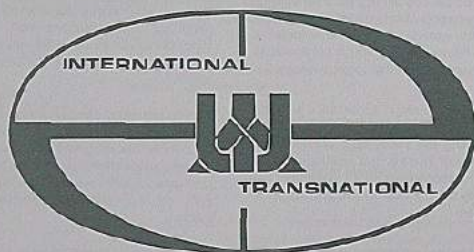


TRANSNATIONAL

ASSOCIATIONS

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Beyond the Earth Summit

Les organisations paysannes européennes
et la politique agricole commune

1992 - n° 5

The review of international
associations and meetings

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43rd year

43^{ème} année

This publication, produced by the UAI, appears six times a year.

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

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

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

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

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1992 - N° 5

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Beyond the Earth Summit

The Outcome Of Rio

by Nitin Desai *

How does one evaluate an event like Rio without using phrases like « unprecedented », « historic », « largest ever»? It is not an easy task because UNCED was all of these things, whether one looks at the number of Heads of Government/State present, the size of the official delegations, the level and spread of NGO involvement, the scale of the related activities like the Global Forum or the extent of media presence and interest. The fact that so vast and complex an event could be put together and run smoothly (with of course a few nervous moments on the way) is itself a major success — a success due, in large part, to the leadership, dedication and organisational skills provided by the Government of Brazil, the Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro and of the city itself, the relevant organisations from the United Nations Secretariat in Geneva and New York, the International Facilitating Committee and the Brazilian NGO-Forum who put together the '92 Global Forum and many voluntary organizations too numerous to list here.

The organisational effort that went into this great event was only a means to a greater end, best summarised in the words of the Earth Pledge, "I pledge to act to the best of my ability to help make the Earth a secure and hospitable home for present and future generations". What has Rio done to help us all fulfil this pledge?

What did Rio do?

First, it has secured a set of agreements between Governments which mark a significant advance in international cooperation on development and environment issues.

* Deputy Secretary-General of Environment and Development. Reprinted from *Network* 92.18, June-July 1992, The Centre for our Common Future and the IFC.

Second, it has secured political commitment to these agreements at the highest level and placed the issue of sustainable development at the heart of the international diplomatic agenda.

Third, it has opened new pathways for communication and cooperation between official and non-official organisations working towards developmental and environmental ends.

Fourth, it has led to an enormous increase in public awareness of the issues that were tackled in the process.

All of these elements are inter-linked — the action programmes, the political commitment, the open and transparent processes and the public awareness reinforce each other. Together, they constitute a significant first step in the transition to sustainable development.

The official agreements consist basically of five parts — the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda-21 including the agreements on the means of implementation, the Declaration of Principles on Forests, the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the Convention on Biological Diversity.

The Rio declaration

The Rio Declaration is important because of the acceptance of certain principles which should inform the transition to sustainability. It clearly places human beings at the centre of things, enunciates the right to development and includes clear statements of the polluter-pays principle and the precautionary principle as well as the principle of shared but differentiated responsibility. These and the other principles included in this Declaration provide the basis for the programmes of international cooperation included in Agenda-21.

Agenda 21

The centrepiece of the agreement emerging from Rio is clearly Agenda-21 — a very broad-based programme of action covering developmental and environmental issues, not separately, but in an integrated fashion and in a series of specific programmes presented in a relatively standardized way. The real strength of Agenda-21 is that it reflects a global consensus and is not a document of experts but of Governments, carefully negotiated by them paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence. The negotiations leading up to this output may have seemed tedious, but they were essential since the effectiveness of any such cooperative programme of action depends on its willing acceptance by all partners, an acceptance that could only be secured if all have had a full opportunity to reflect their concerns, their priorities, and their objectives in this document.

The second feature of Agenda-21, that is worth stressing, is that it really does seek to integrate environment and development, if one looks at the specific programmes included in the Agenda, it is difficult to clearly label many of them as either environmental or as developmental because, within the same programme, both sets of concerns are met. In fact, a crucial part of the evolution of the processes that led to Rio was the integration of what were initially seen as different sets of problems into a common set of solutions. This can be seen more clearly in the programmes dealing with the issues of poverty, land, freshwater and forests. Such an integration of environment and development, even more than the need to reflect the priorities of countries at different stages of development, is what underlies the breadth and range of the programmes included in Agenda-21. This is why the Conference could not limit itself, as some would have liked, to a few so called "high-priority" issues at the expense of others.

The programmatic part of Agenda-21 begins with international economic issues. Sustainable development is clearly difficult to pursue unless a supportive international climate really addresses the issues of a reverse flow of resources out of developing countries, terms of trade, market access and many others which are the subject of active discussion and negotiation in other forums. The principle contribution of Agenda-21 in this area is to draw the connection between these issues and the broader issue of sustainable development. In certain cases, UNCED advanced the discussion of basic principles a little further, for instance in the case on the discussion on trade and the environment. In this respect, the Earth Summit has helped secure a commitment to pursue constructive responses in other forums where active negotiations are taking place.

The conceptual core of Agenda-21 is contained in the programme areas dealing with poverty, consumption patterns and demographic pressures. The objectives included in these programme areas represent the hard core of the transition to sustainability. In the case of poverty, Agenda-21 essentially seeks to combine two strands of development action: one strand which focuses attention essentially on improving the access of the poor to the resources that they require for survival and development, and the other strand which focuses on the management of natural resources. In essence, what is argued is that these two strands need to be woven together so that anti-poverty programmes have in them an element of resource management and, vice-versa, that resource management pro-

grammes include in them an element of improved access to these resources by the poor.

In essence, what we have in Agenda-21 is a commitment to an important strategic thrust, which will have to be spelt out in the form of specific programmatic initiatives at the sectoral and the country-level. With regard to consumption patterns, what is included in Agenda-21 marks the recognition that there is a problem which needs to be addressed and some first steps towards assessment of that problem. Agenda-21 also includes programmes which deal with the issue of demographic developments and the pressures which they could pose for the environment. In this case, the programme involves significant commitments which go beyond assessment into specific actions. These core programme areas — poverty, consumption patterns, and demographic pressures — have to provide the organising principle for the further development of Agenda-21.

The sectoral programmes in Agenda-21 can be grouped in a variety of ways. The major group of programmes are those relating to land, water and biotic management in developing countries — programmes which are closely linked both to the fundamental developmental objective of removing poverty and to environmental management. These are the programmes where the integration of environment and development is most obvious.

In terms of areas, Agenda-21 includes programmes specifically addressing the problems of fragile ecosystems in deserts and drought-prone areas, mountain areas, coastal areas and small islands. The programmes for agriculture and rural development, and for water resource development seek to combine a basic developmental concern with sound environmental management. Agenda-21 also includes an elaborate series of programmes dealing with the development and conservation of forest resources.

Another group of programmes of great interest and concern in developing countries are those dealing with human settlements. Agenda-21 includes an ambitious programme of action in these areas, a programme which depends critically on the adequate availability of resources for this purpose. Closely linked to this are programmes for basic services like health, which draws on the work done by the Commission on Health and Environment of the World Health Organisation (WHO), and education, which goes beyond just a discussion on environmental education to a reaffirmation of the commitments made at the Jomtien Conference on Education.

One area where Agenda-21 has made a major effort at weaving together many separate strands of programmatic work is in the case of oceans. Here, the Agenda-21 programmes, taken together, represent an integrated strategy for the sound management of oceans, regional seas and enclosed seas. A major issue in this area was how to resolve difficulties relating to marine resources in the high seas, particularly straddling fish stocks and highly migratory species. There is now a commitment to establish a regime for this and other issues.

The programme areas dealing with toxic chemicals and hazardous wastes build on existing initiatives and essentially involve incremental improvements to strengthen information exchange, assessment and liability.

In two crucial areas, the Agenda-21 programmes are in the form of supports for negotiated agreements and Conventions. These two areas are atmosphere and biodiversity. In the case of the programme on atmosphere, the

orientation of Agenda-21 is very much towards supporting the Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol as modified by the London Guidelines on Ozone and, in the case of transboundary air pollution, more towards the prospect of future agreements, however, it is not possible to view issues in this sector in isolation, entirely in terms of their environmental effects. What is done with regard to energy or industrial management in order to meet commitments entered into in the Conventions negotiated on climate or ozone layer depletion is also relevant for many other environmental problems. Agenda-21 includes an effort to try identify and provide for these linkages.

In the case of biodiversity, the programmatic support included in Agenda-21 is closely tied to the nature of the commitments made in the Convention on the same subject. A related area is biotechnology, where there is no Convention and where Agenda-21 includes a major effort at programme development both on the promotion and use of biotechnology as well as on biosafety and risk management.

The programmes included in Agenda-21 are of course, not written in tablets of stone. They vary in the degree to which they are fully specified for immediate action. In certain cases, the specification of activities is sufficiently detailed to permit a relatively quick start to implementation. In other cases, more work has to be done in order to shape these programmes into proposals ready for action.

The implementation of Agenda-21

Agenda-21 includes, within itself, agreements on the means required for the implementation of these programmes, the most crucial of which relate to the provision of financial resources, technology transfer and related issues like capacity-building and institutional development.

The transition to sustainable development clearly involves major changes in the way in which we look at our use of nature. This is a complex exercise and one of its component relates to scientific cooperation in order to better understand the interactions between humans and nature, technology transfer to make the environmentally friendly technologies which could become available more accessible and, above all, building up technical and institutional capacity in all countries for the implementation of Agenda-21. These issues have received a great deal of systematic attention in the UNCED process and are now reflected in a series of programmes that make up three chapters of Agenda-21. In many ways, the successful implementation of Agenda-21 requires that these cross-cutting programme areas, which deal with the knowledge base for sustainability, should receive the most consistent and systematic attention at national, regional and international levels.

The implementation of Agenda-21 programmes would clearly involve costs, which must be seen in the context of what would be the consequences of inaction. It is equally clear that developing countries will require new and additional financial resources, without which it would be difficult for them to fully implement their commitments. Such a flow of new resources will serve the common interests of both the developed and developing countries.

Financial commitments

At Rio, developed countries reaffirmed their commitments to reach the accepted target of 0.7% of Gross National Product (GNP) for Official Development Assistance (ODA) and to augment their aid programmes in order to reach this target as soon as possible. Some countries have agreed to reach the target by the year 2000. This particular affirmation by the developed countries needs to be further defined in terms of specific commitments so that the enhanced aid flows to developing countries are predictable and provide a sound basis for long-term planning.

Agenda-21 has proposed the use of all available funding sources and mechanisms. Amongst these is the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank, and it was recommended that special consideration should be given to the statement made by the President of the World Bank at the Conference, a statement which put forward the idea of an « earth increment » to the tenth replenishment of IDA. The provision of additional funding through IDA, particularly for anti-poverty programmes and related areas of sustainable development, is vital for the effective fulfilment of Agenda-21. In many ways the tenth replenishment of IDA is a test of the credibility of the commitments made in Rio.

Other financial mechanisms indicated in Agenda-21 include the Global Environmental Facility (GEF). Arrangements now need to be finalized for the proposed restructuring of this facility including universal participation, transparency, flexibility in expanding its scope and coverage, and predictability in the flow of funds without new forms of conditionality.

Depending on existing mechanisms is not enough. It is important that the future programme for the Commission on Sustainable Development (see below) and other relevant bodies should include exploration of such innovative methods of financing as: use of fiscal incentives, tradeable emission permits and the use of private funds.

The Commission on Sustainable Development

The centrepiece of the institutional recommendations of the Conference at the international level is the proposed high-level Commission on Sustainable Development. Much will depend on how this Commission is constituted, how its work process evolves and how successful it is in maintaining an open and transparent process that ensures a high degree of public attention to its work.

This Commission has to be envisaged as a focal point of inter-governmental decision-making for the integration of the environmental and developmental goals outlined in Agenda-21. Its task is to review and monitor Agenda-21, but it has to be a future-oriented organisation which can maintain the political momentum of the spirit of Rio using the dynamic and adaptable nature of Agenda-21 itself. The precise shape of this Commission has yet to be decided and will be considered in detail only at the 47th Session of the UN General Assembly this fall.

UNCED's most significant outcome

At Rio the world saw a remarkable collection of countries and constituencies, of organisations which operate at all levels from the smallest village to the globe as a whole, of the immense range and variety in concern and competence. There were, of course, differences between the thousands who were there in Rio but, what was most impressive, was that in their own way, each of these individuals and organisations played a vital role in reminding

the world of the need for a commitment to a common future. This was possible very much because of the tremendous effort of mobilisation mounted by a very large number of Non-Governmental Organisations. In this sense, the Earth Summit has to be seen not just in terms of its substance, but also as a process. Undoubtedly, no individual or organisation who participated in this process will be the same. To have demonstrated that an open, transparent and universal process can achieve results is perhaps the most significant outcome of the UNCED process.

Whither The Road From Rio?

by Ravi Sharma *

Now that the UNCED is over, the question is whether it will make any difference. The answer is virtually none in the short term. No decisive steps have been taken to encourage trade in goods that are produced sustainably or to build true environmental costs into the agricultural and industrial production process. This leaves the current economic paradigm untouched.

The measures that were agreed, and the financial commitments made, were so modest that the critics can convincingly argue that UNCED was not cost effective.

Nonetheless, the two Conventions and a monitoring mechanism with the creation of the Sustainable Development Commission is likely to force the governments to face the difficult questions of how to make the industrial and agricultural operations sustainable. But this can only be done if their voters continue prodding them.

Role of NGOS

The involvement of NGOs at UNCED represented a watershed on so far as enlarging the decision-making process at the international level was concerned. It was also a turning point in bringing NGOs closer to the workings of the national governments.

Still, these trends need to be reinforced and made lasting since most of the changes expected from UNCED never took shape despite the NGO lobbying.

A cause for the minimal effectiveness of NGO lobbying in UNCED was the dormant role played by most Third World NGOs. These NGOs either reacted to what their Northern counterparts were saying or simply subscribed to existing beliefs, rarely developing or explaining their own solutions or candidly lobbying the governments.

Many of these NGOs were uninformed of the intricacies of the UNCED process and were prone to take abstract

theoretical stands reluctant to discuss specific costs and benefits for fear of being unable to evaluate others' arguments.

The Roots of the Future NGO Conference held in Paris last year was unanimous in that UNCED's success will depend primarily on the level of follow-up activities.

Analyzing the Paris NGO Conference document Agenda Ya Wananchi and the alternative NGO treaty process in Rio, the following NGO responses can be emphasized for the post-UNCED work :

Increase national and international accountability

Component NGOs can induce countries further along the continuum of commitment and compliance within the various agreements made in Rio.

NGOs can play an active role, using information from formal international meetings and public statements made by government officials to embarrass and criticise a country's national policy. This will help build public pressure which may overwhelm industries' and governments' resistance.

Create opportunities for magnifying public pressure

UNCED has successfully created the necessary external demand for effective domestic action. However, for politicians to take action internal pressure by their own constituents has to be strengthened and made effective. This requires NGOs to help remove the perceived biases generally associated with external influence and to promote a positive attitude by highlighting uncomplicated examples on how national environmental goals can be realised.

* Environment Liaison Centre International. This article is reprinted from *Ecoforum*, May-June 92.

Articulate grassroots knowledge of sustainability in policy terms

UNCED has drawn attention to the difficulties that the governments face in overcoming problems requiring collective action, especially concerning natural resource management. Since governments have been the key players in the process, UNCED has also reinforced the process of centralisation of power at the expense of decision making at the local level. In countries in the South where natural resource management is a result of complex interaction between communities and their environment, this drain of decision making power away from local communities is a critical loss.

The present self-reliant and community development programmes are the best living examples on the ground which show alternatives to the current debate on environment. These examples show how the harmonious relationship between nature and communities can be recaptured at the local level without the adverse effects of the existing global industrial economy.

This political space at the grassroots' level to try alternatives to the current industrial model must be preserved by strengthening and sharing information. For example, ideas about alternative pest management, solar energy, low cost housing and materials, rainwater harvesting sys-

tems, people's banks and exploring alternative marketing channels etc. need to be combined to illustrate a model of sustainable lifestyles.

Promote open-ended knowledge creation to develop alternative models for international economic decision-making

New models for international economic relations have to be evolved and it is unlikely that governments will succeed in doing this in the short or medium terms. Governments are divided because of conflicting interests and competition and are inclined to wait until action is unavoidable. New ideas concerning trade often do not get a fair chance to mature in governmental and intergovernmental institutions in which dominant ideas reflect the established links between state and trade-interested parties.

The specific recommendations in the Agenda Ya Wanchi and debates in alternative treaty meetings in Rio have demonstrated that non-governmental actors can be more skilful in bridging gaps across borders and are therefore more likely to come up with alternative models. However, to accomplish this task they need to go beyond the stage of reflecting on current developments in the UN and Breton Woods institutions.

