comprenant des pièces à conviction et actions juridiques; mais aussi mobilisation de la presse et information des citoyens de la région.

Bien que les autorités publiques locales prétendent d'abord ignorer les méfaits ou adoptent même un comportement complice, elles sont finalement forcées d'intervenir contre les entreprises fautives prises en flagrant délit. Par ailleurs, la région de la Flandre promulgue une loi sur le traitement des déchets toxiques. L'opinion publique belge devient de plus en plus sensible à la question et BEMEGORA continue son action en d'autres lieux, étant donné que le problème de base - la production et la gestion des déchets toxiques n'a pas encore été résolu.

Le *deuxième exemple*, "Sauvons les forêts alluviales; le cas de Hainburg", concerne la protection de la nature en Autriche. Contre la volonté ouverte du gouvernement et de puissants groupes d'intérêts économiques et politiques en Autriche, le WWF - Fonds mondial pour la nature - réussit à contrecarrer la construction d'une centrale hydro-électrique de 360 MW afin de protéger la zone de forêts alluviales la plus grande et la plus célèbre en Europe.

L'association WWF mène une vaste campagne publique de sensibilisation et de protestation à laquelle s'associent d'abord la presse et plus tard, après avoir été très hostile à l'action, la télévision publique. La population locale occupe le terrain en question empêchant ainsi l'abattage des arbres. Enfin, la justice se prononce en faveur du mouvement contre la construction de la centrale.

L'intervention spectaculaire et réussie du WWF provoque un changement radical de l'attitude du public et des milieux politiques et administratifs en matière de protection de la nature et de l'utilisation des ressources naturelles en Autriche. Le gouvernement créé une commission pour l'écologie et un office public pour l'environnement. La législation en la matière évolue de manière accélérée. La région de la forêt alluviale de Hainburg devient Parc national.

Le *troisième exemple* sous l'appellation "La violence, fléau des faibles", montre l'intervention de l'association suédoise BRIS (abréviation pour "Droit de l'enfant dans la société" en suédois), en faveur des enfants maltraités et contre le silence dans des cas d'abus.

En organisant des expositions et débats publics sur des cas concrets de mauvais traitements d'enfants, BRIS rend le public et les politiciens conscients de la gravité du problème dans la société suédoise. En même temps, l'association organise des services téléphoniques qui permettent de dénoncer des cas d'abus d'enfants de façon-discrète et de porter assistance aux victimes.

Afin d'accélérer la création des mesures concrètes dans le domaine de la protection de l'enfant, BRIS initie une série télévisée sous le titre "Que ferons-nous maintenant?" dans laquelle des responsables politiques et administratifs sont interviewés, la question principale étant *"Quand ferez-vous quoi pour les enfants ? - Nous reviendrons vous voir!"*.

L'association BRIS a toujours été prête à coopérer avec les autorités publiques en la matière. Après un premier moment d'hésitation, voire de méfiance, le ministère de la Justice suédois a saisi la perche et créé une commission pour la promotion de l'enfance qui a proposé, comme premier pas, une loi contre le châtiment corporel des enfants, immédiatement adoptée par le Parlement. Suite à l'intervention de BRIS, la Société de commercialisation de lait de Suède a rendu publique cette importante loi et l'a introduite dans toutes les familles du pays en l'imprimant sur les emballages de lait.

Le monde post-moderne et la révolution du pouvoir

Sur la base de ce qui a été dit dans les chapitres précédents, on pourrait être amené à croire que, dans l'état actuel de notre société démocratique, parlementaire et pluraliste, les ONG sont appelées à combler les lacunes du système des pouvoirs publics, c'est-à-dire des structures politiques et administratives, et en sont capables. Le seul problème serait donc de définir les rapports de force entre les différents acteurs et les différents niveaux: qui dominera qui, qui contrôlera qui ou quoi et comment; bref, il s'agit de préciser les règles du jeu, de la déontologie à respecter par tous.

Hélas, la situation n'est guère aussi simple. Tout d'abord, nous pouvons constater que le monde des ONG ne dispose pas plus de l'avantage de "la fontaine de Jouvence" que les autres composantes de notre société, pas plus que les églises, les partis politiques, les syndicats, etc. Le développement des associations suit un peu le même rythme de vie que ces autres organisations: elles deviennent adultes et plus calmes, elles perdent leur spontanéité d'origine, leur imagination pétillante et leur "esprit de travers", elles s'organisent sagement et se surorganisent souvent, puis elles perdent progressivement le contact avec leur base, leurs membres et leur clientèle, et poursuivent leurs propres ambitions dans le jeu du pouvoir. Finalement, elles deviennent poussiéreuses, conservatrices et s'ossifient souvent, pour un jour sentir le renfermé, moisir et devenir obsolètes.

Pourtant, le phénomène associatif porte en lui-même, en raison de la vocation d'organisations créées spontanément par les citoyens afin de satisfaire leurs besoins, une énorme vitalité et une grande capacité de régénération : au fur et à mesure que les circonstances et les besoins ou aspirations du citoyen changent, celui-ci peut librement créer de nouvelles structures associatives qui y répondent. Cette extraordinaire flexibilité distingue le phénomène associatif des autres composantes structurelles de notre société qui représentent plutôt le côté *"establishment"*.

Mais un autre développement affectant progressivement les bases de nos sociétés d'aujourd'hui, devrait davantage attirer notre attention, à savoir le changement en cours de la nature du pouvoir qui bouleverse tous les rapports entre les nations, les organisations, les groupes et les individus, auxquels nous étions habitués.

Nous vivons à l'heure actuelle l'effondrement de l'ordre établi des rapports de pouvoir et de domination, basés soit sur la force, soit sur la richesse ou alors sur les deux ensemble. Le pouvoir change entièrement de caractère et remet toutes les relations traditionnelles en question. Son nouvel instrument et sa nouvelle justification s'appellent "le savoir".

Alors que la force comme puissance a ses limites et ne peut pas toujours être partagée et que la richesse et le potentiel économique sont épuisables, le savoir est théoriquement sans limites et s'amplifie même quand il est partagé. Mieux encore: plus les hommes apprennent et savent, plus la connaissance d'eux-mêmes et du monde s'améliore et surtout leur volonté d'apprendre augmente. Le savoir a donc un effet cumulatif.

Les nouvelles techniques, matériel et logiciel, provoquent une véritable révolution dans la distribution du savoir et, par conséquent, aussi dans la distribution du pouvoir car elles donnent à presque tous accès à la quasi totalité des informations disponibles dans nos sociétés - informations politiques, scientifiques, techniques, économiques, etc. - et ceci avec avec un minimum de moyens et à des prix dérisoires - par la télévision, le minitel, l'ordinateur personnel, des modems, etc.

Beaucoup d'événements récents qui ont radicalement changé le visage de notre monde, ne peuvent être compris si on n'accepte pas l'existence de ce phénomène de la transformation de la nature du pouvoir même, l'ascension économique éblouissante de certaines petites nations asiatiques, les bouleversements politiques en Europe du centre et de l'Est et même le conflit du Golfe sont des exemples convaincants.

Le changement dans les relations entre employeurs et employés, entre professeurs et étudiants, entre politiciens et électeurs, entre producteurs et consommateurs de biens, entre médecins et patients, et finalement, entre l'Etat et le citoyen, sont l'expression du fait que la quasi totalité des acteurs ont presque toutes les mêmes possibilités d'accès à presque toutes les informations. Le monopole du savoir entre les mains de quelques-uns s'effondre.

Avec ceci, le pouvoir de chacun ne se définit plus par la notion de la quantité - en armes, en monnaie ou en nombre d'individus - mais plutôt par la qualité du savoir et des informations dont il dispose et qu'il sait stratégiquement faire valoir. Dans tous les domaines d'activités, le savoir réduit, de façon significative, les besoins en temps, en travail, en espace, en matériel et en capital.

Scénario du futur:
le citoyen au centre de la politique

Etant donné que le savoir n'est pas, ou plutôt n'est plus, le privilège des forts ou des riches, d'une part, et que loin de s'user il a tendance au contraire à se développer de lui-même, d'autre part, un nouvel accès au pouvoir s'ouvre aux faibles et aux pauvres, des nations ou des individus. Le savoir se révèle comme la source la plus démocratique du pouvoir.

Les nouvelles possibilités d'information et les nouvelles dimensions du savoir ouvrent des nouveaux horizons pour l'existence humaine qui dépassent de loin les règles traditionnelles de la domination d'autrui, de leadership, de la maîtrise, de la nature et de la gestion de la société. Elles définissent, de façon révolutionnaire, les rapports entre les hommes eux-mêmes, entre les hommes et l'environnement, et entre les hommes et l'information, c'est-à-dire la manière dont il influence l'information et dont il est, lui-même, influencé par elle.

A partir de cette situation, les organisateurs de masse (les partis, les syndicats et même les armées) perdent leur poids et les idéologies établies deviennent caduques. Après avoir développé la force de la solidarité et après avoir obtenu la liberté, le citoyen découvre maintenant son pouvoir de choix et de décision individuel au moyen de l'information, c'est-à-dire par le savoir.

Il réalise, avec ce nouveau pouvoir, qu'il sortira d'une multitude de dépendances politiques, économiques, sociales et culturelles et qu'il sera donc beaucoup moins manipulable qu'avant. Mais en même temps, il se rend compte qu'il est aussi beaucoup plus responsable de ses conditions d'existence ainsi que de l'état de santé de la société entière. Il ne suffira plus de faire confiance, ou non, à ceux qui "doivent savoir", les leaders des mondes politiques, administratifs, techniques et toutes les "autorités", ainsi que les savants.

Avec l'érosion de la domination par d'autres, l'individu s'émancipe progressivement de son état d'objet de toute sorte de politiques en véritable sujet. Il apprend à mieux savoir ce qu'il lui faut et pourquoi et comment ses besoins pourraient être satisfaits.

Sans aucun doute, ces changements qualitatifs revaloriseront le citoyen, jusqu'ici trop souvent réduit à la dimension "homo oeconomicus", et développeront de nouveau le respect pour les aspects moraux des activités humaines: l'esprit de solidarité, le sens de la justice, le concept du partage des responsabilités ainsi qu'une attention accrue aux conséquences sociales et écologiques de l'économie du marché.

Le citoyen lui-même refusera de plus en plus de suivre aveuglément tous les développements techniques et scientifiques. Il les mettra sérieusement en question et souhaitera exercer son influence sur la définition de leur contenu et de leur direction. Il n'acceptera plus que des doctrines ou des théories soient supérieures à l'homme et dominent son existence.

Grâce à l'information, les systèmes de production, de prise de décisions, de gestion et d'administration deviennent de plus en plus transparents et donc influençables par des particuliers, groupes ou individus, qui peuvent dès lors agir en initiés autant que ceux "au pouvoir" jusqu'ici.

Quand les citoyens s'organiseront en associations ou sous d'autres formes d'ONG, pour influencer les politiques en combinant leurs différentes capacités et leur expérience, les informations du pouvoir devenues disponibles, ils disposeront de sérieux avantages sur les structures politiques et admnistratives : une énorme flexibilité et une connaissance intime des réalités de l'existence. Grâce à ces atouts conjugués avec leur volonté d'exercer leur influence, leur disponibilité gratuite et leur possibilité de boycotter les pouvoirs publics par le refus de coopérer donnent aux citoyens, et donc aussi aux associations, un pouvoir qui s'annonce redoutable ... dans un sens aussi bien positif que négatif.

Les responsables politiques et les responsables des associations feront bien de repenser leurs rôles respectifs et d'imaginer rapidement de nouveaux principes pour leurs relations et de nouvelles formes de coopération afin d'assurer au citoyen une participation aux affaires de la cité, basée sur de nouvelles possibilités, qui ne se fasse pas malgré eux mais avec eux et qui le mette véritablement au centre de toutes les préoccupations, décisions et actions: il sera ainsi objet et sujet de la politique en même temps.

A N N E X E

Cas n° 1

BELGIQUE

Domaine :	Environnement
Titre:	"SESAME, OUVRE-TOI, MAIS FERME TA BOUCHE" Un dépôt illégal de déchets toxiques géré par une ville
Présenté par:	BENAGORA

1. ASSOCIATION

Benagora (Belgisch-Nederlands Grensoverleg Regio Antwerpen) est une association de volontaires, venant de la Belgique et de la Hollande, qui agissent depuis plus de 10 ans contre tout attentat de l'environnement dans la région de la frontière, en pleine zone industrielle au nord d'Anvers.

2. OBJECTIF

Arrêter les transports des déchets toxiques venant de la Hollande en Belgique, arrêter les dépôts illégaux de produits toxiques sur des terrains de la ville d'Anvers, gérés par la ville même, réservés seulement aux déchets non toxiques (en théorie).

3. METHODES

Travail continu, dossier après dossier.

Prise d'échantillons de déchets sur le terrain, analyse dans des laboratoires en Hollande.

Travail direct vis-à-vis de la presse: information du public, chaque fois basée sur des dossiers et des données exactes et concrètes. Pour les dossiers les plus graves nous avons invité également les "adversaires" (spécialistes de la ville, un laboratoire) afin de leur donner l'occasion de se défendre et de renforcer notre certitude.

Actions plutôt nocturnes en suivant les camions avec les déchets toxiques. Photographies en infrarouge. Collaboration avec des radio-amateurs.

Blocages de la frontière belgo-hollandaise aux moments de passage des camions avec les déchets.

Offre de collaboration avec les services du ministre, sinon attaque frontale promise de ses services (il a choisi la collaboration).

Actions juridiques : corruption entre fonctionnaires de la ville et les firmes privées (achat de doubles clefs des portes).

Relation avec d'autres cas (comme par exemple Lekkerkerk, Hollande).

Mentionner des noms au moment où il n'y avait aucun doute.

Nous n'avons jamais agi sans dossier, ni travaillé pour un seul parti politique; nous n'avons jamais organisé de grandes manifestations publiques.

4. FINANCEMENT

Budget ridicule: 20.000 FB: subsides du ministère (concerné dans ce cas de façon directe en plus!).

Vente de dossiers.

Aide financière des membres et de quelques communes hollandaises de façon officielle.

5. OBSTACLES ET SOUTIEN

Obstacles: les fonctionnaires qui sont forcés de se taire; des politiciens qui n'en savent rien et ne sont pas intéressés, ou qui défendent les intérêts des firmes privées; le coût élevé des analyses des échantillons toxiques; le manque total de volonté d'agir des autorités locales; le caractère continu des actions (volontaires et temps libre); vision à court terme de la politique et leurs faux arguments comme le chômage.

Soutien: les gens participant à une action n'ont eu aucun profit personnel, bien au contraire (la conviction et le travail concret et utile pour la société); grande attention dans la presse (suite à la qualité de nos dossiers); le travail concret sur le terrain : pas de théories, mais des faits.

6. RESULTATS

Problème résolu sur place (on a forcé la ville à réagir enfin, après avoir trouvé des firmes en flagrant délit sur le terrain).

Législation pour des déchets toxiques dans toute la Flandre (matières régionalisées en Belgique) - mais toujours manque absolu de contrôle et de punition.

L'attention publique a été attirée sur plusieurs autres cas similaires dans tout le pays.

Quelques actions de la part de la justice avec emprisonnement des responsables, basées sur nos informations, grâce à l'engagement d'un (seul) magistrat (les autres né réagissent pas, la protection de l'environnement ne regarde toujours pas tous les autres).

7. DUREE

A peu près 10 ans (...).

L'action se continue dans d'autres endroits: les origines du problème n'ont pas changé (industrie chimique et pétrochimique forte dans la région, les systèmes de production n'ont pas changé).

Cas n° 2

AUTRICHE

Domaine :	Environnement
Titre:	"SAVE ALLUVIAL FORESTS" (Sauvez les forêts alluviales) : la forêt de Hainburg
Présenté par:	WWF - Fonds mondial pour la nature

1. ASSOCIATION

Le WWF est une organisation internationale privée pour la protection de la nature et de l'environnement, entièrement financée par des dons.

2. OBJECTIFS

La plus riche forêt alluviale d'Europe est située à l'est de Vienne. La construction d'une centrale électrique d'une capacité de 360 MW aurait détruit à long terme cette superbe forêt.

Le WWF a créé le bureau "Save the alluvial forest" (Sauvez la forêt alluviale) pour conserver la forêt et empêcher la construction de la centrale. Après une campagne de deux ans, à laquelle ont participé un grand nombre d'organisations et d'individus, le Gouvernement a voulu commencer les travaux malgré les objections de nombreuses personnes bien informées. Le public est alors intervenu en occupant pacifiquement la forêt et en empêchant l'abattage des arbres. Le 2 janvier 1985, le tribunal administratif autrichien, sur demande formulée par le WWF, a suspendu le projet en attendant l'enquête sur la validité de l'un des permis de construire. Quelques mois plus tard, le gouvernement a consulté une commission écologique qui a soutenu la thèse de la conservation, hostile à la construction de la centrale et recommandé de créer plutôt un parc national sur le site. En juillet 1986, le tribunal administratif autrichien a déclaré illégale l'autorisation émise par le Service des eaux.

3. METHODES

a. Formulation et diffusion de contre-arguments, adressés essentiellement à des experts scientifiques;
b. Mobilisation et coordination de groupes de protection de la nature et de l'environnement, de scientifiques et d'artistes;
c. Médias et publicité: des articles sur l'état de la forêt alluviale de Hainburg ont paru dans la presse. La presse étrangère s'est également intéressée à cette affaire (sensibilisation internationale au conflit);
d. Vaste éventail d'initiatives positives, comme la course d'aviron Oxford-Cambridge sur le Danube.

4. FINANCEMENT

Les dépenses du WWF en 1983-1984 se sont élevées à environ 3 millions de schillings. Au début de l'été 1984, d'autres organisations ayant elles-mêmes des ressources substantielles ont commencé à participer (initiative populaire Konrad Lorenz: environ 2 millions de schillings; association des étudiants autrichiens: 1 million de shillings).

5. OBSTACLES ET SOUTIEN

De très nombreuses associations autrichiennes puissantes étaient favorables à la construction de la centrale, notamment les deux principaux partis politiques (catholique et socialiste), les associations d'agriculteurs, les compagnies d'électricité, des entreprises de construction et des syndicats.

Facteurs de soutien

Le soutien le plus puissant est venu du quotidien autrichien influent *Neue ronenzeitung.* D'une manière générale, la majorité de la presse formulait d'importantes réserves à l'égard du projet de centrale. Toutefois, la chaîne nationale de télévision a longtemps boycotté le mouvement de protestation. L'association "Initiative populaire Konrad Lorenz" (KLVP) créée en 1984, a été rejointe par d'autres organisations nouvelles qui ont aussi pris parti contre la construction de la centrale électrique.

6. RESULTATS

La constitution d'une commission écologique chargée de résoudre ce type de problème a représenté un changement d'attitude. Par la suite, de nombreux citoyens ont lancé des campagnes analogues.

Les municipalités et les élus progressistes (par exemple la municipalité de Vienne) ont essayé depuis de tenir le public mieux informé.

Les divers aspects du conflit de la forêt de Hamburg ont accéléré l'élaboration de mesures démocratiques favorables à l'environnement, notamment:

- création rapide d'une agence nationale de protection de l'environnement;
- introduction de l'essence sans plomb et des pots catalytiques;
- amendements a la loi relative aux projets de centrales électriques visant à la protection de la nature;
- projet de loi sur la participation des citoyens;
- volte-face du public à l'égard des entreprises d'électricité marquée par le souci de préserver l'avenir de l'environnement.

7. DUREE

Première phase: Campagne contre la construction de la centrale électrique, 1983 à fin 1985

Deuxième phase: Commission écologique 1985

Troisième phase: Début 1986, discussion du projet de parc- national.

Cas n° 3

SUEDE

Titre: "LA VIOLENCE ENVERS LES FAIBLES"

Présenté par: BRIS (Les droits de l'enfant dans la société suédoise)

1. ASSOCIATION

L'organisation BRIS (abréviation suédoise des "droits de l'enfant dans la société") est sise à Stockholm.

2. OBJECTIFS

Considérant que le jeu des groupes d'intérêts et des hommes politiques a conduit le Parlement à envisager des idées nouvelles et à prendre de nouvelles mesures est l'essence même de la démocratie, nous avons lancé des campagnes qui ont réussi à modifier la situation et la législation en Suède.

3. METHODES (exemples)

En 1971, après la mort d'une petite fille de quatre ans provoquée par de mauvais traitements, l'opinion a compris que les procédures en vigueur dans les services sociaux en Suède empêchaient les gens de dénoncer aux autorités les violences faites à des enfants.

BRIS a monté à Stockholm une exposition montrant des enfants maltraités et expliquant leur cas et organisé dans une salle de conférence des débats publics avec des personnalités invitées. L'exposition a circulé ensuite dans les bibliothèques de tout le pays pour illustrer des débats organisés localement.

BRIS a installé une ligne téléphonique d'urgence accessible à toute personne croyant avoir connaissance d'un enfant maltraité. Si cette personne n'ose aviser elle-même les services sociaux, le membre du BRIS contacté le fait au nom de l'organisation et reste en liaison avec cette personne jusqu'à ce que l'enfant ait reçu une aide.

Le *BRIS a* également réalisé une série d'émissions télévisées intitulées "Et maintenant, que faire?" où il était demandé aux responsables d'expliquer les règlements, services et formations destinés à venir en aide aux enfants maltraités. Chaque émission se terminait par la question: *"A quelle date comptez-vous régler ce problème ?"*. Lorsque la personne interrogée avait fixé une date, l'équipe de télévision promettait de revenir à cette date pour rendre compte du résultat.

Les procédures normales des services sociaux ont été modifiées pour qu'il soit plus facile de leur signaler un cas de mauvais traitement d'enfant et un cours spécial destiné aux personnes travaillant avec des enfants maltraités a été mis en place dans tout le pays.

Le *BRIS* a organisé quelques années plus tard une autre exposition en collaboration avec d'autres groupes d'intérêt ("Save the children" et une organisation pacifiste suédoise) sur le thème "La violence engendre la violence". L'organisation a imaginé quatre cabines où se trouvaient exposés d'une part le cas d'un enfant maltraité avec des illustrations et d'autre part les lois qui auraient pu aider à éviter cette situation. Cette exposition a été vue par 61.000 personnes. Dix débats publics ont été organisés à cette occasion avec la participation du ministre de la Justice, du ministre des Affaires sociales et d'autres personnalités. Un des projets de loi proposés par BRIS concernait les châtiments corporels.

Le ministère de la Justice a chargé une commission de passer en revue tout ce qui concernait les enfants dans la législation suédoise. Cette commission existe toujours. Sa première démarche a consisté à proposer une loi interdisant les châtiments corporels, adoptée par le Parlement en 1979, Elle a également étudié la loi sur la paternité et s'intéresse maintenant à la défense des enfants parties à une affaire qui touche leur vie de famille.

Le BRIS a proposé à l'entreprise qui fabrique les emballages de lait d'indiquer sur ces emballages l'existence de la loi interdisant les châtiments corporels, ce qui a été fait, si bien que toutes les familles du pays en ont pris connaissance.

4. FINANCEMENT

Le BRIS bénéficie d'un soutien économique des services sociaux.

5. OBSTACLES ET SOUTIEN

Au début, les autorités étaient parfois méfiantes et irritées à l'égard des actions du BRIS, parfois aussi reconnaissantes de l'intérêt éveillé dans les médias, qui leur a permis d'agir sur l'opinion publique et de préparer les changements nécessaires.

6. RESULTATS

Maintenant, le BRIS et l'association "Save the children" sont considérées comme des collaborateurs utiles par les autorités qui veulent changer la société pour le bien des enfants.

Foreign political aid: the German political foundations and their US counterparts

by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky *

The work of the German political foundations is little known, but widely credited with a key role in the successful transitions to democracy in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s and Chile in the late 1980s. This article explores the work of the foundations, its scope and methods, and goes on to examine the work of the US political aid structures that were set up in the 1980s on the German model. It assesses the impact of the foundations' work and the utility of foreign political aid as a tool in international relations.

1. The German foundations

As the West German political parties rebuilt themselves after the Second World War, they set up organizations for internal political education, a task considered necessary after twelve years of Nazi rule. In 1947, Social Democratic politicians re-established the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Stiftung), originally fouded in 1925 but banned by the Nazis in 1933. In 1956 the Christian Democrats formed a "political academy", which in 1964 became the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. In 1958 the Free Democrats created the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, and in 1967 the Bavarian Christian Social Union established the Hanns Seidel Foundation. (*)

With the benefit of the generous public subsidies that are a feature of the German party system, these foundations (Stiftungen) not only developed their political education and research functions within the Federal Republic, but soon became active in international political projects. Once again, the Social Democrats were the pioneers. By 1957 the Ebert Foundation was using money from the West German foreign ministry for its work with the organization of anti-Communist trade unions in Latin America, ORIT.

In 1961, a ministry for overseas development was created, the Bundesministerium fur Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (BMZ). From 1962, the ministry allocated funds to the political foundations on a regular basis for projects in developing countries officially characterized as "socio-political education" and support for "social structures". The foundations have also received smaller grants from the foreign ministry (Auswärtiges Amt), especially since 1978 for "international activities" in industrialized countries.

The reasons why West Germany developed the system of party foundations as channels for overseas political funding are too complex for this article to explore. But it may be stated that Germany has a long tradition of foreign political payments dating back to Bismarck's "reptile fund", to the German foreign ministry's subsidies to the Bolshevik Revolution during the First World War, and to payments to foreign parties during the Nazi era. Moreover, it is a broader German practice to pay non-governmental organizations—churches as well as parties and cultural bodies—to carry out governmental functions in the domestic and foreign fields.

There were specific reasons why it was especially attractive for the West German authorities in the early 1960s to conduct some of their most sensitive overseas aid operations through party foundations. In accordance with the Hallstein Doctrine (which linked West German diplomatic relations with foreign countries' refusal to recognize East Germany), West Germany felt compelled to counteract Communist influence in the Third World. (1) At a time when memories of the Nazi era were still fresh (2), payments were thought to be more acceptable abroad if they came in the name of political parties rather than from the German government. The system of West German payments to foreign political organizations had the general

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approval of the United States. Above all, it permitted the Federal Republic to become a force in world politics without creating alarm.