14 Incredible days in June:

*An Overview of the '92 Global Forum **

They came from some 171 countries, representing over 9,000 organizations — 29,000 participants, some 9,000 of them registered as journalists and 450,000 visitors.

Statistically that was the 92 Global Forum. But the numbers only go part way in conveying the diversity, the enormity, the substance and the mood of this impressive event. The media resorted to previously coined phrases; ecological Woodstock, a world fair. Their language failed the creativity to be found in the 92 Global Forum, creativity in overcoming the formidable barriers to participation in UNCED, and creativity in searching for new solutions to the world's environmental problems.

There were some 350 scheduled "meetings" put on as part of the '92 Global Forum, most of them in the 35 special temporary structures that were erected for the purpose in Flamengo Park. But many of the meetings were also held in the 48 auditoria located throughout downtown Rio de Janeiro that were also a part of the '92 Global Forum. Many of these encounters — which involved sectors as diverse

as women, indigenous peoples, youth, scientists, business people, academics, inter-faith groups, traditional NGOs, artists, governmental organizations and many others — were sub-divided into sub-meetings; so the final number of substantive, organized discussions held between and among the sectors was closer to 1,000 over the 14 days of the Forum.

Meanwhile, virtually all 700 exhibition booths set up in Flamengo Park ended up being used to showcase an incredible variety of products, services and project information from some 500 Organizations.

The thousands of journalists who registered at the Forum's International Press Centre (IPC) turned their cameras, video recorders and tape machines loose on the very great variety of human biodiversity in Flamengo Park and produced one of the biggest media blitzes ever to come out of Brazil.

Every major world network and publication — as well as many others — were in Rio to report about the UNCED conference, held 40 kilometres out of town at the RioCentro convention centre. But they found many of their best stories within the '92 Global Forum. « Sustainable development» has never got so much air and publication time before.

* Reprinted from *Network '92*, The Centre for Our Common Future and the IPC, June-July 1992.

The problem for the press, and for everyone else, was the sheer number and variety of the programmed and spontaneous activities that were taking place. The '92 Global Forum's Official Calendar alone ran to 168 pages!

It all began on the afternoon of June 2 when the '92 Global Forum held its opening Ceremony on Flamengo Beach, in the shadow of the Sugar Loaf Mountain. The Gaia, a replica Viking ship sailing to Rio from Norway via the East coast of the US, the Caribbean and South America, arrived on schedule, carrying six children and a cargo of messages from other children from around the world to pass to 104 heads of state who were due to attend the Earth Summit.

Meanwhile, in the park and around town, serious business, was underway as part of the '92 Global Forum. The International Forum of NGOs and Social Movements permanently occupied the Hotel Gloria Convention Centre main conference room as well as eight meeting structures in Flamengo Park. At the end of the 14 days, they issued a series of 32 alternatives draft treaties to the UNCED process.

The International Facilitating Committee held its « Inter-Sectoral Dialogue» in Flamengo Park to stimulate cross-sectoral discourse of the UNCED issues. The Planeta Femea structure, the largest of the '92 Global Forum «tents», was busy morning, noon and night, usually at full capacity (1,500) with dozens of women's organizations from around the world developing strategies on UNCED related matters.

A jam-packed Japan People's Centre provided a sounding board during 14 days for Japanese groups who have emerged as a leading lobby in the UNCED process. Indigenous peoples from around the world used one of the Flamengo Park structures and a downtown auditorium for their work. They also created a mini-marketplace from their exhibition booths.

Over at the IPC, nearly 100 news conferences were held during the period, including those on the '92 Global Forum's own funding problems; which were solved through an 11th hour fund raising public appeal.

Some 40 keynote speakers took the floor in Structure 21 as part of the successful Open Speakers Forum, often to standing-room — only crowds. People who spoke at the Open speaker's Forum included : Jacques Cousteau, Ashok Khosla (president of Development Alternatives in India), Ted Turner (owner of Turner Broadcasting System and CNN), US Senator Albert Gore (now candidate for vice-President of the US), Brazilian Federal Deputy Fabio Feldmann, Martin Holdgate (director of IUCN), Gilberto Gil (Brazilian singer/musician and environmentalist) , Akiko Domoto (Japanese Parliamentarian), and Chief Oren Lyons (American Indigenous leader).

The imposing copper-leaved Tree of Life, idealized by the UK's Jonathon Porritt and created by scenic artist Peter Avery, stood magnificently in the middle of the park, serving as a reminder that the rest of the world had expectations of Rio. It was the backdrop for the visits of world leaders and celebrities who made their own pledges to act for a better world. They joined an estimated 1.2 million anonymous individuals who sent in pledges as well, which were dutifully tacked up on nearby trellises, demonstrating the deep-felt, world wide current of concern for the debate at the Earth Summit.

Religious groups of many denominations gathered on the evening of June 4-5 for an all-night ecumenical peace

vigil which attracted thousands of visitors, including the Dalai Lama, each night at sundown hundreds of participants and visitors would fill the park's amphitheatre to watch the multi-media shows that formed the electric Evening Series in the Park performing arts sequence.

At the Rio de Janeiro State Assembly building, three days debate by world parliamentary and spiritual leaders culminated in the announcement of the creation of an «International Green Cross».

The problems of street children and youth in general were addressed by workshops, games, debates and discussion at structure 1, the Future Forum. Nearby, the State of Sao Paulo erected a big circus tent where rehabilitated street kids performed, part of the state's award-winning program to give these children new hope and new skills.

Business representatives to the '92 Global Forum could choose from a number of events, including the International Network of Environmental Management's (INEM) series of workshops and symposia on implanting sustainable development solutions in small and medium-sized companies. In addition, Third World poverty and sustainable development problems were tackled by a number of different organizations.

There were several means of communication between the '92 Global Forum and the official UN conference taking place many kilometres away. Many mornings during the two weeks of the '92 Global Forum, participants had a chance to watch a live teleconference link originating at RioCentro (the site of UNCED) and shown at the video wall in Flamengo Park. This teleconference was conducted by the Forum's Rachel Kyte and focused on the issues that were up for consideration at UNCED on the day. Computer networking is growing in importance and this became clear at the '92 Global Forum. The Together Foundation showed TogetherNet. The Brazilian information clearinghouse IBASE set up a hi-tech NGO Communication Centre (NCC) at the Hotel Gloria providing inter-active electronic messaging; as did the Digital Equipment Corporation. The two systems linked Flamengo Park, the Hotel Gloria, the IPC and RioCentro and allowed for a two-way flow of news between all venues;

All in all, the Earth Summit and the '92 Global Forum provided an information overload that will take years to sort out. As many commentators, including Maurice Strong, pointed out, the Earth Summit and the Global Forum were much more a beginning than an end of a process. The large number of individuals and groups who were in Rio as part of the '92 Global Forum are the clearest demonstration possible that, as the Forum's own mid-event fundraising slogan expressed it, «Together, We Will Make it Happen».

Some of the statistics that emerged after the event are equally impressive, over 7,000 still photographs, 700 hours of raw video and film footage, reports and documentation from the myriad events, and a database including the names and addresses of all those who were there. This has been called the '92 Global Forum legacy, but perhaps the greatest legacy will emanate from the small groups of people sitting on patches of grass in the park, or in the corners of overheated structures. They met on issues as diverse as eucalyptus plantation, indigenous land rights, women's health, etc... These dedicated people from all over the world, sharing experiences and committing to work together, will undoubtedly help turn UNCED from words to action.

NGO Strategies on the Road from Rio

by Pamela Chasek

The Earth Summit is over. The 114 Heads of State who came to Rio de Janeiro to address the world have gone home. The diplomats from 178 countries, representatives from 1,600 non-governmental organisations and countless members of the press who were in RioCentro during UNCED have returned from whence they came. Many have asked, «What has this all accomplished?» Is the planet better off than it was before the Summit? Was the Earth Summit just a forum for world leaders, ministers and diplomats to put their «ecological» face forward before going home to resume the status quo?

No matter how you assess what happened in Rio de Janeiro, it is up to local and national NGOs to remind their governments of the need to fulfil the commitments they made in Rio and to continue to work together to ensure that Agenda-21 is implemented.

During the two-week UN Conference on Environment and Development, governments signed five major agreements. For example, 154 governments signed the Climate Change Convention, a treaty aimed at slowing warming. A similar number signed the Biodiversity Convention, which is aimed at protecting diversity in plant and animal species. At the closing ceremonies on 14 June, delegates to the Conference signed three additional non-binding agreements. Agenda-21 (a blueprint for sustainable development into the 21st century), the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (27 principles on environment and development), and the Statement of Forest Principles, (a statement that calls for «multiple use» of the world's forests). Although the latter three agreements are «non-binding», so that governments are not legally obligated to fulfil the commitments in these agreements, many NGOs from around the world have indicated that they will pressure their governments to uphold these agreements and their pledges. Nevertheless, «pressuring governments» is not the only role for NGOs. It is important to realize that most of these agreements will not be effectively implemented without the active participation of NGOs. Governments have proven that they cannot do it alone.

The road from Rio is filled with many opportunities for environment and development NGOs to work at the local, national and international levels to promote ecologically-sound development. Organizations must now examine the final text for Agenda-21 and the other agreements to determine the best ways to implement them. On the local level, NGOs should continue doing what they do best: working

with their constituencies on local projects. «Think globally, act locally» is definitely the guiding principle here. Teaching sustainable agriculture to colonists in the Amazon, providing funding and technical expertise for fresh water and sanitation in Bangladesh, or tree-planting campaigns in Kenya — these activities represent the core of Agenda-21. Without the work of NGOs with technical expertise and local knowledge, governments will simply not be able to implement Agenda-21.

Still, it is important for NGOs at the national level to continue to pressure their governments into supporting projects that encourage sustainable development and to reassess unsustainable projects. This means that the people along India's Narmada River must continue to make their voices heard in protest against the Sardar Sarovar dam. These protests have recently led to a re-examination of the project by the World Bank;

In the United States it is essential that local and national organisations hold President Bush accountable for his actions in Rio. Bush refused to sign the Biodiversity Convention, saying that US «efforts to protect biodiversity will exceed the requirements of the treaty». Yet the administration's decision to allow logging in the habitat of the endangered spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest clearly contradicts this pledge. US environmental organisations should be working together to ensure that not only is the national Endangered Species Act strengthened, but that the US signs the Biodiversity convention.

On the international level, there are different challenges for NGOs. Through continued NGO networking, pressure on governments at home, and pressure on international organisations, the promise of sustainable development on an international scale can be fulfilled. One of the major achievements of the UNCED process was the tremendous increase in NGO networking. The exchange of information, ideas and strategies will, hopefully, improve the effectiveness of NGOs in all sectors. However, this networking must continue. Just because the Earth Summit is over doesn't mean it's time to cancel your subscription to GreenNet or EcoNet. Although many NGOs cannot afford to travel to international conferences, the computer networks provide a comparatively inexpensive way to continue networking and strategizing with NGOs around the world. At home, NGOs must put pressure on their governments to ratify international conventions, such as the Climate Change and Biodiversity Conventions.

At the international level, NGOs will continue to have an opportunity to influence future UN environment and development activities. For example, the 47th UN General Assembly is charged with the establishment of the Sustain-

* Pamela Chasek was one of the authors of the Earth Summit Bulletin, a chronicle of the UNCED negotiating process.

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able Development Commission created by UNCED with the mandate of monitoring the implementation of Agenda-21. Now is the time for NGOs to put together position papers and start lobbying governments so that this Commission does not become merely another moribund UN institution. Unfortunately, UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has recently appointed Edouard Saouma, the controversial Lebanese head of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), as the head of the task force which will advise the General assembly on the formation of the Commission. Saouma does not have a reputation for transparency and democracy in decision-making, nor does he have a history of supporting NGO participation. The challenge is for NGOs

to let their voices be heard within the UN system and protest the appointment of Saouma to this post. But, more importantly, NGOs must put forth constructive suggestions for the formation and operation of the Commission. Waiting until the General Assembly is in session is too late. Lobbying national governments and UN officials must begin now. The road from Rio may not be an easy one, but the continued activities of NGOs on the local, national and international levels will ensure that local authorities, national governments and international organizations are forced to remember the promises they made in Rio and act upon them. NGOs can be the architects of a sustainable future if they rise to meet the challenge.

NGO Treaties *commitments for the future*

Thirty-three alternative treaties emerged out of the International NGOs and Social Movements Forum during the Earth Summit, June 3-14.

The treaties, inaugurated last year, were divided into five cluster groups; NGO cooperation and institution building (Earth Charter, Initiative of the peoples of the Americas, code of Ethics, NGO Mechanisms for Global Decision-Making, Technology Bank, NGO Sharing of Resources, Primary Environmental Care/Poverty and Affluence and Communication); Alternative economic Issues (Trade, Transnational Corporations, Debt and Alternative Economic Models/Peoples Earth Fund); big Environment Issues (Biodiversity and Biotechnology, Toxics and Nuclear Wastes, Climate, Oceans, Forests and Energy); Food Production (Sustainable Agriculture, Food Security, fresh water, fisheries) and Cross-Sectoral issues (Women, Population and Environment, Indigenous Peoples, Education, Militarism, Urbanisation, Racism and Children and adolescents).

All the treaties contain statements of common principles and action plans for NGOs and social movements to commit themselves to accomplish. They share in the strong criticism of the existing models and practices of development, in both the North and the South and the need for a new sense of community among all peoples and of interdependence among all living things. They also agree that:

- existing structures of governance disempower the majority of peoples;
- no problem can be solved in isolation; an inter-sectoral approach which looks at the problems within the economy and the political structures is needed;
- people need to be given control of their resources; the best sustainable managers are those who depend on the resources for their daily livelihood;
- women must not be neglected in decision-making processes; they are the primary producers and managers of the resources essential to their families' survival;
- existing NGO networks need to be strengthened and new ones created to ensure rapid dissemination of information and resource sharing.

Below are some key action plans extracted from some of the treaties :

Alternative Treaty on trade and Sustainable Development

- to work to replace GATT with an alternative International Trade Organisation (ITO) designed with a participatory and democratic structure ensuring transparent, accountable and equitable decision-making in accordance with the public interest instead of the corporate interest
- to support alternative models of international trade based on cooperatives of producers and consumers and federations of cooperatives working together to avoid multinational enterprise in commerce between countries of the North and the South
- to develop a common bibliography, a common research agenda and cooperate in conducting and sharing the research; to collaborate on joint documents and develop collective agreements; to promote these collective agreements through education and cooperation; to lobby national and local governments in support of these collective agreements; to develop and participate in regional and international forums among NGOs as well as consumer and producer groups after UNCED; and to draft a comprehensive document defining principles, analysis and objectives in support of future campaigns.

Forest treaty

- NGOs, in cooperation with local communities and any indigenous people involved should participate actively in environmental and social impact assessments of projects which impact upon forests and their inhabitants to ensure that the results of these studies are analyzed in a public forum before decisions are made concerning the implementation of these projects. NGOs will also apply legal and political pressure so that the decisions which result are respected and implemented.
- NGOs will campaign for the conservation of forests, for the survival and improvement in the quality of life for people living in forests, the implementation of development projects which reduce pressure on forests, and the elimination of pollutants, particularly those contributing

to acid rain. NGOs will oppose attempts to manipulate forest ecosystems using chemical and biological pesticides.

- NGOs will assist in changing financial and technical support by governmental and international agencies for forest management and recovery programmes. NGOs will insist that such agencies will develop policies in accordance with the spirit of this treaty.

NGO Debt Treaty

- set up a coordinating committee whose principal task is to further develop and particularize campaigns and pledges contained in this treaty and start a global network on debt, development and environment
- put pressure on international organisations for the establishment, by the end of 1995, of a system of accounting of planet Earth in order to quantify the cumulative debt of the Northern countries which results from the resources they have levied and the destruction and waste produced in the course of the last 500 years
- withdraw funds from those banks and companies which support or implement environmentally and socially destructive activities and initiate campaigns to target them.

Democratic Regulation of TNC Conduct

- support the building up of a countervailing power within countries, involving NGOs, consumer associations, trade unions, citizens groups, district associations and other grassroots groups
- coordination at regional and international level of campaigns on specific TNC activities and products
- produce a booklet containing 20 case studies, to be launched in a year's time.

Treaty for NGO Cooperation and Sharing of Resources

- respond as soon as possible and with the best of capabilities to the specific requests of other signatories to the treaty, and if need be, conduct research and/or advocacy on behalf of fellow NGOs
- strive to share the equivalent of at least one percent of our annual budget each year with other members of the NGO community, through bilateral exchange of resources in kind services and direct financial grants.

Code of Conduct for NGOs

- to continue to engage in the process to develop an NGO Code of Conduct and to hold a meeting in 1993 to prepare final copy for adoption
- regional focal points to publicise; maximise NGO input.