Political aid aims to exercise a direct influence on the working of politics within a foreign country. Frequently the objective is to encourage a change from military or one-party government to an elective democracy. This may involve long-term or medium-term projects to promote trade unions or other elements of a "civil society"; it may also involve shorter-term activities such as finance for electoral registration or for election observer missions (both US specialities). Sometimes the intention is to assist a foreign political party or ideological tendency, or simply to promote contacts and influence among important elites.

The party foundations are legally distinct from the German political parties, and they may not pass money to a party. In reality, however, each foundation is firmly connected with a party and is governed by boards which include some of the most senior party leaders. The working chairman of each foundation is a top party figure. Similarly, many foreign organizations receiving grants from the foundations are formally independent from but actually connected with parties and trade unions. Indeed foreign parties have sometimes set up "institutes" and "foundations" specifically to receive the German money. This legal structure is also useful as a way of evading the restrictions existing in some countries relating to foreign contributions to political parties and to election compaigns. Assistance is also given to other bodies selected on the basis of existing or potential political influence, such as independent media, employers' associations, civic and human rights groups, and politically active research institutes.

The German party foundations' overseas work is partly open, partly concealed. The foundations certainly operate far more openly than intelligence agencies, traditionally the bodies responsible for clandestine foreign political payments. Foundation representatives do not hide their identities or their office addresses, many of their activities and projects are publicized, and each foundation issues a fairly detailed annual report in which a number of projects are identified and described. In 1986 the German government issued statistics giving the global amounts granted to each foundation under each budget title. However, full project lists have never been published, nor have the amounts spent on each project been revealed. The reason for this discretion is that some projects are considered "sensitive". Project lists and accounts were obtained for the purposes of my research study on which this article is based from the Adenauer, Ebert and Naumann Foundations. Much of this information has not been made available in the past.

Funding

In 1988, federal government funding of the foundations' overseas work totalled about DM 290 million ($ 170 million at 1988 rate). About 90 per cent came from the development ministry, the balance from the foreign ministry. Using these government grants, the foundations spent about 170 million DM ($ 100 million) on foreign projects and over 20 million DM {$ 12 million) on internal activities related to Germany work such as visits to Germany by delegations and scholarships for foreign students. The costs of administration at home amounted to about 12 per cent, those of overseas representatives and their foreign work, the foundations also receive private contributions and some payments from state *(Lender)* governments.

Table 1 : Foreign expenditures of the German party foundations (million DM)

Source of funds

	Development ministry (1989)	Foreign ministry (1989)	Total
Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Christian Democrat)	93.1	9.9	103.0
Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Social Democrat)	94.3	9.9	104.2
Friedrich Naumann Foundation (Free Democrat)	46.1	4.9	51.0
Hanns Seidel Foundation (Christian Social Union)	47.9	4.9	52.8
Total	281.4	29.6	311.0

ministry grants include scholarships for overseas students selected by the foundations, totalling 17.0 million DM and 12.7 million DM for "international activities'.

The development ministry's payments to the political foundations are part of a wider set of contributions to non-governmental organizations in Germany. In 1988, the ministry's funding of non-governmental organizations amounted to 629.7 million DM {$ 370 million at 1988 rate) or 9.3 per cent of total spending on development aid, of which the four party foundations received 264.8 million DM ($ 157 million, 4,2 per cent of the overseas development budget), the main Catholic and Protestant Church relief agencies 256 million DM ($ 150 million), and other German non-governmental bodies 56.2 million DM ($ 33 million).

There were also special grants for food aid and for development education. Between 1962 and 1988 the political foundations received a total of 2,895.16 million DM (nearly $ 2 billion at Dec. 1990 rate) from the development ministry.

Government funds for overseas projects are allocated in the following ratio: Konrad Adenauer Foundation 2; Friedrich Ebert Foundation 2; Friedrich Naumann Foundation 1; Hanns Seidel Foundation 1. The Greens have recently won the right to public funding for a party foundation of their own, named the Rainbow (Regenbogen) Foundation, and this started to receive small grants in 1989. The Greens' entitlement to receive subsidies for a party foundation was established by the Constitutional Court in 1986.

Activities

The foundations are active in most underdeveloped states. Since 1978 they have been setting up offices in industrialized countries as well, and they have recently expanded into Eastern Europe (where they have been active on a smaller scale for a number of years). In 1989 the Ebert Foundation, for example, had projects in at least 100 countries.

A feature of the foundations' overseas operations is their heavy use of German field representatives. At the end of 1988 there were 312 foundation representatives funded by development ministry grants, and about 20 representa-

Table 2 : Foreign expenditures of the German party foundations from development ministry funds, by continent, 1983-8 (million DM)

	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung	Hanns Seidel Stiftung	All
Africa	73	101	37	95	306
	(17%)	(26%)	(18%)	(41 X)	(24%)
Asia	83	119	60	87	349
	(20%)	(30%)	(30%)	(37%)	(28%)
Latin America	241	127	73	35	477
	(57%)	(32%)	(36%)	(15%)	(38%)
Europe and	26	45	32	16	120
North America	(6%)	(13%)	(16%)	(7%)	(10%)
Total	425	392	202	233	1,212
	(100 %)	(100 X)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Supra-regional	24	67	6	4	101
Grand total	449	459	208	237	1,352

Excludes centra! administrative costs. Excludes foreign ministry grants. Continental

ject planning, visiting delegations, inspection visits and conferences.
The high supra-regional total for the Ebert Foundation reflects the fact that it does not break down some of its projects, especially aid to foreign trade unions, into their national components.

Source: Private information.

tives in industrialized countries financed by the foreign ministry. In addition the field representatives normally employ local office staffs, as well as staffs (occasionally reaching several dozens) for particular foreign projects. Some 200 people are employed at foundation headquarters for administering overseas projects.

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation has traditionally concentrated on Latin America, where it supports Christian Democrat political organizations and Christian trade

Table 3: Expenditures of the German party foundations in selected countries (development ministry funds),
1983-8 (million DM)

	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung	Hanns Seidel Stiftung	«I
Africa					
Egypt	3.4	11.6	7.7	14.3	36.9
Zaire	3.5	—	0.5	25.5	29.4
Asia					
China	0.3	12.3	8.0	29.3	50.5
Israel	7.5	4.3	4.8	9.2	25.8
Indonesia	12.0	11.0	12.0	—	35.0
Philippines	15.0	4.0	2.1	11.0	32.0
Europe					
Portugal	10.0	14.1	20.5	—	44.5
Spain	7.0	14.7	4.3	11.9	38.0
Latin America					
Argentina	22.0	8.9	4.8	3.4	39.1
Brazil	14.4	5.6	10.6	1.7	32.2
Chile	24.8	9.8	2.2	2.6	39.4
Colombia	16.8	6.7	6.0	—	29.5
Costa Rica	9.8	26.6	1.5	3.8	33.4
Guatemala	20.3	2.3	4.9	1.6	28.7
Peru	22.4	8.1	9.0	—	39.4
Venezuela	32.7	7.3	1.1	4.2	45.3

The totals for some countries, *such* OS Venezuela end Costa Rica, ate enlarged by the

Source: Private Information.

unions. The Hanns Seidel Foundation, which launched its foreign programme as late as 1976, has focused on Africa, and specializes in the training of public administrators. Thé largest expenditures of the foundations in individual countries in the six years 1983-8 are given in Table 3.

The party foundations normally organize their overs eas operations into projects with specific "partner" organizations. Projects usually run for several years. In a few cases they date from the 1960s. The Ebert Foundation has traditionally focused on a smaller number of major projects, constructing multi-purpose buildings in such countries as Madagascar, Zambia, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Costa Rica and Venezuela. Some of the projects had a regi onal purpose. Ebert has employed larger teams of field representatives than the other foundations and, in particular, has organized teams of trade-union advisers. The foundations' work in industrialized countries (financed by the foreign ministry) is for specific conferences or activities rather than for longer-term "projects".

How political is political aid?

How political are the foundations' foreign operations? As seen in Table 4, some projects appear similar to the social development projects of conventional aid agencies. However, the foundations' objectives are considerably more political than is suggested by the categories given in

Table 4: Types of foreign activity by the German foundations, 1987-8 (%) (a)

	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung	Hanns Seidel Stiftung
"Political education"	25	32	50 (b)	25 (e)
Trade unions	15	18	-	-
Media	4	12	15	-
Human rights	-	-	7	-
Academic/research	9	13	-	-
Academic/management	9	-	-	20
Public administration	8	-	-	20
Economic advice and aid	-	25	-	-
Cooperatives/self-help organizations	30 (d)	-	30 (e)	16 (f)
Total	100	100	100	100

(a) Some of the differences between foundations reflect different ways of categorizing similar activities. Excludes activities funded by the foreign ministry.
(b) Includes •political dialogue" (12 %) and academic research projects.

(d) Includes rural development (9 %) and "youth, women, social work" end other projects (7 %).
(e) Includes vocational training.
(f) Includes "material infrastructure" for social structure projects (7 %) and also trade union projects.

Source: Foundations' annual reports.

the Table, which is based on their annual reports. The largest category, "political education" (about 80 million DM), includes grants to party-related organizations. Grants to trade unions are another major category. In 1988 the Ebert and Adenauer Foundations devoted nearly 30 million DM to foreign trade union projects. Aid to mass media in developing countries totalled about 20 million DM,

Development ministry regulations impose various restrictions on the foundations - a protection against possible accusations of interference in foreign countries. These forbid payments for electoral propaganda or in support of strikes. According to a ministry interpretation which has recently been incorporated into the formal rules, all-purpose payments to foreign parties and unions are also prohibited. This has little practical meaning, however, since subsidies for specific party projects or to party-linked foundations are permitted.

One-third of the money given by the development ministry to the party foundations is for relatively non-political projects to develop "social structures" (3) - for example, youth centres in India, fishing cooperatives in Peru or a carpet weavers' cooperative run under government auspices in Morocco. In practice, seemingly non-political or self-help schemes often have political intent. In some countries, especially in Africa and Asia, anodyne projects have a function of allowing a foundation representative to establish a presence, or "a foot in the door" as one foundation official put it. The representative will then establish political contacts. (4) Some projects listed as "research" are useful for purposes of campaign organizations. For instance, according to information from the Adenauer Foundation, grants to the economic research institute INIESEP in Nicaragua included finance in 1989 for a staff of ten and for eight cars, which not only served the cause of research but could reasonably be seen as providing aid for the Nicaraguan opposition in the run-up to the presidential election of February 1990. (5)

Some non-political rural development and cooperative projects are intended to allow trade unions and parties linked with the projects to recruit supporters. For instance, the agrarian activities of one organization receiving German money in the Philippines have the function of building an anti-Communist political base. The political coordination of apparently non-political projects is evident from internal reports about the Adenauer operation in Chile in 1984-6. In 1985, it was a monthly meeting of a committee of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party which coordinated eight projects ranging from an agrarian institute (Instituto de Promociôn Agraria) and a self-help project for slumdwellers (Acción Vecinal y Communitaria) to three academic institutes (Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanisticos, Corporaciôn de Promoción Universitaria, and Fundación Eduardo Frei). Bodies designated as research institutes or cooperatives are frequently permitted to work in situations where open party activity is restricted.

In fact the German foundations frequently have a strategy of combining projects relating to parties, unions, mass media, business organizations and cooperatives as part of a coordinated political compaign. Moreover, projects by different foundations complement each other. As an illustration of the scope of foreign political projects, German and US political payments to Chile in the five years preceding the crucial plebiscite of October 1988 are summarized in Table 5. (6)

The foundations' programmes of visits to Germany by distinguished foreigners and students can also be used to support a foundation's projects and plans. (7) Foundations can also sponsor visits by representatives of liberation movements, opposition groups and exiled parties whom it would be difficult for a government ministry to invite. This is a specific reason why the foreign ministry subsidizes the foundations. Moreover, under dictatorial regimes, encouragement of civic and cultural groups and independent media may be the best way to build cadres able to play a political role during a future democratic transition. Support by Ebert for African trade unionists, by Adenauer for Christian professional groups in Tanzania and Zaire and by Naumann for human rights groups in Paraguay are examples of this reasoning. The foundations also sponsor extensive publication programmes on political and social topics, with the Ebert and Naumann foundations especially active.

Table 5: Chile's transition to democracy: political funding by the German and US governments, 1984-y

West German party foundations, expenditures from development ministry funds ('000 DM)					
Konrad Adenauer Foundation (a)					24,599
Friedrich	Ebert	Foundation	(b)		9.502
Friedrich	Naumann	Foundation	(c)		2,186
Hanns	Seidel	Foundation	(d)		2,591
Total 38,378					
US payments ($'000)					
National Endowment for Democracy (e)					3,990
(Administered by National Democratic Institute 1,092; National Republican Institute 372; Center for International Private Enterprise 104; Free Trade Union Institute 1,041; Other NED grantees 1, 380)					
Agency for International Development (f)					1,285
American Institute for Free Labor Development (g)					1,490
				Total	6,765
Dollar value of payments (Dec. 1990 rate)					
Total German payments					S26.05 million
(per capita of Chilean population $2.04)					
Total US payments					$6.77 million
(per capita of Chilean population $0.53)					

aliens, but exclude centra! administrative costs. The table excludes politically relevant

through privately funded US bodies. It also excludes the significant financing provided by a number of other governments, which is described in recent and forthcoming work by Alan Angell (see note 25).

(a) *Konrad Adenauer Foundation* grants : (i) to "research institutes" : Corporación de Promoción Universitaria (CPU7. Institute Chileno de Estudios Humanisticos (ICHEH), Fundación Eduardo Frei (FEF). Instituto Latinoamericane de Doctrina y Estudios Sociales; (ii) trade union education and promotion: Fundación para el Desarrollo y la Culture Popular (DECUP). mainly for the National Workers' Command (CNT); (iii) aid to small businessmen; (iv) aid to "self help" groups and slumdwellers' leaders: Accion Vecinal y Cornunitaria (AVEC); (v) rural church-related educational institute: Instituio de Promoción Agraria (INPROA); (vi) cooperative organizations: Instituto Chileno de Educación Cooperativa (ICECOOP), Confederaciôn Nacional de Cooperativas Campesinas (CAMPECOOP).

(b) *Friedrich Ebert Foundation* grants for (i) "Socio-political" education and advising : Consultora EFES Ltda. including work with the Radical and Socialist parties, the central union organization CUT and the trade union institute CIAS1: (ii) self-help groups: FINTESA.

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tro de Estudios Publicos (CEP) and Centre de Formación Civica (CFC).

(e) NED grants included (in $'000): $1,041 to Chilean trade unions (mainly to the Democratic Workers' Central, CDT, and to a lesser extent to the National Workers' Command. CNT); over S750 for "research institutes" (Centre de Estudios Politicos, CEP, Centro de Estudios de Desarrollo. CED, and Facultad Latinoamericano de Estudios Sociales. FLACSO); $248 to independent publishers *(Editoriel*

(including AVEC). Many projects related specifically to electoral registration and

(f) Grant to the Chilean Church-related organization Civitas for voter registration and education, administered through the Costa Rica-based Centro Latinoarnericano de Asesoria y Promoción Electoral. CAPEL, a branch of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights.

(g) Includes (in S'000): Chile country programme Si.340 and "union 10 union" programme (author's estimate) S150. This latter programme consisted of activities in Chile of international trade secretariats funded through US union, especially the American Federation of Teachers.

United States-NED, "Programs of the Endowment and its institutes in Chile", Sept.

The foundations and the Party Internationals

The foundation system has permitted the West German parties to wield a great influence within the party (and union) internationals. These bodies organize summit conferences of party leaders, and grant or withhold recognition from parties and party representatives (an act of importance for parties in exile). They enjoy considerable prestige and political access, yet their budgets are small and their headquarters, in most cases, minute. In exchange for a relatively small financial investment, the foundations thus have the opportunity to play a major role.

Each of the four foundations backs a separate party international. In addition the German Greens have already established a considerable international base and began to receive government money for their international activities in 1989.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation has been a major force in the Socialist International. According to Eusebio Mujal León, it was Ebert that provided the bulk of the manpower and other resources for the meetings of the Socialist International in Caracas in 1976 and in Lisbon in 1978 that led to the creation of the Socialist International's Latin American Committee in 1977 and to backing for the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, who then received training *"to assume the reins of government"* (8) at Ebert's educational institute in Costa Rica (CEDAL, Latin American Centre for Democratic Studies). The support for emerging Socialist parties in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s involved close cooperation between the Ebert Foundation and the Socialist International.

The Ebert Foundation has ties with the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). It does not subscribe to ICFTU, but in Latin America and Asia it normally works with union federations belonging to it. In Africa, where few unions are ICFTU members, this rule is relaxed. (9) In the last five years the foundation has intensified its cooperation with the international trade secretariats (international organizations of workers in particular trades or professions - teachers, metalworkers, etc.), an independent part of the ICFTU network. Ebert currently subsidizes the foreign work of twelve of them. Ebert subsidies to unions in Latin America have served to reduce the influence of US union interests in ORIT, the Latin American branch of ICFTU.

Ebert's prestige in the international labour field is largely based on the fact that, together with the labour institutes of the American AFL-CIO, it is the only Western organization with a dense network of worldwide offices and union advisers. Its regional offices in Nairobi, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Tokyo, Quito and Buenos Aires have specific union responsibilities, and there are additional Ebert offices in some 60 other countries.

Konrad Adenauer Foundation is the mainstay of the Christian Democrat International. II provides core funding for the International's Latin American organization, ODCA, and for its educational institute, IFEDEC, both based in Venezuela. In 1989 it subsidized member parties of the Christian Democrat International in twelve Latin American countries.

In 1986 the Foundation's expenditure on the Christian Democrat International's Latin American organization and on its Latin American member parties totalled 7.1 million DM. The foundation also met the travel costs of senior Latin American officials of both party and union internationals attending the régula strategy meetings held at its headquarters near Bonn.

In Asia and Africa, the Christian Democrat network is weaker, (10) The Christian Democrat connection provides contacts in a few African countries where the Catholic Church has some influence. However, in countries where there is a weak Christian Democrat party, the Adenauer Foundation faces a dilemma for if it support a Christian Democrat, it will be backing a sure loser; if it backs a Conservative party candidate who has a better hope of winning, it will risk undermining the Christian Democrat International and offending Christian Democrat allies in neighbouring countries. (11) Currently the foundation's policy is one of compromise: its main contacts are still with Christian Democrats but, in a few cases, it supports other parties. (12)

The German Christian Democrats are also members of the International Democrats Union, the Conservative international (though it is the Hanns Seidel Foundation, to be discussed below, that is most active here). This allows the CDU and the Adenauer Foundation to keep open lines of communication with foreign Conservative parties.

As for unions, Adenauer sustains the Latin American branch, CLAT, of the international organization of Christian trade unions, WCL, and currently supports the CLAT's Venezuela-based educational institute, which has responsibility for all Latin America and the Caribbean. It also supports four union educational institutes responsible for groups of countries in Central America, the Caribbean, the Andean region and the Southern Cone, as well as Christian trade union federations in nine individual Latin American countries. (13)

The Naumann Foundation is the most important backer of the Liberal International. The total contributed by the Foundation for projects involving Liberal parties and groups is about 20 times greater than the Liberal International's entire budget. Through Naumann's support, a Central American branch of the International, FELICA, was formed in 1986. From its office in Colombia, Naumann finances FELICA's journal, *Perfiles Liberates,* and most of the individual member parties. In several countries where there is no established Liberal party, the Foundation works to build Liberal groups into parties which may then apply for membership of the International. Its offices in each country often provide the main contact between the Liberal International's headquarters in London and its local member parties. In 1989 the foundation budgeted over 9 million DM for its projects throughout the world with Liberal and allied parties and with Liberal groups. (14)

The Hanns Seidel Foundation has become active in the International Democrat Union, the Conservative international founded in 1983. Other financial support for the International Democrat Union comes from the National Republican Institute (which channels money from the US government provided through the National Endowment for Democracy, to be described below).

Serving the German national interest

A common claim for the German party foundation system is that it serves not only party interests but German national interests. The German involvement in the internationals can be seen as an example of this. There are at least four ways in which the foundations can be seen as valuable instruments of German foreign policy.

First, the foundation and their overseas representatives are in a position to make friends and establish contacts with opposition leaders and members of liberation movements in foreign countries whom diplomats cannot reach without risking the displeasure of existing governments, and they have the organization to aid politicians in exile who may become future prime ministers. The aid given to Felipe Gonzalez in the 1970s was not only to the credit of the Ebert Foundation and the German Social Democrats, but arguably added to German prestige when he became the Spanish premier.

The Ebert Foundation forged close links in the 1960s with leaders of newly independent African states, for example Philibert Tsiranana in Madagascar, Dr Busia in Ghana (where Ebert later claimed to have averted a Communist take over by its activities), Milton Obote in Uganda, and Kenneth Kauda in Zambia. In the 1970s the Foundation was closely involved with Daniel Ortega's Sandinistas in Nicaragua. It has also aided several African liberation movements (e.g. SWAPO and the ANC) and has financed some of their offices in Bonn. Adenauer protégés include the late Eduardo Frei and Patricio Aylwin in Chile, Vinicio Cerezo in Guatemala, the late José Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador and Paul Ssemgerere in Uganda. It has actively supported COPEI in Venezuela and, especially, such politicians as Rafaël Caldera and Aristides Calvani. The Seidel Foundation supported the personal links established between the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, and such African politicians as President Mobutu of Zaire and President Eyadema of Togo.

The foundations of opposing parties usually cooperate with one another both in Bonn and abroad. The chief executive of the Adenauer Foundation told me that he and his opposite numbers in the other foundations were members of the same club, a view echoed by the other foundations. In the field, the different foundations' representatives usually complement each other's activities, frequently concentrating on different countries or, within the same country, on different political groups. Indeed, there is a regulation that prevents different foundations from funding the same partner organization. Spain and Portugal have been predominantly Socialist, i.e. Ebert territory (though all the foundations have been involved in these countries). Chile and Guatemala are Adenauer ground, Tunisia is a Naumann territory, while Seidel has close links with such African countries as Togo and Zaire and is especially active in China, Egypt and the Pacific. In countries where the foundations back different political parties, as in Nicaragua, Venezuela and Namibia, Germany can hope to gain a friend as head of government no matter who wins.

Third, as already mentioned, the foundations serve the purposes of a development aid programme with some defined national diplomatic objectives. For example, the Ebert Foundation combined its cultivation in the 1960s of heads of governement belonging to the Socialist International with projects in several countries designed to investigate, and presumably to neutralize, the propaganda activities of the Communist bloc.

Fourth, both in theory and in practice, the work of the foundations is subject to considerable governmental control. Unlike the Church agencies, the foundations are not required to raise matching funds as a condition of receiving state aid. But they do not receive block grants for their foreign projects: each development project must be approved by the BMZ as well as by the foreign ministry. Both these ministries have sometimes delayed approval, negotiated changes in proposed programmes, or refused to accept them altogether. Examples of disputes between foundations and ministries, recounted in interviews with officials from both, range from refusal to sanction Ada nauer aid to the Namibian SWALU project after 1985, to objections to Seidel projects in South Africa, Namibia and Singapore.

There are limits to bureaucratic control, however. This is partly because the foreign ministry realizes that the foundations are useful in making contacts with a broad range of politicians and wishes to give them latitude, and partly because officials are aware that the political foundations receive support "from the top". For example, when the German embassy in Pretoria questioned the Adenauer Foundation's proposed aid to Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Chancellor Kohl was recruited to overcome the objections. The development committee of the Bundestag could, in theory, demand information and exercise a measure of oversight. In practice, the fact that all Bundestag parties are beneficiaries means that there has been little criticism or questioning of the political foundations' work, except (for a period) from the Greens.

Considering the scope of the foundations' foreign operations over the past 28 years, the number of scandals and embarrassments has been low. There have been occasional expulsions of field representatives, particularly after coups in African countries where a foundation has been identified with a deposed leader, and occasional allegations of currency infringements and illegal funding of German parties. (15) The most serious charges emerged during the early and mid- 1980s. It was shown that the Naumann Foundation had, in effect, used foundation resources (which are not subject to taxation) for the benefit of the Free Democrat Party, whose contributions are taxable. For this infringement it lost its privileged tax status for the years 1978-83. (16) The existence of a multimillion mark fund raised from businessmen by the Ebert Foundation, with the ostensible purpose of fostering democracy in Spain, also came to light as a part of the revelations concerning the Flick affair of the mid-1980s, one of West Germany's most serious scandals. It was commonly suspected that some of the money had been used to supply campaign funds to the West German SPD. Again, this was, if true, an illegal method of tax evasion. In 1990 enquiries were still in progress.

But the Flick affair does not seem to have destroyed political or public support for the foundation system, despite critical investigative articles in Der Spiegel and concerns voiced by some academic observers. Its main critics, the Greens, challenged the public funding of the foundation before the Constitutional Court: the Court's decision in 1986 led both to a confirmation of the grants and to the incorporation of the Greens into the existing system. As already mentioned, the Greens now have their own, publicly funded, Rainbow Foundation. Nevertheless, the scandals of the 1980s illustrate the problems that can arise when parties are given public funds earmarked for foreign purposes. There is a temptation to use them for purposes closer to home. It is worth noting that in the United States, where the party institutes receive much more limited state payments, similar problems have not arisen.

2. *US political aid*

The United States system of political aid is more complex and fragmented than the German one. The main organizations making publicly funded foreign political payments are as follows : the National Endowment for Democracy; the four "labor institutes" of the International Department of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations; the Agency for International Development's "Human Rights and Democratic Initiatives Program" (responsible for grants under section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1978); and the "Democracy Program" for Latin America, administered by the Agency for International Development's Latin America and Caribbean Bureau.

The overall cost of the US government's political aid programmes in 1989 was nearly $100 million. (17) It is worth noting, first, that the National Endowment for Democracy and its affiliated institutes, though highly publicized, administer 20-25 per cent of this total, and second, that overall US government spending on political aid (excluding ClA activities) is about half West German spend ing on the party foundations' foreign operations.

(i) *The National Endowment for Democracy* is a private, non-profit corporation governed by a board consisting of leading figures in the Republican and Democrat parties, the trade unions, and the US Chamber of Commerce. It gives grants for democracy-building from a budget approved annually by Congress ($ 15.8 million in 1989). Some grants are give directly to American and foreign organizations which administer particular foreign projects; most of the money is channelled through four "core grantees", which are, in miniature, replicas of the German foundations. The *National Republican Institute for International Affairs*, a legally distinct institute affiliated to the Republican Party, was awarded S 1.8 million in 1989. The *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs* (affiliated to the Democratic Party) was awarded the same amount. The *Free Trade Union Institute* (affiliated to the AFL-CIO) was awarded $ 5.0 million, and the *Center for International Private Entreprise* (affiliated to the US Chamber of Commerce) was awarded $ 2.2 million.

Congress voted to create the National Endowment in 1983 after strong backing for the idea by President Reagan, the chairmen of the Republican and Democrat National Committees and members of the AFL-CIO's labour institutes. Despite its powerful support, however, the new body has faced continued congressional scrutiny and criticism. In 1984 Congress refused to allocate any money to the two party institutes, which led to a temporary windfall for the Free Trade Union Institute. The funding of the party institutes was restored the following year.

The National Endowment has strong friends in both parties on Capitol Hill and has gradually established itself, but it retains a number of enemies. Critics on the Right characterize some foreign activities funded by the Endowment as "boondoggles", and fear that grants to party institutes may set a precedent for the public funding of domestic party activity. From the Left there have been allegations of involvement with the ClA and with the White House Iran-Contra team. (18) It is possible that the spotlight of publicity on the Endowment has made it harder to expand its budget. Certainly the grants given under the Agency for International Development's various trade union and democracy programmes have been, on the one hand, less publicized and, on the other, considerably larger.

The Endowment takes pride in the openness of its work. Organizations receiving grants have to agree that

Table 6: National Endowment for Democracy: funds allocated to "core grantees", 1984-9 ($ million)

	1984	1985	1936	1987	1983	1939
Regular funds Allocated to:						
Free Trade Union Institute (AFL-CIO)	11.0	13.8	4.3	4.8	5.4	5.0
Center for International	1.7	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.2
Private Enterprise (US Chamber of Commerce)						
National Democratic Institute (Democratic Party)	1.5	-	2.0	1.7	1.9	1,8
National Republican Institute (Republican Party)	1.5	~	2.0	1.7	1.9	1.8
Other (a)	2.3	2.2	6.4	4.7	5.2	5.0
Total	18.0	18.5	17.2	15.0	16.9	15.8
Special funds voted by Congress	-	-	0.2	1.6	2.5	5.1
Grand total	18.0	18.5	17.4	16.6	19.4	20.9

(a) Includes grants to other political aid organisations and the National Endowment for

Source: National Endowment for Democracy document.

they will be made public: This applies even to grants to illegal organizations such as Solidarity, which received money through the National Endowment during the period in which it was banned. The Endowment's annual reports list all grants and the amount allocated to each recipient. Despite its status as a private corporation, the Endowment is subject to the Freedom of Information Act and members of the public can (and do) demand access to information from the files. Highly sensitive grants, such as those to the banned Solidarity union, are often sent to intermediary organizations, as this method is seen to give a measure of protection to the recipients.

The Endowment is subject to administrative scrutiny by the US Information Agency, and to diplomatic oversight by the State Department. A Foreign Service officer of ambassadorial rank has a desk responsibility for the Endowment. All proposed projects must be passed through him for comment by the relevant US embassy. However, unlike the West German foreign ministry in its dealings with the foun . dations, the State Department has no power of veto. In practice, the main influence on the National Endowment is Congress rather than the administration.

The combination of a relatively small budget and a system requiring a staff at the National Endowment and offices and staffs for each core grantee inevitably leads to relatively high administrative costs, despite the small size of each office (the five offices have about 100 employees in all). With administrative costs at about one-third of the total, little more than $ 10 million a year has been available for grants. This has precluded any possibility of building a network of field representatives on the German model. However, Congress and the Agency for International Development have occasionally allocated special additional funds to be administered by the National Endowment in particular countries: for example, for Solidarity in Poland and for special programmes in Chile, Nicaragua and Paraguay. In September 1989 Congress voted a sum of $ 9 million to be spent, mainly by the National Endowment, on the 1990 Nicaraguan elections, and the Endowment received further sums in 1990 for special programmes for Eastern Europe and for South Africa.

As shown in Table 7, almost half the Endowment's spending in 1988 was for Latin America (though a surprisingly small proportion was devoted to Central America). The "core grantees" each concentrated on different world areas. Given its limited resources and budget uncertainties, the Endowment has tended to provide a large number of small grants, mostly under $ 100,00. Nevertheless, it and the core grantees have succeeded in developing a distinctive and potentially valuable role in several fields. The Endowment gave early support for the activities of independent groups in Eastern Europe, and more recently to nationalist organizations within the Soviet Union. Some of the aid was passed through groups of émigrés living in Britain, Western Europe and the United States. The main beneficiary was the Solidarity union in Poland. Between 1984 and 1989, this received over $ 5 million, transmitted partly through the Brussels-based Coordinating Office of Solidarnosc Abroad. Other grants included support for independent publishers within Poland, as well as support for publications in the West intended for distribution within Poland, and assistance to independent film producers to prepare video versions of films for unofficial showings.

Table 7: National Endowment for Democracy expenditure, 1988, by continent

% of total expenditure	Free Trade Union Institute	Center for International Private Enterprise	National Democratic Institute	National Republican Institute	Discretionary grants	Total
Latin America	31	45	36	92	43	45
Asia	28	16	16	—	12	15
Africa	18	—	12	—	1	7
West Europe	14	_	12	—	_	5
USSR/East Europe	9	—	—	—	40	21
Multi-regional	1	39	24	8	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The National Democratic Institute, and to a lesser extent the other Endowment grantees, have concentrated on key elections, including those in the Philippines, Pakistan, Chile, Haiti, Panama and Paraguay - all countries holding elections after years of dictatorial rule. The National Democratic Institute organizes brief training seminars on electoral registration, poll watching and other aspects of campaign organization. It recruits large and influential international teams of election observers. Before the 1988 elections in Pakistan and the Chilean plebiscite in the same year, National Democratic Institute teams toiled for months training local party activists and, in particular, advising on ways to limit electoral fraud. In a number of cases the presence of International observers has been of major diplomatic importance. Predictably, the presence of the observers has sometimes been attacked by incumbent regimes, for instance in the Philippines in 1986 and in Chile in 1988.

Although their budgets have only been about $ 2 million a year, the National Republican and National Democratic Institutes have been able to establish important roles within two of the party internationals. The Republicans work-closely with the International Democrat Union, the Conservative international. Some of the National Republican Institute's most important grants have been to international Democrat Union member parties, especially in Latin America. The Institute acted as the major sponsor of the Caribbean branch of the International Democrat Union (covering the main salary and office expenses). (19) The National Democratic Institute has a policy of non-partisan activity - it aims to foster the democratic system and not a particular party - and therefore attends meeting of a number of different party internationals. It main connection is with the Liberal International, with which it has worked closely in the task of making contacts with like-minded opposition groups in Eastern Europe. For example, the National Democratic Institute financed the Liberal International's mission to Hungary in May 1989.

Work with the party internationals has brought the American party institutes into contact with the German foundations. In particular, the National Democratic Institute and the Naumann Foundation share the Liberal International connection, while the IDU has brought the National Republican Institute into occasional partnership with the Hanns Seidel Foundation, especially in Central America and Bolivia. The National Republican Institute has also given significant support to organizations connected to the IDU member parties in Nicaragua and Colombia (where the Social Conservative Party is supported by the Adenauer Foundation).

(ii) *The four "labor institutes"* of the International Affairs Department of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. These cover aid to unions in Latin America (the American Institute for Free Labor Development, founded in 1962); Africa (the African-American Labor Center, founded in 1964); Asia (the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, founded in 1968); and, mainly with European responsibilities, the Free Trade Union Institute, founded in 1978 and later given the status of a "core grantee" of the National Endowment. The institutes are almost completely reliant on government funds. In 1987, only $ 0.7 million of a total budget of $ 28;5 million was raised by the AFL-CIO from non-governmental sources (see Table 8).

Table 8: AFL-CIO international labour institutes expenditure 1962-88 (S million)

	American Institute for Free Labor Development	African-American Labor Center	Asian American Free Labor Institute	Total
962	0.4	-	-	0.4
965	3.7	0.2	—	3.9
970	5.9	1.7	0.9	8.5
975	5.7	2.4	2.8	10.9
980	9.9	3.8	4.0	17.7
985	17.1	7.1	9.1	33.3
986	17.0	6.8	6.7	30.5
987	15.8	6.7	6.0	28.5
988	15.6	6.4	5.0	27.0

The Free Trade Union Institute receives its public money from the National Endowment. The other three institutes, which are responsible for underdeveloped areas, also receive some funds (via the Free Trade Union Institute) from the Endowment, but their main finance comes from the Agency for International Development, which provided them with $ 22.8 million in 1987.

American trade unions have a long history of international activity. They became involved in the 1940s in the struggle against Communism within the international trade union movement and received financial aid from the CIA. In 1962 the American Institute for Free Labor Development was formed as part of President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" to combat Cuban influence. Since then the Institute has been responsible for the AFL-CIO's Latin American union programmes. Similar institutes for Asia and Africa were created in the 1960s. The Agency for International Development supplies most of their funds, and they are publicly declared (though buried, in practice, in the Agency's complex accounts). The Free Trade Union Institute was formed in 1978 to support the anti-Communist Portuguese union federation, Uniào Gérai de Trabalhadores.

The four labour institutes are the only American political aid organizations with their own networks of field representatives. In 1987 there were 40 field offices: 17 in Latin America, 15 in Africa, and 8 in Asia and the Pacific. In international unionism, this network rivals that of the West German party foundations.

The AFL-CIO institutes' strong brand of anti-Communism has sometimes brought them into conflict with many affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which have also been anti-Communist but have favoured a more pragmatic approach. However, the AFL-CIO rejoined the ICFTU in 1982. The main political role of the institutes has been to combat the influence of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. An important union struggle has continued in the Philippines against the Communist Party's "labor front", the Kilusang Mayo Uno.

The institutes help foreign unions in a number of ways - by paying for their offices and equipment, by arranging training courses for union leaders, by providing a variety of membership services ranging from small loan schemes to medical help, and by organizing training workshops for members. (20)

(iii) *The Agency for International Development's "Human Rights and Democratic Initiatives Program"* (21) includes grants for regional human rights programmes (especially in South Africa), for election assistance (mainly in Central America), and for the "promotion of democratic institutions". When this programme began, under the Carter administration, the emphasis was on the promotion of individual human rights, for example by schemes for legal counselling, particularly for women. These projects continue in Nepal, Thailand and elsewhere. Funding is given to human rights commissions (such as that in Togo) and to the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights. There are grants for legal training and for legal texts in various countries. Increased attention recently has been given to "democracy-building" and, in particular, to schemes for technical support for electoral administration. Under Section 116(e) of the 1978 Foreign Assistance Act, the programme provides core funding for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a Washington-based organization which gives specialist advice on electoral registration and other aspects of electoral administration.

(iv) *The special "Democracy Program" for Latin America*, administered by the Agency for International Development's Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, stems from the 1984 report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (the Kissinger Commission). Its budget is devoted mainly to "administration of justice" projects. It also funds "democratic initiatives" including technical assistance for elections and support for technical facilities such as computers for legislatures in Latin America. Some of these projects are funded under Section 116(e). In 1989, central expenditure on the Latin American democracy programme and on 116(e) human rights and democracy projects in other continents amounted to S 23.3 million.

Though most of its grants are channelled through outside organizations, the Agency's worldwide human rights and democracy programmes are basically a form of government-to-government aid, albeit devoted to institution-building. As the official governmental agency, it is not well placed to give aid to opposition parties or to media in foreign countries. On the other hand, it is able to give assistance to foreign governments in drawing up voter rolls and in other aspects of electoral administration. (22)

3. Political aid assessed

Political aid can be assessed in four ways: first, in terms of its success in fostering democratic forms of government and protecting individual rights; second, in terms of forwarding the donor government's national interests; third, in terms of its impact on political life in the donor country; and fourth, in terms of its cost-effectiveness.

It has often been implied in discussions of political aid that the aim of "democracy-building" will be consistent with that of promoting national interests. This has usually been the case for West Germany and the United States. It has been strongly argued that unpopular, potentially unstable authoritarian regimes make unreliable allies. But there is no automatic coincidence between the two objectives and there have been times when national interests as seen by policy-makers in both West Germany and the United States have compelled support for authoritarian regimes. That is why it is necessary to distinguish between the usefulness of political aid as an instrument of democracy-building and political aid in the donor nation's interest.

Building democracy

The West German and US programmes of political aid have had some notable successes in advancing the cause of democracy. However, it is not possible to give an uncontroversial evaluation. The events leading to a transition to democracy are inevitably complex. Even when fully detailed information is available it is not possible to disentangle the results of foreign aid, or to show what would have happened had such aid not been given. Success in helping to create a democratic regime has all too often proved short-lived. These uncertainties apply also to the long-term effects of other forms of development aid and diplomatic activity.

The most frequently cited successes of political aid are the defeat of the Communist threats and the establishment of democracies in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s. Here the Ebert Foundation was a key operator, in a support effort involving West German trade unions and the Socialist International as well as other European governments.

(i) *Southern Europe in the 1970s:* The emergence of the Socialist leaders - Mario Soares in Portugal and Felipe Gonzalez in Spain - was certainly aided in large measure by this help. The senior CIA official, Cord Meyer, the Agency's station chief in London at the time, expressed a commonly held view when he wrote in his memoirs that the foundations *"played a crucial role in providing support for the indigenous democratic forces in Portugal in their rivalry with the Communists after the right-wing dictatorship was overthrown"* (23). Comprehensive details about international aid to both Communists and anti-Communists in the Iberian peninsula in the 1970s have yet to emerge. The story is complicated by the probability that in addition to the foundations' activities, secret political aid was channelled through the CIA (in particular to Portugal), through the West German Chancellery and possibly through the West German foreign ministry. Funds for election campaigns seem to have been transmitted through these channels. West German trade unions were active, particularly I.G. Metall, and special funds were raised from businessmen, as later emerged during revelations about the Flick affair.

The Ebert Foundation provided financial and other support for Socialist politicians during dictatorships in Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese Socialist Party, under Mario Scares, was established at a meeting in 1973 at one of the Ebert Foundation's training centres at Bad Munstereiffel. Following the revolution in 1974, Ebert officials travelled regularly to Portugal for extended stays. Ebert opened a permanent office in Madrid in early 1976, before the Socialist Party PSOE was legalized, and its representative, Dieter Koniecki, was later decorated by King Juan Carlos for his contribution to the new democracy.

The Ebert Foundation, and to a lesser extent the other German foundations, specialized in training party recruits and in providing advice to party leaders on policy and campaign techniques. In Portugal, Ebert also provided training at the local government level, and in Spain, at a crucial time in 1977, it arranged conferences on constitutional reform. In both countries the foundations aided the organization of anti-Communist trade union federations.

The distinctive contribution of the foundations consisted in the fact that they had the staff and facilities, both in Germany and soon afterwards in Spain and Portugal, to provide practical help, advice and training at a time when the new political parties and unions were beginning to emerge from secrecy. They were useful in arranging international contacts and meetings for their Spanish and Portuguese partners, and in securing economic aid at key points of the transition to democracy. Non-German Socialist leaders, including Olaf Palme and James Callaghan, lent their prestige to the cause of the Portuguese and Spanish Socialist parties, but the organizational assistance - travel expenses and arranging meetings for activists and potential activists of the emerging parties and of anti-Communist unions - came largely from the foundations, as well as from individual West German unions. The international departments of the British Labour and Conservative parties were involved in Spain and Portugal, and were committed to helping democratic partners, but they lacked even basic resources. By the late 1970s, all the German foundations had representatives in the peninsula. In 1977 the Ebert Foundation alone spent 4 million DM ($ 1.7 million at 1977 rate) from BMZ funds in the two countries.

(ii) *Chile in 1988-9:* In Chile, the Adenauer Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy and the Agency for International Development gave major assistance before the 1988 plebiscite, as detailed in Table 5 on p. 40. Other help was reported to have come from funds supplied by the Italian and Dutch governments. The Adenauer Foundation's projects were coordinated with the Christian Democrat International and with its Latin American branch, ODCA.

The re-emergence of the Christian Democrats in the November 1989 Chilean presidential election followed 16 years of work with the Adenauer Foundation. During years of military rule in Chile, when open political activity was banned, foreign contributions sustained a series of research institutes which provided a base for party and union activists. Adenauer alone was spending some 5 million DM (nearly $ 3.5 million at Dec. 1990 rate) a year in the mid-1980s on its field representatives and activities in Chile. Alan Angell's study of this activity concludes that "the research institutes played a vital role in the (1988) plebiscite campaign of the opposition. (24)

Before the 1988 plebiscite, technical support for electoral registration and for the training of poll watchers came from abroad. As shown in Table 5, the National Democratic Institute and the Agency for International Development's 116(e) Democratic Initiatives Program made significant contributions in terms of personal assistance and money to this effort. Election observer missions also played a role in reassuring potential electors and acting as a safeguard against electoral fraud. Foreign advisers encouraged the emergence of a united civic opposition to the military *junta*, though the main role was played by internal actors, in particular the Catholic Church.

In *Poland,* the National Endowment for Democracy's payments to Solidarity from 1984 of over $ 5 million (largely through the Free Trade Union Institute) and its grants to independent publishers were later perceived by the recipients as highly important : first in sustaining the structures of Solidarity during the time it was banned, and second in allowing the OKNO groups to obtain essential supplies for their publications. Microcomputer technology has made it possible to publish materials cheaply and effectively, and wordprocessing and desktop publishing equipment and laser printers were supplied through the National Endowment grants to the networks of small independent publishers. Solidarity was attacked by the Communist government for accepting US money. In May 1989 there was a concerted attempt to make this into a campaign issue. Solidarity successfully defended the legitimacy of the subsidies.

In the *Philippines,* in 1986, it was the presence of National Democratic Institute and National Republican Institute observer teams that led President Reagan to accept the conclusion that there had been large-scale electoral fraud, which led in turn to the fall of President Marcos.

Two further areas where large-scale and potentially important political aid exercises were mounted in the late 1980s were Central America and South Africa. The Adenauer, Ebert and Naumann Foudations were all heavily engaged in Nicaragua before the 1990 presidential election, as was the National Endowment for Democracy. In South Africa and the neighbouring states the German and American foundations were joined by the European Community and by a number of European - especially Scandinavian - countries in giving aid to sustain and encourage anti-apartheid organizations and to encourage non-violent change.

In the Chilean and other cases, political aid did not operate in a vacuum. Two days before the plebiscite the US State Department made an influential declaration warning the Chilean *junta* to respect the poll. In the case of Eastern Europe, overseas broadcasting was important in spreading information about dissident movements, and voluntary groups mobilized support and raised funds. However, the political aid institutions that are the subject of this article were distinctive in that they could give support directly to opposition groups and mount election observation exercises that could not have been carried out by embassies- German political aid and the recent forms of US assistance generally have been acceptable in the recipient countries, though governing regimes have sometimes passed laws intended to restrict the inflow of foreign funding for election campaigns, or have attempted to raise foreign political payments as a campaign issue. The relative openness of the foundations has usually avoided the suspicions and the scandals surrounding campaign money from foreign intelligence agencies. When recipients, have been attacked by their own governments for receiving foreign - especially American - money, as in Chile in 1988 and in Poland in 1989, their overt nature has acted as a protection. When controversy has continued, it has resulted from evidence, as in Central America, that open political assistance has been accompagnied by a secret programme.

In general, interpretations of the impact of foreign political aid are affected by assumptions about how subject societies are to outside influences. According to one view, a country's internal politics will inevitably have a dynamic of its own. Historical traditions, political culture, deep-rooted tribal, ethnic, regional or linguistic divisions and the interplay of personalities and factions are likely to be far more important than any extrinsic influence. Linked with this interpretation is the argument that "democracy-building" is likely to fail because it usually involves an attempt to reproduce the donor country's system in a unique foreign setting. An opposite view is that many countries are highly "permeable", as Mujal León has put it. Elites look outside the country for moral and material support; public opinion is directly affected by news and ideas from abroad.

There are circumstances in which outside influences are unlikely to have any impact: a brief seminar organized by a foreign association on the techniques of election planning is unlikely to have an effect on deep-rooted attitudes to violence in a Central American state dominated by death squads- Experience in many countries has proved that no amount of foreign backing will enhance an organization which lacks genuine support. But political aid from abroad can be valuable and even decisive for internal groups, often in such simple forms as supplies of paper for newsprint or money to buy paper, or in sustaining families of activitists. Where there is a conflict between opposing political forces within a country, the outcome may depend on foreign help. The judgement that Western models of democracy cannot be exported is a half-truth. While some aspects of Western political campaigning, electoral administration and electoral systems may be inapplicable, many have been conveyed to new democracies. The help given to combat electoral fraud is one example of the successful application of foreign experience. Information about opinion polls aspects of party and union organization and the use of television (which proved an asset in the Chilean plebiscite) may be essential in countries with no local experience of elections and little access to foreign literature on the subject. Also, many, political aid projects do not seek to transmit Western institutions, but rather to expose one country to the experience of a neighbouring country. For example, the main centre for advice on election administration in Latin America (funded by the USAID, Naumann and the Canadian International Development Agency) is based in Costa Rica, a country with a developed democratic system, and run by Latin American experts.

In Asian, African and to a lesser extent Latin American countries, a combination of government restriction and underdevelopment has hampered the growth of independent unions and parties. In some countries the government imposes a one-party system; 'in others, "parties" and "trade unions" are frequently paper organizations: union memberships are small, members frequently do not pay subscriptions, and figures tend to be exaggerated to boost their leader's prestige. It is an uphill struggle to build unions in countries where the vast majority of adults have no formal employment.

It is all too easy for foreign party foundations or international trade union organizations to find themselves funding governing parties and official unions which consolidate a one-party regime. Alternatively, they may arrange conferences and training for union and party "leaders" who lack followers. Despite such problems, political aid may occasionally have an impact in these unpromising areas of the world. First, even in one-party regimes in Africa, trade unions may exercise a degree of independence which can be nurtured by international trade union organizations and foundations. Second, aid to Third World unions combats the activities of the Communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions (It remains to be seen whether this will need to be a future priority). Third, the fact that some Asian and African countries have taken steps towards free elections indicates that projects in these continents are not doomed. Fourth, as already mentioned, projects which promote cooperatives, civic organizations, business associations and local media may serve as a basis for eventual development of free democratic institutions. Both the German and US political aid programmes in Africa have been based on the assumption that in countries where political activity is banned, it is still worthwhile to create elements of a "civil society". By encouraging the emergence of leaders in social and voluntary settings, they hope to lay the foundation for organizations that can assume political roles in the future. It is reasonable to suggest that following dramatic moves towards democratic systems in Latin America and Eastern Europe - developments which are still far from complete - the focus for "democracy-building" will turn increasingly to Africa an Asia,

There is a distinction between political aid given through political, union and civic organizations, and "institutional development" formulated on a government-to-government basis. In limited areas, such as the administration of elections, government-to-government aid may be a useful part of a democracy-building programme. In general, aid projects that aim to increase the efficiency of the machinery of government or of police forces, though they may be justified in their own terms, are not sufficient to ensure the building of democracy. The essence of a pluralist system is the existence of coherent groups independent of government and able to challenge governement. For example, the provision of library and computerized information systems for a legislature in an underdeveloped country is unlikely to promote democracy if there is no political opposition. It may make one-party rule more efficient.

Forwarding the donor government's national interests

The German party foundations have proved successful instruments in generating networks of contacts between domestic and foreign legislators, party leaders and activists, trade unionists, journalists and politically active academics, and in particular in providing easier contact with political oppositions. Officials of the West German foreign ministry have observed in interviews that this has given their country major influence abroad at the subgovernmental level.

The democracy-building successes of the German and US political foundations in southern Europe and in Chile have been of benefit to German and US strategic interests. Whether there was a real prospect of a Communist takeover with the replacement of the authoritarian regimes in Spain and Portugal in the 1970s, and in other Mediterranean countries, is open to judgement. At the time, the risk of Communism in Europe's southern flank appeared one of the greatest dangers confronting the Western alliance.

An important example of the way in which party foundations may promote their country's interests is seen in the work in Washington and New York of the German foundations. The four main German party foundations all have offices in Washington, and arrange conferences and meetings with influential elites. Though funded by the German foreign ministry, they are free from normal diplomatic restraints and are able to build contacts on a party-to-party basis.

Impact on the donor country's political life

The main impact of the German foundations' foreign work on the structure of internal West German politics has been to give all the parties in the Bundestag some executive role in foreign affairs. According to a common view, this may have had the effect of encouraging a consensus on foreign policy, but this is hard to demonstrate. The considerable government grants for the foundations' foreign activities are an integral part of the German system whereby political parties and party-related foundations receive state funding for a variety of campaign and other purposes and serve to consolidate the system.

In the United States, one fear about granting funds for foreign democracy-building activities to party-affiliated institutes was that this might create a precedent for similar subsidies for parties' domestic purposes. This has not happened at the present time.

The system of grants to the US parties' international institutes has had one side-effect. For the "opposition" party, the Democrats, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, with a staff of over 30, has assumed some of the functions both of a shadow foreign ministry and of an enlarged international department of the Democratic Party. Some of its projects (in Northern Ireland, Israel and Poland) are designed partly to appeal to domestic Democratic constituencies. This is one reason why the National Democratic Institute has given financial support to the SDLP in Northern Ireland (Interestingly, the SDLP also received some support from the Ebert Foundation).

Cost-effectiveness

If a fraction of projects have succeeded in their aims, political aid has been a highly cost-effective instrument. The amounts raised and spent in most countries on party and union organization and on election campaigns are an insignificant proportion of national income, and certainly inexpensive compared with economic or military assistance. Therefore it is possible for a foreign government to have a major impact by means of a small expenditure on political aid. The $ 7 million spent by the National Endowment for Democracy, the American Institute for Free Labor Development and the Agency for International Development in Chile in the five years before the 1988 plebiscite was substantial in terms of Chilean politics, but minor in comparison with spending on conventional economic aid. Even the German programme of political aid, probably the largest in the Western world, consumes only 4 per cent of the government's spending on development aid.

Broader issues

Though the amounts of money likely to be spent by most countries on overseas political payments are relatively small, political aid raises broader questions about the aims of development aid, about the changing forms of international relations, and about the use of non-governmental organizations by development and foreign ministries.