Rio Framework Treaty on NGO Global Decision Making

- setting up a global system of communications, cooperative action and decision making implemented by means of «NGO coalitions» from the local to the UN member

state level, including stateless nations who will form regional and/bioregional «NGO committees» who will then be part of the «Global NGO Facilitating Committee»

- the first Global NGO Facilitating Committee will be convened in 1993.

Alternative NGO Agreement on Climate Change

- with local citizens groups and communities to increase awareness within and mobilize society to identify and tackle the causes and potential effects of climate change and related problems
- to urge governments and government institutions to reduce CO₂ emissions in developed countries by at least 25% from 1990 levels by the year 2005; while recognizing the inadequacy of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, to urge governments, as a minimal step to ratify the convention and implement its provisions.

Citizens Commitment on Biodiversity

- cooperate with other individuals and organisations all available information, in particular information deriving from natural and social sciences, advocacy work, and practical experiences, but always with a respect for the origins of that information; technical assistance which focuses on traditional concepts of natural resource management.

Citizens' Commitments on Biotechnology

- call for an international convention on biotechnology which adheres to the following principles, among others : that institutions which finance both research and technical assistance should provide funds proportionally for alternative approaches. In this context traditional knowledge should be recognised and respected as a valid and valuable resource for alternatives; biotechnological research should be oriented towards publicly defined needs, the common good and the good of the future generations.

NGO Sustainable Agriculture Treaty

- mobilize voluntary educational and advocacy campaigns to bring the principles and methods of sustainable agriculture to all forms of education, and pressure governments to develop sustainable agriculture curricula at all levels
- develop and promote alternative national and international policies to reverse and prevent the policies currently discussed in GATT and in individual countries which seek to privately appropriate genetic capital and patent life forms
- campaign for the creation of a trust fund to sustain peasants, family and small farmers during the transition to sustainable methods of agriculture through a tax on agrochemicals.

For further information on the treaties and to be signatory to them, please contact: Brazilian NGO Forum, R. Do Catete 153, c/o Museu Da Republica, 22220 Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: ax:F92, Fax :5521-2057537.

The Earth Charter

(Prepared by the Non-Governmental Organisations gathered together in Rio de Janeiro, June 3-14, 1992)

Preamble

*We are Earth, the people, plants and animals rains and oceans
breath of the forest and flow of the sea.*

*We honour earth as the home of all living things.
We cherish earth's beauty and diversity of life.*

We welcome Earth's ability to renew as being the basis of all life.

*We recognise the special place of Earth's Indigenous Peoples, their territories,
their customs and their unique relationship to Earth.*

We are appalled at the human suffering, poverty and damage to Earth caused by inequality of power.

*We accept a shared responsibility to protect and restore Earth and to allow wise and equitable use of resources so as
to achieve an ecological balance and new social, economic and spiritual values.*

In all our diversity we are one.

Our common home is increasingly threatened.

*We thus commit ourselves to the following principles, noting at all times the particular needs of women,
indigenous peoples, the South, the disabled and all those who are disadvantaged :*

Principles

1. We agree to respect, encourage, protect and restore Earth's ecosystems to ensure biological and cultural diversity.
2. We recognise our diversity and our common partnership. We respect all cultures and affirm the rights of all people to basic environmental needs.
3. Poverty affects us all. We agree to alter unsustainable patterns of production and consumption to ensure the eradication of poverty and to end the abuse of Earth. This must include a recognition of the role of debt and financial flows from the South to the North and opulence and corruption as primary causes. We shall emphasize and improve the endogenous capacity for technology creation and development. Attempts to eradicate poverty should not be a mandate to abuse the environment and attempts to protect restore the environment should not ignore basic human needs.
4. We recognise that national barriers do not generally conform to Earth's ecological realities. National sovereignty does not mean sanctuary from our collective responsibility to protect and restore Earth's ecosystems. Trade practices and transnational corporations must not cause environmental degradation and should be controlled in order to achieve social justice, equitable trade and solidarity with ecological principles.
5. We reject the build up and use of military force and the use of economic pressure as means of resolving conflict. We commit ourselves to pursue genuine peace, which is not merely the absence of war but includes the eradication of poverty, the promotion of social justice and economic, cultural and ecological well-being.
6. We agree to ensure that decision making processes and their criteria are clearly defined, transparent, explicit, accessible and equitable. Those whose decisions or activities may affect the environment must first prove the absence of harm. Those likely to be affected, particularly populations in the South and those in subjugation within existing States, should have free access to information and effectively participate in the decision making processes.
7. States, institutions, corporations and peoples are unequal in their contribution to environmental harm, experience of ecological degradation and ability to respond to environmental destruction. While all are responsible for improving environmental quality, those who have expropriated or consumed the majority of Earth's resources or who continue to do so must cease

such expropriation or reduce such consumption and must bear the costs of ecological restoration and protection by providing the majority of financial and technological resources.

8. Women constitute over half of Earth's human population. They are a powerful source for change. They contribute more than half the effort to human welfare. Men and women agree that women's status in decision making and social processes must equitably reflect their contribution. We must shift from a society dominated by men to one which more accurately reflects the valued contributions of men and women to human and ecological welfare.

We have come to realise that the threats to the biosphere which sustains all life on earth have increased in rate, magnitude and scale to such extent that inaction would be negligent.

Earth Charter Action Plan

1. We shall adopt the spirit and principles of the Earth Charter at the individual level and through concrete actions within our Non-Governmental Organisations.
2. We will use existing mechanisms and/or create an international network of the signatories hereto to disseminate the Earth Charter as principles for action at the local, national and global level.
3. The Earth Charter shall be translated into all the languages of Earth.
4. We shall commit ourselves to the preparation of «OBJECTIVE 1995» by which the United Nations will celebrate its 50th anniversary at which time we want them to adopt this Earth Charter.
5. Non-Governmental Organisations worldwide shall initiate a combined campaign « WE ARE EARTH » through to 1995 and the adoption of this Earth Charter by the United Nations.
6. Every individual, organisation, corporation and state shall dedicate a percentage of their operating budget and their profit as an «Earth Percentage» dedicated to the restoration, protection and management of Earth's ecosystems and the promotion of equitable development.
7. We call for a second Global Forum to be held in 1999 to evaluate and reaffirm our commitment to the relationships made, the accomplishments achieved and its goals sought at this «1992 Global Forum».

Towards an institutional infrastructure for European social science

by Bernd Hamm *

Introduction

The emerging European society is a challenge of the first order to the social sciences. It may be true that continuing integration in the European Communities in 1993 and beyond is above all the goal of big business which profits most from an open and widely standardized market. But this itself challenges social scientists to emphasize that this is not enough to build a society which is just, democratic, peaceful, and sustainable. Such a society is still a vision. The European process, however, tells us that we need vision to ask relevant questions. The traditional positivist approach and its strategy of continuously developing and linking middle-range theories gained from retrospective empirical research is inadequate in view of the tasks assigned to us by the Europeans. European society is a new process of unprecedented scope and scale and with enormous impact on the global as well as on national societies. The social sciences should contribute to the design of this process and bring to it the knowledge they have accumulated over the past two hundred years. Their contribution to society, however, seems relatively disappointing, not only because decision-makers do not really care much for books, but also because there is no consensus amongst social scientists on what is relevant and necessary and what is of minor importance for society, and whether or not this is an important problem for them. My own assessment of social science performance in terms of social relevance is rather pessimistic. To become more relevant for European society, the social sciences must change in scope and scale and methodology, in their modes of co-operation and in their approaches. European social science will and must be of a different kind from that we have known hitherto. The task of building a truly European social science is demanding and difficult and needs new ideas, approaches, and procedures.

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The present article develops some ideas and proposals on how the shaping of a European social science might be stimulated and what kinds of infrastructural arrangements may be helpful.

The argument develops in four steps : (1) some outlines of the tasks European social science may have to accomplish are sketched, (2) the present situation is characterized, (3) certain notions about an "ideal" institutional infrastructure are proposed, and (4) some conclusions are drawn on how we can get from here to there, taking into account the deliberations of the First European Social Science Conference held in Santander, Spain, 24-28 June, 1991.

Europe — challenge to the social sciences

What is new, what is specific about European society? What are the consequences for European social sciences?

European society does not yet exist — or does it? Which precise criteria define a given conglomerate of people as a society? What is Europe? It is, of course, the European Communities, the driving force of which is the economy, twelve nation-states, some of which had been in bitter conflict with each other for centuries, decided to build the United States of Europe. It is also the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), seven nations outside the EC (although also capitalist in their economic and democratic in their political system) which are supposed to build, together with the EC, the European Economic Area (EEA) in early 1993. There is the former Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, which disintegrated gradually since perestroika and New Thinking, overtly since the revolutions of 1989 and which fell apart recently. There is the Council of Europe, the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the concept of the European House from the Atlantic to the Urals, the West European Union, the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe — in short : there are many different notions of Europe, all with their own definition, membership, and institutions. Europe is a continent under re-organization, a process the outcome of which cannot yet be described by means of empirical social research.

The major components of Europe, and actors in the

European integration process, are transnational corporations and nation-states. Nation-states transfer part of their sovereignty to a new European power centre. This becomes increasingly important, gradually involving economic policy in all its aspects, foreign policy, defence, development etc. While the nation-states are undetermined from above, they are also challenged from below, the municipalities and regions which claim greater rights and means on the grounds of cultural identity, social movements and appropriate scale. Many of the remaining responsibilities of today's nation-states, especially the provision of public services and infrastructures, can much better be met on a local or regional than on a national scale. The very concept of the nation-state is therefore changing character — but what will be the "nation-state", or its substitute of tomorrow? What could a Europe of regions be like? How could regions be linked with the new European power centre? How would democratic rule appear in such regions?

The European process is bringing the border between two formerly hostile blocs based on two fundamentally different ideological systems. The unification of Germany is a prototype to be carefully studied in this connection. Two types of society with different institutions, different procedures for decision-making, different ways to recruit and reward elites, different conceptions of man, society, justice, equality, are trying to build a new synthesis, where one pattern is by far more powerful and attractive than the other. The German example could show us not only the necessary changes and the obstacles met but also a process more akin to an unfriendly take-over of colonization than to voluntary association. In a way, the German unification process can be seen as a small-scale model of European integration. It would be important to understand if and to what extent the unintended consequences of this process can be avoided or released on the European scale.

Transition to a federal system can be studied in the Soviet Union (other than and less spectacular examples are provided by Spain, France, and Italy), and the centrifugal forces which endanger a federalist system provide an enlightening though horrifying example in Yugoslavia. Federalism seems to work very well only in Switzerland (where it has a long tradition) Germany (where it was imposed after the Second World War) and in Austria. Europe will become a federal system. But which will be its components? By what mechanisms will it be kept together?

Behind this is the more general problem of what integrates multicultural societies, why — if at all — they should be kept together and what are the effects of different mechanisms to achieve this goal. Multiculturalism is inevitably the future of European society, not only through the way it is already composed but also through immigration across borders. The Canadian experience, described in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism seems especially important for an understanding of the delicate balance between integration on the one hand and the preservation of minority-group cultural heritage on the other.

Immigration into Europe from the East and from the South is not a new phenomenon. It seems, however, now to take on dimensions and pose problems far beyond anything Europe has ever experienced. The poor of the world are already knocking on Europe's doors to demand their share of its wealth. A Fortress Europe, although against all humanistic tradition, will be demanded by large proportions

of the European population. European countries are already tightening up their legislation pertaining to foreign immigrant populations. Some kind of migration policy, together with some kind of much more effective development policy, will be the necessary concomitant. But how should and could they be conceived?

What will Europe's future position be in global society? Will its overwhelming economic power be used for continued exploitation of the Third World? Will European political institutions have the legitimate means to gain some control over the concentration, anonymization and amoralization of capital? Or will they use their power, together with North America and Japan, to instrumentalize the UN system and the Bretton Woods institutions for their own short-term interests? What options are really open, and what kinds of decisions should be taken, by whom and when?

There are only a few examples of an abundance of questions which call for answers, normative and analytical, by social scientists. It seems obvious from the nature and complexity of the European process that traditional, retrospective, positivist research is not the most promising approach by which to address such questions. We need an approach which is holistic, problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, and future-oriented to be able to draw the outline map of European social science research which then may be filled in by a variety of projects adopting differing approaches. Only thus can we hope to contribute significantly to the design of the European process with information which is relevant for decision-making. More: European social science must not only become problem-oriented and interdisciplinary, it must also become truly international and make use of the full range of different schools of thought and cultural variety.

This means that we have a large number of important and new problems to address, unfamiliar modes of doing research and working together, costly, time-consuming, not in line with the common funding principles or with existing routines. The ideal would be a kind of organization where task forces are interdisciplinary and international at the same time, and have an opportunity to develop common understandings, approaches, languages and methodologies to make them really productive. Such task forces should not work in isolation but rather stimulate each other and have opportunities to exchange their views and experiences, i.e. they should be conceived as networks. Spin-offs of their research should directly be fed into university education where new ways of training must be found to acquaint upcoming generations of skilled professionals with a broad perspective and a sincere commitment to global responsibility and European society.

European social science co-operation

My intention is not to draw up a comprehensive perspective on existing European social science co-operation. As far as I know there is no directory or inventory yet which would allow such an undertaking, and mere enumeration would be of little help in the present context. I shall rather recall some of my own experiences in international and European social research, assuming that these, though personal, trace some of the major weaknesses of the present situation. I need not go into details, and shall confine myself to certain aspects of the problem: language, time, money, institutions.

Insufficient language skills are certainly one of the major obstacles to international and interdisciplinary co-operation. With respect to internationalism things seem relatively easy: we all need one language for international communication in which we need the necessary training. For better or for worse, this language seems to be some impoverished, Americanized version of English. This means not only that we implicitly accept the cultural foundations on which this version of English is based but also that we accept the relative superiority of eloquent people with English as their mother tongue. While I understand the resistance to such developments, especially in France, it is correct to say that French colleagues are becoming increasingly isolated in the international scientific community. We all need truly bilingual schooling to become European.

Things are much more difficult with respect to interdisciplinarity. Here, specialization and fragmentation within the broad spectrum of social sciences are mirrored in different professional languages to such an extent that, for example, medical sociologists and urban sociologists have considerable difficulties in understanding each other — not to mention communication problems between economists, historians, psychologists, geographers, political scientists, and sociologists, or between structuralists, functionalists, dialecticians, conflict theorists, interactionists, neo-classicists, etc. The range of probable mis- or non-understanding is much wider than the probability of understanding. Both difficulties can only be overcome by exposure and training which needs effort, takes time and costs money.

Time, as a second constraint, or better: the perception of time, is very much determined by criteria of academic performance, such as in career planning. In most European nations, research and teaching abroad and publication in a foreign language are seen more as exotic excursions than as achievements decisive for promotion. It is therefore quite understandable, though counterproductive, that most social scientists devote the work of their early career phases to rather narrowly-defined problems in their own society, instead of international problems. This is not surprising in a situation where faculty members are generally neither multilingual nor multinational in their experience, where it is still not generally accepted to have term papers, theses or dissertations written in a foreign language, and where courses attended in another country are usually not credited. Parochialism, inherited from academic generation to academic generation, and envy and jealousy are often the lot of those who try to change this situation. Young academics still do better not to waste much time abroad, but rather to stay in their own country to become acquainted with the people and institutions important for their career. In Germany there are still many more opportunities for students to go abroad than are actually being used. It is only recently that programmes like ERASMUS or TEMPUS have, with some success, overcome such limitations.

Money is, of course, behind much of all this. Funding institutions, including university grants commissions, are very often reluctant to reward projects with international travel and co-operation and are eager to restrict "project tourism". It seems easier to get funding for some minor and relatively irrelevant research project in one's own society than for longer stays abroad to delve into foreign traditions in social science research without a research project clearly specified in advance. As long as evaluation committees which themselves had little exposure to inter-

national co-operation are in power, things are not very likely to change.

Finally, institutions: the oldest and most prominent institution for social science co-operation in Europe may be the European Centre for Co-ordination and Documentation in Social Science Research (Vienna Centre), an offspring of the International Social Science Council and therefore, indirectly, of UNESCO. Designed explicitly during the Cold War to develop and promote East-West co-operation in the social sciences, the Vienna Centre was for many years extremely important as a meeting place. The way it was organized by its founding fathers and hence by its Board of Directors, however, made it almost exclusively fitted for this specific situation. Now, in a changing world, it is doubtful that the Vienna Centre can continue to fulfil its vocation. At least some structural adaptations are inevitable. Small, non-directive in its structure, and relatively poor in resources as the Vienna Centre is, its productivity since its inception in 1963 is surprising. It is, however, also surprising to see how small is the number of Western social scientists (as opposed to their colleagues from Eastern Europe) who know about the Vienna Centre and how it works, or who have already made use of its services (this, by the way, also holds true of the European Science Foundation and its Standing Committee for Social Sciences). Its broad experience is indispensable for European social science, although literally dozens of such Centres would be necessary to accomplish what is needed in the new situation, and many have been founded recently or are in the process of being set up.