In the 1950s and 1960s the most influential school of thought in the United States asserted that underdevelopment was an economic phenomenon. There was little hope for democratic government in nations plagued by poverty, disease and ignorance. The act of voting meant little to illiterate people who did not know where their next meal was coming from. In a celebrated chapter on "Economic development and democracy", S.M. Lipset presented evidence that *"the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy"*. (25) Economic advance continues to be seen as central, but academics and administrators are now paying more attention to other factors.

First, it has been argued that the absence of popular government is itself a barrier to economic development. In countries where there is no check on the government, corruption, instability and inefficiency are likely to result. Violent changes of government and periods of military rule are not a recipe for steady economic growth. The approach of "economic development first, democracy and human rights later" is therefore rejected. A 1987 report for the Canadian

Minister for External Affairs points out that the World Bank's International Development Agency provides assistance in social areas, including projects of political development and structural change, because many such programmes *"are the single strongest weapons in favor of anchoring effective equitable societies, and... effectively enhance economic development"*. (26)

Second, and connected with this, though there is a correlation between advanced economic development and the existence of stable democracy, the question of causation is unclear. Moreover, there are poor democracies and rich tyrannies. It may be possible to encourage democratic institutions and a democratic culture even in low-income countries. On the other hand, there is no assurance that growing wealth will automatically lead to democracy. According to the 1986 report of the Canadian parliament's Special Joint Committee on Canada's International Relations :

the assumption underlying development assistance policy has been that economic growth would enhance other forms of social and political development - including enhanced respect for human rights - more or less automatically. Experience has shown that although creating and distributing wealth is of fundamental importance to developing countries, economic development by itself does not resolve social and political tensions. It often increases them.

Third, it is argued that personal rights are not a luxury but as much a basic need as food, water, shelter and medical care. The risk of arbitrary arrest may be as great a problem for slum-dwellers or poor peasants as hunger. Consequently, persona! and democratic rights ought to be promoted whether they are likely to lead to material improvements or not.

It follows from these arguments that economic growth is a necessary but not a sufficient aim of development aid. There should be parallel measures designed to promote individual rights and democratic structures. Interestingly, the Argentine-Italian treaty of 1987 and the Argentine-Spanish treaty of 1988 explicitly connect trade and economic matters with support by the Argentinian government for the consolidation of democracy. This connection has also been made in British programmes of aid to Eastern Europe. The linkage of aid and standards of political conduct by recipient governments was examined by the 1986 Canadian parliamentary report on Canada's International Relations. More recently the British Foreign Secretary has stated that British decisions on development aid will also take these consideration into account. (27)

Next, the entry of an increasing number of governments into the field of political aid may be seen as a response to changes in the nature of international relations. According to Andrew Scott, an American scholar and former intelligence officier, there has been a *"revolution in statecraft"* (the title of his book on the subject). (28) International relations, he suggests, have never been restricted to negotiations and dealings between foreign services. Attempts by governements to influence opinion and politics in foreign countries by direct means are not new: nevertheless the growing importance and extent of these efforts constitute a "revolutionary" change. The number of independent states has escalated. Mass communications have developed. Political parties, unions, pressure groups have become increasingly influential. It is therefore vital for governments to enter the political arena in foreign countries.

The increasing practice of governments of employing professional political lobbyists in foreign countries, and the development of "public diplomacy", may be seen as responses to these conditions. However, another way to reach party politicians and interest groups in a foreign country without seeming to interfere in its political process may be to encourage contact with counterpart parties and groups in one's own country. The party internationals - three of which have their headquarters in London - may be becoming increasingly important in this regard.

The use of party foundations and similar bodies is part of a broader trend towards the use of non-governmental organizations by development ministries. There has been a steady growth in the money allocated by governments for the foreign work of relief agencies. Churches and other non-governmental organizations. As mentioned earlier, West Germany allocates well over $ 370 million - 9 per cent of its development budget - to German non-governmental organizations. These have, in the words of a 1989 German gorvernment report, *"become increasingly more interesting partners for international organizations such as the UNDP, World Band and FAO"*. (29) The European Community has established a co-financing programme under which 217 million ECU ($ 375 million) was given to non-governmental organizations between 1976 and 1987. Further grants were given to non-governmental organizations under other EC programmes, especially to assist "the victims of apartheid" in South Africa. (30)

In 1988 the Canadian parliament voted to establish an International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Though its structure is distinctive, the new centre is another variation on the National Endowment for Democracy model. Japan has extended its mechanisms for aiding foreign trade unions; Sweden is planning to become active in the field of foreign electoral assistance and observation; and there have been major international exercises in 1990 to observe and assist electoral processes in Namibia, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Eastern Europe.

The justification and even the legality of interference in the internal politics of other countries will continue to be a matter of controversy. But it is safe to predict that payments for foreign politics will be an increasingly significant instrument of modern diplomacy and development aid.

Notes

(1) See Fudolf Schloz. *Deutsche Entwicklungspolitik : eine Bilanz nach 25 Jahren* (Munich: Güther Olzog Verlag, 1979), p.18.

(2) This point was made by a senior foundation official of the period.

(3) Capitel 2302. Titel 686-03

(4) For example, an Adenauer field representative in India in the late 1960s, whose projects dealt mostly with youth, had the political task of establishing links with politicians of the JANATA movement.

(5) According to a senior Adenauer official, the foundation participated directly and actively in Nicaragua from 1987 with "background projects for opposition groups" designed to give them a political chance against the governing Sandinistas, though they did not, legally, constitute electoral aid. The foundation had seven projects in Nicaragua in 1989. For Ebert Foundation activities on behalf of the Sandinistas in the late 1970s and early 1980s, see Tilman Evers' chronology and bibliography in *Sozialdemokratie in Lateinamerika* (Berlin, Forschungs- und Documentationszentrum Chile-Lateinamerika 1982).

(6) The German statistics slightly underestimate the total given since they exclude expenditure in Chile by the Ebert Foundation, which is included in its regional and supra-regional project categories. They also exclude expenditures on the frequent Chilean political delegations to Germany.

(7) For example, a stream of senior politicians from Chile and Nicaragua visited the Foundation headquarters in the run-up to the elections of 1989 and 1990.

(8} Eusebio Mujal León, *European socialism and the conflict in Central America* (New York : Praeger Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, 1989), p. 78.

(9) It is more difficult to give a definitive list of Ebert than of Adenauer Foundation "partner" organizations in foreign countries. This is partly because the Ebert Foundation frequently gives advice and training for its political allies or arranges publications and conferences, but does not necessarily give them medium- or long-term financial grants. The Foundation gives financial support to all the international trade secretariats except the metalworkers. The foundation's foreign trade union partners include federations or individual unions in the following countries: Barbados, Brazil, Cape Verde, Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, Ecuador, Fiji, Ghana, Greece, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Israel, Kenya, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Namibia, Pakistan. Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The foundation also has links with union centres in Argentina, Italy, Japan and South Africa.

(10) Adenauer supports the Asian branch of the Christian union international: the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unionists, based in Manila. In Africa, it has backed a foundation linked with the Democratic Party of Uganda, and Christian Democrat organizations in the Cameroons and Rwanda.

(11) Divisions among Christian Democrats in Nicaragua before the presidential elections of February 1990 led to conflict between the Adenauer Foundation and the Latin American Christian Democrat organization, ODCA. The Adenauer Foundation rejected the official Christian Democrat candidate and backed Violeta Chamorro.

(12) The Adenauer Foundation has recently supported non-Christian Democratic parties and political organizations in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica and Peru.

(13) In 1989 the Adenauer Foundation had projects for the benefit of the Venezuela-based Organización Cristiana de las Américas, its training arm, Institute de Formación Demócrata Cristiana (IFEDEC), and the Guatemala-based Institute Centroamericano de Estudios Politicos (INCEP), as well as institutes linked with Christian Democratic parties in Belize, Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela,

(14) In 1989, the Naumann Foundation funded the Federación de Partidos Libérales y Centristas de Centroamérica y del Caribe (FELICA), and backed institutes linked with parties belonging to the Liberal Internationa! as full or observer members in the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Brazil, Israel. Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay. Spain and Sri Lanka. It also backed "Liberal groups" and institutes belonging to sympathetic parties which were not members of the Liberal International in Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Greece and Portugal.

(15) For example, in 1987 Stern magazine revealed that unreported profit had been assembled by former Adenauer representatives in Costa Rica who had allegedly engaged in currency exchange fraud. It was alleged that this had been channelled to the Nicaraguan Contras. Adenauer's enquiries indicated that the money had been used for its Central American thrade union project, ICAES.

(16) Gettrik Wewer, "Transnational and international political funding illustrations", paper presented at the World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Washington, DC, Aug. 1988, p. 17.

(17) Excluding possible CIA activities mentioned in note 23.

(18) Left-wing criticisms of the NED are summarized in *National Endowment for Democracy (NED): a foreign policy branch gone awry*, a policy report by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs and the Inter-Hermispheric Education Resource Center (Albuquerque, NM: The Resource Center, 1990).

(19) In 1988 and 1989 the National Republican Institute funded institutes belonging to the IDU as members or associates in the following countries: Honduras (National Party), Guatemala (Solidarity Action Mouvement), Nicaragua (Conservative Party), Colombia (Social Conservative Party) and Portugal (PCDS). They also backed the anti-Stroessner faction of the Colorado Party in Paraguay and the Pusc in Costa Rica, which were not affiliated to the IDU.

(20) In 1988, AIFLD supported Latin American union activities in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Caribbean, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. In Asia and the Near East, AAFLI concentrated on aiding trade unions in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey and the South Pacific (Fiji, Kiribati and Vanuatu). It also had programmes in Cyprus, Lebanon, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea. In Africa, AALC's main programmes were in Botswana, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, Niger, South Africa, Sudan and Zimbabwe. !n Europe, FTUI supported Solidarnosc in Poland, UGT in Portugal, and the Basque Federation of Workers in Spain.

(21} Foreign Assistance Act, 1978, section 116(e).

(22) There are also three further sources of US foreign political aid in addition to the main sources described here, (v) Additional political payments are made at the discretion of particular embassies or USAID missions attached to embassies. There is no central record of such grants. The "bilateral" and "local currency" funds given by some country AID missions have totalled millions of dollars. For example, the El Salvador USAID mission's payments for the presidential election of 1984 and the municipal elections of 1985 totalled at least S 12.15 million. Electoral assistance for the presidential election in Honduras in 1985 amounted to $ 6.3 million, (vi) Congress also gives special annual allocations to the Inter-American Foundation and to the Asia Foundation. Total US government funding in 1988 totalled $ 29.2 million for the former foundation and S 21.4 million for the latter. Some of these grants are for activities in such fields as human rights, legal assistance and representative government which may be defined as "political" projects. Though it is not possible to make a clear separation between different categories of activity, an estimated $ 5 million a year is devoted by each foundation to political aid. (vii) In addition to these overt pro-

grammes, there were frequent reports during the 1980s of renewed payments to foreign politicians and for overseas election campaigns by the Central Intelligence Agency especially in El Salvador and Panama. It is not possible to estimate the size of these payments.

(23) *Facing reality: from world federalism to the CIA* (New York • Harper & Row, 1980), p. 107.

(24) Alan Angell, "International support for political democracy in contemporary Latin America : the case of Chile", unpublished paper.

(25) S.M. Upset, in *Political man: the social bases of politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), p. 31.

(26) Gisèle Cote-Harper and John Courtney, "International cooperation for the development of human rights and democratic institutions", Report to the Rt Hon. JOG Clark and the Hon. Monique Landry (Ottawa, 30 June 1987), p. 14,

(27) Douglas Hurd, speech to the Overseas Development Institute, London, 6 June 1990.

(28) Andrew Scott, *The revolution in statecraft: intervention in art age of interdependence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982).

(29) BMZ, "Development cooperation between non-governmental organizations and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation in 1988" (Bonn, Mar. 1989), 7.1.

(30) European Community, Budget line 9530. Between 1986 and 1988, 55.9 million ECU of the Community's funds were spent for this purpose.

(Follows from page 251)

Notes

(1) See Victo-Yves Ghebali, *La diplomatie de la détente: La CSCE d'Helsinki à Vienne* (1973-1989), Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1989.

(2) Page 117 of the Helsinki Final Act. It is obvious that, because of the origin of this proposal, the Western countries were very reluctant. It should be mentioned that in the old communist regimes non-governmental organizations had very close ties with the communist governments. As an example we could state a recent case at the United Nations: In 1990, the representative of a NGO (with consultative status I) at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights was at the same time member of the mission of the Soviet Union in the same session.

(3) This NGO Conference had however the precedent of similar, though less organized conferences in Helsinki and Belgrade.

(4) The meetings ended with a hunger strike to protest against the Soviet Regime. At the same time Soviet Jews in different cities of USSR also started a hunger strike.

(5) For an analytical report of the parallel meetings as well as for the list of NGOs participating and the final declaration see José Antonio GARCIA VILAR, Las *Organizaciones no Gubernamentales ante la Reunion en Madrid de la C.S.C.E.*, Salamanca, Universidad Pontifica, 1983; pp. 84-99.

(6) Page 40, paragraph 30.

(7) Page 21.

(8) The host country, in this case Switzerland, is responsible for the organization of the meeting.

(9) The situation was even more crucial because of the tragic events in Yugoslavia.

(10) Among others, the Dutch delegation (on behalf of the EEC), the Bulgarian delegation, the American delegation and the Soviet delegation addressed the NGOs.

(11) And if this truly happened, despite the undeniable good will and experience of the Swiss hosts, one can be really reluctant about the meeting in Moscow, where hundreds of NGOs are expected to participate.

(12) Several delegations, in their opening statements addressed the question of NGO participation and expressed the need for adoption of concrete consultative arrangements.

(13) During the meeting in Geneva they had difficulty in reaching agreement on basic items concerning the final document. It would be interesting and constructive for the NGOs to follow these discussions. As the U.N. experience suggests, networking and lobbying depends directly on access to information.

NGOs in Development and Participation in Practice

An Initial Inquiry (Part I)

by Helena Gezelius * and David Millwood *

In recent years, development assistance agencies have become increasingly aware of the necessity of active popular interest and participation in development projects and activities. Such participation is considered a prerequisite for successful long-term and self-generating development processes in the rural areas of less-developed countries.

Popular participation constitutes a key component of SIDA 's Strategy for Rural Development. According to the Strategy, popular participation should be promoted and practised in the planning and implementation of development projects. Such efforts should be preceded by a thorough analysis of the situation and needs of the people involved, and of the preconditions for their active participation in identification of needs and problems as well as in planning, implementation and evaluation of projects.

The Popular Participation Programme is a SIDA-financed research and development programme at the Development Studies Unit of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Stockholm. It was established in 1987 with the objective of identifying, studying and analyzing practical, methodological and theoretical experiences in the field of popular participation in development assistance. Particular emphasis is given to rural development.

The main objectives of the Programme are to identify preconditions, problems and possibilities for the practice of popular participation, and to develop methods and procedures that can be used in the promotion and positive reinforcement of popular participation in Swedish development assistance. The activities of the Programme include desk studies which synthesize, analyze and discuss the literature on popular participation, as well as field studies and trial operations within ongoing development projects.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are often considered by development researchers and agencies as particularly well-suited for carrying out participatory development projects. NGOs are considered to have good contacts or channels for organization at the grass-roots level, and they are thought to escape many of the problems associated with governmental administration and bureaucracy.

In addition, NGOs are frequently regarded as innovative in their approach to organization and to implementation of development projects, particularly with reference to popular participation. The designation NGO, however, is a very general and heterogeneous category. It includes different kinds of organizations with differing objectives, activities and membership composition, as well as different scopes of action.

The objectives of the present study by Gezelius and Millwood are, on the one hand, to conceptually discuss and distinguish different types of NGOs on the basis of their most important characteristics and, on the other hand, to present those NGOs with experience in participatory development work that seem to have developed advanced participatory methods. The report provides a broad overview, or outline map, of the roles of NGOs in development, with special attention to the way they work in terms of being vehicles for popular participation.

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Popular Participation Programme

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Although this document was originally written in 1989, it seemed to the editor that its intrinsic value still makes it worth publishing in this issue.

Introduction

This report presents the results of a short study for the Popular Participation Programme of Stockholm University, which is situated in the Development Studies Unit of the Department of Social Anthropology. The study aims to
(i) provide a broad overview, or outline map, of the world of NGOs in development, except for those whose activity is only in the North; and
(ii) by casting a wide net, capture examples of popular participation described in operational terms as well as documented cases of methods and techniques that have been tried out.

We gathered information by studying the literature and making a series of short interviews with people who have broad or specialized knowledge of development NGOs and participation.

Despite our attempts at a global outlook, the study has a clear European bias: not only are both authors European but all the interviews were made in Western Europe. Also, our net necessarily had a wide mesh; as the study was to take only one and a half months, we could not hope to catch and examine every species but rather present a few interesting specimens.

In Part One we draw on and discuss various attempts to classify non-governmental organizations in development, so as to help bring their world into focus through various different spectacles. Can these spectacles be free of ideological tint? The answer from those we asked ranged from "I doubt it" to a categorical "Wo". Several respondents also pointed out that classifying NGOs is not of interest to these organizations themselves, but rather to government agencies seeking NGO partners, or to scholars and students.

One striking characteristic of NGOs is the increasing amounts of public money they attract. Although our focus is popular participation, we felt it necessary to give this aspect, and Swedish NGO aid, some attention and to make NGO-state relations an underlying theme.

In Part Two the results are presented of a search for documented examples of popular participation not as ideology, theory or rhetoric but as method and technique.

These examples are discussed in the context of the project system, as this is the dominant form of development cooperation with and between NGOs, and with special attention to the initial and final stages of the project cycle. As our catch of documented ways to implement participation was rather thin, we also include information about studies in progress.

Finally, we draw some conclusions about the world of NGOs in development, and about NGOs and popular participation, including areas of particular interest for further study.

PART ONE

1. NGOs IN DEVELOPMENT

A number of authors writing about non-governmental organizations express dissatisfaction with the term (which, according to the International Coalition of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), first appeared in the United Nations Charter) (ICVA, 1983).

First, its meaning is defined by a negative feature - not being governmental - rather than expressing a meaning of its own. Second, the term is so broad that it covers everything from a transnational corporation to a village sewing club, and therefore becomes an irritatingly blunt descriptive tool.

Perhaps a hint of this irritation can be found in Koenraad Verghagen's question:

Should we not ban the word NGOs from our vocabulary and start indicating the various institutions which the non-governmental sector comprises by more positive and precise terms? (Cebemo, 1987, p. 27)

And yet, at the same time, the term - especially its abbreviation, NGO - has a very positive ring to it in development circles. For NGOs have the reputation, deserved or not, of aiding the poor in the Third World in more efficient and participatory ways than government agencies, albeit on a relatively small scale up to now.

Martin de Graaf offers a useful warning for those trying to get NGOs within their sights:

... in the current development debate and even more in the prevailing practices of international and local agencies, NGOs are often perceived and treated as systems on their own. The special world of international development appears to become even more special and reclusive under the current NGO focus. An international circuit seems to evolve around the development activities undertaken and supported by NGOs which could easily encapsulate the various actors and their institutions. And this social and professional myopia can easily reflect on the strategic notions and self-conceptions of NGOs and their staff. In other words, the environment outside the NGO and beyond its field of operation can easily be ignored or inadequately perceived. (de Graaf, 1987, p. 278)

It is often taken for granted that the world of NGOs in development divides naturally into two, Northern and Southern - that is, those in industrialized countries corresponding roughly to the membership of OECD and those classified by the United Nations as "developing" in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

One exception to this way of seeing is David Korten's.

Noting that non-governmental organizations "defy attempts at precise classification", he states that

Even so, among those NGOs that work in development, it is possible to identify three distinctive orientations in programming strategy: (a) relief and welfare; (b) local self-reliance; and (c) sustainable systems development. All three strategic orientations appropriately co-exist within the larger NGO community - and sometimes even within a single NGO. At the same time there is an underlying direction of movement that makes it appropriate to label those orientations as first, second and third generation.

(Korten, 1987, p. 147)

(A footnote points out that generational terminology is derived from the human family, in which new generations take their place alongside older ones rather than, as in the world of computers, render the previous generation obsolete.)

The first generation, in Korten's schema (Table 1), includes such organizations as Save the Children, Catholic Relief Services and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAG) that began as charitable relief organizations delivering goods and services, first as disaster relief and then, using the same model, as development aid. The second generation focusses on community development "with the intent that benefits would be sustained beyond the period of NGO assistance". (Key words are small-scale and self-reliant.)

The third generation of NGOs assumes a catalytic rather than an operational role, "directing its attention to facilitating development by other organizations, both public and private." The focus now is on the regional or national level, and the aim is to develop "sustainable systems" (ibid, pp. 147-149)

Table 1. Three generations of NGO development program strategies

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD
Defining features	Relief & welfare	Small-scale self-reliant local development	Sustainable systems development
Problem identification	Shortages of goods & services	Local inertia	Institutional & policy
Time frame	Immediate	Project life	Indefinite long-term
Spatial scope	Individual or family	Neighborhood or village	Region or nation
Chief actors	NGO	NGO + beneficiary organizations	all public and private institutions that define the relevant system
Development education	Starving children	Community self-help initiatives	Failures in inter-dependent systems
Management orientation	Logistics management	Project management	Strategic management

(ibid, p. 148)

1.1 *Northern NGOs*

Some writers, even as recently as 1985, are able to discuss NGOs without mentioning their existence in the South. Guy Arnold is one of them. His broad classification (Arnold 1985, p.96) divides NGOs into five categories relating to their purpose and function:

- first, churches and missions concerned mainly with proselytization but also with providing education and health services;
- second, large national organizations (such as the Ford Foundation), only part of whose activity is directed towards Third World development;
- third, national agencies created specifically to deal with Third World problems (e.g. Oxfam and Novib);
- fourth, international organizations not originally designed for Third World operations but which are becoming increasingly involved in them (e.g. International Red Cross, World Council of Churches, World University Service);
- fifth, volunteer-sending agencies such as Britain's Voluntary Service Organization (VSO) that may also be partly or wholly government run.

A simple, nine-category classification of NGOs was formerly used by the Swedish International Development Authority (SWDA), in particular to show the distribution of grants to Swedish NGOs. These broad categories (which included trade union, humanitarian, women's, missionary and cooperative organizations) have recently been replaced by a 22-category classification of NGO projects that receive SIDA funding (e.g. health, education and different types of disaster relief).

The new focus on NGO activities rather than the organizations themselves seems to follow the most common Northern approach - but it bypasses the question of classification.

On the whole. Northern scholars (and NGOs) have shown themselves to be more interested in examining, describing (and, as certain Southerners point out, criticizing) organizations in the South than in the North.

Sithembiso Nyoni, of the Zimbabwean ORAP (Organization of Rural Associations for Progress) says:

Most development agencies are centers of power which try to help others change. But they do not themselves change. They aim at creating awareness among people yet they are not themselves aware of their negative impact on those they claim to serve. They claim to help people change their situation through participation, democracy, and self-help and yet they themselves are non-participatory, non-democratic and dependent on outside help for their survival.

(Nyoni, 1987 p 53)

1.1.1 Lists and Directories

The 1987 listing by the United Nations of NGOs in various degrees of consultative status with the Economic & Social Council (ECOSOC) includes 824 organizations with headquarters in different parts of the world and all, presumably, with some kind of interest in Third world development. (UN, 1987) But this listing obviously includes only a fraction of the NGOs concerned with development: There were some 250 foreign NGOs operating in Burkina Faso alone in the middle of the 1970s. (EGA, 1988, p. 11)

A more comprehensive listing, published and periodically updated by the OECD Development Centre in Paris, includes some 1,700 organizations based in OECD member countries. (OECD, 1981).

Even when the NGOs being discussed are only those in development, the field is so relatively recently under scholarly scrutiny that there are as yet no agreed definitions and terminology. (See 1.5 below on terminology.) For example, according to some understandings of "NGOs in development", but not others, a Northern commercial (for profit) corporation engaged in development work in the South qualifies for inclusion.

Giulio Fossi, Head of External Cooperation at the OECD Development Centre, emphasizes that the borderline between what is and is not an NGO is hard to draw and that the national NGO scene varies enormously, even within western Europe.

The OECD Directory does not divide NGOs into categories but simply lists them by country or as international NGOs. Each organizational profile is attributed a number of key words, which are listed in an index. This allows for the identification, say, of all youth organizations in the OECD area. For more detailed inquiries the Centre has a computer service that allows information based on several key words to be retrieved.

The computer makes it much easier to divide NGOs and their interests into small, specific groupings. At the same time as this offers obvious advantages, there are drawbacks: the wealth and fine diversity of information may result in "not seeing the wood for the trees", and the whole system, naturally, stands or falls with the quality of information fed into the computer. (For example, the 1981 OECD Directory has only four entries under the key word "Participation", including a Swiss organization devoted Tto the treatment of leprosy and Medicus Mundi in Brussels.)

There are many Northern national listings of NGOs, or at least the most important among them concerned with development. The Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), for example, publishes a directory of Canadian NGOs (CCWC, 1986) that lists organizations and attributes to most of them one or more of a variety of labels: e.g. voluntary organization in international development; umbrella organization; union; professional association; university/college; cooperative; church group; research group; learner center; service club.

NGOs in the North dislike being classified by others. As Constant Bartholomeussen of the NGO-EEC Liaison Committee in Brussels puts it: "NGOs don't want to be put in boxes. This is a general feeling."

And when it comes to publishing lists of their Southern partner organizations, Northern NGOs are even less enthusiastic. The explanation they usually give is that their partners might be in danger, especially if they oppose an oppressive government.

As one of the most significant features of Northern NGOs in development is the increased government funding they receive, we deal with this aspect separately (See 1.4 State Funding of NGOs).