There are, of course, other institutions of European social science research and training. But the point I want to make here is that a clear, powerful and professional orientation towards European society is still lacking. Thus, if it is agreed that Europe is a challenge of the first rank for the social sciences, and if we further agree that the social sciences are not well prepared to respond to this challenge, we have defined a problem which calls for a solution. It is time, then, to think about possible options which might lead towards a strong and relevant European social science.

Institutional infrastructure

There are good reasons why European social science has difficulty in getting off the ground. The development of an appropriate institutional infrastructure might be one of the most efficient remedies. It should serve to interlink the social science communities, decision-makers, funding institutions, and the public at large. The interlinking mechanism is, to a large extent, translation from one language into another, i.e. the translation of a problem as perceived by decision-making bodies into a social science problem, a social science problem into a fundable research project, the results of social science research into the language of the media, and vice versa. To be efficient, an institutional infrastructure must be as transparent, unbureaucratic and close to social scientists as possible.

Professional organizations, research committees

The skeleton of such an institutional infrastructure may be built by professional organizations at European level, a

process which is already under way. There are, for example, European associations of political scientists, economists, social psychologists, and peace researchers, an initiative to set up a European Sociological Association is under way, and the foundation of a European Futures Studies Association just failed, through only temporarily. Considering the working principles of international or national professional organizations, it is highly probable that European associations, too, will build research committees for specific purposes and, given the experience of existing associations, it is not very difficult to predict what kind these research committees will be. It seems, however, unlikely that such research committees will establish contacts and co-operation across disciplinary borders. They will rather serve exclusively disciplinary purposes. This is, of course, legitimate — but it is not what seems necessary to meet the specific needs of emerging European society, i.e. interdisciplinary, future-oriented networks of social science task force groups.

The ideas developed here are, of course, a pure vision. In terms of the methodology proposed by Robert Jungk for his "future workshops": (1) define your problem; (2) criticize the present situation; (3) formulate an Utopian vision of how the problem could be solved in the future, and (4) elaborate the concrete measures helpful to go from here to there. I am still in phase 3.

European Social Science Council

A European Social Science Council (ESSC) may be founded. Just as the International Social Science Council (ISSC) was founded in 1952 "to add to the network of international disciplinary associations (established under UNESCO auspices between 1945 and 1950) a new interdisciplinary body to facilitate the drawing together of the different branches of knowledge, and to accelerate the resumption of intellectual communication between the nations of the world", a European interdisciplinary organization may be conceived. Its major tasks could be:

- (1) to provide the necessary links between decision-making bodies, the social science communities, and funding institutions (the European Social Science Foundation, see below);
- (2) to stimulate, encourage and assist in the foundation of interdisciplinary, problem-oriented task-force groups and organize contract research;
- (3) to network such groups and research institutions with a Europe-wide scope and provide organizational, coordinative and communicative support for such networks (the European Social Science Association);
- (4) to organize European social science conferences;
- (5) to develop and regularly update, in wide and open consultation among the social science community and in contact with decision-making bodies and funding institutions, a European Social Science Research Programme; and
- (6) to stimulate, encourage and assist in the foundations of, and to transfer subventions to, European disciplinary associations.

This is, by the way, not far from what the ISSC does with its small staff and modest resources, thus demonstrating that a large new bureaucracy is neither necessary nor advisable. And of course, a European Social Science Research Programme would not be designed to impose

certain priorities on the social science community and exclude others, or to monopolize resources and decision-making in an anonymous body, but rather as an open process and a challenge to this community to engage in critical and constructive discussion about the relevant aspects of the European process. As in other areas, we have to start somewhere, so instead of a long and fruitless debate about who may be legitimized to draw up such an agenda, I would prefer to do it as openly as possible and start work.

ESSC may be composed of four categories of members: (1) disciplinary social science associations (i.e. the European equivalents of the regular members of the ISSC); (2) institutional members like social science research centres; (3) institutional members with an interest in translating European social science research into practice and policy; and (4) individual members. All four categories must be European in scope and should be represented in the executive committee. Its aims, organs, and finance may very well resemble those foreseen in the constitution of the ISSC. The ESSC will need, to reach its aims and accomplish its tasks, a permanent and adequately staffed secretariat. The Vienna Centre could possibly play this role.

The role of the Vienna Centre

At the moment, the Vienna Centre, despite all its merits, is a relatively weak and fragile institution. It has neither a longer-term budget (its budget is determined by member state subventions on an annual basis) nor does it have a permanent scientific staff (the scientific secretaries, mostly younger scholars of different social science backgrounds, have a three-year contract which may be prolonged once for one more three-year period). The scientific secretaries are engaged by their respective sending institutions in their home country, to which they are responsible. Thus, the director's position is weak in structural terms. It is usually the scientific secretaries who initiate projects and try to obtain funding. The Board, however, has to approve such projects. If the director came from the East (as was mostly the case), then the president of the board was supposed to come from the West. Very often, for lack of hard currency, the Eastern countries were unable to send scientific secretaries. In short, the structure of the Vienna Centre to some extent reflects the Cold War situation under which it was established: any member state which, for whatever (political) reason, was not satisfied with the Centre's work could easily and without problems withdraw its scientific secretary as well as cut its subvention. This might have been a rationale useful for many in the days of East-West tensions, and indeed it proved to be a workable solution. Under new conditions and with new tasks for the social science community, however, this structure seems too fragile to provide the secretariat for European social science.

If the Vienna Centre were willing to serve as a secretariat for the European Social Science Council, it would need a permanent staff able to accomplish its assignments. As these tasks are new, important and pioneering, this staff must be permanent, of high quality, committed, employed by the ESSC executive board and report to the director of the centre. In addition, I would suggest the retention of the old concept of scientific secretaries, with a view to training younger social scientists in the conception and management of European social science, i.e. in a sort of associated

experts scheme, with a term of not more than three years. There must also be a longer-term budget. The substantive frame or reference for the Centre's work would be the European Social Science Research Programme - the Centre would use this as a guiding principle for developing projects and for initiating task forces, and would submit proposals to the ESSC, after the necessary consultations, on how to update the research programme. It thus seems that the proposed ESSC would fulfil functions similar to today's Vienna Centre Board of Directors or as ESF's Standing Committee for Social Sciences. It might make sense, then, to think about how such efforts could be combined, to avoid duplicate work. This would also be the case if an institution other than the Vienna Centre were to accept the function of ESSC secretariat.

European Social Science Association

Research work along the lines of a European Social Science Research Programme should be undertaken by task forces ideally composed according to three criteria : different social science disciplines, different countries of origin, and different schools of thought. I am not sure whether this type of task force is possible in reality. However a reduced version may look, such a task force gathered around a substantive research problem would need sufficient time to find some common basis of understanding, sufficient money to travel in order to work together, and sufficient technical support for communication. The task forces might submit interim reports as a basis for further funding. A staff member of the secretariat, together with an associate expert, could take care of each task force and do all the organizational and administrative work, including the publication of a newsletter and the exchange of information with other task forces.

From ESSC task forces, Europe-oriented research institutions, European studies centres, and interested individuals, an increasingly numerous group of people would emerge to follow an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented approach in their work on the European process. They would develop specific needs for exchange and communication and may wish to form a wide network called the European Social Science Association (ESSA). Once ESSA has become large enough and fairly representative for the European social science community, it may delegate category 2 members to the ESSC.

European Network of Associated Universities

Europe needs not only social science research based on a new approach, it also needs people with a broad intellectual horizon, used to future-oriented European and global thinking and trained in international co-operation. In general, university education is lagging in such orientations. The average well-trained specialist emerging from traditional university education is not, for reasons described above, prepared for a job in European administration, business, diplomacy, trade unions, associations, schools, networks, etc. In addition to disciplinary studies, the European student would need a *studium générale* with a European focus. This must provide for a broad generalist knowledge indispensable for informed and ethically responsible decision-making. As a major part of this type of edu-

cation must be the exchange of students and faculty and thus the exposure to a foreign language, working environment, intellectual tradition, etc., some co-ordination of curricula would be necessary. Thus, a European Network of Associated Universities may gradually evolve (UNESCO's 25th General Conference adopted a proposal for a feasibility study on an international Associated Universities Project to complement the Associated Schools).

European Social Science Foundation

Much of what has been said relates closely to the experience of the European Science Foundation (ESF) and its work in the social sciences. The Standing Committee for the Social Sciences of ESF seems relatively close to what has been proposed here as the European Social science Council, and close to the Board of the Vienna Centre; it has launched scientific programmes with an interdisciplinary orientation, and initiated scientific networks which closely resemble the task forces proposed above. It seems worthwhile, then, to combine efforts which share the same philosophies and goals.

So far, European social sciences exist amongst only a very few personalities and institutions. To overcome the obstacles mentioned and to flourish, the social sciences need generous stimulation and support. In my opinion, an ideal structure would be a European Social Science Foundation (this could be as part of the ESF) combining funds donated by the national funding agencies specifically for the purpose of getting European social sciences off the ground.

The application and funding procedure could then proceed as follows : the European Social Science Council, having been charged with the implementation of a European Social Science Research Programme by the European Conference on Social Sciences, (1) initiates a number of task forces for the different research topics, (2) reviews the research proposals of these task forces, (3) negotiates with the European Social Science Foundation on the amounts and duration of funding, (4) receives and approves interim reports, (5) advises the European Social Science Foundation on continuation or discontinuation of a project or task force as well as the update of the Research Programme. This may allow an un bureaucratic procedure which would give the task forces, without affecting their accountability, some room for manoeuvre. This structure may be tested in a pilot phase of several years, evaluated, modified and implemented with a longer-term perspective.

Conclusions : steps to take

This article reflects my own research experience; the views of other social scientists may differ. I insist, however, that the major obstacles against productive European social sciences can only be overcome if we manage to develop an appropriate institutional infrastructure and generous and unbureaucratic funding schemes, taking into account the difficulties researchers will necessarily encounter for the simple reason that their research tasks are European in scope.

If there is agreement on the goal of developing practically relevant, problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, forward looking social sciences contributing to the understanding

and shaping of a European society, there should also be agreement to initiate first steps in this direction.

The European Social Science Conference did not disperse without having unanimously adopted the following proposal.

The Conference invites the President of the host National Commission for UNESCO, Professor Luis Ramallo, to set up a European working group of social scientists from different countries, disciplines, and schools of thought in order to prepare a Second European Social Science Conference in 1993. The Working Group's tasks may include the following :

1. Establishing a tentative programme on the contribution of the social sciences to the analysis of the emerging European society.

2. Putting forward proposals in order to promote social science co-operation for Europe, especially between social scientist and appropriate social science institutions and organizations from both Eastern and Western Europe. This should not be detrimental to the co-operation between Europe and the outside world.

3. Appraising the situation of the social sciences in UNESCO, taking into account 27 C/5 DRs and reflecting on

the social sciences in the framework of the 4th Medium Term Plan. **

A proposal has already been made to convene the Second European Social Science Conference in Prague in June 1993, i.e. early enough to have some impact on UNESCO's 27th General Conference. As the Vienna Centre was not in a position to assume the tasks of secretariat and co-organizer, the Centre for European Studies, Trier University, offered to serve in this capacity.

Notes

* The views expressed in this article are the author's and do not necessarily coincide with the views of the German Commission for UNESCO, its Committee on Social Sciences or any other organization. An earlier version was presented to the European Social Science Conference, Santander, Spain 24-28 June, 1991. The present version takes up some points made in the discussion, which are gratefully acknowledged.

** *Editor's note:* 27 C/5 refers to the future Programme and Budget of UNESCO for 1994-5. The 4th Medium Term Plan of UNESCO will cover the period 1996-2001. The first document will be adopted at the 27th General Conference, in 1993 and the second one at the 28th General Conference, in 1995.

Prospects For Restoring Civil Structures In Eastern European Societies

by Ana Maria Sandi *

The Need for Strong Civil Societies

Eastern Europe is *the* region of the world where participation has become particularly meaningful nowadays. It is the part of the world where individual participation has shown both its virtues and its limits in advancing democracy. It has revealed both the opportunities and the dangers which accompany the processes of democratization.

Due to the mass participation of formerly repressed people in the old communist regimes, changes are under way, which until recently seemed quite impossible. Empty handed, facing tanks and armed soldiers, people in Bucharest, Sofia or Moscow have become a decisive factor in shaping a new course of history.

Although the power of the people has reached a maximum at certain moments, the level of participation sharply declines and even disappear once a legal power is in place. The totalitarian regimes, "artificially imposed from outside", as even Soviet analysts concede (Grachev *et al.*, 1991) succeeded, during their more than 45-year reign of terror, surveillance, state control and indoctrination, in inflicting strong reflexes of fear of change. On the other hand, these regimes, aimed at the systematic uniformization of society, leaving no place for autonomy or individuality, completely destroyed civil societies.

As a result, political apathy can be observed more or less in all the countries of the region. This means a lack of psychological involvement in public affairs, emotional detachment from civic obligations, abstention from political activity. Even young people, who were in the front lines of mass revolts, are now passive, showing little interest in politics, as they often head towards emigration of at least illegal work in Western countries.

East Europeans are not the only ones to complain about this lack of participation. As contemporary democratic

models are moving away from technocratic visions of government to extensive participation, in Western countries also, more people feel the need to participate in politics. However, the situations between East Europe and the West are quite different. The functioning basis of that world usually called developed is based on political freedom *and* the strict observance of a system of laws and regulations. It is exactly the existence of complex organization and rules which now generates bureaucracies and induces passive behaviour patterns. The obsession with technology, productivity and efficiency also leads to the eradication of political and moral questions from public life and to a certain atomization. In addition, the withdrawal from political involvement is reinforced by media which swamp people with packaged political culture.

In fast-changing Eastern Europe, participation is denied by exactly the opposite situation, i.e. the lack of any social structures, of any organizations and regulations. In order to exist, democracy requires a certain conformity and an obedience to general rules. The state alone is not capable of imposing this by means of laws and police repression. The distinctive character of civil society is that it is made up of areas of social life — the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction — which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the *direct* control of the state (Hall, 1983). Civil society must generate certain values upon which it agrees and which it decides to respect. The point here is not to create monolithic consensus, but to allow several groups the chance to express and sustain their views and to reach their own agreement.

In order to allow effective opportunities to participation, society must structure itself. Why? A possible answer is that it is a question of the scale and complexity of societies and the possibility to manage them. Civil societies developed in the medieval city-states of the present-day Italy, Switzerland and Germany because those societies became more complex and less manageable than feudal society. The same applies now to modern societies which become too big and complex to allow the state to be the only instrument for generating innovations and propelling transformations. New structures, of a network type, decentralized, capable of ensuring quicker feedback are needed.

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If this answer expresses a *need* for civil societies, another answer is the *right* to participate through the intermediary of the structures of civil society. As people's interest in politics increases through more information, they become more aware of their natural right to participate in civil activities. The developed countries have organized themselves along such principles, but little by little failed to keep the structures alive. Many organizations are bureaucratized, participation becomes formal, expressed mainly in financial terms. In order to ensure the needed state of inquiry and creativity, these civil societies have to be restructured and revitalized.

Thus, while Eastern European civil societies seek restoring those structures that were destroyed and/or perverted, Western Europeans seek restructuring of their bureaucratized civil societies. The forces willing to maintain the status quo are those interested in manipulating masses of undifferentiated people. Therefore, East and West together have to seek new forms and modalities for structuring civil societies. These societies in turn will foster people's involvement in generating values, formulating opinions, making demands on the state.

Post-Totalitarian Societies

Totalitarianism destroys any structure of the society, be it a state or a civil structure. In this way it can control everything and impose its way. As their civil organizations were dismantled or invaded by communist ideology and bureaucracy, people retreated into their family life. Society turned inward "because there was no other plane through which to find fulfilment" (Mason *et al.*, 1991).

During the first stages of post-totalitarianism, certain state structures are renewed, but only at the top, while underneath bureaucracies are preserved.

The inertia of public awareness is encouraged by the old structures and residual nomenklatura. The fight for everyday subsistence, added to low wages, inflation and shortages, keeps people occupied mostly with the material aspects of life, sometimes mere survival. Finally, there are many political discussions, but no participation in politics, except through political parties.

Taking into consideration the definition of civil society, several forms of social structure may be distinguished.

The *traditionally* established ways of structuring social life are the ones naturally induced by private property, community, church and family life. Private property was the first to fall under the communist regimes. Entire communities were also destroyed. In Romania, communities which resisted the wave of forced industrialization, were under great pressure during Ceausescu's rule. Villages were seen as undesirable places where people could preserve their roots and consequently were to be torn down, while peasants were to be moved into apartment buildings, where the regime could easily control them. Also churches struggled to survive. In certain countries they were forbidden, in others infiltrated or fiercely persecuted. As already mentioned, families were perceived as the last bastion for civil life. However, the fact that families are the only civil structure to survive the communist regime may create problems today. Due to specific circumstances and also to the lack of other structure able to counter of balance certain evolutions, the family structure can favour developing a mafia type of network.