1.1.2 A Southern Perspective

The perspective from which Northern NGOs are considered in the literature is usually a Northern one though, more recently, Southern specialists in NGO research such as Mario Padrón, Harsh Sethi, Rajesh Tandon, and G. Shabbir Cheema have contributed new ways of looking at NGOs, including Northern ones. Aloysius P. Fernandez of Myrada, an Indian NGO, provides a categorization of Northern donor organizations involved with rural development "depending on their pattern of operation" :

1. *Those who do not have representatives in the country but operate through réguler (three, four, six) monthly reports, statements of expenditure and forecasts. They send out evaluators, usually hired from their countries, and visit the programs annually for a few days. Such donors tend to have a small staff and call on outside assistance for technical expertise when required.*
2. *Those who have representatives in the country. Here there are two major models : (a) those donors who are operational throughout the world and directly implement their programs in the field through their own staff; (b) those who have local or regional representatives but who function only as channels for funds or as advisers and monitors. These work through local volags (voluntary agencies) and are not directly operational. Here the practice of hiring an expatriate or a local as their representative tends to give a different image of the donor...*
3. *There are some donors who do not have permanent representatives but who keep staff on and off in the country for longer periods (1-2 years); this practice is growing.*
4. *There are also others who have a group of in-country consultants on call to appraise or evaluate their projects.*

Cutting across these categories are two types of relations that donors establish : (a) a long-term relationship with the partner - here donors are concerned not only with the program but with the growth and health of the institution; (b) a relationship which relates only to a particular program or project

(Fernandez, 1987, pp. 46-47)

1.2 International NGOs

So far, international NGOs are a feature almost exclusively of the Northern scene. Their origin may often be a grouping of Northern national organizations, to which Southern counterparts are added at a later stage (though their authenticity as Southern organizations is sometimes in question : what takes place can be described as a Northern organization spawning Southern affiliates or subsidiaries.)

In a recent study of Canadian NGOs, the authors show that 25 percent of the NGOs in their national survey were those with an international head office. The main task of the Canadian affiliate was fund-raising. (Brodhead & Herbert-Copley, 1988)

A more recent phenomenon is the international network, which functions mainly for exchanges of information between autonomous national and regional member organizations. Though the work of many of these members is of a kind that fits with the aims of Northern funding agencies, their network activities and the task of servicing the network do not fit the project mould and, therefore, often fail to attract funds.)

Groupings of quite different types have adopted the *network* model. One is the single-issue movement or campaign, pioneered by the International Baby Food Action Network (1BFAN); another is the grouping of Southern development NGOs called IRED (in English: Development Innovations & Networks), which has its secretariat in Geneva, where 1BFAN also has one of its three central offices.

1.3 Southern NGOs

The picture of NGOs in the South is at least as complex as that in the North, although the number of larger, officially-recognized NGOs is much smaller. OECD estimates put the number of indigenous NGOs in the South between 6,000 and 8,000.

There is more diversity in Asia than on the other two continents, according to the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD):

The Asian situation is profoundly different, particularly with regard to the influence of traditional ideologies on problems of social relations.

(Stiefel & Pearse, 1982. p. 159)

Asian and Latin American NGOs are widely considered to be more experienced and "sophisticated"than their African counterparts, most of which have a much shorter history. The results of a major study, by Milton Esman and Norman Uphoff, support this view. They look at the performance of local organizations (LOs) in Asia, Africa and Latin America and assign to them a score on a 1-5 scale for a variety of tasks.

In general we found LOs in Asia performing tasks better than those in Latin America and Africa...Latin American LOs come out ahead of their African and Asian counterparts in the area of service tasks. The performance of African LOs is relatively poor in both internal and external tasks. (Esman/Uphoff, 1984, pp 97-98)

Another, somewhat over-simplified, generalization about NGOs on different continents in the South is that those in Latin America tend to oppose government in one way or another; those in Africa mostly work with government, and are less independent; and those in Asia make claims on government bodies to gain access to services and facilities.

1.3.1 NGOs at the local level

The term "local NGO" is widely and confusingly used in the North to designate any non-governmental organization at any level, with one illogical and ethno-centric proviso: that it is in the Third World! (In the same way, to most of those who work with Northern NGOs "local people" means those in the Third World.)

A minimum three levels need to be distinguished :

(i) Local - including the village or urban community as well as the locality (a useful Uphoff term meaning "a set of communities that have trading or other links to one; another, where people have some possibility of acquaintances and usually some experience of working together"and which might be centered around a market town). (Uphoff, 1987, p. 7)

(ii) Intermediate - covers any level from what is usually called a district to the highest sub-national level, such as a province,

(iii) National.

Of course, the categorization can be extended. Uphoff, for example, identifies 10 levels, from individual to international, (ibid, p. 6)

Whereas the sketching of the local scene in the South in the Esman/Uphoff study gives an impression of governmental and non-governmental development efforts running if not in harness at least in parallel or intermingling, a much sharper dividing line between the two is suggested by Marshall Wolfe. For him, the state and its agents represent the interest of the national power centres while the periphery consists of social units such as interest organizations of various kinds at local level. Between the two there is valid mutual distrust of the other's intentions and capacities - a fertile ground for misunderstandings.

Wolfe groups "local" institutions, organizations and channels of communication as a prelude to a discussion of the problems of communication and participation (Wolfe, 1981). His classification has the following three broad categories :

(a) the "traditional"groupings : family, neighborhood, community, tribe, religious congregation;

(b) institutions at the local level introduced or taken over by the state. These are subdivided into (i) local representatives of the general authority of the state, whose main function is usually the maintenance of public order; (ii) local elected organs of government; (iii) sectoral public service agencies (concerned e.g. with education, health, housing); (iv) mobilizing and participatory agencies or programmes (e.g. for "community development"); and (v) statistical, record-keeping and licensing agencies;

(c) voluntary organizations for mobilization and aggregation of interests. The sub-divisions here are: (i) political parties; (it) unions and similar interest-group organizations; (iii) cooperatives; (iv) other urban organizations for advancement of group interests; and (v) youth and youth movements.

Wolfe's categories, although not strictly comparable, are interesting to bear in mind when studying the Esman/ Uphoff description of institutions, formal and non-formal, on the local scene "that could facilitate communication and cooperation between national centre and local communities". These are not watertight categories but rather illustrate the range from purely public to private:

Central government agencies	**Local government units**	**Local organizations**	**Political organizations**	**Private enterprises**
				(Esman/Uphoff, 1984, p. 58)

The third category, local organizations, consists of three different types of organizations :

(i) local development associations (LDAs). These are multifunctional membership organizations in that they can undertake a wide variety of tasks and "are extensions of the community more than of the government, though they may be government instigated and assisted", (ibid, p. 62)

(ii) cooperatives. The defining characteristic is the pooling of resources by members (e.g. capital, land, labour). Membership is usually more selective than that in local development associations. "The most crucial differences between coops and LDAs is that the latter contribute mostly *to public goods*, accessible to all, while the benefits from coops are usually of a more private nature, most accruing directly to members." (ibid, p 63)

(iii) interest associations (lAs). Members of this, the most diverse of the three categories, are defined not by geographic boundaries (LDAs) or by pooling of economic resources (coops) but by certain common features of their membership. Examples are water users' associations (functional lAs) and church groups and landless labourers' associations (categorical lAs).

Of the 150 documented cases of local organizations studied by Esman and Uphoff, the largest category (46 percent) is the third type - interest associations. This category, however, invites description as a miscellaneous grouping consisting of LOs that are neither local development associations nor cooperatives. The authors indicate that the IA is a simpler form that may evolve into a LDA or cooperative.

Nineteen percent of these 150 LOs are classed as local development associations (LDAs). LDAs are "as heterogeneous as the communities involved, since the only common characteristic that members share is their place of residence", (ibid, p. 62) Their multifunctional nature includes a wide variety of tasks from road-building and church construction to regulating social conduct. (Examples given include: Sarvodaya Shramadana in Sri Lanka, village development committees in Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia, the Ayni Ruway in Bolivia.)

Cooperatives make up 35 percent of the LOs. All three categories are membership organizations.

Their study, which runs to almost 400 pages, is in this field an unusually comprehensive and detailed piece of research. It is one of the results of a collaboration between Cornell University and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

its purpose was to increase the effectiveness of "participatory "approaches to rural development, it mobilized the efforts of 30 Cornell faculty members, 45 graduate students, and 40 associates from many disciplines and 8 countries. (ibid, p. 11)

Uphoff, in a later paper for an experts' consultation on the "Promotion of Autonomous Development" in the Netherlands (Uphoff, 1987), makes a distinction between three sectors :

- a "public"sector that includes local government and local administration;
- a "voluntary"sector consisting of membership organizations and cooperatives; and
- a "private"sector with service organizations, as well as businesses/enterprises.

Wolfe considers that, for the most part,

secular voluntary organizations reaching into the masses of the population are a recent phenomenon, if present at all, and the capacity for such organizations remains very unevenly distributed.... it is not surprising if, for the great majority of the rural population and urban marginalized population, formal voluntary organizations are either-non-existent or are controlled and manipulated by forces otherthan their members. (Wolfe, 1981, p. 141)

Though Wolfe's remarks were published seven years ago, and the situation has evolved rapidly in many countries since then, they are still worth bearing in mind.

1.3.2 Classifying According to Political Regime

In contrast to the very general reasons usually given for wanting to classify NGOs and their activities, Rajesh Tandon of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRWA) offers a very specific one. (Tandon, 1987) He considers that classifying different types of economies and countries of the South helps to conceptualize and understand the roles the NGOs play in them:

- Under (a) military and other dictatorial regimes where there is "no possibility of any direct or indirect cooperation or collaboration with the State or its agent", the NGO role is to strengthen and augment a political opposition. (He cites China, Pakistan, Bangladesh and, until recently, the Philippines.)
- In (b) single-party political systems, where NGOs risk to "get neglected, pushed aside, humiliated or absorbed by the Party and its organs", their role is "to create political space in order to play the role of highlighting and adding newer elements in the party's programmes and the State's understanding of problems of development". (The examples : Ghana, Tanzania and "some of the socialist countries".)
- In (c) liberal democracies where, "unlike in the countries of the North... governments do not accept criticism, critique, questioning, dissent and articulation of an alternative point of view", the NGO role is more complex. What happens, for example, in India, when a group of women demand participation in government development programmes "as a consequence of the educational and organizational efforts of a local NGO, the local and district level officials may feel harassed, threatened, perturbed and begin to point their fingers at such voluntary organizations as the cause of their troubles". (Other countries in this category, in addition to India, are given as Brazil, Peru, Senegal and Sri Lanka.)

The Esman/Uphoff perspective is as far from that of Tandon as it is from that of Wolfe. Unlike a number of other NGO researchers, Esman and Uphoff seek ways of looking at and assessing local organizations irrespective of the nature of the regime where they are found. They recognize that "governments can be incompetent, or brutal and exploitative" but "for better or for worse, government influence is here to stay; whether leftist, rightist, reformist, or technocratic, government activities in rural areas are likely to increase, not diminish... most successful local associations enjoy the support or at least the acquiescence of government and are linked to services or resources that originate in the state." (Esman/Uphoff, 1984, p.267)

However, Fernand Vincent, Secretary General of IRED, has no doubt that a regime's politics affects the scope and nature of local initiatives in the Southern continent he knows best: Africa. A country like Senegal, he considers, "where there is space and possibility for local action and organization", provides the best ground for participatory rural development initiatives to flourish. Also, those countries like Rwanda with elected local authorities, which they inherited from their former colonial powers, may allow popular movements to grow.

In those African countries where capitalism is strongly entrenched, one of the characteristics of the NGO scene, according to Vincent, is that the government maintains a wary eye on the intermediate-level support organizations, and is concerned to limit their growth and influence. There are many local organizations but they do not have the possibility of becoming larger people's movements, "which are considered dangerous."

An even stronger watch on unofficial activities right down to the local village level is noticeable in socialist countries: "When the party is too strong it destroys local initiative. In Tanzania, which was considered the model country for rural development efforts 15-20 years ago, it is now very difficult to do anything - it's the African country that is the least cooperative with NGOs".

The situation is different again in countries like Zaire, where the majority of the population in rural areas are left completely on their own and are obliged to take initiatives in order to survive.

1.3.3 Southern Perspectives

A FAO Freedom From Hunger Campaign/Action for Development (FFHC/AD) report resulting from several meetings between Latin American NGO activists and scholars reveals some of the special characteristics associated with NGOs in Latin America:

The originality of the NGOs lay precisely in the fact that, by definition, they dedicate themselves to movements at the intermediate or lower levels of the political and social body... They are not businesses, churches, parties or government bodies, and could not replace these. They simply constitute an instrument for bringing together focal initiatives... (Arruda, 1985, p. 7)

This FFHC/AD report describes what is typical for these Latin American NGOs: they were created, usually by intellectual representatives of the middle class, to help - or, in their own terminology, to serve - the poor. They are non-profit organizations whose services are free; and most are almost totally dependent on funds from foreign donors. Though politically active on the side of the poor, they are said to be without ties to any political party.

Although it is clear that the three broad categories suggested by Mario Padrón, of the Centra de Estudio y Promocion del Desarrollo (DESCO) in Peru, emerged from the Latin American context, they apply to NGOs generally:

(a) non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs), applied to indigenous organizations catering to the multiple needs of
(b) grassroots organizations (GROs), with the help of
(c) international development cooperation institutions (IDCIs).

Padrón centres most of his attention on NGDOs and their relationship with his other two organizational categories; that is, on the NGDO as recipient, intermediary and one of three equal partners in the development process.

What are the special characteristics of NGDOs? They are "devoted specifically to the design, study and/or execution of development programs and projects in Third World countries"; they are "formed by individuals, who received payment for their duties"; they are "private, not-for-profit"; they "operate within a legal framework"and "their financing comes from sources outside the NGDO" (Padrón 1987p. 71)

Padrón's GROs seem to be the equivalent of what many others describe as membership organizations at the local level. He places them firmly in "the popular sector" : unlike NGDOs, they work on a voluntary basis without paid staff. Another report {FFHC/AD, 1985) is the result of a regional consultation with representatives from African NGOs and governments. NGOs are divided into two groups :

(i) Official NGOs, which have statutes recognized by a governmental public service. They can be categorized further into four sub-groups :
  - (a) NGOs from abroad that settle in Africa, with their own philosophy and financial resources, "with all that this implies". Some have set up African national NGOs in their own image in order to operate more efficiently.
  - (b) National NGOs, established or supported by the State public services which are half-way between public and private sectors.
  - (c) Confessional NGOs organized by churches and influenced by them to a greater or lesser degree. (Though this African report includes churches as NGOs, the previous Latin American report excludes them.)
  - (d) National and local NGOs set up either by the rural populations themselves or by national volunteers, and which have obtained official recognition.

(ii) Traditional village organizations or rural communities. Though not officially recognized as NGOs, these constitute by far the largest category. It consists of communities with informal traditional structures, most often undertaking activities that benefit all their members.

The two main categories of "official" and "traditional" organizations above roughly correspond with the two major categories of Asian NGOs suggested by G. Shabbir Cheema. His "standard organizations" and "community organizations and peasant groupings" are, he explains, a modification of an FAO classification. (Cheema, 1983)

The second category is broken down into 11 sub-groupings:

Classification of Voluntary Organizations	
Standard Organizations	Community Organizations and Peasant Groupings
1 , Cooperatives	1 . Special organizations or rural disadvantaged groups such as tenants' associations and organizations of agricultural labourers and landless women
2. Village development committees	2.Village-based ad hoc organizations formed to agitate for a specific and immediate local need

3. Government-sponsored farmer's organizations	3. Village welfare associations
4, Trade unions	4. Village funeral societies
5. Women's organizations	5. Kinship associations
6. Youth clubs	6. Caste associations
7. Political party branches	7. Ethnic associations
8. Development committees in new settlements	8. Irrigation associations
9. Other voluntary organizations sponsored by the gov-	9. Mutual aid work groups
ernment	10. Rotating credit associations
	11. Religious assocations

(ibid, p. 210)

1.3.4 Networks and Directories

Directories of NGOs exist in many countries of the South. Sometimes an indigenous umbrella NGO is the publisher, and sometimes aid agencies like UNICEF, in which case they are usually limited to particular themes, such as NGOs that work with water and sanitation. All directories of Southern NGOs are ephemeral, however, as the constantly changing NGO scene renders them quickly out of date; also, they usually include only those NGOs that are officially registered.

Some NGOs have built up quite extensive webs of contacts within their field of interest e.g. the Environment Liaison Centre in Nairobi, which has a very broad definition of environment and is in contact with a large number of African NGOs.

IRED (see 1.2) has a network with 500 partners. In Latin America the regional office is in DESCO, Lima; in Africa there are two offices: one in Niger and one in Zimbabwe, as well as organizations such as ENDA, which are networks in themselves; and in Asia there are two centres, one in Sri Lanka and the other in India.

1.4 State Funding of NGOs

No-one today questions the significant role played by Northern NGOs in Southern development, though of course the nature and quality of what they promote and whether or not it is "real development" are certainly questioned. The growth of their role measured in money terms has been spectacular in recent years.

According to OECD data, total Third World aid disbursement of NGOs of OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries in 1985 was US$ 5,419 million (more than one-third of which consists of governmental contributions).

This means that it multiplied more than 6 times in 16 years, the relevant figure for 1970 being US$ 859.7 million.

The following table (Table 2} shows the growth of relief and development aid by NGOs in the main DAC countries and the proportion provided by the respective governments of 1986 NGO aid.

Table 2. Relief & Development Aid by NGOs of Selected DAC Countries (1970, 1975, 1985 1986, in US$ million)

Country	1970"	1975**	1985***	1986***	of which gov't funds %
Australia	15.7	33.8	65	45	11
Canada	51.6	66.5	313	344	49
Denmark	3.0	6.2	23	-	30(1)
Finland	-	2.2	17	36	22
France	6.3	15.2	108	101	17
Germany (Fed Rep)	77.8	203.1	598	793	31
Japan	2.9	10.0	142	174	53
Netherlands	5.2	23.5	167	252	44
Norway	3.9	10.6	86	106	46
Sweden	25.2	38.6	119	122	30
Switzerland (2}	10.9	32.1	95	125	47
United Kingdom	33.6	53.3	197	203	6
United States (2)	598.0	804.0	2,316	2,813	38

Sources : * Annual Review of the OECD Development Assistance Committee on "Development Cooperation - Efforts & Policies of tne Members of the Development Assistance Committee", 1971.

* * The 1976 Review of the OECD Development Assistance Committee.

*** Voluntary Aid for Development: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations. OECD, 1988.

(1) Applies to 1985 figures.

(2) Not fully comparable with figures for Other countries. For example, data for both Switzerland and the US exclude subcontracts to NGOs (1985 & 1986), and Hint for US excludes $243 million for emergency programmes In 1985, while this item is Included In the figure for 1986.

While studying the figures - in particular, the proportion of state funding - the difficulties of knowing what is included are worth bearing in mind. Government agencies as a rule . only have data concerning projects they support, not data for all national NGO aid; nor is this data always directly comparable with that of another country. (In the case of Sweden, for example, the proportion - 34 percent of government funding seems unrealistically low, considering that most major NGOs are 80 percent, 90 percent or even 95 percent funded by SIDA.)

Another indication of the importance of government funding to NGO aid can be seen in the various national rules for government contributions to NGO development projects. The following table (Table 3) gives the general rule for several major donor countries; for certain types of project, however, there are exceptions that allow an even higher proportion of government funds:

Table 3. General Rule for Government Contributions to NGO Projects

Australia, France, New Zealand, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, CEC	50%
Findland	60%
Belgium, Germany (FRG), Ireland	75%
Norway, Sweden	80%
Denmark, Netherlands	1 00%
Canada, Italy, Japan	No fixed percentage

Source : Voluntary Aid for Development: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (OECD, Paris, 1988).

Government funding of Northern NGOs for their Third World development projects (and also, in many cases, for their administrative costs as well) is now firmly established. One-third of DAC-country governments have instituted a system of block grants to their major NGOs instead of contributing on a project-by-project basis, thereby saving administrative costs and allowing these NGOs more power of decision over state-funded projects. Official grants are also often available for NGO feasibility studies and evaluations, and some governments, including the Swedish, sub-contract to NGOs the carrying out of development projects or programmes.

1.4.1. Direct Funding

A more recent development is direct funding by Northern governments of Southern NGOs engaged in development. Several of the large donor governments and intergovernmental donors (e.g. IBRD, UNDP) have introduced various ways of funding Southern NGOs directly - a trend that is growing apace.

One of the countries with the longest experience of direct funding is Canada; for a decade it has been making small grants to Third World projects via overseas embassies and CIDA offices abroad. The Netherlands, Norway and Sweden also have experience in this field : The Dutch and the Swedes began with direct funding of women's projects, while the Norwegians have been making direct contributions to Southern NGOs that, already in 1984, accounted for 15 percent of their official allocations to voluntary agencies. (OECD, 1988)

There are still a number of official doubts and many NGO hesitations about this kind of funding, however. For one thing, its compatibility with international law is unquestionable only as long as it has the approval of the government in the receiving country, which is not always the case at present.

The NGO hesitations are of various kinds. In addition to concerns among heavily-government-funded Northern NGOs about being bypassed, there are aggravations of familiar worries about loss of autonomy and independence. In a study for the World Council of Churches, Kees van der Poort calls the trend toward direct funding "one of the most alarming phenomena" and concludes:

The trends of privatization and direct funding are a serious threat to the NGO project market as it exists today. Donors may see their position weakened (especially donors who are dependent on government funds) and the whole NGO development phenomena (sic) may well become more and more an instrument of government development and foreign policy...

(van der Poort, 1987, p. 88)

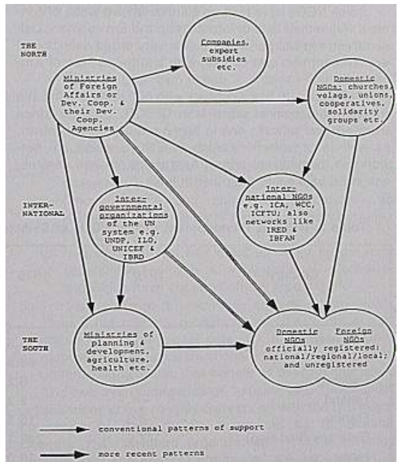

Fig. 1. North-South Aid Flows

Figure 1 shows the various routes that development aid money from Northern governments take. By far the largest flow consists of government-to-government (bilateral) aid but a rising proportion is being channelled via NGOs, including international NGOs such as the League of Red Cross Societies, the World Council of Churches and international trade union bodies.

1.4.2 Swedish NGO Aid

Although in Sweden official funds for non-governmental organizations are gradually becoming available to Southern NGOs, there is "a certain priority in SIDA for 'Swedish money to handled by Swedish hands'". (ibid, p. 65)

Figure 2 shows Swedish aid disbursements. The lion's share of government NGO funding goes to Swedish NGOs in three different forms : for disaster relief, development projects and humanitarian aid. There is nothing to prevent an NGO engaged in all three activities from receiving all three types of funding. In addition, NGOs may employ volunteers paid for by SIDA (some 700 were supported in this way in the fiscal year 1986-87) and limited amounts are also available for information and education in Sweden.

The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) is in contact with more than 500 NGOs that have applied for support of projects in the Third World. Eleven Swedish NGOs and two international NGOs (World Council of Churches and International Cooperative Alliance), have special ("frame") agreements with SIDA that allow them to receive block grants; some of these are umbrella organizations (e.g. Swedish Missionary Council) that distribute their grants among members. In addition, SIDA gives sectoral aid (for health, education and so on) to such organizations as the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

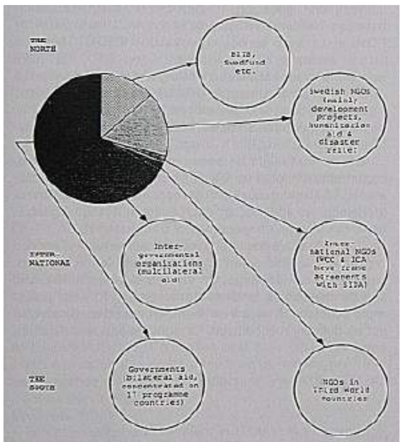

Fig. 2. Swedish Government Aid Disbursement

The types of Swedish NGOs receiving SIDA development aid can be distinguished (in rough order of magnitude) as churches, trade unions, cooperatives, voluntary organizations and solidarity groups. For the churches, unions, cooperatives and many smaller organizations, Third World development projects are not their main activity or *raison d'etre.*

The churches, however, represent a different institutional reality in that they have a longer history in the Third World than any other type of NGO. To see them as a homogeneous grouping, though, is mistaken: the spectrum of Swedish church aid runs from the old-fashioned type, where decisions are made by a congregation in Sweden for "their" project in the Third World, to church groups who support organizations of poor people, including non-Christians, on their own terms. (The same is true of church aid from other countries and of international church aid via bodies such as the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation.)

In SIDA's 1981*12.* budget, total disbursements to NGOs represented 8.6 percent of all aid via SIDA. In 1986/87 this figure increased to 19.7 percent (or, if measured in terms of total government aid, about 10 percent).

Figure 2 does not include government support to research institutes like the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC) or SIDA's administrative and information costs, as well as some other costs, amounting to almost one-tenth of the total.

No-strings-attached is also one of the features of the aid to liberation movements (some of which are now in power), which goes via Swedish solidarity groups.

Swedish direct funding is no longer limited to women's projects in the South, which since 1979 could receive funds from SIDA's development cooperation offices in the Third World. For 1987/88, 17 million kroner (roughly US$ 2.8 million) were allocated for this purpose in 15 of the 17 so-called SIDA programme countries. On a trial basis, Indian and Bangladeshi development NGOs began receiving direct SIDA grants in 1985; and two years later Sri Lankan NGOs also; together they receive up to 15 million kronor.

Although the experiment is considered generally successful, and will continue in these countries, plans for extending it to other countries have been shelved, mainly due to lack of SIDA administrative staff. (Norway's NORAD employs 8 people for this purpose alone, whereas SIDA employs none.)

A further type of support to Southern NGOs exists, though it doesn't show up under a "NGO" heading in the SIDA budget. In Kenya, for example, the Ministry of Water Development and SIDA have a rural water supply programme in which one budget item is "Support to NGOs". The larger part of this support (including the provision of 5 sociologists) has gone to KWAHO, a Kenyan-based NGO involved in improved water and sanitation on a self-help basis. A smaller sum is allocated to other NGOs, including informal organizations such as registered self-help groups in areas where water systems are installed. (Requests for such help are made to the Deputy District Commissioner, i.e. to the Kenyan authorities.)

In SIDA programme countries, NGOs may receive support within the framework of government-run rural development and health programmes and Swedish NGOs may cooperate under contract with a state body in carrying out part of a bilateral aid programme. A well-known example is the Swedish Cooperative Centre's collaboration with SIDA's agricultural division, helping to build up the cooperative movement in Zambia.