More *modern* forms of structuring societies may be seen as the institutionalized ones: professional organizations, trade unions, cultural, artistic and sports associations, women, youth and peace organizations etc. During the communist rule, any such organization was somehow officially sponsored and was meant to promote the communist ideology. Many people left those no longer autonomous organizations or refused to lend their presence to their officially sanctioned activities.

Finally, we come to more recent forms of structuring, let's call them the *post-modern* ones: pressure groups, special-interest groups, movements and international non-governmental networks. During the communist regime, they were implicitly prohibited and didn't have any way to develop.

Prerequisites for Restoring Civil Societies

Traditionally, the significance of European civil societies is that of a "congregation of free and equal citizens deliberating upon the affairs of society as a whole" (Henningsson, 1990).

The dreadful experience of communist countries showed that people cannot really be free without private property. Economic independence is a basic requirement for citizens to feel free to question the states' decisions. Therefore, a first precondition for the restoration of East European civil societies is the separation of the economy from the state and the restoration of private property. A. Heller (1990) considers that together with the separation of the economy (property) from the state, another important aspect is the separation of the culture from the state.

A second requirement concerns the *diversification* and *organization* of society. Post-communist countries were left with leveled societies, resembling a perfectly uniform piece of plate glass. The changes occurring in those countries broke the glass into millions of pieces, leading to an atomized society, in which each individual tends to be concerned only with himself. Combined with the inherited lack of autonomy and the reduced capacity to reason self-consciously, this atomization leads to an easily manipulated mass of people. It is important to develop autonomous spheres of action in social, political, economic and cultural areas. Information and education play an important role in helping diversify and organize the society. Finally, this process will result in a proliferation of centers of authority, promoting discussion, debate and competition between different views about society. These centers can counterbalance the importance of the traditional power centers, helping decentralization processes.

An important issue related to diversification in East Europe is that of nationalism. The easiest way to differentiate oneself from a mass of people is to declare one's own nationality. No learning or work is involved in claiming the difference made by being born of a certain nationality. However, such nationalistic feelings can be exploited by various interests, be they domestic or international.

Citing Noel Malcolm who said that democracy is rule by the people and nationalism is a precondition to the formation of a people, G. Will concluded recently that the increase in nationalism in East Europe is a good indication sign that people are trying to establish stable nations (1991). The author seems to forget that in this geographic region, nation-states appeared a long time ago. They

shared a common history and culture within a particular territory. What has been lost and has to be regained is a "sense of shared destiny" which was denied during the last 45 years. Therefore, once again, the increase in nationalism comes from both the differentiation processes and manipulation, and not from the formation to new nations.

Finally, a third precondition for the restoration of civil societies is related to the attitude towards the future. Civil societies start to exist when people go beyond their immediate interests and think about the future. When public opinion has the capacity to transcend current concerns, it begins to develop systems of values (Heller, 1991). However, East European countries are highly disillusioned with long term thinking after being exposed to the failure of the communist "Utopia". Also, during the present transitional phase, people are too preoccupied with sudden changes around them, to be able to "indulge" in long term visions. The difficulties of fighting for survival during highly inflationary times and a type of disappointment following big initial hopes are making the future seem even more alien.

Prospects for Developing Democracy by Restoring Civil Societies

Totalitarianism destroys all the structures of society, either state or civil, in order to have at its disposal a mass of easily manipulated people. Recent transformations in Eastern Europe have started the process of reestablishment of democratic state structures. For the moment, the process takes place only to a certain degree, encountering the resistance of the old, communist bureaucracies, which are not counterbalanced by a solidarity, or a common will of simple people.

The real chance for advancing democracy lies with the emergence of civil society, which by developing its structure must assume an important political role. The prospects for restoring civil society in Eastern Europe are rather good (in the longer term), after years of purposefully leveling the society. People feel the need to differentiate according to their profession, beliefs, opinions, objectives etc. A certain frenzy of a newly found freedom is pushing old organizations to change, while new ones spring up at all levels of the society.

However, the restoration of civil societies is still hindered by quite many *problems*, some of them already mentioned: inexistence of certain prerequisites; citizens' political apathy; incompatibility between participation patterns of a mafia-type with democracy. Another problem, characteristic for many new civil groups in Eastern Europe, is that they define themselves by negation relatively to the state or to the government, i.e. by questioning or putting pressure on the official policy. This "oppositional" civil society has its roots both in the dissident movements and/or in the unaccomplished revolutions. While in classical pluralism, power is *shared* by various groups, in the new pluralism, power is *contested* by numerous groups. Therefore, the state is not interested in encouraging or sustaining the next structures of civil society, which are confronted with a poor resource base. As a result, in order to be influential, many civil groups tend towards state or more formal forms of politics (parties). A suggestive recent example is the transforma-

tion of a part of the Romanian Civic Alliance Movement into the Civic Alliance Party. The phenomenon is certainly not new, as the history of many green movements proves.

A problem with which Western civil societies are also faced is that of "civism by delegation". In the Eastern case, due to their origin in dissident movements and to the lack of democratic education and to the passivity of population, new civic organizations tend to be active only at the top. People's involvement is a constant desideratum, as is the emergence of true grass-roots organizations.

The new civil societies in Eastern Europe are also faced with several *dangers*. One of them is represented by the longtime known tyranny of majority against minority groups described already by A. de Tocqueville. In the case of the newly changed Eastern European societies, majorities are still made of confused people, surprised by changes and not prepared for them. It is interesting to note that the political implication of civil society is conceived as contradicting its very nature. Thus, an often mentioned contradiction is the following : democracy is based on formal institutions in which the representatives of the majority are active. Civil society's components are non-formal, they are made up of non-elected groups, and therefore, are not entitled to impose their views. Belonging to the minority, they are often seen as a strange development or a threatening one.

Another danger can come from the failure of certain new structures during transition stages. It is very easy to infer from such situations the false conclusion of the failure of all democratic institutions and organizations. In order to jeopardize transformations, reactionary forces may even plan the failure of new structures by means of infiltration, discrediting or organized repression. The room is open then for the development of all sorts of populist or right wing movements.

Undiversified media, held in the hands of power, may represent another danger. By the imposition of a single viewpoint, hostile media and especially the TV may become a serious obstacle for the evolving structures of civil society.

Despite the various problems and dangers threatening their existence and evolution, Eastern European civil structures begin to manifest themselves as the place where democracy can be advanced by people's participation. Examples can be found in each country. In Romania, more than one thousand non-governmental organizations were registered since the events of December 1989. Already existing organizations are revitalized and begin to influence the official policy. A recent example is offered by the Union of Architects of Romania, which imposed its view, may be different from the governmental one, in relation to the reconstruction of an important historical convent demolished by Ceausescu. The Pro Basarabia and Bucovina grass roots organization is active in promoting the links with Romanians from the Moldavian Republic. The Association of the Former Political Prisoners watches closely all political decisions and reacts promptly and sternly to decisions it considers non-democratic. The already mentioned Civic Alliance Movement is starting to get momentum in organizing a large decentralized structure. The Center for European Culture is making efforts to promote Romania's integration in European organizations and the list of examples may continue with youth, women, professional, ecology, art, sports organizations a.s.o.

The Role of the International Community

While Eastern European democracies are faced with the classical danger already predicted by de Tocqueville and others, i.e. the threat of the majority to level social difference and eradicate political diversity, Western democracies must face the increasing power of national, multinational and trans-national corporations. Between populist and corporatist futures, is participatory democracy an illusion after all? Can individual participation make any difference in the face of the web of transnational world systems? How can local participation be efficient in a world of interdependences, when distinctions between domestic and international politics are breaking down?

These questions seem to indicate a crisis, which is good news, as far as whenever a crisis appears, the opportunities for positive developments can also be found.

One such opportunity is represented by the international organizations, which should assume a more important role in catalyzing democratic processes. The quest for democracy has been seen as double-sided process, concerned on the one hand with the re-form of state power and, on the other hand, with the restructuring on civil society (Held, 1990). The need is felt to see it also in broader terms, including transnational actors: on the one hand, the already active transnational corporations and on the other hand, would-to-be networks of components of national civil societies. The usually held opinion that individual action can make no difference on a world scale is contradicted by many stories of success. The Belgium Initiated "Action villages roumaines", by which hundreds of Romanian villages were twinned with European ones was very efficient in stopping Ceausescu's mad plan of destroying Romanian villages. Another well known example is offered by the activities of the Amnesty International Organization. The World Futures Studies Federation itself, has worked

since it was established, in the direction of networking organizations and people looking for more democratic futures.

International organizations of this type have an important role by offering the frame for discussions and learning, for agenda setting and programmes proposal. The next Eastern European civil societies can be greatly encouraged and helped by means of participating in international networks. However, such a participation should go beyond the mere communication, entailing for joint action. The grounds are set, as information is a support for knowledge and knowledge prepares for action (Malitza, 1990). By promoting interaction via participation in common projects, democratic processes can also be advanced within the World Future Studies Federation itself.

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Europe de l'Est : les pièges de la liberté

par Antonin Liehm *

*En pleine mutation, la société post-communiste
de l'Est européen est menacée par de nom-
breux dangers sur le chemin de la modernité.*

Moins de trois ans nous séparent de la chute du communisme en Europe centrale, et c'est à présent seulement que nous commençons à mesurer les séquelles qu'il laisse derrière lui, les problèmes qu'auront à régler ses héritiers et, par delà, l'ensemble de l'Europe.

Rappelons que les systèmes totalitaires — le nazisme puis le communisme — ont régné sur l'Europe centrale pendant plus de cinquante ans. Ce qui veut dire que deux générations n'auront rien connu d'autre, surtout pas la démocratie et l'économie de marché. Ni l'une ni l'autre n'y existent, même à l'état de souvenir, tout au plus comme un rêve, ou comme une image dont les contours varient selon les vœux pieux ou les renseignements glanés ici et là, par ouï-dire la plupart du temps.

Comme toute dictature, celle des communistes était, de par ses structures et son système de fonctionnement, profondément conservatrice. En effet, malgré ses débuts futuristes, son éthique et même son esthétique s'enracinaient au cœur du 19^e siècle. Elle allait, par contrecoup, susciter des courants foncièrement anti-communistes, également tournés vers le passé, soit sous la forme d'un libéralisme économique incontrôlé, soit sous le couvert d'une certaine éthique nationaliste ou d'une esthétique du rejet. Aussi, lorsque ces courants sont arrivés au pouvoir, il

y a deux ans, ils n'ont trouvé de contrepartie correctrice qu'en Allemagne. Partout ailleurs, ils ont transformé peu à peu la révolution anti-communiste en Restauration...

Un funeste héritage

Nous savions que la chute du communisme allait dévoiler le fond du gouffre idéologique et politique dont il fut l'artisan, en contradiction flagrante avec sa propre doctrine. Nous étions cependant nombreux à croire que ce vide serait rapidement comblé, d'abord par le retour à la religion, puis, là du moins où cette tradition avait eu des antécédents, par le retour à la démocratie, l'œcuménisme politique et la tolérance. Certes, nous étions conscients du fait que le communisme n'avait nullement éliminé les problèmes des nationalités — qu'il se contenta de camoufler ou de mettre arbitrairement sous le boisseau — mais peu d'entre nous avaient pressenti leur explosion aussi brutale... Soutenu par les Églises, le nationalisme occupa dans certains pays à peu près tout l'espace que venait d'évacuer l'idéologie communiste.

Ce demi-siècle de totalitarisme aura laissé encore d'autres legs funestes. Par exemple le mythe de l'égalité sociale, que le communisme a effectivement instauré dans une large mesure grâce au nivellement par le bas — ou bien l'illusion du plein-emploi... La simple image d'une société comprenant des riches, des pauvres et des chômeurs reste difficilement acceptable pour la plupart des mentalités. Disparus également le sens des responsabilités (ne serait-ce, pour chacun, que celle de son propre destin) et le goût des initiatives personnelles. Quant à la classe moyenne, elle n'existe à vrai dire que sous une forme héritée du communisme, comme une masse de fonctionnaires et employés de l'État, face à une couche de spéculateurs, corrupteurs et parasites de plus ou moins grande enver-

* Journaliste à Prague, quitte la Tchécoslovaquie en 1969 et se consacre à l'enseignement universitaire. En 1984, il crée la *Lettre internationale*, une revue paraissant dans neuf pays européens. En français, il a publié *Trois générations, Entretiens sur le phénomène culturel tchécoslovaque* (Gallimard, 1970), *Socialisme à visage humain* (Albatros, 1974), *Le passé présent* (Lattes, 1979), *Le cinéma de l'Est* (éd. du Cerf, 1979).

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gure. Or c'est cette couche qui s'adapte le mieux à la nouvelle situation. Il est intéressant de signaler aussi la considération croissante dont jouit l'ancienne noblesse bien titrée - à l'image du respect manifesté naguère pour cette espèce d'aristocratie du parti qu'étaient les élites de la nomenklatura. Constatons enfin l'absence totale de relations structurées entre employeurs et employés, ainsi que des organisations syndicales, patronales ou corporatives...

Europe de l'Est: les

Un équilibre précaire

Sur l'échiquier politique, les successeurs organisés du parti communiste, dont la force relative peut surprendre, sont mis en quarantaine par les autres formations, ce qui a pour conséquence de bloquer le jeu normal de l'équilibre démocratique et de l'alternance. En face, on retrouve une droite libérale, animée d'un esprit de Restauration, flanquée d'une extrême droite chauvine et souvent raciste. Entre les deux, on trouve un centre-gauche fragile, puis des sociaux-démocrates bien timides qui n'osent pas prononcer les mots de "social" et de "gauche", de peur d'être taxés de communisme. Situation quasi insoluble aussi longtemps que n'aurait pas été rétabli le marché et les relations de marché, indispensables à la conduite d'une politique démocratique. Or c'est dans cet intervalle que risquent de se produire — et que se produisent déjà ici et là — des explosions ou des aventures politiques lourdes de conséquences.

La réforme économique, qui se vise essentiellement à rétablir les structures du marché antérieures au communisme, était évidemment en cours d'élaboration bien avant la chute du régime. Le pouvoir dépréssant cherchait en effet, avec l'énergie du désespoir, une issue à l'impasse en essayant de créer une sorte de système mixte, inspiré d'une part de l'économie parallèle (qui s'était développée surtout en Hongrie) et, d'autre part, des tentatives polonaises pour associer les syndicats à la direction de l'économie et obtenir des soutiens massifs à l'étranger. En Tchécoslovaquie, où le pouvoir communiste installé après l'invasion de 1968 avait une peur panique de toute libéralisation, cette réforme fut préparée un peu en cachette, d'un côté sous l'égide d'une poignée de communistes réformistes qui dirigeaient l'Institut de prévision économique et, de l'autre côté, au sein du groupe qui s'était constitué autour du premier ministre Vaclav Klaus. Le premier courant, keynésien sur le fond, tablait sur une sorte de "troisième voie", de transformation progressive basée sur une large participation de l'Etat. Le second groupe, se réclamant sans concessions de Hayek et de Friedman, comptait en revanche sur le démantèlement radical du système existant, puis sur le retour au libéralisme classique, au moyen de privatisations plus ou moins incontrôlées, d'une ouverture quasi illimitée aux capitaux étrangers et d'une franche restauration de la situation d'avant le communisme. Cette dernière conception devait s'imposer pour l'essentiel dans les trois principaux pays de l'Europe centrale: la Hongrie, la Pologne et la Tchécoslovaquie.

Les Etats-Unis: un modèle

Etant donné que la Communauté européenne n'est pas en mesure d'intégrer l'Europe centrale à brève échéance ni de financer, en attendant, sa transformation, les dirigeants

politiques de cette partie du continent tournent de plus en plus leurs regards vers les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, dans lesquels ils placent leur dernier espoir. Parfaitement conscients de la situation, ceux-ci voient dans l'Europe centrale un secteur non négligeable de leur influence à long terme et un facteur important de leur politique face à l'Europe des Douze... Cela paraît d'autant plus naturel

qu'en ce moment, la doctrine économique américaine est très proche de celle qui prévaut en Europe centrale. Raison supplémentaire de prévoir que l'Europe centrale restera pour longtemps l'une des pierres angulaires du conservatisme européen.

Reste à savoir si cela va accélérer, ou plutôt ralentir, le fameux "retour en Europe" — en d'autres termes, si l'esprit Restauration de l'Europe centrale va la rapprocher, ou au contraire l'éloigner, de la modernité de l'Europe occidentale.