1.5 Terminology

The purpose in introducing problems of terminology is not to start mapping the forest of terms and definitions but rather to point it out as an area in need of maps. There's a need not only to try and find the most appropriate term for each species, but also to clarify what is really meant by certain terms in frequent use (such as local organization); to differentiate between things for which the same term is used; and to identify those terms used to designate the same thing.

At present the same kind of organization is described differently in different parts of the world. For example, the European's "NGO", which most of the Third World has adopted, is often considered synonymous with "PVO" (private voluntary organization), a term used mainly in the Americas.

However, Michael M. Cernea, Sociology Adviser to the World Bank, states:

Voluntary agencies are a specific category, a subset of NGOs, with specialized objectives, whose activities are of a humanitarian character, not profit-pursuing. The NGO concept is broader and avoids the limiting connotation traditionally associated with PVOs as charitable or philanthropic organizations. (Cernea, 1988, p. 13)

Koenraad Verhagen, a Dutch specialist in NGOs, has contributed to a clarification of terms. In a report of a 1987 experts' consultation in the Netherlands, he compiles a list of terms used by contributors to the meeting, which is quoted below, with his comments. (His reference to ES-3I is to a study by the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation described in Part Two.)

The more progressive "private service organizations"(Uphoff) in the Third World, commonly referred to as "local NGOs", have as their major goal the "organization of the target population" into groups, etc.; in other words, they intend to promote the "associative sector" among the rural and urban poor.

For our discussions, I think we should make a distinction between membership organizations and non-membership service organizations, since the two types of institutions are different in their objectives, structure and functions.

What is in a name?

Third World based, non-membership service organizations which perform a combination of facilitating, promotional and catalytic functions as a service to the people are designated by the authors of the position papers by a variety of names:

Private Service Organizations (proposed by Uphoff, but not commonly used)

Private Voluntary Organizations (often used in North, Middle and South America)

NGOs - *Non-Governmental Organizations* (used in most papers)

NGDOs - *Non-Governmental Development Organizations* (used by Neggers and Wils and Egana as a special type of NGO)

Voluntary Organization - used by Tandon

Intermediary Organization or Intermediary NGO - used by Neggers and Wils as a synonym for NGDO; also used by Tandon but in a different meaning, namely as a distinct category of NGOs which provides backing-up service like research, training, documentation, networking, etc. to other NGOs or MOs, sometimes also referred to as "intermediate NGO".

Social Action Groups (India) - they are small NGOs, 4 to 5 persons, mostly informal.

Indigenous NGOs - used by Ward to indicate NGOs located in the Third World, not formally linked to donor NGOs.

Local NGOs - used... to indicate Third World based NGOs, as a synonym for SHPl.

SHPI - Self-Help Promotion Institutions. A term which the Cebemo study has adopted from ES-31 to indicate "local NGOs" geared toward self-help promotion.

(Cebemo, 1987, pp. **26-27)**

Verhagen goes on to propose a clear distinction between membership (people's) organizations (MOs or POs); and private service organizations (PsOs). Those he lists as examples of MOs include:

- people's organizations/beneficiary organizations ("in the context of development assistance")/local organizations;
- grass-root (based) organizations/base organizations;
- village organizations/social groups/self-help groups/self-help organizations.

Others that might be added include (local) community organizations - local (or village) institutions - local associations - village mutual aid groups and other traditional groupings. In addition, of course, membership organizations can also be cooperatives or trade unions.

The role of Verhagen's second main category, service organizations, is more that of intermediaries. They, too, encompass a wide range. On the one extreme: those who see themselves as facilitators, responding to what grass-roots populations want from them; on the other, those who act as delivery mechanisms for conventional development services.

(2nd Part to appear in next issue)

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Le financement des actions des ONG
Quelles contraintes? *

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M.-C. Queneau, M. Nieuwkerk

L'observation des pratiques des ONG du Nord et du Sud a servi de base a la rédaction d'un guide méthodologique présenté ailleurs (1). Les recommandations qui y sont données partent des besoins du terrain et constituent une réflexion sur les manières de satisfaire ces besoins. Les moyens financiers nécessaires pour mettre en œuvre les méthodes préconisées sont définis dans le guide, mais l'origine de ces moyens dans les ONG du Nord et auprès de leurs cofinanceurs, ainsi que les modalités d'octroi, ne sont pas envisagées. C'est précisément l'objet de cet article.

Les recommandations présentées ici s'adressent donc aux organismes de financement, tant publics que privés, qui mettent à la disposition des ONG du Nord et du Sud les moyens financiers nécessaires à la réalisation de leurs objectifs. Dans la filière de l'aide au development, nous avons, tout au long de notre travail, distingué trois niveaux, celui de l'action de terrain, celui de l'appui à cette action. C'est donc à ce troisième niveau que ces recommandations sont adressées. Elles partent des conseils émis dans le guide méthodologique et explorent des modalités de financement qui permettront aux ONG du Nord et du Sud de mettre en pratique ces conseils.

Les acteurs directs des actions et les ONG d'appui comptent généralement sur deux sources de fonds extérieurs différentes (au-delà de leurs fonds propres et des fonds locaux qu'ils mobilisent): les fonds propres des ONG du Nord, qui sont généralement récoltés auprès des donateurs sympathisants, et les fonds publics utilisés pour le cofinancement des actions de développement de ces ONG, et provenant donc de recettes fiscales. Ces deux types de fonds sont, dans la plupart des cas, utilisés ensemble lors du financement d'une même action de développement dans le tiers-monde. Il semble dès lors utile que les modalités d'octroi de ces deux types de fonds soient similaires, ou du moins harmonisés car ils sont au service d'une même cause.

L'aide aux ONG d'appui du Sud est une pratique relativement récente des ONG de financement; elle appelle des conditions de financement nouvelles. L'ONG du Nord et celle du Sud y sont partenaires à part entière, engagées ensemble dans une même action en faveur de processus de développement de régions du Sud. En général, les institutions publiques de cofinancement, tant au niveau des institutions multilatérales, collaborent uniquement avec les ONG du Nord, et n'établissent pas de filière d'aide directe aux ONG du Sud. Il y a des exceptions cependant: certaines institutions nationales ou multilatérales de cofinancement des ONG ont une possibilité de financer directement une aide à des ONG du Sud (la division de cofinancement des ONG internationales de l'Agence canadienne de développement international - ACDI-, par exemple, ou encore la CEE pour des lignes budgétaires spéciales).
Par le biais des fonds de micro-projets de certaines ambassades ou des délégations du Fonds européen de développement, des ONG d'appui du Sud sont également en contact direct avec des sources de financement publiques des pays du Nord.

Les ONG d'appui du Sud qui offrent des services aux acteurs de base d'actions de développement doivent pouvoir assurer ces services à moyen et même à long terme. Il est clair que le financement de ces services devra venir de l'extérieur - dans ce cas-ci des ONG du Nord et des organismes de financement publics - aussi longtemps que les pouvoirs locaux ou les utilisateurs ne seront pas à même d'assurer ce financement.

Il est important que l'ONG du Nord qui s'engage aux cotés d'une ONG du Sud, avec laquelle elle établit de véritables liens de partenariat (sur une base contractuelle), soit capable s'assumer ses promesses.
Or, actuellement, la plupart des ONG du Nord doivent faire dépendre leurs engagements de l'accord du cofinanceur, qui leur founit entre 50 et 100 % des fonds nécessaires à l'accomplissement de ces engagements. Cet accord - ou

(1) *Echos du COTA*, n° 1, 1991.

(*) Reproduit de *Echos du COTA*, 2/1991, cet article est fondé sur un rapport réalisé pour la Communauté économique européenne. La coordination de l'équipe ayant collaboré à cette étude *3* été assurée par le Collectif d'échanges pour la technologie appropriée (COTA), rue de la Sablonnière 18, 1000 Bruxelles.

désaccord - du cofinanceur met entre quelques mois et deux ans à se concrétiser. Cette situation rend très difficile l'établissement de liens de partenariat solides entre ONG du Nord et du Sud. Il est clair que pour les quelques très grandes ONG, le problème est beaucoup moins aigu. Elles ont des fonds propres suffisants pour préfinancer leurs engagements, ou même pour les financer entièrement en cas de désaccord du cofinanceur (une de ces grandes ONG vient, par exemple, de décider que ses décisions de financer des partenaires du Sud ne dépendraient plus de l'accord du cofinanceur: elle financerait ses appuis sur ses fonds propres, et refinancerait ses fonds propres par le cofinancement, en cas d'acceptation *a posteriori* d'une action par celui-ci).

Le mode classique de prise de décision par les institutions publiques de cofinancement passe par une étude des documents de présentation des actions envisagées. Dans cette méthode, les ONG d'appui (et leurs intermédiaires, les ONG de financement) présentent souvent des actions dans leur contexte statique (géographie, potentialités, problèmes,...), mais pas assez dans leur contexte dynamique (historique, référence à d'autres actions de développement, continuité du travail des groupes de base et des ONG d'appui, évolution des organisations paysannes ou urbaines,...).
Ce mode d'appréciation des actions proposées ne permet pas de juger de la continuité du travail des ONG partenaires, ni de comprendre de quelle manière les expériences des programmes antérieurement entrepris sont prises en compte, et influencent l'identification et la programmation des nouvelles actions.
Bien que d'importants changements soient actuellement en cours dans plusieurs administrations de cofinancement, la plupart d'entre elles privilégient ce mode de travail et donc le financement par projet.

Il peut arriver, lorsqu'une ONG du Nord se pose en intermédiaire dans la présentation d'un programme d'une ONG d'appui du Sud au cofinancement, que ce programme soit scindé en plusieurs projets dont le financement est demandé à plusieurs partenaires du Nord différents. Dans ce cas extrêmement courant, il arrive que les projets proposés ne soient que les parties d'un programme régional et pluriannuel. Ce mode de présentation a des inconvénients pour les partenaires du Nord, qui n'ont qu'une vue partielle du travail et des objectifs de leurs correspondants, isolés de son contexte plus large. Il présente également des inconvénients pour les partenaires du Sud qui doivent justifier de leurs actions et de leurs dépenses selon des comptabilités et des rapports isolés, pour chaque morceau de programme ainsi découpé, ce qui provoque un surcroît de travail.

"Un avantage de ce mode de prise de décision par projet est qu'il donne aux institutions de financement une idée générale assez claire de l'action à financer, qui permettra de suivre aisément les dépenses à partir de postes budgétaires identifiés avec précision.
Par contre, il présente l'inconvénient du manque de souplesse pour les partenaires du Sud qui doivent réaliser des actions telles qu'elles sont décrites dans le document de présentation. Il y a donc un risque de voir une action programmée ne plus correspondre aux priorités du moment où l'accord de financement est acquis.

Pour compenser les lacunes de cette approche, il existe dans certains cas des procédures qui permettent de modifier des actions identifiées (et les postes budgétaires correspondants) moyennant concertation entre partenaires d'exécution et partenaires financiers.

Certaines ONG du Nord et leurs bailleurs de fonds cherchent à développer des procédures allégées, qui insistent moins sur le préalable d'une étude approfondie de dossiers, mais davantage sur le suivi rigoureux des actions menées sur le terrain.
C'est ainsi que la décision du soutien à des institutions partenaires du Sud se fait à partir d'un plan cadre des activités envisagées, donnant une orientation générale. L'instrument de financement de ce mode de travail est un fonds dit "souple", car il est censé s'adapter spontanéments aux réalités et priorités effectives du terrain.
La souplesse de ces fonds est en principe contrebalancée par une rigueur accrue dans le suivi et l'évaluation, car la justification de l'utilisation des fonds se fait a *posteriori.* Par ailleurs, elle suppose une capacité de gestion réelle que beaucoup d'ONG sous-estiment. On remarque en effet que souvent la souplesse n'est pas encore accompagnée d'une plus grande responsabilité *(accountability des* anglo-saxons). Le concept doit encore mûrir, et il est important qu'il ne soit pas perverti et transformé en formule d'argent facile à cause d'un contrôle laxiste de la part des bailleurs de fonds (ONG ou pouvoirs publics).

On observe également certaines innovations auxquelles contribuent à présent les organismes publics de cofinancement. Citons par exemple le financement d'un ' fonds de garantie internationale pour garantir des crédits octroyés localement à des actions de développement par des banques locales; le financement de cautions bancaires, pour le même effet; l'appui à des organisations de producteurs dans leur recherche d'une commercialisation plus directe de leurs produits sur les marchés des pays du Nord (commerce "alternatif" à grande échelle).

Suggestions dans la perspective d'une amélioration des actions

En fonction du contexte actuel du financement des actions de développement des ONG, et en vue d'améliorer la qualité de celles-ci par une meilleure préparation, un suivi plus rigoureux, et une évaluation systématique des résultats obtenus, un certain nombre de recommandations opérationnelles peuvent être formulées.

Introduire la notion de financement séparé de la phase d'identification.

Cette phase d'identification concerne à la fois la prise de connaissance d'une ONG du Nord avec des partenaires du Sud, en vue d'établir une relation contractuelle, et l'identification d'actions de développement à réaliser. Dans les conventions de cofinancement, des fonds sont souvent prévus pour financer a *posteriorities* tâches liées à l'identification. Mais comme beaucoup d'ONG n'ont pas les moyens de préfinancer cette phase d'identification, elles se contentent de n'en réaliser que le premier aspect: la prise de connaissance.
Il est recommandé de créer un fonds destiné à l'identification d'actions de développement. Ce fonds pourrait être

cofinancé par les ONG et le bailleur de fonds public selon une répartition à définir. Il serait réalimenté chaque année en fonction des dépenses réalisées. On pourrait s'inspirer de l'expérience française du Fonds d'études préalables (FEP), qui fonctionne depuis deux ans selon un schéma de ce type pour les projets productifs uniquement, ou encore d'une expérience similaire au Danemark. Il semble que la limite à l'utilisation du FEP soit le faible nombre d'études proposées pour des projets productifs et correspondant aux critères d'accès définis.

Créer *un fonds spécial pour des études thématiques préalables à des actions*

Ce fonds devrait permettre à des ONG d'étudier à fond un secteur d'activité, avant de lancer des actions spécifiques dans ce secteur (par exemple, avant de financer plusieurs actions de maraîchage autour d'une ville, il serait bon d'étudier d'abord les problèmes de marché pour l'horticulture dans la région).

Cette recommandation est assortie de celle de coordination: en effet, l'usage du "fonds d'études thématiques" devrait être fait, de préférence, par plusieurs ONG concernées par le même problème; de plus, il devrait être conditionné à la présentation d'un projet d'étude qui fasse clairement le point sur toute autre étude éventuelle, en cours ou déjà réalisée, sur le même thème dans la même région, et qu'il serait opportun de compléter. Il serait de toute manière nécessaire de confier ces études à des structures compétentes: ONG de service, coordination locale d'ONG, bureaux d'études du Nord ou du Sud.

Rechercher des voies et moyens pour des financements directs de certaines institutions du Sud

L'intermediation des ONG de financement du Nord présente des avantages (dans certains cas, elles protègent les partenaires du Sud de l'ingérence de leurs gouvernements; une parfaite connaissance des mécanismes administratifs de leurs cofinanceurs leur permettent d'orienter leurs partenaires du Sud et de les aider à faire face correctement à leurs obligations de rendre compte) et des inconvénients (parfois la lenteur d'un long processus de prises de décisions en cascade; la dépendance également, et son corrolaire, le parrainage).

Sans vouloir proposer le cofinancement direct systématique d'ONG du Sud, il est recommandé d'élargir la pratique de "donations globales directes" à certains partenaires du Sud avec lesquels une longue expérience de collaboration fructueuse existe déjà sous couvert d'ONG du Nord. Il convient bien sûr d'envisager cette proposition avec beaucoup de prudence, et de veiller à mettre en place les gardefous nécessaires pour limiter au maximum ses possibles effets pervers sur les ONG du Sud (limitation de la liberté d'action des ONG, ingérences politiques, obligation pour les ONG de se conformer au cadre des relations intergouvernementales, etc.).

Elargir la possibilité d'octroi de fonds souples ***pour*** *le soutien aux activités des ONG du Sud*

Ces fonds souples ne pourraient être demandés qu'à l'issue d'une phase d'identification qui aura mis en évidence les capacités de l'ONG du Sud à pouvoir gérer correctement les fonds, et à offrir des services utiles aux groupes de base. Le suivi est particulièrement important ici et les cofinanceurs devront s'assurer que celui-ci est bien fait. En effet, les cofinanceurs ne sont pas outillés pour assurer eux-mêmes ce suivi et ces évaluations des ONG du Sud. Etant donné le nombre d'ONG du Sud qu'ils financent via les ONG partenaires du Nord, ce type de suivi exigerait des moyens humains et matériels extrêmement lourds. C'est, par contre, le rôle des ONG du Nord d'assurer ce suivi et ces évaluations avec leurs partenaires du Sud. Le contrôle des cofinanceurs s'exercera sur les méthodes de travail des ONG du Nord qu'ils cofinancent. Il se fera en exigeant que soient présentés régulièrement des documents de suivi et d'évaluation et en les analysant. On peut également envisager de mettre en place un système d'audits, choisis conjointement, pour les ONG bénéficiant d'un volume important de financement par fonds souples, ainsi qu'en cas de litiges. Tout comme pour les donations globales, il est en effet important que la souplesse des fonds soit assortie d'une rigueur bien comprise et d'une responsabilité accrue de la part des ONG.

Accepter le financement à moyen ferme du fonctionnement des partenaires du Sud

Cette modalité est possible si on peut s'assurer qu'une procédure de suivi régulière (par l'ONG du Nord intermédiaire et son partenaire du Sud) est effective. Le financement peut se faire par phase annuelle et devrait être poursuivi aussi longtemps que les résultats de l'ONG du Sud sont probants et que des sources locales de financement (publiques ou privées) ne peuvent être trouvées.

Accélérer les procédures d'octroi de fonds, et veiller à raccourcir les délais de payements

Le cofinanceur devrait toujours avoir le souci de permettre à l'ONG d'avoir une continuité dans ses relations avec les groupes du tiers-monde avec lesquels elle travaille. Les ruptures dans cette collaboration, que provoquent les longues attentes de cofinancement, peuvent être une cause d'échec. Il est donc particulièrement important que le cofinanceur adopte des procédures de prises de décision rapides et facilement applicables, et qu'il se préoccupe de leur respect. De leur côté, les ONG du Sud et du Nord doivent veiller à envoyer, avec leurs propositions d'actions à financer, tout type de documentaion importante et nécessaire à la prise de décision, et qu'elles essaient d'anticiper les différentes questions que les institutions de cofinancement seraient susceptibles de leur poser. Le compte-rendu de l'identification devrait être un document important permettant de décider de l'octroi de fonds. Les évaluations d'autres actions de l'ONG sont également des sources de renseignements, permettant de juger rapidement des méthodes de travail de KONG et des résultats qui s'ensuivent.

Dans un même ordre d'idées, il convient d'être particulièrement attentif à réduire au maximum les délais de payement des différentes tranches des cofinancements. Ceci demande un suivi des procédures internes de la part du cofinanceur, mais également beaucoup de rigueur de la part des ONG pour le respect des contrats, notamment en ce qui concerne l'envoi de rapports de justification.

Encourager la concertation et la coordination des ONG du Nord qui appuient un même partenaire (entre elles, et avec ces partenaires)

Cette forme de coordination se fait de plus en plus, lorsque sont concernées de grandes ONG du Sud qui travaillent avec plusieurs partenaires financiers du Nord. Il est recommandé de participer au financement de rencontres organisées dans un but de coordination, et de considérer un pourcentage supplémentaire de frais administratifs pour une ONG qui aurait à charge le secrétariat de ce travail de coordination.

Encourager la coordination entre les ONG du Sud d'un même pays ou région

Certains pays du Sud se sont dotés de banques de données sur les actions ONG réalisées dans leur pays. C'est très utile pour ceux qui veulent prendre des nouvelles initiatives en s'insérant dans un ensemble d'actions existantes. Par ailleurs, les "fédérations" d'ONG du Sud jouent souvent un rôle important de représentation et de négociation avec les autorités locales pour le compte de leurs membres. Il est recommandé de considérer des financements pour des actions spécifiques de coordination proposées par ces fédérations.

Aider au financement des bureaux décentralisés des ONG dans les pays du Sud où elles interviennent

Beaucoup d'ONG du Nord estiment qu'il est très utile de disposer d'un relais dans les pays (ou régions) où elles interviennent. 11 est recommandé, dans les budgets de financement d'actions, d'augmenter le pourcentage destiné aux frais d'administration des ONG du Nord qui organisent de telles antennes régionales (et les financent) lorsque ces actions ont lieu dans des pays où de telles représentations existent. Les cofinanceurs pourraient aussi encourager la coordination entre les ONG du Nord dans ce domaine (utilisation de bureaux communs à plusieurs ONG qui partagent un même secrétariat, téléphone, photocopieuse, télécopieur, etc...) en augmentant encore ce pourcentage de frais administratifs pour les ONG qui partagent leur bureau de représentation dans un pays du Sud avec d'autres ONG.

Demander aux ONG au Nora une présentation plus globale des informations sur les partenaires du Sud et les actions proposées

Ainsi, lorsque celles-ci présentent une action, elles devraient toujours la situer dans le cadre de l'ensemble des activités du groupe local ou de l'ONG du Sud. Elles devraient également mentionner les autres bailleurs de fonds qui participent a l'action présentée ou aux autres actions du partenaire du Sud.

Généraliser l'inclusion des rubriques "Evaluation" dans les budgets de cofinancement

II est recommandé de pratiquer un suivi de cette rubrique budgétaire, et d'exiger que ces évaluations internes ou externes soient effectuées. D'autre part, si l'évaluation est bien perçue comme un moment de réflexion critique et prospective, au cours de laquelle on cherche à apprendre du passé pour améliorer l'avenir, il paraît souhaitable que les documents produits au cours de ces évaluations soient utilisés systématiquement comme instrument de communication interne pour les différents partenaires de la filière du projet concerné.

Introduire des évaluations des méthodes de travail des ONG du Nord par des experts indépendants

Ces évaluations pourraient être faites à la demande des ONG du Nord qui souhaiteraient améliorer leurs méthodes de travail et leurs performances. Ces évaluations permettraient aussi aux fonctionnaires des services de cofinancement de mieux connaître les ONG du Nord avec lesquelles ils travaillent.

Encourager l'amélioration des compétences professionnelles du personnel des ONG du Nord et du Sud

Ceci pourrait être réalisé en acceptant de couvrir les frais de tout type de formation nécessaire pour améliorer significativement le professionnalisme et la capacité de gestion (au sens large) de l'ensemble du personnel des ONG, au Nord comme au Sud.

La démarche recommandée par le guide méthodologique pourrait notamment servir de base à des formations centrées sur l'étude des projets. Une demande pour ce type de formation existe très clairement dans les ONG du Sud, et peut se percevoir également dans certaines ONG du Nord.

Changing roles for regional membership organizations

by L.S. Harms *
and Richard J. Barber **

Regional membership organizations play a vital role in promoting and assisting various parts of the telecommunications environment as it undergoes rapid change. Paralleling the growth of telecommunications has been the establishment, restructuring and growth of both existing and new general and special telecommunications focussed non-profit membership organizations. What functions these organizations now plan, what changes they are undergoing to adapt to the new environment and what the future may hold is examined in this paper. In particular, the configuration of a *new regional inter-organization will be discussed; it is tentatively named: FORA Pacific.*

Telecommunications in the Pacific

During the past decade, many countries in the Pacific have adopted policies which favor rapid development of telecommunications facilities. For example, recall the introduction of competition in Japan, privatization in Malaysia, revised government policies in Australia, and radical structural changes in New Zealand. These shifts have been accompanied by debates about whether telecommunications should be viewed primarily as a national good or as a profit center.

Taken together, these rapid shifts in government telecommuniations policy, the high rate of growth in telecommunications infrastructure and advancement in technology along with new applications of information systems and services all serve to create a great deal of uncertainty. The old realities of only a few years ago have given way to new corporate strategic alliances along with frequent ownership and personnel changes.

New technology and its region-wide application pushes for the rapid creation of new standards and places pressure on the allocation of the telecommunication spectrum. New capacities in region-wide long haul and in local loop systems raise connected questions of access and appropriate tariffs. The rising awareness in the Pacific of the economic importance of having an adequate telecommunications infrastructure brings to the fore questions of funding and of national and regional priorities. Of growing importance is the asociated need for human resources development. Where are the skilled information industry workers going to come from?

In face of these many uncertainties, a number of organizations have been established to provide for the sharing of information, for consensus building, and for the creation of reference points -focal points- for the systematic checking of this emerging reality.

Illustrative of the increased attention being accorded international organizations has been the recent spate of re-assessments on the part of such entities as the ITU through the "High Level Committee;" the recent ESCAP internal review; an outside consultants review of the Telecom Programme of the South Pacific Forum as well as a reassessment of the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity.

Roles for regional organizations

The way individual nations approach telecommunications development often transcend national boundaries and become regional issues. Current discussions, for example, focus on the need for multinational investment, for regional training, for common standards and for easy connectivity. The potentially conflicting roles of new regional satellite systems with those of established global systems con-

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tinues to be a topic of debate. Planning for additional undersea fiber links continues to make news in the region. This is compounded by the lack of a cohesive planning venue combining both undersea cable and international satellite systems.

Access to the network as well as to the information content it carries are of growing to concern to all entities of the Pacific Region.

How are all these issues managed? Is there a single system in place which allows for orderly debate, information sharing, and conflict resolution? Are there mechanisms in place which allow an easy transfer of resources, once a consensus is reached? The obvious answer is: no. At least, not yet.

However, there has developed a loose grouping of regional membership organizations which have been created and continue to address various aspects of these broad concerns. The fact that they exist is a tribute to the many professionals who work with acknowledged success in this environment and to the thousands who volunteer time and provide monetary and other resources to these groups.

One of the little appreciated functions of the regional organizations is that they provide a vital connection to the international organizations active in the telecommunication field, notably the International Telecommunication Union (1TU). The ITU provides a mechanism for developing international agreements on vital matters such as radio frequency assignments, satellite orbit allocations and communication standards. Geneva-based, this one-and-a-quarter century old United Nations organization facilitates planning and negotiations among all member governments on matters pertaining to standards for telecommunication transmission.

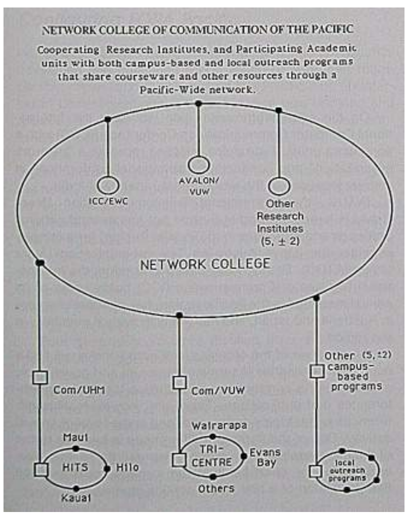
Other bodies that play a role in international standard setting, and thereby impact on the Pacific, include the International Standards Organization (ISO), Electronics Industry Association (EIA), Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE), and various national standards bodies. Currently, the most notable standards setting efforts are in the areas of integrated services digital networks (ISDN) and high definition television (HDTV).

The ITU has also become engaged through its Center for Telecommunications Development (CTD) in persuading governments and industry of the necessity for more investment in the telecommunications infrastructure in developing countries. This effort runs parallel with a long-standing ITU program in technical assistance. Several of the regional organizations in the Pacific are closely associated with the ITU.

By one recent count, there are now some 80 organizations with a dual interest in telecommunication and the Pacific region. These membership organizations are non-profit and either non-governmental or inter-governmental. For the most part, they are professional associations primarily providing needed services to their own members. Four of these organizations with headquarters in the Pacific-Asia will be discussed below and several other organizations will be noted. Further details can be found on these and other organizations in the 1990 publication of the Pacific Telecommunications Council : "Non-profit organizations with Communication Interests in the Pacific Hemisphere."

The Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU) was established in 1964 with current headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. Its primary objectives are to support the interests of member broadcasting organizations and to establish relations with other broadcasting unions; and, to study problems of broadcasting and ensure timely exchange of information. The ABU organizes exchange of radio and TV news by satellite among members along with joint productions. Seventy-five broadcasting organizations in the region are members. The ABU holds general annual meetings along with meetings of standing committees on programming and engineering matters and of specialized working parties and study groups. The Union publishes the ABU News and the ABU Technical Review.

The Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC) was established in 1971 with present headquarters in Singapore. Its central objective is to assist the development of the media and other means of communication in the region within the broad framework of continuing education, economic, social, and cultural changes. AMIC is developing a major data bank related to media develop in the Pacific and West Asia. Members are individuals, educational institutions, government agencies and non-profit organizations. AMIC holds an annual general meeting along with frequent seminars, training meetings and refresher courses. It publishes the quarterly Media Asia, monographs, occasional papers, and a bibliography series.



The Asia-Pacific Telecommunity (APT) was established in 1979 with headquarters in Bangkok. The APT's objectives are to correlate the planning and development of intra-regional telecommunication networks to meet immediate and future requirements; and, to promote the implementation of agreed networks and to assist within the region with national level development. Ongoing concerns are with technology transfer and training of telecommunications personnel. Membership is open to any state within the region which is also a member of the UN or a member of ESCAP. APT holds an annual meeting along with seminars, training programs and other means for exchange of information among specialized personnel. It publishes the bi-annual Asia-Pacific Telecom m unity, seminar proceedings and a variety of reports.

The Pacific Telecommunications Council (PTC) was established in 1980 with headquarters in Honolulu. The objectives of the PTC are to provide a forum for the discussion and the interchange of information, ideas, and points of view regarding telecommunications in Pacific area, by bringing together a multi-facted, diverse body, including users, planners, and providers of equipment and services; and, to promote the general awareness of the varied telecommunication requirements to meet the needs of the people of the Pacific hemisphere. PTC membership is open to all for-profit (116 members) and non-profit (40) entities which have a direct interest in telecommunication in the Pacific Hemisphere. Individual membership is open to qualified professionals (116 from 24 countries). PTC holds an annual conference in January in Honolulu, mid-year seminars in Pacific area countries and ad hoc meetings in conjunction with other organizations. PTC publishes the proceedings of its annual conference, a monthly newsletter, a quarterly magazine Pacific Telecommunications, reports and-books.

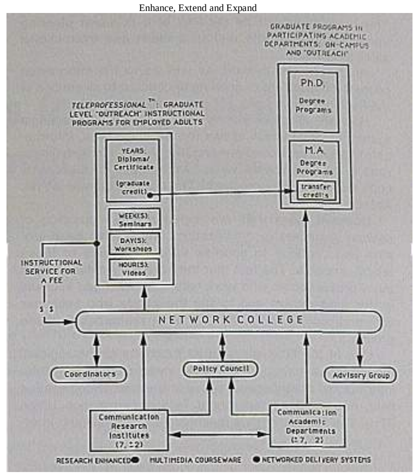
in addition to the general purpose organizations cited above, ABU, AMIC, APT and PTC, there are a growing number of specific-focus organizations and telecommunications projects as well as several ad hoc or study groups formed by more broadly based regional organizations.

In the first category are entities such as the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcast Development (AIBD). Co-located with the ABU in Kuala Lumpur, AIBD seeks to foster the development of professionals in the broadcast field and organizes extensive training activities. A single focus, ISDN, prompted the Japanese to establish the Asian ISDN Council (AIC) in 1987. Through working groups and discussion, this council seeks to provide for the development of digital communication in the Asian region.

An example of telecommunications-related projects of more generally-oriented organizations is the "Triple T" project of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC), Triple T refers to transport, tourism and telecommunications. A major report on this project was made at the PECC meeting this past November in New Zealand.

A quick overview of a few of the more visible governmental and non-governmental groups illustrate the diversity of such organizations. Goverment-based telecommunications membership organizations active in the Pacific area include the POSTEL committee of the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); the Commonwealth Telecommunication Organization which has many members in this region; and the telecom program of the South Pacific Forum, which covers all of the independent Pacific Island nations.

NETWORK COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATION IN THE PACIFIC:
Enhance, Extend and Expand



On the non-governmental side we have the International Computer Communications Conference (ICCC) with a somewhat unusual structure, existing more as a "network organization" and conducting international conferences in various locations in the world, most recently in India.

INTUG, the International Telecommunication Users Group is headquartered in Europe but has several national branches and members in the Pacific Region; for example, consider the active Australian Telecommunication Users Group (ATUG). Finally, while based in London, the International Institute of Communication (ICC) holds some of its annual meetings in the Pacific region, has national chapters in Australia and Japan, and has many individual members in the region.

An observer of the organizations noted above will find a number of similarities in terms of structure and govenance, and discover a common set of activities that include conferences and publications. There are, however, wide differences in the topics addressed, and in the level of annual activity. One of the important differences is found in terms of the membership base - non-governmental or inter-governmental. The chart below gives a rough breakdown on this dimension of a few of the entities studied.

Organizations having telecommunication as a major focus	
Intergovernmental	*Private/NGO*
ABU	AIC
APT	AMIC
ASEAN POSTEL	ICCC
CTO	IIC
ITU	INTUG
SPF Telecom	PTC

Another classification by type of activity shows:
- Resource Allocation : policy, standards, finance, facilities: ABU, ITU POSTEL
- Technical Assistance: planning, training, expert consultation : AIBD, APT, ITU, SPF
- Information Source: publications, database, seminars: ABU, AIC, AMIC, APT, PTC, TTT
- Communication Network: member contacts: AIC, AMIC, ICCC, PTC.

While these classifications on the basis of membership and activity are imprecise, they do serve to show that non-governmental organizations focus on information sharing activities while the intergovernmental organizations having official standing are more involved in resource allocation.

Through meetings and information exchange, the regional membership organizations appear to perform a needed function in the development of telecommunications in the region. Over time, they help to prepare for new alliances and for a new consensus surrounding telecommunications development and utilization.

Configuring FORA Pacific

In 1983, the Pacific Telecommunications Council developed and published a first listing of non-profit membership organizations focused on the Pacific with an interest in communications. This publication was updated and reissued in 1986. Recently, the 1990 edition was published; it contains about 80 entries.

As a natural outgrowth of this interest in what other organizations are doing, PTC called an ad hoc meeting of the heads of such organizations who were thought likely to be represented this past May, 1990, at the CommunicAsia conference in Singapore. Fourteen individuals representing twelve organizations participated. Temporarily, PTC serves as the informal facilitator of information exchange among these entities. Tentatively called FORA (Federation of Regional Associations) Pacific, this paper is one part of an ongoing attempt to configure FORA Pacific to meet the emerging needs in this region.

Four general goals were distilled from the Singapore meeting and subsequent discussions:
- maintain a master list of scheduled meetings;
- maintain a comprehensive list of publications;
- enhance services to current members; and
- develop new exchange mechanisms as needed.

These goals only suggest that the regional organizations should do a bit more, a litle more systematically, than they now do. As such, the goals hardly merit a new organization with a new acronym.

However, the Singapore scenario for FORA Pacific was to configure not only a new but also a new type of network resident inter-organization. As currently envisoned, FORA will make extensive use of phone, FAX, email, file transfers and teleconferencing in meeting its goals. Perhaps, each participating organization will in time become a logical address and a gateway through which its own members can directly access FORA; but FORA itself will not have a physical headquarters as the member regional associations each do. Thus, FORA represents an attempt to use in imaginative and productive ways the technologies of central interest to the affiliate organizations.

A first master list of scheduled meetings was developed after the Singapore meeting. Such a list has a a number of uses, most obvious, some not. For example, if AMIC in Singapore were to invite a resource person from the EC in Brussels to address one of its meetings, APT in Bangkok might wish to invite that same person to stop in Bangkok to make a presentation on the way home. In a few years, a master list would reduce the chance of having two meetings being scheduled by different organizations in • nearby cities on similar topics on the same days, as sometimes now happens. Further, a member from Sydney attending the annual PTC conference in Honolulu might be able stop in Tokyo on the way home to sit in on a meeting of one of the Asian ISDN working group meetings. And, so on.

All of the regional organizations who have expressed an interest in FORA annually publish a wide range of materials. These materials include but are not limited to conference working papers, quarterly periodicals, research reports and books. This paper-based information can be regularly cataloged and a comprehensive list of these publications can, with a continuing effort, be maintained. But the need for more rapid access than traditional paper publication and postal service provide has led several FORA organizations to develop online information bases for use by their members, notably, AMIC and APT. Possibly, through the offices of FORA, these important resources could be made more widely available, and online.

Both the master list of scheduled meetings and the comprehensive list of publications could be used to enhance the services that the FORA organizations routinely provide their own members. Specifically, a schedule of meetings should often enable a member of any FORA affiliated organization to attend two important meetings for little more than the price of one. A comprehensive list of publications would help assure that current members of the FORA affiliated organizations do not overlook critically important information.

FORA Pacific, as it is now taking shape, can facilitate exchange among the affiliate organizations, as well as the ordinary members of each of those organizations. Further, the increasing capacity of telecom networks in the Pacific, the emerging standards for message handling and directory services, can help move FORA a giant step into the future. It is not the purpose of this brief paper to detail the alternate futures of FORA; rather it is the purpose here to report the line of thinking that has followed from the Singapore meeting, and to invite additional contributions to it. Just maybe, FORA Pacific is an idea whose time has come !

Cotonou, une histoire

Pendant cinq jours, 150 animateurs de la coopération internationale non gouvernementale ont pu faire le point; Soixante pays et tous les continents étaient représentés. Mais les Rencontres de Cotonou ne se sont pas seulement jouées quelques jours de janvier au Bénin. Elles ont aussi eu lieu avant et après. Elles ont été un moment dans une dynamique collective de débat entre Ong (1).

Les Rencontres de Cotonou s'inscrivent dans une histoire. I! aura fallu près d'un demi-siècle aux associations du Nord pour passer du paternalisme au partenariat. Et la mutation est loin d'être achevée.

Si le mot partenariat fait l'unanimité, sa signification concrète reste encore en partie à construire. Relations passionnelles et conflictuelles, difficiles mais fortes: Ong du Nord et du Sud n'ont fait qu'entamer le dialogue.

La conférence d'Arusha en 1990 et différents séminaires sur les PMA constituent autant de jalons dans la recherche de relations plus équilibrées entre le Nord et le Sud.

Le groupe de travail mis en place en octobre 1989 autour de la Fondation de France pour piloter la préparation des Rencontres, s'est ancré dans cette histoire et s'est tout de suite donné un avenir: ne pas être une structure mais un catalyseur et se dissoudre après Cotonou au profit de nouveaux types de collaboration entre Ong.

De par sa position institutionnelle, son rôle et ses fonctions, la Fondation de France est au coeur de ces relations parfois difficiles entre Ong du Nord et du Sud : parce qu'elle travaille aussi bien avec les associations du Nord que du Sud et parce qu'elle cherche, elle aussi, à mettre en place des relations de partenariat différentes, plus équilibrées entre le Nord et le Sud.

A la fois partie prenante et suffisamment extérieure pour disposer du recul nécessaire, la Fondation de France a pu mobiliser une centaine d'Ong du monde entier, sans déclencher de réaction partisane, mais en allant jusqu'au bout de la mise à plat des problèmes des Ong du Nord et du Sud, les unes vis-à-vis des autres-

Comment préparer une rencontre sur le partenariat associatif Nord/Sud sinon avec les partenaires de ce dialogue?

Seule une forte décentralisation de la préparation des Rencontres pouvait rendre possible une implication locale du tissu associatif, sur tous les continents.

Décentraliser et mobiliser

D'octobre 1989 à janvier 1991, un groupe constitué de douze personnes, issues du monde des Ong et représentant les cinq continents s'est mis au travail.

Le groupe de pilotage des Rencontres a décidé de laisser à quatre coordinations continentales (Asie, Afrique, Amérique latine, Europe/Amérique du Nord) l'entière liberté de préparer les Rencontres en fonction des enjeux et des thèmes prioritaires sur chaque continent. Liberté de sujets, d'angles d'attaque, de ton, de méthode.

Continent par continent, chaque équipe, à son rythme et à sa manière, a trouvé les façon d'associer les personnes, organisations ou regroupements d'organisations intéressées.

Le groupe Afrique a notamment travaillé sur la question de la participation populaire à l'organisation des sociétés civiles, dont les travaux de la conférence d'Arusha de février 1990 ont été un exemple. Sa participation a été parrainée par le Fovad (2).

Les coordinations Afrique et Amérique latine ont choisi d'approfondir les questions du développement à la base et de la coopération Nord-Sud, notamment les réflexions de l'Iggri (3) et du groupe de Fazenda (4).

La coordination Nord a suivi les travaux de l'Icva (5) et du Comité de liaison des Ong auprès de la CEE. Elle a mobilisé de nombreux réseaux et s'est inspirée des propositions novatrices des Ong canadiennes et de l'expérience du bureau d'information des Nations-Unies à Genève en matière de communication.

En Asie, la coordination s'est attachée à formuler les nouvelles orientations de nombreuses Ong qui souhaitent redéployer leurs effort vers les populations les plus démunies et renforcer leurs réflexions et initiatives sur les grands problèmes de société (la paix, l'armement, l'environnement...)•

Conflits et consensus

Organiser des Rencontres sur le principe de l'écoute réciproque, de la liberté de parole et de la reconnaissance de la diversité des points de vue constitue un pari complexe. Le ton des débats a parfois été vif et les escarmouches nombreuses. Dire les choses, c'est aussi surmonter une unanimité de façade.

Dénoncer les effets pervers de l'aide internationale et faire évoluer les pratiques et méthodes de coopération: ce principe recueille toujours l'unanimité. Mais dès lors qu'on aborde la question de "comment faire ?" et du type de stratégie commune à mettre en place, le débat devient plus ardu.

La multiplication et la croissance des Ong du Sud ont été souhaitées et recherchées par leurs partenaires du Nord. Cette évolution oblige à redéfinir le partage des tâches et à reconsidérer le rôle des Ong au sein de leur propre société.

Ce débat dépasse largement la seule question de la répartition des financements disponibles, même si cet enjeu ne doit pas être sous-estime. Il faut analyser la possibilité de proposer des programmes d'action, de sortir du champ des "projets", d'assouplir l'utilisation des financements.

Plus encore, le professionnalisme nécessaire de l'intervention en développement ou en coopération, ne doit pas faire oublier que les Ong représentent aussi et surtout une partie de la société civile. En tant que telles, elles sont impliquées dans un double débat social : un débat national sur le type de société et de démocratie à construire, et un débat "international" sur les relations entre les nations et entre les peuples, sur les ordres et désordres mondiaux.

D'une certaine façon, chaque Ong affirme que nous sommes à la fois citoyen d'un pays et citoyen du monde, et que nous ne pouvons être l'un sans l'autre. Le Sud est loin d'avoir le monopole des problèmes de développement, de chômage et d'exclusion. Même q'ils s'y posent de façon plus cruciale.

De la création de puits à l'organisation de ce débat public et politique (et non politicien), le fossé semble énorme. Pourtant, c'est bien l'ensemble de cette chaîne que les Ong doivent tenir. Une chaîne qui va d'un travail de base avec les populations sur les initiatives locales de développement jusqu'à la mobilisation de l'opinion publique et des réseaux sociaux pour porter et mettre en oeuvre un projet de société, à l'échelle nationale et internationale, plus juste, plus solidaire, plus démocratique.

Plus que leur réticence à laisser les Ong du Sud accéder directement aux guichets de l'aide internationale, ces dernières ont surtout reproché à leurs partenaires du Nord leur timidité à porter sur la place publique, au niveau des populations comme des pouvoirs politiques et économiques, le débat sur les rapports Nord/Sud et sur les diverses approches des relations internationales.

De nouvelles perspectives

Qu'il s'agisse de l'image du Sud dans les médias du Nord, ou du lobbying social et politique pour changer les règles du jeu, les Ong du Sud attendent davantage de celles du Nord. A l'inverse, les Ong du Nord s'inquiètent parfois de la réelle représentativité de certaines Ong du Sud et de la nature de leur ancrage dans les miliex populaires.

Comment aider à construire un mouvement associatif un peu plus cohérent dans ses objectifs et stratégies tout en respectant l'indispensable diversité des Ong? Entre celles qui travaillent comme des professionnelles du développement et celles qui ont opté pour l'animation, la mobilisation et l'organisation de mouvement populaires, le pont n'est pas toujours simple à établir. Pourtant, comment dissocier les pratiques concrètes de développement des dynamiques sociales et donc politiques?

Bien sûr, les Rencontres de Cotonou n'ont pas eu la prétention de répondre à l'ensemble de ces questions. Mais elles ont eu le mérite de permettre qu'elles soient posées. Les liens sont établis. Le dialogue est enclenché. Une commission Sud/Sud s'est mise en place, pour faciliter la poursuite des relations entre Ong africaines, asiatiques et latino-américaines.

Comme convenu, le groupe de préparation des Rencontres de Cotonou s'est dissous. Il reste néanmoins à la disposition et à l'écoute de toutes demandes d'appui à un travail de renforcement de la concertation Nord/Sud.

Bernard Latarjet
Directeur général de la Fondation de France.

(1) L'ensembre des dossiers de préparation et de synthèse des Rencontres de Cotonou est disponible, sur demande, à la Fondation de France - 40 Avenue Hoche, 75008 Paris. L'introduction de Bernard Latarjet est reprise de la revue *Chroniques*, 53, juin 1991, éditée par la Fondation de France et le Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques (GRET).
(2) Fovad: Forum des Ong volontaires africaines du développement.
(3) Iggri: International Group for Grassroots Initiatives.
(4) Le groupe de Fazenda est une structure de concertation et de réflexion entre Ong latino-américaines.
(5) leva: Conseil international des agences bénévoles (CIAB) (International Council of Voluntary Agencies).

Recommandations des rencontres de Cotonou 9, 10 et 11 janvier 1991

Introduction

1. L'émergence dans plusieurs pays du Sud de différents mouvements sociaux (groupements "modernes", associations traditionnelles, secteur coopératif, etc.) qui, ces dernières années, ont uni leurs efforts et leurs expériences pour survivre et défendre leurs droits, a consolidé les sociétés civiles encore hésitantes. Les ONG du Sud ont porté sur la scène internationale la parole des pauvres, rejoignant ainsi ceux qui dans le Nord défendaient les exclus et les marginaux. Ce faisant, les ONG ont, au cours de cette décennie incarné, souvent avec bonheur, ce dialogue perdu depuis longtemps, précisément depuis Cancún, et la coopération entre le Nord et le Sud,

2. Elles ont suppléé certaines carences internationales, avec des moyens certes limités, mais avec détermination. C'est pour participer à, et conduire la redéfinition des relations entre ONG du Sud et ONG du Nord, compte tenu de leur évolution spécifique, de leurs exigences mutuelles et de l'évolution du contexte international, que les Rencontres de Cotonou ont été conçues et organisées. Elles sont une nouvelle étape d'une longue entreprise jalonnée par les rendez-vous précédents de Londres, de Santo Domingo et d'Arusha.

3. Cotonou a réaffirmé le principe d'un développement centré sur l'humain comme nécessité vitale pour l'ensemble de la communauté internationale car le Nord et le Sud forment un seul monde. Il en résulte l'urgente nécessité pour les ONG de s'organiser collectivement pour poursuivre avec davantage d'efficacité les tâches de sensibilisation et de mobilisation de contre-pouvoir et de développement qu'elles se sont données.

4. En s'opposant à l'ordre économique international actuel les ONG affirment que le développement se fera pour tous ou ne se fera pas. La préférence pour les exclus, les opprimés, les marginalisés, les pauvres, étant un objectif essentiel à ne pas perdre de vue.

5. Tâche d'autant plus délicate que la détérioration de l'image du Sud dans les opinions publiques du Nord oblige a un effort considérable d'information, de promotion, de valorisation, effort qui gagnerait à être concerté pour déboucher sur des actions communes.

Le moment semble venu d'initier et de conduire des changements dans les types de relations qui unissent ONG du Nord et du Sud (réciprocité dans les conditionnalités et pour certaines interventions).

6. Dans le même temps, l'horizon des ONG s'élargit:

a. L'évolution vers plus de démocratie implique un développement de la "société civile"et confère aux ONG de nouvelles responsabilités, leur ouvrant de nouvelles possibilités dans le développennment d'organisations de type associatif.
b. Le "modèle de développement" évolue, non seulement sous l'influence des organisations internationales, mais sous l'effet d'une profonde mise en cause des valeurs dominantes par l'apparition des mouvements féministes, écologistes, pacifistes.
c. La dépendance qui a dominé les trente dernières années se modifie, par ce que le Sud a de plus en plus accès à de multiples sources de financement et par ce que le rôle des ONG du Nord se transforme sous la pression de nouveaux besoins écononmiques et sociaux dans leurs pays comnme des nouvelles demandes du Sud.
d. Les relations binaires et hiérarchiques entre donateurs et bénéficiaires demeurent largement majoritaires. On observe toutefois une multiplication d'expériences, de relations négociées et multipolaires.
e. De même, si les relations strictement financières et momentanées dominent, on constate cependant des exemples de collaboration à long terme dont les projets ne sont que les moyens, non les fins.
f. La règle supposée d'apolitisme des ONG est contestée et un début de reconnaissance des caractères politiques du développement se fait jour.
g. Aux mesures de résultats strictement comptables et quantitatives commencent à se substituer des évaluations plus qualitatives (organisation des populations, niveau des formations, indice de développement humain, etc.)

7. C'est dans ce contexte que les recommandations qui suivent ont été retenues:

Recommandations

I. A l'objectif général de démocratisation, démocratisation qui ne saurait se limiter à des mécanismes de représentation formelle, mais implique indépendance politique, équité, justice, solidarité, les ONG doivent répondre par des actions spécifiques et bien déterminées. Elles doivent:

1. Mettre l'accent sur l'information et la formation comme facteurs essentiels de la démocratisation.

2. Favoriser l'accès des groupes de base aux circuits de l'information et encourager la participation de la population, notamment les plus défavorisées, aux processus de prise de décision.

3. Apporter leur soutien aux organisations et groupes sociaux représentatifs capables d'élaborer des politiques alternatives et de conduire des actions de changement par rapport à celles traditionnellement définies par les groupes dominants.

II. Dans cette perspective, le type de relation que les ONG nouent avec l'Etat a fait l'objet de larges échanges de vues. Comment concilier le souci d'un solide enracinement populaire, l'indispensable maintien de l'autonomie des ONG, le renforcement du tissu démocratique qui se structure ici et là, le rôle de contre-pouvoirs que nos organisations doivent continuer à exercer avec l'inévitable coopération avec l'Etat?

Les Rencontres de Cotonou ont insisté sur:

4. La nécessité d'identifier les fonctions propres aux ONG en vue d'éviter le piège de la tentation volontariste de se substituer à l'Etat.

5. Le souci de continuer à développer les réseaux propres des ONG en fonction de leurs besoins et nom sous l'influence des agences de financement internationales ou des services de l'Etat.

6. Le souci d'éviter l'instrumentalisation par l'Etat et par les institutions multilatérales tout en se réservant la possibilité d'analyser, voire de généraliser les expériences 'de contractualisation qui ont pu surgir ici et là.

III. Il est clair cependant que les rapports avec l'Etat ne sauraient être dissociés de ceux que les ONG peuvent entretenir avec la société civile. Les Rencontres de Cotonou ont souligmé l'action que les ONG doivent entreprendre pour promouvoir les sociétés civiles qui commencent à émerger et à se structurer dans de nombreux pays du Sud. La société civile incarne le peuple dans sa diversité, dans sa pluralité, lorsque ce peuple a pris conscience de son rôle et de sa mission. Pour aider à l'émergence ou au renforcement de la société civile, les ONG doivent comprendre et connaître la culture, l'environnement et les modes de pensée des masses populaires; elles doivent s'intégrer à la société civile pour l'aider à acquérir le pouvoir; non pas le pouvoir pour le pouvoir, mais le pouvoir en tant qu'instrument pour promouvoir le développement et l'épanouissement du plus grand nombre.

A cet égard, la mission des ONG est considérable:

7. Il s'agit, pour elles, de protéger, de renforcer, voire de régénérer la société civile.

8. De promouvoir et de susciter la participation populaire; de favoriser les échanges de peuple à peuple à tra-

vers l'éducation, la culture et, pourquoi pas, d'envisager l'élaboration d'une nouvelle pédagogie sinon d'une nouvelle culture.