Tout ce que nous venons de dire se reflète peu ou prou aussi dans le domaine de la culture au sens le plus large. La culture devient objet de spéculation et de course à l'enrichissement rapide, dans un contexte qui s'écarte de la praxis de l'Europe occidentale pour s'orienter vers une sorte de "politique culturelle" à l'américaine. Mais c'est justement dans ce secteur que le modèle américain est le moins applicable. Il existe par exemple, en Tchécoslovaquie, environ trois mille maisons d'édition, mais aucune loi protégeant ce secteur d'activité ou définissant sa fiscalité. On tente d'accréditer l'idée que la télévision privée est synonyme de télévision indépendante; la production cinématographique locale tend à disparaître, de même que ses possibilités d'accès aux réseaux de distribution, saturés de films américains de série B. On envisage de diminuer les subventions aux bibliothèques publiques, musées, etc.

Ce sont là, succinctement exposés, quelques-uns des écueils auxquels se heurte la société post-communiste en pleine mutation et des dangers qui la guettent à chaque pas — et dont le risque, ressassé à tout bout de champ, d'un retour au communisme me semble personnellement l'un des moindres.

Dans tous les pays communistes s'était développée une opposition, plus ou moins forte, opérant en cachette ou au grand jour selon les cas. Appelée "dissidence" par les Occidentaux, elle n'avait de solides bases populaires qu'en Pologne. Partout ailleurs, il s'agissait de mouvements protestataires d'inspiration nationale ou intellectuelle, ayant pour seul principe la confrontation du sens moral des citoyens avec l'immoralité des gouvernants. C'est ainsi qu'on en vint à assimiler anticommunisme et moralité... H s'agissait là, dans une large mesure, d'une illusion que les premières années du post-communisme se chargèrent de démentir radicalement. Ecoutons ce qu'en dit Vaclav Havel, dans un récent essai intitulé *Reflexions estivales*: "... Le retour de la liberté dans un milieu en pleine décomposition morale devait entraîner un phénomène qui était manifestement dans la nature des choses et auquel il fallait donc s'attendre, mais qui se révèle néanmoins infiniment plus grave qu'on ne fut en mesure de le prévoir — à savoir la formidable explosion, perceptible de façon quasi aveuglante, de tous les mauvais instincts humains imaginables. Comme si toute une variété de penchants contestables, ou du moins ambigus, qui se développaient pendant des années insidieusement au sein de la société et qui, en même temps, étaient tout aussi insidieusement enrôlés au service de la marche au jour le jour du système totalitaire, venaient brusquement d'être libérés de

cette camisole de force pour obtenir ainsi toute latitude de s'affirmer enfin et de s'épanouir. Un certain ordre — si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi — que leur assignait le régime autoritaire (en les "légalisant" par la même occasion) avait donc volé en éclats, mais un ordre nouveau qui, loin de les exploiter, les aurait au contraire jugulés — un ordre des responsabilités librement consenties par la collectivité et envers la collectivité — n'était pas encore édifié, et il n'a pu l'être car une telle chose met de longues années à naître et à se cultiver.

"Aussi sommes-nous témoins d'une situation pour le moins bizarre: la société s'est certes libérée mais, sur beaucoup de points, elle se comporte plus mal qu'à une époque où elle manquait de liberté. Non seulement la criminalité sous toutes ses formes s'accroît rapidement, et, dans les médias (je pense surtout à la presse à sensation), s'étale ce flot nauséabond qui jaillit toujours de quelque sombre recoin de la mémoire collective au moment des

bouleversements historiques, mais des phénomènes encore plus préoccupants commencent à apparaître : rancœurs et suspicions entre les nationalités, racisme, voire manifestations du fascisme, démagogie éhontée, intrigues et mensonges délibérés, cuisine politicienne, luttes effrénées et sans vergogne autour d'intérêts particuliers,

soif du pouvoir et ambitions non dissimulées, fanatismes de tout acabit, type nouveau et inédit de

l'arnaque, des mafieux, absence généralisée de tolérance, de compréhension mutuelle, de bon goût, de sens de la mesure et de réflexion..."

Les pays communistes se sont libérés, mais ils sont encore loin d'avoir une démocratie et une économie en bon état de fonctionnement. On ne parviendra à atteindre de tels objectifs que si les responsables politiques ne confondent pas le but avec les voies qui y mènent et choisissent les moyens adéquats pour y parvenir...

Europe de l'Est: les

Des paysannes et des paysans nombreux pour un monde rural vivant dans toutes les régions *

pour une réforme profonde de la politique agricole commune

Introduction

Une réforme de la Politique agricole commune (PAC) est indispensable : La grande majorité des agriculteurs ne peut supporter plus longtemps les effets dramatiques de la PAC actuelle, et ils ne sont pas les seuls : pour les consommateurs, les contribuables, le monde rural, l'environnement, les populations du tiers-monde, la PAC actuelle a trop d'effets négatifs pour ne pas être revue profondément. Voilà bientôt 10 ans que les organisations paysannes de différents pays européens regroupés dans la Coordination Paysanne Européenne (CPE) l'affirment et font des propositions pour une autre politique. Depuis, la PAC s'est enfoncée davantage dans l'impasse et des millions d'exploitations ont disparu.

En janvier 1991 (1), la Commission Européenne a fait une analyse relativement juste de la situation et en juillet (2), elle a présenté des propositions de réforme au Conseil des Ministres de l'Agriculture.

De quelle réforme a-t-on besoin ? Les propositions de la Commission répondent-elles aux impasses actuelles ? Quelles sont les objectifs et les propositions de la CPE ?

Analyse de la situation

UNE POLITIQUE AGRICOLE DANS L'IMPASSE, DE TRES GRANDES DISPARITES DE REVENU, UN MONDE RURAL DESEQUILIBRE, UN ENVIRONNEMENT MENACE, DES PRODUITS AGRICOLES BANALISES, DES PAYSANS MAL RECONNUS.

1) De moins en moins de paysans, de plus en plus de dépenses

* les campagnes se vident, les problèmes restent

Durant les 20 dernières années, l'Europe des 12 a perdu 8 millions de paysans. Il n'en reste aujourd'hui que

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9 millions, répartis très inégalement dans la CEE (2,2% d'actifs agricoles au Royaume-Uni, 25% en Grèce). La PAC actuelle démenage partout les campagnes de ses paysans, quelle que soit l'importance de la population agricole. Ce processus de "restructuration", reste toujours prôné comme une condition indispensable du "développement économique", avec le soutien des organisations agricoles traditionnelles. Mais les 30 dernières années montrent que ce processus de concentration de la production n'a en rien résolu les problèmes de la PAC et des régions entières sont économiquement sinistrées. Les contribuables doivent supporter le coût de millions de chômeurs, la PAC s'est enfoncée dans une impasse ruineuse: il est grand temps aujourd'hui de comprendre que la société toute entière a intérêt à garder un nombre important de paysans dans toutes les régions.

Ce sont en effet les exploitations qui coûtent le moins cher à la CEE, celles qui ne sont pas responsables des excédents, que l'on fait disparaître.

Rappelons, pour le déplorer, qu'il existe une politique européenne d'incitation financière au départ à la retraite, mais qu'il n'existe pas de politique active d'installation des jeunes.

* de plus en plus de dépenses: qui en profite?

Si les dépenses agricoles de la CEE, n'ont pas cessé d'augmenter, c'est qu'elles soutiennent un volume de production de plus en plus grand, souvent excédentaire (intervention, stockage, exportation). Qui produit? dans quelles conditions? en quelle quantité? avec quelle qualité? cela importe trop peu au FEOGA.

Rappelons que les prix garantis le sont au niveau de la transformation (beurre, poudre de lait,...) et non de la production : C'est donc l'industrie agro-alimentaire qui reçoit directement une grande partie des fonds du FEOGA-Garantie, un quart seulement parvenant aux agriculteurs.

Ce système de financement a fait artificiellement se développer des firmes agro-alimentaires très liées aux subventions du FEOGA (laiteries ne fabriquant que de la poudre de lait et du beurre destiné à l'intervention, firmes de stockage des excédents, ...), avec de multiples fraudes.

LES OBJECTIFS DE LA C.P.E. POUR UNE AUTRE POLITIQUE AGRICOLE

DES PAYSANS NOMBREUX POUR UN ESPACE RURAL VIVANT DANS TOUTES LES REGIONS ET UNE ALIMENTATION DE BONNE QUALITE

- * Un travail de production agricole correctement rémunéré
- * Des paysans nombreux dans toutes les régions
- * Répartir plus justement les fonds du FEOGA entre les paysans
- * Maîtriser la production
- * Une production équilibrée entre toutes les régions
- * Des conditions sociales justes pour les paysans et les paysannes
- * Des produits agricoles diversifiés de meilleure qualité
- * Respecter les ressources naturelles
- * Des marchés internationaux sans dumping

LES PROPOSITIONS DE LA C.P.E.

REMUNERER LE TRAVAIL DE PRODUCTION AGRICOLE ET REPARTIR PLUS JUSTEMENT LES AIDES DU FEOGA

- * des prix agricoles différenciés : un soutien lié à la production mais limité financièrement par exploitation
- * une gestion simple, remplaçant les multiples aides actuelles

MAÎTRISER LA PRODUCTION

- * une limitation obligatoire de la surintensification (chargement à l'ha, taille des élevages, emploi des engrais) et interdiction des hormones
- * suppression du financement public des restitutions aux exportations
- * en cas d'excédents, taxe de résorption à partir d'un certain volume par exploitation
- * limitation de l'importation des produits de substitution aux céréales et des protéagineux

EQUILIBRER LE MONDE RURAL

- * stopper le processus de concentration de la production dans certaines régions
- * mieux rééquilibrer la production entre les régions

FOURNIR DES PRODUITS AGRICOLES DIVERSIFIÉS DE MEILLEURE QUALITE

- * appellations géographiques contrôlées
- * promotion de l'agriculture biologique
- * soutien des circuits courts de distribution
- * limitation du soutien des prix à une qualité bonne pour le consommateur

DEVELOPPER UNE AGRICULTURE RESPONSABLE VIS-À-VIS DES RESSOURCES NATURELLES

- * désintensification de la production
- * interdiction des pesticides dangereux pour l'alimentation et l'environnement
- * réduction du gaspillage énergétique
- * meilleure adaptation de l'agriculture aux possibilités naturelles de chaque région
- * préservation des ressources génétiques

MARCHES INTERNATIONAUX - GATT

- * arrêt du financement des restitutions aux exportations par le FEOGA
- * restriction des négociations du GATT à la réglementation du commerce international
- * GATT:
 - exportations agricoles sans dumping
 - importations d'alimentation animale limitée
 - critères sociaux et d'environnement pris en compte
 - soutien à la sécurité alimentaire autonome des pays du Tiers Monde

Les Etats empêchent encore l'instauration d'un véritable contrôle communautaire.

- 2) De très grandes disparités de revenu et une répartition du financement très inégale entre paysans et entre régions

* la CEE finance ceux qui produisent le plus

La Commission a enfin osé le dire: Le soutien du revenu "est largement proportionnel au volume de production et, par conséquent, concentre la plus grande part du soutien sur les exploitations les plus grandes et les plus intensives"... " Il en résulte que 80% du soutien assuré par le FEOGA est destiné à environ 20% des exploitations, qui par ailleurs recouvrent la plus grande partie des terres agricoles. Le système actuel ne tient pas suffisamment compte des revenus de la grande majorité des petites et moyennes exploitations familiales." (1)

C'est ainsi que les contribuables de la CEE offrent actuellement une rente de situation confortable à une minorité d'agriculteurs qui accaparent production, terre, et subventions.

De la même façon, ce sont les régions les plus intensives qui sont les plus favorisées. La distribution des fonds du FEOGA est très inégale entre les Pays-Bas (3771 millions d'écus en 1989 pour 286000 emplois agricoles) et le Portugal (354 millions d'écus pour 944000 emplois agricoles).

* Les disparités de revenu sont donc énormes et les moyennes publiées annuellement cachent bien des drames.

La moyenne nationale du revenu de l'exploitation agricole par actif va de 2100 écus au Portugal à 25200 écus aux Pays-Bas (1988/89).

* Des facteurs nationaux sont déterminants : la PAC ignore un certain nombre de facteurs qui sont déterminants pour le revenu des exploitations : la disparité des régimes fonciers, du prix de la terre, de la fiscalité, des régimes de succession est très grande et influence les coûts de production ainsi que les conditions d'installation des jeunes agriculteurs.

* "efficacité" et "compétitivité" : des critères déformés

C'est souvent au nom de l'efficacité et de la compétitivité qu'on favorise les exploitations grandes ou/et intensives. La Commission : "Après 30 ans de PAC, la compétitivité ne peut plus se mesurer en fonction de l'argent obtenu du FEOGA." (1)

Aujourd'hui en effet, plus une exploitation produit, plus elle reçoit de subventions, mais elle ne paie pas les coûts liés aux excédents, à la dégradation de l'environnement, au déséquilibre rural qu'elle engendre: ces coûts sont à la charge de la collectivité : c'est inacceptable.

Il est temps de mesurer efficacité et compétitivité économique en excluant les aides publiques, en tenant compte de tous les coûts et non plus du seul volume de production.

3) Des conditions inacceptables: les agriculteurs mal reconnus

Etre agriculteur est un métier hautement qualifié et polyvalent, qui n'est pas reconnu à sa juste valeur; beaucoup d'agriculteurs ont un revenu inférieur au salaire minimum des salariés alors que toutes les études montrent qu'ils travaillent beaucoup plus et ont le moins de temps libre: il y a là un mépris économique inacceptable.

Dans tous les pays de la CEE, les agriculteurs ont des droits sociaux très inférieurs aux autres catégories : pas ou peu de congé maternité, non reconnaissance du travail de l'agricultrice, faible retraite, mauvaise couverture en cas d'accident du travail, etc... : il y a là un mépris social inacceptable.

Bien qu'ils soient déclarés indispensables pour l'alimentation de la population et l'entretien de l'espace rural, les agriculteurs et la vie rurale restent méprisés culturellement: moins il y a de "paysans", plus le "pays" est dit "avancé", même s'il a des millions de chômeurs. Le modèle culturel est urbain et n'incite pas les jeunes à devenir agriculteurs.

4) L'Europe des nitrates et l'Europe des friches: les déséquilibres du monde rural

La PAC a engagé la CEE dans deux impasses absurdes : La Commission le reconnaît: "Là où il y a production intensive, il y a exploitation abusive de la nature, pollution de l'eau, dégradation de la terre. Là où il n'y a plus de production, parce que la production se détache peu à peu de la terre, il y a désertification et friche." (1)

La production agricole s'est non seulement concentrée dans un petit nombre d'exploitations, elle s'est aussi concentrée dans un petit nombre de régions favorisées par le contexte naturel et celui de la PAC, au détriment de l'environnement et des autres régions.

Dans ces autres régions délaissées par la PAC, la production agricole diminue, voire disparaît, s'accompagnant souvent d'une destruction du tissu économique et social qui coûte très cher à la collectivité (chômage, transports, incendies de forêts, etc...).

La PAC actuelle accroît donc les inégalités économiques et sociales entre les régions; on est bien loin de l'objectif d'une "communauté européenne".

5) La perte de qualité et de diversité des produits agricoles

L'Europe disposait d'une multitude de terroirs, de variétés, de traditions de transformation locale qui sont aujourd'hui gravement compromises par l'industrialisation de la production et la concentration de l'industrie agro-alimentaire. La qualité des produits est devenue celle nécessaire à l'industrie et non au consommateur, d'où des produits agricoles banalisés, calibrés, sélectionnés pour le transport, mais sans saveur, sans trace du terroir d'origine.

N'est-il pas significatif que la CEE, excédentaire en céréales, doive importer 3 millions de tonnes de céréales de qualité?

La diversité est aujourd'hui devenue celle des produits agroalimentaires, où l'industrie, à partir de produits agricoles réduits au rang et au prix de matière première

banale, flatte le consommateur par des saveurs ou des présentations artificielles "à l'ancienne".

Le consommateur peut-il se satisfaire de la médiocre qualité de la viande issue des élevages industriels, que la PAC aide à se développer, de l'utilisation encore répandue des hormones interdites, des nombreux résidus de traitement phytosanitaire ?

Que dire du laxisme dans lequel se développe le marché du "faux bio", au mépris des agriculteurs qui, contre vents et marée, se sont engagés dans la production "biologique" ?

Qualité et diversité, deux richesses européennes que la PAC actuelle laisse perdre. Et la Commission (1, 2) n'en souffle mot...

6) Les ressources naturelles et l'environnement mal traités par une agriculture trop intensive

Les nappes phréatiques de nombreuses régions, en particulier des bassins céréaliers, sont polluées par les nitrates et les pesticides et le taux de matière organique des sols, gage de fertilité, s'y est fortement réduit. Le lisier issu des élevages trop intensifs pollue sols et eaux. Les paysages culturels sont livrés aux normes de la mécanisation lourde ou retournent en friche.

Erosion et incendies de forêt déciment l'espace méditerranéen.

Des ressources génétiques (races animales, variétés végétales, ...) disparaissent à tout jamais ...

Telles sont les conséquences d'une agriculture de plus en plus intensive qui n'a jamais voulu inclure ces coûts dans les calculs de rentabilité économique.

Et la concentration accélérée de la production ne peut qu'aggraver ces atteintes à l'environnement.

7) Les effets pervers de la PAC pour les populations du Tiers-Monde

Il est reconnu enfin aujourd'hui que les excédents de l'Europe sont le pire remède au mal-développement, acceptables uniquement en cas d'urgence absolue liée à la famine.

En bradant ses surplus de céréales, de poudre de lait ou de viande bovine, au prix de dépenses énormes pour le FEOGA, la PAC actuelle casse les potentialités souvent très grandes de ces pays de se nourrir d'abord eux-mêmes. Elle casse également les habitudes alimentaires et rend par exemple leurs villes dépendantes des importations de produits "exotiques du Nord" comme la farine de blé.

8) Quotas laitiers, stabilisateurs, gel des terres: les toilettes ratées de la PAC

Alors que les crises budgétaires liées aux excédents étaient inhérentes au système de garantie de prix pour des volumes illimités de production, et prévisibles dès 1975, la CEE n'a jamais vraiment changé la PAC. Elle a seulement à plusieurs reprises cherché à régler les problèmes budgétaires et "ne s'est pas attaquée aux problèmes de fond" (1).

* quotas laitiers (1984) : la mise en place de quotas laitiers a été profondément injuste en offrant une rente de situation aux plus gros producteurs et en empêchant les plus petits et les régions extensives de tradition laitière de maintenir leur production. C'est ce que la CPE dénonçait dès 1984 (3). Les quotas n'ont pas non plus permis de bien maîtriser la production : de nouveau les stocks s'accumulent et les quotas vont être réduits. Ils ont par contre très fortement accéléré la concentration de la production.

Deux dangers supplémentaires guettent les producteurs de lait: la commercialisation des quotas laitiers et une autorisation éventuelle de l'hormone laitière (BST).

* stabilisateurs (céréales, 1988): dès octobre 1987 (4), la CPE affirmait que des stabilisateurs ne régleraient pas le problème de la surproduction. C'est bien ce qui s'est passé et la Commission reconnaît aujourd'hui que "le problème de fond provient de la croissance des excédents et n'est pas résolu" (1).

Cinq années ont été perdues: les stocks n'ont jamais aussi été élevés et la forte baisse des prix a ruiné beaucoup d'agriculteurs.

* gel des terres (1988) : dès mars 87 (5), la CPE expliquait que le gel des terres ne servirait à rien si l'intensification de la production était maintenue ailleurs. La Commission reconnaît aujourd'hui l'échec de cette mesure: "le plus souvent, ce sont les terres à faible rendement qui ont été retirées" (1). Rappelons que la CEE importe 19 millions de tonnes de céréales et de protéagineux destinés à l'alimentation animale, ce qui correspond à plus de la surface agricole du Benelux!, qu'il faut mettre en parallèle avec les 43 millions de tonnes de céréales d'excédents que la CEE prévoit pour 1992, avec un coût énorme pour le FEOGA.

Le gel des terres est donc plus une fuite en avant qu'une solution aux problèmes des excédents: il existe d'autres possibilités bien mieux adaptées à l'Europe.

Pour que la prochaine réforme ne soit pas une nouvelle toilette à refaire dans 5 ans, il faut s'attaquer aux véritables causes des problèmes.

LA REFORME PROPOSEE PAR LA COMMISSION EUROPEENNE N'EST PAS LA REFORME PROFONDE DONT L'EUROPE A BESOIN

Dans son document de février 1991, la Commission Européenne a rappelé un certain nombre d'objectifs très louables qu'elle propose à la PAC:

- "maintenir un nombre suffisant d'agriculteurs à la terre"
- "maîtriser la production"
- "encourager l'extensification"
- "principes de base de la PAC maintenus (unité du mar-

ché, préférence communautaire, solidarité financière)"

- "mieux répartir le soutien"
- "une véritable solidarité financière en faveur de ceux qui en ont le plus besoin"

Ce texte, tout en prônant une baisse radicale des prix, insistait pour la première fois fortement sur les inégalités dans la répartition du soutien, sur la forte concentration de

la production, et proposait de moduler le soutien, d'où quelques espoirs de notre part et un soutien à la volonté de réformer la PAC.

Dans son document de juillet, la Commission Européenne a proposé la réforme d'un certain nombre de marchés, avec des mesures d'accompagnement concernant l'environnement, le boisement, la retraite anticipée.

S'agit-il là d'une réforme capable de résoudre les problèmes et de remplir les objectifs évoqués ci-dessus?

Face aux pressions exercées par les négociations du GATT, la Commission propose une toilette de la PAC qui se rapproche de la politique agricole des USA: une forte baisse des prix accompagnée d'aides compensatoires directes (mais sans plafond, contrairement aux USA).

En fait de réforme profonde de la PAC, il s'agit d'abord d'une réforme du marché des céréales, le plus sensible au niveau des stocks et le plus sensible au GATT. Les autres marchés sont adaptés en fonction de cette réforme du marché des céréales.

La Commission annonce une réforme favorable aux agriculteurs, aux consommateurs, à l'environnement: est-ce bien le cas ?

Agriculteurs: l'exclusion d'un grand nombre d'exploitations

Pour les nombreuses exploitations déjà asphyxiées par les baisses de prix des dernières années, il n'est proposé aucune augmentation de revenu, mais seulement une compensation partielle à une nouvelle baisse de prix très forte. Cela condamne délibérément ces exploitations à court terme: la PAC reste donc une machine à fabriquer l'exclusion.

Une modulation de l'aide compensatoire en fonction de la taille de l'exploitation, annoncée dans le document (1) de janvier, a disparu des propositions, sous la pression de la minorité des exploitations (20%) qui accaparent les aides actuelles (80%). Les organisations agricoles "officielles" et les gouvernements qui les soutiennent refusent ainsi, au profit de quelques-uns, de remettre en cause une des raisons essentielles des déséquilibres de la PAC.

La forte baisse des prix tend davantage encore à faire du produit agricole une matière première sans grande valeur, qui dévalorise le travail de l'agriculteur.

La réforme du marché des céréales:

* l'aide compensatoire à la baisse des prix n'est plafonnée qu'à travers une indemnisation limitée du gel obligatoire de terres. Une exploitation de 200 ha de céréales par exemple recevra l'aide compensatoire sur 177,5 ha en moyenne, ce qui correspond, sur la base moyenne de 253 écus par ha (2), à une aide de 45.000 écus. Une exploitation de 50 ha recevra l'aide sur les 50 ha, c'est à dire 12.650 écus. Ce sont donc les plus grandes exploitations qui vont continuer à recevoir la plus grande partie de l'aide, même si un effort dans la redistribution du soutien a été fait.

* l'aide compensatoire est fonction du rendement moyen régional, si bien que ce sont les régions les plus riches qui vont recevoir l'aide la plus élevée. Par contre, et c'est un point positif, cette aide défavorise les exploitations plus intensives dont le rendement est au-dessus de la moyenne régionale.

* l'année de référence n'est pas précisée en ce qui concerne la surface céréalière qui sera prise en compte: il est indispensable que cette année de référence soit déjà passée, si l'on veut éviter une course à l'agrandissement des exploitations, qui a déjà lieu dans les bassins céréalières.

* La maîtrise de la production est-elle bien assurée par le gel des terres?

Puisque "6% des exploitations céréalières occupent à elles seules 50% de la surface céréalières et réalisent 60% de la production" (1), pourquoi la Commission ne propose-t-elle pas de réduire les excédents là où ils sont produits?

Le gel obligatoire de 15% de la surface céréalière (pour les exploitations au-dessus de 20 ha) ne garantit pas que la production sera maîtrisée: la Commission a d'ailleurs prévu la possibilité d'augmenter ce pourcentage de 15% en fonction de l'état des stocks.

En effet d'une part les rendements vont continuer à augmenter régulièrement sur les surfaces cultivées et d'autres part, si le caractère tournant du gel des terres est indispensable pour éviter de ne geler que les mauvaises terres, le rendement augmente lors de la remise en culture de la jachère. Il faudra donc geler chaque année davantage de terres.

Il n'y a aucune mesure active proposée contre la surintensification alors que c'est l'une des causes essentielles des excédents et que les nitrates polluent gravement les eaux.

Si les plus grandes exploitations céréalières sont aussi efficaces et compétitives qu'on le prétend, que l'on cesse de leur réserver la plus grande part des aides et qu'elles soient effectivement confrontées au marché!...

* la mise en culture possible des terres gelées à des fins non alimentaires n'est pas garantie de se faire en respectant l'environnement. Ce sont par ailleurs les plus grandes exploitations qui signeront les contrats d'approvisionnement les plus intéressants avec l'industrie de transformation non-alimentaire. Rappelons que l'utilisation de céréales à des fins énergétiques est une aberration. Il s'agit là d'une fuite en avant coûteuse face au problème des excédents, sans justification économique ni énergétique: l'utilisation énergétique de déchets agricoles et des résidus d'entretien des haies et des forêts serait plus judicieuse. Et comment se fera le contrôle entre les céréales non-alimentaires et les autres?

* l'aide compensatoire attribuée à l'ha donne une valeur supplémentaire à la surface, indépendamment de toute production. Il va en résulter une augmentation du prix de la terre et une course à l'agrandissement. On diminue ainsi la valeur attribuée au produit du travail et on augmente la valeur attribuée au capital: comme c'est déjà le cas pour la valeur attribuée de fait aux quotas laitiers, on augmente ainsi les coûts de production et d'installation.

** Lait:*

Il y a bien dans les propositions une volonté exprimée de moins pénaliser les petits producteurs et les producteurs extensifs, mais est-ce bien le cas concrètement?

* la baisse des prix de 10% n'est que partiellement compensée par la prime à la vache.

* de la baisse généralisée du quota de 4%, les Etats devront redistribuer 1% "à des catégories spéciales", qui

sont définies trop largement, ne ciblant pas suffisamment les petits producteurs.

* les programmes de cessation volontaire permettant l'attribution de quotas aux producteurs de moins de 200.000 kg ne garantissent pas du tout que tous ces producteurs ne subissent pas de baisse de quotas.

* malgré le lien de la prime par vache laitière à un certain seuil d'extensification, une bonne chose en soi, les exploitations intensives, grâce à la baisse du prix des céréales, seront moins pénalisées que les exploitations extensives. C'est donc le contraire de ce qui est annoncé : on continue la concentration de la production laitière et on défavorise l'herbe, unique possibilité agricole de tant de régions que seule la PAC a défavorisées.

* la suppression de la taxe de coresponsabilité est une bonne chose, mais les petits producteurs et les régions défavorisées, qui ne la payaient pas, perdent l'avantage de cette modulation.

* Elevage hors-sol :

* la baisse du prix des céréales va favoriser l'élevage hors-sol, non pénalisé par ailleurs (la Commission autorise même des aides nationales à la transformation industrielle du lisier!).

* l'objectif annoncé de mettre mieux en concurrence les céréales avec les PSC risque fortement d'être réduit à néant par une baisse équivalente du prix des PSC (le corn gluten feed par exemple est un résidu industriel dont le prix est très compressible) et par le fait que l'industrie de l'alimentation animale est très liée géographiquement aux importations.

* Viande bovine:

* alors que la situation des producteurs est catastrophique, la réforme proposée n'offre aucune perspective et n'est qu'une adaptation à la réforme céréalière.

* les causes de la très grave crise actuelle sont multiples mais toutes liées au fonctionnement de la PAC:

- abattage de vaches dû à la réduction des quotas,
- déplacement de la production de viande bovine des régions traditionnelles à base d'herbe vers les régions laitières,
- importations sauvages et massives en provenances d'Europe de l'Est, liées à une forte décapitalisation dans ces pays, ce qui n'est pas dans l'intérêt de leurs populations.

* les aides proposées sont très largement insuffisantes et condamnent des milliers d'éleveurs, notamment dans les régions à vocation bovine extensive comme le Limousin, les Ardennes, l'Irlande, etc...

* Marchés internationaux:

* La Commission fait le pari que le prix mondial des céréales va augmenter pour rejoindre le prix abaissé de la CEE, annulant ainsi les restitutions aux exportations. C'est un pari très risqué, étant donné les fortes possibilités d'augmentation de la production dans les pays du Groupe de Cairns, dans les pays de l'Europe de l'Est, et aux Etats-Unis, qui feront toujours pression sur les prix. Le coût des aides compensatoires risque donc de rester très élevé pour le FEOGA.

* La maîtrise de la production n'étant absolument pas garantie, les contribuables de la CEE, à moindre coût

certaines, vont donc continuer à financer les exportations d'excédents, la Commission précisant que "la Communauté demeurera active sur le marché mondial" (1). Il semble bien d'ailleurs que l'objectif de la Commission n'est pas d'abord de réduire les excédents, mais d'en réduire le coût.

* Ne doit-on pas s'interroger sur la priorité encore donnée aux exportations? Elles ne représentent un "pétrole vert" que si, d'une façon tout à fait démagogique et non économique, on oublie d'en retirer toutes les importations nécessaires à la fabrication de ces produits agricoles exportés. Et le bilan net est alors beaucoup moins favorable, comme le montrent par exemple les statistiques officielles françaises de l'INSEE.

Par ailleurs, il est de la responsabilité de la CEE de ne plus perturber les marchés du tiers-monde avec ses excédents et d'exiger une attitude semblable des autres exportateurs au sein du GATT.

* Contrôle:

* le souhait de la Commission de voir "établir un registre pour chaque exploitation" (2) est positif. Ce registre devrait comporter notamment le nombre d'actifs, les types de production, les aides perçues, ...

* L'utilisation des fonds communautaires devrait faire l'objet d'un véritable contrôle communautaire et il y a là une lacune importante dans le fonctionnement de la CEE, les Etats protégeant encore trop souvent leurs fraudeurs.

Ce ne sont pas les consommateurs qui bénéficieraient de la baisse des prix à la production

Il faut être bien naïf pour le croire. Les années passées nous montrent que les baisses des prix du blé ou du bœuf n'ont pas été répercutées par la transformation/distribution, qui seraient les seuls grands bénéficiaires de cette réforme.

Le consommateur serait par contre invité en tant que contribuable à payer davantage pour financer le programme d'aides directes.

Rien n'est proposé pour améliorer la qualité des produits: l'élevage industriel est même favorisé par la baisse du prix des céréales.

Environnement: est-ce en distribuant des primes qu'on résout les problèmes ?

L'environnement est traité par la Commission presque en annexe, avec quelques mesures encore floues et volontaires. On transforme les agriculteurs en chasseurs de primes, on distribue des écus pour donner une image acceptable de la PAC, mais on ne va pas au fond des problèmes en refusant d'attaquer la surintensification et la concentration de la production par des mesures non facultatives.

Boisement des terres agricoles:

* Une meilleure gestion des forêts actuelles est sûrement plus à même de réduire le "déficit considérable en bois" (2) de la CEE qu'un boisement éparpillé de terres agricoles.

* Rien ne précise comment on va "promouvoir le boisement sur une base écologique saine" (2) : il faut par exemple exclure de toute aide le boisement en eucalyptus, nuisible à l'environnement, ainsi que le boisement en peupliers des zones humides à préserver. Il faut favoriser les techniques forestières non agressives vis à vis de l'environnement.

Les propositions de la Commission Européenne, malgré quelques efforts positifs pour une meilleure répartition du

soutien, restent marquées par une forte baisse des prix au profit de l'industrie agro-alimentaire, aux dépens des agriculteurs. On est loin des objectifs du traité de Rome, surtout en ce qui concerne le revenu. La priorité reste donnée au départ d'un grand nombre d'agriculteurs plutôt qu'à un meilleur équilibre du monde rural et de l'environnement.

Il existe d'autres possibilités de changer profondément la PAC dans un sens plus juste pour les agriculteurs, les consommateurs, le monde.

LES OBJECTIFS DE LA C.P.E. POUR UNE AUTRE POLITIQUE AGRICOLE

DES PAYSANS NOMBREUX POUR UN ESPACE RURAL VIVANT DANS TOUTES LES REGIONS ET UNE ALIMENTATION DE BONNE QUALITE

* Un travail de production agricole correctement rémunéré:

Le système actuel de soutien des prix ne remplit pas cet objectif.

Pour que l'agriculteur soit économiquement reconnu dans son travail de production, il est essentiel que celui-ci soit rémunéré à sa juste valeur. Cela doit se faire à travers ce qu'il produit.