9. De renforcer la solidarité dépassant les frontières et les limites que nous connaissons.

10. De travailler à une démocratie participative qui dépasse les frontières tout en respectant les cultures existantes.

11. D'œuvrer à l'émergence de projets culturels et sociaux mobilisateurs.

IV. Respect des cultures, renforcement de la solidarité, affirmation des identités renvoient inévitablement au regard que les partenaires se posent les uns sur les autres. • Les problèmes d'image deviennent à cet égard tout à fait essentiels. Comment renforcer, dynamiser l'action des ONG, qu'elles soient du Nord ou du Sud, si la production d'images faussées compromet les effort des uns, et entraîne le découragement des autres. Il est nécessaire de parvenir à des stratégies coordonnées de communication entre ONG du Nord et du Sud pour changer l'image de mort qui entoure le Sud, Sud qui est composé de peuples dynamiques.

12. D'accentuer l'effort de promotion des femmes et de leurs rôles dans les décisions et actions du développement.

13. L'action culturelle se révèle une fois de plus très importante; l'éducation au développement est essentielle et implique une critique des modèles actuels du développement.

14. Les ONG doivent s'y consacrer en ayant à l'esprit que la convergence d'intérêts entre groupes du Nord et du Sud est encore le meilleur support pour favoriser et soustendre les actions de mobilisation.

15. A cet égard, l'image de l'immigré joue un rôle capital. Le bon étranger étant celui qui est le plus loin possible, c'est également sur l'image de cet étranger, de cet immigré, qu'il convient de travailler. Cela est indispensable si l'on entend changer l'ensemble de la perception de l'autre.

16. Susciter des législations visant à rendre les images plus exactes, travailler sur des messages, lutter contre les préjugés véhiculés de part et d'autre, autant d'objectifs que l'on doit garder à l'esprit dans les actions de tous les jours.

V. Enracinement culturel, démocratisation, relation à l'Etat, communication sont, à la limite, des préalables à la question fondamentale du développement. C'est dans ce domaine que les ONG ont donné le meilleur d'elles-mêmes. Les Rencontres de Cotonou ne pouvaient donc pas passer ce thème sous silence: la dimension régionale et les aspects économiques du développement furent largement débattus.

L'objectif est de construire les interventions macroéconomiques autour des réalités micro dans une perspetive nationale, régionale et internationale.

Comment, par le *lobbying*, intervenir dans le processus d'élaboration des politiques économiques au plan national, régional et international?

17. Les réseaux d'information et de contacts doivent être renforcés entre Nord/Sud et Sud/Sud. Les ONG doivent opérer dans ce sens.

18. Elles peuvent aussi peser sur les gouvernements pour qu'interviennent des changements au profit des plus défavorisés.

19. Elles peuvent promouvoir le partenariat, influencer les institutions internationales, élargir les contacts de peuple à peuple.

20. Elles doivent se lancer hardiment dans le processus d'intégration régionale, parce que le développement isolé n'est plus possible. Les concepts de panafricanisme, d'unité d'Amérique centrale, d'unité des pays andins doivent intéresser les ONG.

21. Allant au-delà, les ONG doivent faire leurs certaines préoccupations comme les fondamentalismes religieux - qu'ils soient musulmans, chrétiens ou autres -, la discrimination a l'égard des femmes, l'environnement, le désarmement, etc.

VI. Dans ce monde réduit à un village planétaire, la coopération s'impose comme une incontournable réalité. Mais il faut en déterminer le mécanisme et en préciser les outils. Les ONG sont au cœur du processus de coopération. Les Rencontres de Cotonou ont donc tenu a approfondir tous les aspects de ce phénomène. Dans cette perspective, la question des expatriés et volontaies a été particulièrement soulignée. De nouvelles formes d'envois de volontaires et expatriés ont été explorées, leur mission de formation et d'information des opinions du Nord, à la fin de leur séjour, a retenu l'attention. Le rôle des volontaires et experts du Sud allant vers le Nord a été étudié.

Il a été convenu:

22. D'établir un mécanisme pour l'envoi des volontaires et experts du Sud vers le Nord et de fair en sorte que ces agences forment les volontaires comme éducateurs au développement.

23. De promouvoir des échanges Sud/Sud de volontaires.

24. De mettre en œuvre un meilleur système de concertation entre agences du Nord et du Sud en matière d'expertise et de volontariat.

A cet égard, il est clair que l'assistance technique doit comporter la solidarité, l'apprentissage mutuel et un effort systématique pour communiquer la réalité du Sud au Nord et du Nord au Sud

VII. L'un des aspects essentiels de l'action des ONG est le renforcement de leur capacité à peser sur les processus d'élaboration et de prise des décisions aux différents échelons de la vie national et internationale. ONG du Nort et ONG du Sud doivent donc identifier ensemble les thèmes et préoccupations communs à l'échelle planétaire, se donnant ainsi la possibilité de proposer des alternatives aux stratégies actuelles. Au plan local, elles sont appelées à renforcer leurs relations avec les mouvements de base, les organisations sociales et paysannes, les syndicats, etc. L'objectif est de renforcer la capacité des populations à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, de peser sur les centres de décision du Nord et du Sud.

La nécessité d'améliorer les relations de coopération Nord/Sud et de changer l'ordre économique international actuel doivent rentrer dans le champ d'action des ONG. Vaste programme qui appelle:

25. L'intensification des échanges Sud/Sud en matière de *lobbying*.

26. L'utilisation par les ONG du Nord de leur capacité de *lobbying* pour soutenir les ONG du Sud.

27. La mobilisation de ressources accrues pour le *lobbying*.

VIII. Les médias sont porteurs de paradigmes dominants, ils reflètent l'ordre mondial qui prévaut et les concepts de développement qui s'imposent.

Ils sont contrôlés par les pouvoirs du Nord et par les gouvernements au Sud où leurs activités ne concernent que rarement les masses rurales et illettrées. Trouver des solutions alternatives dans ce domaine est devenu impératif.

Les ONG n'ont pas toujours "accès" aux médias de manière appropriée. Leurs messages n'ont pas toujours été traduits de façon convenable. Il faut donc réagir et agir. Des possibilités existent, il faut les exploiter. Pour ce faire, il est nécessaire:

28. D'accorder une priorité à l'amélioration de la communication de la part des ONG.

29. D'amener le public à exiger une meilleure qualité de l'information et des reportages.

30. De convaincre ONG du Nord comme du Sud de la nécessité de faire appel aux journalistes professionnels intéressés au développement.

31. D'adapter les messages des ONG de manière à intéresser le public à leurs activités.

32. D'utiliser toutes les capacités des ONG du Nord pour véhiculer des informations politiques importantes en provenance des pays du Sud où la presse est sous le contrôle de l'Etat.

33. D'autre part, il est nécessaire de promouvoir tant au Sud qu'au Nord les réseaux de communication populaire alternatifs (journal, vidéo, radio populaire) qui permettent de faire passer les messages qui sont passés sous silence.

IX. Il se dégage des considérations précédentes qu'un partenariat renouvelé s'impose aujourd'hui. Les raisons et les motivations du partenariat doivent être claires. Quels sont les objectifs de développement poursuivis et dans quelle mesure les valeurs culturelles de chacun des partenaires sont comprises et respectées? Le partenariat implique aujourd'hui davantage que le seul financement. Spécifiquement, il requiert:

34. Une relation à long terme, caractérisée par un partage du pouvoir de décision et une transparence au niveau des méthodes et opérations.

35. L'éducation au développement, le partage de l'information, l'évaluation mutuelle des efforts multiformes accomplis.

36. L'indépendance financière pour les ONG du Sud par la multiplication des sources de financement conduisant à une plus grande affirmation dans des relations qui, au départ, étaient fondamentalement inégales.

La question du financement direct aux ONG du Sud a fait l'objet de nombreuses considérations. Si ce financement est un avantage, il comporte néanmoins quelques inconvénients (domestication des ONG du Sud, instrumentalisation par l'Etat, tendances à contourner les ONG du Sud pour traiter directement avec des organisations de base au Sud, etc.).

La tendance des gouvernements du Nord à financer directement des ONG du Sud en court-circuitant les ONG du Nord a de sérieuses implications sur la collectivité du développement dans son ensemble. Parmi ces implications: l'érosion de la crédibilité professionnelle des ONG du Nord qui annule les acquis politiques obtenus en ce qui concerne l'influence que ces ONG peuvent exercer sur leurs gouvernements et sur leurs sociétés, la réduction du concept de développement aux seuls transferts financiers.

X. La question du financement se pose ainsi dans toute sa complexité. Les circuits de l'argent étant ce qu'ils sont, il apparaît nécessaire de:

37. Créer un moyen de diffusion entre ONG de l'information sur l'accès aux diverses sources de financement existantes et sur les expériences concluantes de formes nouvelles de financement (mobilisation d'épargne, investissement et prises de participation générateurs de revenus provenant de la vente de biens et de services).

38. Développer progressivement les modes de soutien qui favorisent l'autonomie à terme des ONG et des projets, notamment par l'utilisation des "Fonds/Capitaux" préconisés par l'IRED.

39. Renforcer la capacité des ONG du Nord et du Sud, individuellement et collectivement, à négocier à partir de leurs priorités, objectifs et pratiques et sur la base d'échanges d'expériences, l'éventuel octroi de fonds aux ONG par les institutions financières internationales (Banque Mondiale, banques régionales de développement etc.)

40. Encourager les ONG du Sud, en particulier par l'intermédiaire de leurs coordinations nationales et régionales, à discuter des conditions dans lesquelles les projets de ces ONG pourraient être financés ou co-financés par l'argent public du Sud.

41. Développer, dans les échanges entre ONG du Nord et du Sud, les financements destinés au fonctionnement de ces ONG.

42. Développer les contrats d'engagement financier à long terme au détriment des aides ponctuelles et momentanées. Adapter corrélativement les méthodes de gestion en favorisant les évaluations en commun qui tiennent compte, non seulement des résultats quantitatifs, mais aussi des effets et des indices plus qualitatifs.

XI. Il reste pour conclure l'importante question du suivi. Les Rencontres de Cotonou ont créé un atelier spécifique. A cet effet, les recommandations suivantes ont été formulées:

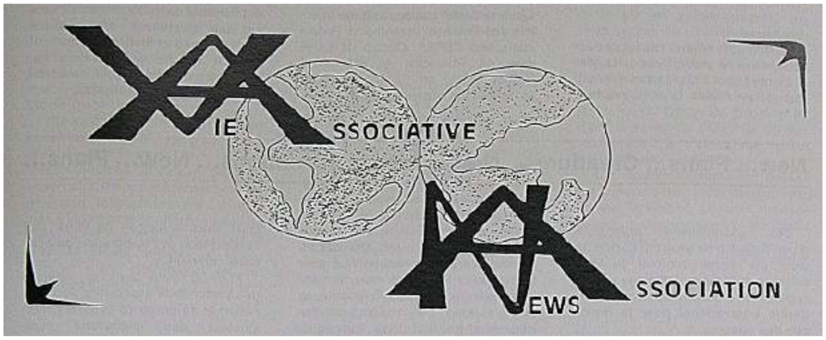
43. L'amélioration des relations Nord/Sud rend indispensable le renforcement des rapports Sud/Sud. A cette fin, une rencontre Sud/Sud devra être organisée. Il a été proposé que quatre représentants par continent soient élus et chargés de sa préparation.

44. Afin de renforcer les relations Sud/Sud, les réseaux existants au Sud - nationaux, régionaux et thématiques - devront être aussi financés par les ONG du Nord.

45. L'évaluation est un élément essentiel de telles rencontres. Elle doit être prévue dès leur organisation et le temps nécessaire réservé dans leurs programmes.

46. Le suivi et les prochaines étapes du dialogue devront approfondir en particulier:

- l'analyse des stratégies de développement et la critique des modes de croissamce économique précomisés par le Nord;
- les nouvelles "règles du jeu" entre ONG du Nord et du Sud;
- la mise en œuvre des recommandations adoptées à Cotonou.



Commonwealth NGOs

The Commonwealth NGO Forum of August 1991 at Harare was the first gathering of Commonwealth NGOs and also the first Commonwealth meeting with South African NGOs, represented by four leaders. The main theme of the Forum was the environmentally sustainable development; the two other themes were: collaboration in the Commonwealth, and NGOs in South Africa. Coming events, such as the Earth Summit in Brazil, spurred participants to raise the profile of NGO operations and provided the context for the wide spectrum of issues discussed. These ranged from civil liberties to patterns of consumption, poverty, education, population, women's role, technology choices and environmental legislation. The Forum called for greater community participation in development and a more real partnership of governments with NGOs, as a basis for safeguarding the interests of both nature and society.

(Commonwealth Currents, Oct-Nov 1991)

Accord de siège

Le gouvernement du Québec a signé un accord de siège avec l'AUPELF»UREF le 28 mai dernier à Montréal. M. Guy Rivard, ministre délégué à la francophonie, qui a paraphé cet accord au nom de son gouvernement, était accompagné d'un délégation gouvernementale québécoise comprenant notamment M. Bernard Auger, sous-ministre du Revenu, et M. Pierre Lucier, sous-ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur du gouvernement du Québec.

C'est M. Abdellatif Benabdeljlil, président de l'AUPELF UREF qui a signé l'accord pour l'Association en présence des vice-présidents du Conseil d'administration, MM. Arthur Bodson (Université de Liège), Moïse Oliveira (Université Omar Bongo), Régis Ritz (Université de Bordeaux III) et de M. Michel Guillou, directeur général de l'AUPELF et recteur de l'UREF.

En concluant cet accord, a indiqué le ministre Rivard, le premier du genre avec une OING œuvrant dans le domaine de la francophonie, le Québec souhaite contribuer, *«concrètement au maintien et à l'essor d'une de ces organisations internationales non gouvernementales»* qui est pour lui *« un partenaire très actif de la francophonie»*. A cet égard, le Québec consent certains avantages à l'AUPELF UREF pour faciliter l'accomplissement de son mandat et favoriser la consolidation de ses activités du Québec, comme il le fait déjà notamment pour l'Association du transport aérien international (IATA) ou la Société internationale de télécommunications aéronautiques (SITA) qui ont leur siège à Montréal.

La cérémonie de signature de l'accord s'est déroulée à l'occasion de la session du Conseil d'administration de l'AUPELF, Conseil de l'Université des réseaux d'expression française, tenue à Montréal et à Ottawa les 28 et 29 mai derniers.

A ce jour l'AUPELF UREF bénéficie d'un accord de siège avec les gouvernements du Québec (Direction générale de l'AUPELF, Rectorat de l'UREF et Bureau Amérique du Nord à Montréal), de Madagascar (Bureau Océan indien à Antananarivo), d'Ha'fti (Bureau Caraïbes à Port-au-Prince) et du Sénégal (Bureau Afrique à Dakar).

OIG-ONG

En vertu de l'article 77 du règlement de la CNUCED, trois ONG qui sollicitent leur admission dans la liste des ONG accréditées, ont été présentées à une telle admission, lors de la 38e session du Conseil de la CNUCED, en septembre 1991. Il s'agit de : International Express Carriers Conference (IECC), Liaison Committee of Development Non-Governmental Organizations to the European Communities, Institute of Chartered Shipbrokers.

UN Award

On the 20th of June 1991, UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar presented the 1991 United Nations Population Award to an American population leader and an Ecuadorian non-governmental organization.

Julia A. Henderson, a prominent American population and social development leader long associated with the United Nations and the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and CEPAR (Centro de Estudios de Población y Paternidad Responsable), an Ecuadorian non-governmental organization, are sharing the 1991 award,

The award is presented annually by the Committee of the United Nations Population Award to individuals and institutions that have made outstanding contributions to increasing the awareness of population problems and to their solutions.

Each of the two winners has received a diploma, a gold medal and a monetary prize of $10,000.

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

Des groupements artistiques d'une douzaine de pays ont décidé de créer un réseau informai de libre échange culturel et artistique et ont approuvé la création, a Leningrad, du Centre international pour le dialogue des cultures.

Les membres de la communauté artistique internationale et plus de 70 hauts dirigeants soviétiques se sont réunis à Leningrad (17-20 juin 1991), sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, pour discuter notamment de l'intérêt d'un Centre de dialogue culturel afin de tisser des liens avec les groupes artistiques étrangers et compenser le retrait progressif du soutien de l'Etat soviétique dans le domaine des arts.

Les participants ont publié un communiqué final, le Serment de l'Ermitage, par lequel *« ils s'engagent à tisser entre eux un solide réseau de solidarité et d'information concernant leurs projets réciproques afin de susciter des synergies et des co-productions».*

Le nouveau réseau devra pouvoir diffuser des idées neuves quatre fois par an dans des domaines tels que le financement des arts ou les échanges culturels.

Parmi les participants à cette réunion figuraient, entre autres, des représentants de l'Unité de la promotion des arts et de la créativité de l'UNESCO, de la Fondation Rockefeller (Etats-Unis), de la Coopération culturelle (Royaume-Uni), du Théâtre Stary (Pologne), de la Fondation Roberto Marinho (Brésil), du Musée Benois (URSS), du Centre national Indira Gandhi pour les Arts (Inde) et de la Maison des cultures du monde (France).

(Unesco presse)

At Khartoum, Sudan, 25-28 April 1991, the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference (PAIC) was held. A new formal body PAIC was duly formed, outstanding objectives it sought to achieve were the dressing of the wounds of the Gulf crisis, striving to bridge the gap of conflict and to assure the spirit of unity and collaboration among Arab and Islamic states. Detailed recommendations were released at the end of the conference.

The Popular Arab and Islamic Conference (PAIC) establish a General Secretariat headed by H.E. Dr. Hasan Abdullah al-Turabi, a former Minister of Sudan and a well-known Islamic leader, as the first Secretary-General. *(The Muslim World, 25* May 91)

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Onze associations européennes parmi les plus actives dans le domaine de l'éducation/formation se sont regroupées au sein d'un même Comité pour constituer «PLEASE», Comité permanent de liaison des associations européennes en éducation (Permanent Liaison Committee of European Associations in Education).

Les objectifs poursuivis par PLEASE sont: de créer une instance de concertation dans un esprit de complémentarité; d'être reconnu par les institutions européennes comme organe consultatif; d'organiser en collaboration avec les autres partenaires européens des activités visant à renforcer la dimension européenne dans l'éducation et ta formation; et de stimuler l'information.

PLEASE offre aux associations européennes membres un forum facilitant leurs échanges de vues, leur concertation et l'élaboration de positions communes.

PLEASE relaye donc les positions des partenaires associatifs de l'éducation et se présente comme l'interlocuteur des institutions européennes, Commission, Conseil, Parlement.

Les activités de PLEASE concerneront également la participation aux initiatives communes qui contribuent à la mise en œuvre de la dimension européenne dans l'éducation et la formation.

PLEASE s'est constitué, avec le support de la Task Force Ressources Humaines, Education, Formation de la Commission lors d'une réunion organisée à Louvain (Belgique) en novembre 1990.

Les associations, membres de PLEASE sont: AEDE - Association européenne des enseignants; EPA — Association européenne des chefs d'éablissement d'enseignement secondaire; ATEE = Association pour la formation des enseignants; CEEC = Comité européen de l'enseignement catholique; CESE - Société d'éducation comparée en Europe; COFACE - Confédération des organisations familiales de la C.E.; ECNAIS — Conseil européen des associations nationales des écoles indépendantes; EFEA - Forum européen pour l'administration de l'éducation; EURO ORIENTATION — Association européenne des servides de conseils en éducation.

Adresse: PLEASE c/o HEURAS: rue de la Concorde 51, 1050 Bruxelles.

(Task Force Ressources Humaines, juin 1991)

On 30 and 31 May 1991, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions convened a consultative meeting in Prague to examine various aspects connected with the establishment of an International Trade Union Centre for Labour Research and Studies.

The establishment of such a Research Centre was among the major proposals made at the 12th World Trade Union Congress.

The meeting recommended further consultations with national trade union organisations and labour research bodies on various practical aspects of the establishment of the proposed research centre. It was also suggested that efforts should be made to consult the organisations in order to create network of correspondents and contributors for the proposed Centre in all countries and regions.

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Les Annexes au *Moniteur Belge* du 17 octobre 1991 publient les statuts de Toy Manufacturers of Europe TME. Cette association qui bénéficie de la loi du 25 octobre 1919 a pour objet la sensibilisation de l'opinion publique et des institutions gouvernementales nationales et européennes, notamment dans le domaine de la responsabilité générale de l'industrie et de sa valeur pour les consommateurs. Le siège est établi à 8-1040 Bruxelles, rue Breydel 10.

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L'Académie européenne du cinéma et de la télévision, créée à Bruxelles vise l'étude, le développement et la divulgation de toutes questions relatives aux aspects artistiques, commerciaux, culturels, économiques, financiers, historiques, institutionnels, pédagogiques, syndicaux, techniques du cinéma et de la télévision dans l'ensemble et dans chacun des états du continent européen. Dans la mesure du possibile, il sera veillé à ce que chaque état européen et chaque branche ou secteur du cinéma et de la télévision soient reprémsentés parmi les membres associés et correspondants. Actuellement le conseil d'administration, élu pour 3 ans, comprend 11 personnalités de 8 pays différents. Le président est M. Freddy Buache (Genève), les vice-présidents MM. J-A. Barden (Madrid), Vittorio Storaro (Rome) et Robert Wangerrnée (Bruxelles). Le secrétaire permanent est M. Dimitri Balachoff (Bruxelles). Le siège est établi B-1210 Bruxelles, rue Verte 69.

(Annexes au *Moniteur Belge* du 24 octobre 91)

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Au cours de leur réunion des 19 et 20 septembre 1991 à Madrid, 12 grands parcs d'expositions européens de 8 pays différents ont décidé de créer une association sans but lucratif dénommée: Association des grands parcs d'expositions européens (European Major Exhibition Centres Association, EMECA).

Cette initiative, qui résulte de plus de deux ans de travaux en commun, marque l'étroite communauté de vue de ces parcs quant au rôle essentiel joué par les salons en Europe dans le développement économique et les échanges commerciaux internationaux.

A cet égard, ils sont convenus de la nécessité d'échanger leurs expériences techniques respectives et de mener des actions conjointes dans les domaines de leur compétence.

EMECA sera amenée notamment à développer ses contacts avec la Communauté européenne et à nouer d'étroites relations avec les instances internationales concernées par l'activité des salons (particulièrement l'UFI (Union des foires internationales), l'IFES (International Federation for Exhibition Services) et les autres associations regroupant les parcs d'expositions dans d'autres régions du monde.

Le développement de ses activités amènera EMECA à lancer, notamment, les études nécessaires à l'amélioration des services techniques offerts par les parcs d'expositions européens, au bénéfice des entreprises exposantes, des visiteurs professionnels et, finalement, de celui des consommateurs européens.

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Le 11 octobre 1991, le «Centre européen pour le développement de la formation professionnelle» (CEDEFOP) de Berlin et la « Fondation européenne pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail» de Dublin ont ouvert ensemble leurs nouveaux locaux à Bruxelles. Leur adresse commune: avenue d'Auderghem 18-20, B-1040 Bruxelles.

Le même jour, les deux bureaux se sont réunis pour la première fois à Bruxelles. L'entretien a porté sur l'échange d'expériences entre les deux uniques institutions communautaires où les gouvernements, les employeurs, les travailleurs et ta Commission travaillent sur un pied d'égalité. M. Purkiss, directeur de la Fondation de Dublin, a participé à la dernière réunion du Conseil d'administration du Centre de Berlin et M. Piehl, directeur du CEDEFOP de Berlin, assistera à la prochaine réunion de la Fondation de Dublin.

Les deux institutions ont engagé les préparatifs d'élaboration des lignes directrices de leurs activités pour la nouvelle période quadriennale 1993-1996.

(Communiqué)

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Des personnes issues principalement du milieu éducatif (enseignants et animateurs) ont créé une association internationale selon la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919 intitulée Volontariat international femmes éducation développement (VIDES) qui a pour but la promotion et les études concernant le droit de la femme dans les pays en voie de développement L'association s'intéresse également aux programmes en faveur des jeunes marginaux. Le conseil d'administration comprend 14 personnes de 8 pays différents, tous européens. Le siège est établi B-1090 Bruxelles, chaussée de Wemmel 98B.

(Annexes au *Moniteur Belge* du 24 octobre 1991)

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Structural Engineering International: tel est le titre de la nouvelle revue de l'Association internationale des ponts et charpentes (AIPC). Elle paraît quatre fois par an : en février, mai, août, et novembre. Le premier numéro, publié en février 1991, présente, en six rubriques différentes, divers sujets d'intérêt pour les ingénieurs civils concernés dans des activités internationales. Le siège de l'AIPC se trouve en Suisse: ETH-Hönggerberg, CH-8093 Zurich.

(Communiqué)

ASSOCIATIONS TRANSNATIONALES
TRANSNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Some items in récent issues: *Parmi les thèmes traités récemment:*	Issue number: *Numéros:*
The recognition of the legal personality of INGOs *La reconnaissance de la personnalité Juridique des OING*	3/1986, 3/1990. *5/1990*, 6/1990.
Latin American Assocations *Les associations latino-américaines*	6/1986, 6/1989. 3/1990.
INGOs tomorrow *L'avenir des OING*	3/1987, 1/1990.
INGOs' vision of education for Peace *L'éducation pour la paix selon les OING*	6/1987, 3/1989.
New social movements *Les nouveaux mouvements sociaux*	1 /1988, 6/1989. 1 /1990, 3/1990.
Cooperatives in today's world *Les coopératives dans le monde contemporain*	3/1988,1/1990. 5/1990.
Voluntary work *Le travail volontaire*	2/1989,3/1990. 4/1990, 6/1990.
Cooperation between INGOs and IGOs (Unesco. World Bank. EEC, ...) *La coopération entre tes OING et les OIG (Unesco- Banque mondiale. CEE, ...)*	2/1990. 3/1990 2/1991.
INGOs' view of environmental problems *Les OING et les problèmes écologiques*	3/1989, 4/1989. 1/1990.
Humanitarian aid *L'aide humanitaire*	2/1988,6/1989, 4/1990.
Europe 1993	5/1990, 6/1990, 4/1991.
Language in a transnational perspective *Langage et transnationalité*	1/1991.
Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa *Au-delà de l'Etat: la société civile en Afrique*	3/1991 3/1991
NGOs and the Replication Trap *Les ONG et le piège de l'essaimage*	4/1991

Forthcoming topics:
Dans les prochains numéros:

- Simultaneous Translation in International Congresses.
  L'interprétation simultanée dans les congres internationaux.
- Civic Associations in Society
  Les *associations dans la société*
- Social change in Eastern and Central Europe
  L'évolution sociale en Europe centrale et orientale

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