* Des paysans nombreux dans toutes les régions:

Il restent la base principale pour maintenir des villages ruraux actifs pouvant attirer d'autres activités économiques et inciter les jeunes européens à y vivre. Ils sont indispensables si l'on souhaite maintenir les paysages culturels actuels, et si l'on veut développer des campagnes accueillantes.

* Répartir plus justement les fonds du FEOGA entre les agriculteurs:

Les fonds du FEOGA doivent servir en priorité à ceux qui en ont le plus besoin, en fonction des objectifs exprimés ici, et ne plus être réservés à une minorité déjà favorisée.

* Maîtriser la production:

Il est indispensable de stopper le financement de la surproduction, afin de réduire des dépenses budgétaires inutiles et de négocier devant le GATT l'arrêt par tous du dumping aux exportations, seulement profitable au commerce international.

Il est indispensable de décourager la surproduction, qui n'est synonyme ni de qualité ni de respect de l'environnement.

* Une production équilibrée entre toutes les régions:

Le processus de spécialisation croissante de régions et de concentration de la production doit être inversé pour développer une véritable communauté européenne où aucune région ne soit délaissée ou trop favorisée par la PAC.

* Des conditions sociales justes pour les agriculteurs :

Les agriculteurs et les agricultrices doivent avoir les mêmes droits sociaux que les autres catégories. C'est une condition indispensable de leur reconnaissance sociale. L'agricultrice doit avoir les mêmes droits que l'agriculteur.

* Des produits agricoles diversifiés de meilleure qualité:

Il faut privilégier la qualité des produits agricoles à l'approvisionnement à bas prix et basse qualité de l'industrie agroalimentaire. Il faut favoriser la transformation locale des produits.

* Respecter les ressources naturelles:

Il faut pour cela engager une désintensification de l'agriculture dans toutes les exploitations qui ont dépassé des seuils nuisibles à l'environnement.

* Des marchés internationaux sans dumping:

Le dumping des exportations doit être abandonné par tous les pays engagés dans les négociations du GATT. Le "marché concurrentiel mondial" n'existe pas, mais seulement quelques oligarchies économiques qui manipulent le terme de compétitivité à leur seul profit.

La PAC ne doit plus freiner l'autonomie alimentaire des populations du tiers-monde mais au contraire l'encourager.

Importer pour exporter, comme le fait aujourd'hui la PAC, bénéficie au commerce international plutôt qu'au bien-être social: il faut réorienter les priorités.

LES PROPOSITIONS DE LA C.P.E.

Nous voulons régler les problèmes à leur source: les deux causes essentielles des problèmes de la PAC sont le soutien des prix pour des quantités illimitées de production

par exploitation et la surintensification: c'est donc cela qu'il faut d'abord changer. Mais comment le faire?

REMUNERER LE TRAVAIL DE PRODUCTION AGRICOLE ET REPARTIR PLUS JUSTEMENT LES AIDES DU FEOGA

* Des prix agricoles différenciés: un soutien lié à la production mais limité financièrement par exploitation

Il s'agit d'abandonner le soutien des prix pour des quantités illimitées de production par exploitation: le FEOGA ne garantit un soutien du prix que pour un volume limité de production par exploitation.

Jusqu'à un certain volume de production par exploitation, calculé régionalement, le FEOGA verse un complément de prix par rapport au prix de base CEE, qui reste supérieur au cours mondial actuel.

Prix de base + complément de prix couvrent les coûts de production et garantissent la rémunération du travail pour ce volume limité de production par exploitation.

Ce que l'exploitation produit au-delà de ce volume de production n'est plus soutenu par le FEOGA.

Le complément de prix est régionalisé pour tenir compte des coûts de production différents entre les régions. Il est par exemple plus élevé dans les régions de montagne, parce qu'il y faut fournir plus de travail qu'ailleurs pour obtenir le même volume de production.

La limitation de l'aide se fait sous forme d'un plafond financier versé à l'exploitation.

Il existe plusieurs possibilités de le faire: on peut limiter le versement du complément de prix aux seules exploitations dont le revenu est inférieur au revenu paritaire régional, ou bien chaque exploitation peut recevoir un complément de prix, dans la limite d'un plafond financier calculé régionalement.

Le complément de prix, en y rémunérant le travail et les coûts de production, garantit ainsi l'existence possible et la reproduction d'une agriculture paysanne dans toutes les régions d'Europe, et en particulier dans les régions défavorisées et les petites exploitations.

* Une gestion simple, remplaçant les multiples aides actuelles

Le complément de prix est payé par le FEOGA à l'agriculteur, le paiement étant effectué par l'intermédiaire de chaque Etat membre.

Il est calculé en fonction du nombre d'actifs paysans sur l'exploitation (salariés non compris). Il n'est pas strictement proportionnel à ce nombre d'actifs, pour tenir compte des coûts de production moindres.

Les compléments de prix ne sont bien sûr pas cumulables pour chaque production de l'exploitation: une comptabilité simple permet de verser un seul complément de prix global calculé à partir des pourcentages de chaque production dans les ventes de l'exploitation. Ce complément de prix peut remplacer le nombre inextricable d'aides et de primes actuelles.

Les fonds du FEOGA sont ainsi utilisés de façon bien plus équitables et le plafonnement des dépenses par exploitation cesse d'encourager à produire toujours plus.

* Maîtrise de la production

Le problème n'est pas de réduire le coût des excédents mais bien de réduire fortement les possibilités de les produire, en ne gardant que des stocks de sécurité alimentaire et d'aide internationale d'urgence. Plusieurs mesures complémentaires sont nécessaires:

— une limitation obligatoire de la surintensification de la production est indispensable:

* limitation régionale du chargement à l'ha de surface fourragère,

* limitation de la taille des élevages,

* limitation de l'emploi des engrais: un débat ici est

nécessaire pour étudier les modalités d'y parvenir,

* interdiction des hormones de croissance animale et des régulateurs de croissance végétaux,

— au sein des négociations du GATT, il faut exiger la limitation de l'importation des PSC et protéagineux en échange d'un accord sur la suppression du financement public des exportations.

— en cas de production excédentaire, le coût des excédents doit être pris en charge par les producteurs qui en sont responsables: une taxe de résorption doit être prélevée à partir d'un certain volume de production.

— La suppression du financement public des restitutions aux exportations permet d'économiser près de 10 milliards d'écus pouvant être affectés au paiement des compléments de prix.

— La maîtrise de la production ainsi mieux assurée permet d'économiser une grande partie des frais de stockage et de dépréciation de stocks (environ 4 milliards d'écus en 1990).

— Les mesures de maîtrise de la production ne doivent pas mettre en péril l'existence d'exploitations familiales aujourd'hui très intensives: pour les exploitations dont le revenu est inférieur au revenu paritaire régional, une aide financière doit être versée pendant une période de transition permettant de respecter ces normes de désintensification.

* Equilibre du monde rural

Pour retrouver un meilleur équilibre entre les régions, il faut stopper les processus de concentration de la production dans certaines régions au détriment des autres. Les prix différenciés et les mesures de maîtrise de la production y contribuent, mais il faut en plus donner la possibilité à de nombreuses régions délaissées de retrouver leur vocation agricole ou de ne plus la perdre, en rééquilibrant mieux la production entre les régions.

Le boisement doit s'inscrire dans le cadre d'un développement agricole mais ne pas s'y substituer.

Il faut aider financièrement la transformation locale des produits.

* Qualité et diversité des produits

Toutes les mesures que nous proposons ci-dessus vont beaucoup freiner la dégradation actuelle, mais il faut également:

— sauvegarder les produits régionaux traditionnels par des appellations géographiques contrôlées,

— promouvoir l'agriculture biologique en l'intégrant dans les programmes de formation, en aidant financièrement la reconversion, en instituant un contrôle de vérification des produits vendus comme "biologiques",

— aider financièrement les circuits courts de distribution entre producteurs et consommateurs,

— limiter le soutien des prix à un certain niveau de qualité (céréales panifiables par exemple) pour le consommateur, au lieu d'établir des normes en fonction des intérêts de l'industrie de transformation,

— favoriser financièrement la plantation d'arbres donnant du bois de qualité,
— financer la recherche d'abord en fonction de ces objectifs,

* Une agriculture responsable vis-à-vis des ressources naturelles

Seule une désintensification de la production peut conduire à une gestion saine à long terme des ressources naturelles. Toutes les mesures ci-dessus doivent être complétées par:

- une interdiction des pesticides dangereux pour l'alimentation et l'environnement,
- une réduction du gaspillage énergétique en agriculture lié à une production trop intensive,
- une meilleure adéquation entre les techniques, les productions et les conditions agroclimatiques de la région (problèmes liés à l'irrigation, drainage, serres, ...),
- une préservation active des ressources génétiques.

* Marchés internationaux - GATT

— Exportations : Le FEOGA ne doit plus financer de restitutions aux exportations. Celles-ci doivent être prises en charge par les producteurs au-delà d'un certain volume de production, l'idée étant de faire payer les coûts des excédents par ceux qui les produisent. La CEE serait alors en mesure de négocier d'autres exigences dans les négociations du GATT.

— Négociations du GATT: celles-ci doivent s'en tenir à leur strict rôle qui est de réglementer le commerce international et non de définir les politiques agricoles sur toute la planète, alors que le commerce international ne représente qu'une très faible part de la production.

Il faut

- * interdire le dumping aux exportations, sous toutes ses formes, comme c'est le cas pour les produits industriels,
- * négocier l'introduction de la protection aux frontières de la CEE pour les importations d'alimentation animale,

- * inclure des critères d'environnement (dumping écologique) ainsi que des critères sociaux dans les négociations du GATT, sans lesquels toute notion de compétitivité et d'avantage comparatif n'a aucun sens,
- * préserver la capacité autonome des pays du Tiers-Monde à garantir leur sécurité alimentaire.

QUESTIONS TEST POSEES AU CONSEIL AGRICOLE ET A LA COMMISSION EUROPEENNE

Les réponses qu'y apporteront le Conseil et la Commission seront significatives des orientations de la PAC et de la volonté de réforme.

- 1) Le Conseil va-t-il autoriser ou interdire l'hormone laitière (BST)?
- 2) Le Conseil va-t-il interdire le marché des quotas?
- 3) Le Conseil va-t-il interdire le brevetage des êtres vivants?
- 4) La Commission va-t-elle interdire le financement public du traitement industriel du lisier?
- 5) Le Conseil va-t-il instituer des appellations géographiques pour protéger les produits régionaux traditionnels?
- 6) La CEE va-t-elle être active dans les négociations du GATT pour supprimer le dumping aux exportations?
- 7) La CEE va-t-elle négocier activement les conditions d'une meilleure autonomie dans le secteur de l'alimentation animale?
- 8) —

Notes:

- (1) Commission Européenne, COM (91) 100 final, 1/02/1991.
 - (2) Commission Européenne, COM (91) 258 final, 12/07/1991.
 - (3) CPE: communiqué de presse du 23/11/1984.
 - (4) CPE: communiqué de presse du 16/10/1987.
 - (5) CPE: communiqué de presse du 31 mars 1987.
- Chiffres: "la situation de l'agriculture dans la Communauté", rapport 1990 - Commission Européenne.

Coordination Paysanne Européenne (CPE)

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7 mars 1992

Development for Global Security

The South and the Stockholm Initiative

The following pages are excerpts from the Report on the Proceedings of a Seminar Organized by the Sub-Committee on the South of the Special NGO Committee on Development (Geneva), 3-4 December 1991, Palais des Nations, Geneva. The Stockholm Initiative has led to the creation of the Stockholm Initiative's Independent Commission, which is to be launched on 25-27 September this year in Geneva.

L Horace Perera, Honorary President, World Federation of United Nations Associations

The Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance (April 1991) was, in the 1980s, preceded by reports of four other Commissions. These were the Willy Brandt "North-South Commission" (1980), the Olof Palme Commission on "Disarmament and Security" (1982), the Brundtland Commission on "Environment and Development" (1987) and the Julius Nyerere "South Commission" (1990). There is a basic common denominator in the thinking of all four of the independent Commissions and that is that no nation can resolve its own problems without relying on other nations. Hence, what is needed is a common effort to achieve a common security and thus to build a common future. Running through the Stockholm Initiative (henceforth to be referred to as "SI") is the thesis that "Peace and security will not be achieved unless it is extended, at one and the same time, to deal with the threats that stem from failures in development, from environmental degradation, from violations of human rights and from opposition to the promotion of democratic forms of government".

The SI begins on an optimistic note in that it considers that the "momentous changes in East-West relations provide new openings for the world in the 1990s". It concedes, however, that the openings, though real, are "fraught with dangers including, in particular, the extreme difficulties facing the transformation of the Soviet Union". No solution, however is proposed to this monumental problem. Various suggestions have been made from time to time by different leaders. These can probably be summed up in the appeal of John Paul II for help "to rebuild morally and economically and socially the countries which have abandoned communism".

In using the word 'morally' the Pope is not referring to religious theory but to the dignity of the human being with all the rights and freedoms inherent in human nature itself. He feels that the responsibility for solving these problems falls largely on the 'Western World', for it corresponds to the interest and welfare of Europe as a whole, including evidently the USA, Canada and by extension Japan. It is

useful to note that the 'new world order' mouthed so often and so loudly on the other side of the Atlantic, but never defined fully, is, according to SI, a global order of peace and security with the destruction of all weapons of mass annihilation, the universal acceptance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty with all international inspection rights, a considerable reduction of conventional weapons and arms transfers, the eradication of poverty in the foreseeable future, sustainable development, the recognition of individual and of collective rights and freedoms, and democracy with full popular participation in decision-making and implementation. These elements are inextricably linked. In fact, they dovetail into each other, and must be perceived and dealt with as an integrated whole and not merely as a sum of its parts. For purposes of study, however, they have to be examined separately but the fact of their intrinsic unity must not be lost sight of. To do so would be to act like the blind men who went to see an elephant. Each described this majestic animal according to that part of its body with which he came into contact.

The SI begins with the issue of "Peace and Security". Benefiting from the developments which led to the Gulf War and to the war itself, the SI makes recommendations for a global emergency system to be deployed before conflicts grow violent, for measures to strengthen the UN's capabilities for peace-making and peace-keeping and for global law enforcement arrangements within the UN System, including the role of sanctions as well as military enforcement measures. It also proposes that Regional Conferences on Security and Cooperation be tried in regions outside Europe. These could provide a framework for cooperation not only on political security but also on economic, environmental, social, cultural and human rights issues. What is happening today in Yugoslavia is strictly not a breakdown of the CSCE process, nor is the disintegration of the Soviet empire. These developments flow from their own historical and cultural backgrounds and should not deter other regions from initiating their own security and cooperation systems.

A comment on sanctions as a 'peace weapon' will be useful at this stage. Their main purpose is to inconvenience the civilian population of an aggressor state in the expectation that the people will pressure the regime, or even move against it, to ensure compliance with UN Security Council resolutions. Where this is not the case, that is, where the civilian population cannot exercise their fundamental rights through the mechanisms of a democratic system of government, sanctions will just not work. Herein lies the human rights dimension of sanctions.

One cannot think of the Gulf War without realizing the monumental dimension of the arms race and the enormous sales of weaponry by Northern powers to the countries of the South. For this nefarious trade between the North and the South, the South is also to blame, for if these countries did not provide the market for arms transfers there would have been no sales. It is true that recent disarmament treaties have given some stability to the arms race. However, much more is still needed as spelt out above. If only all this can be achieved there will, according to SI, be a considerable peace dividend in the North which can be used by the North to provide more effective social services for the deprived sections of its own population and make it possible for the industrialized countries to grant as aid not merely the original target of 0.7 percent of their GNP (presently averaging a measly 0.33 percent), but to increase development assistance to 1 percent of their GNP. As a matter of fact, Maurice Bertrand, in a recent WFUNA publication, proposes that some countries grant as much as 4 percent.

The SI also stresses that the countries in the South, too, can create a peace dividend of their own by a considerable reduction of their military expenditure which, over the last three decades, has risen three times faster than in the industrialized countries and which in 1987 peaked at \$70 billion. In passing, permit me to note that this expenditure is incurred by most Third World countries to maintain authoritarian governments in power. If only they can be replaced by democratic governments by the people themselves, with the population being in full enjoyment of their rights and freedoms, this utterly unnecessary expenditure can be saved and a sizeable peace dividend created which can be used to launch seriously the campaign for the eradication of poverty by providing, as a start, such basic necessities as adequate housing, nutrition, health care, primary education on an equal basis for boys and girls, inducements for family planning programmes, old age benefits etc.

The SI, however, cautions that there is no direct correspondence between a peace dividend in the North and increased development assistance to the South, nor is there in the South a direct correspondence between a national peace dividend and measures to eradicate poverty. A direct correspondence can be established both in the North and in the South only by the full force of public opinion for the mobilization of which the freedom of all peoples to exercise fully their civil and political rights, the enjoyment by all of their economic, social and cultural rights, and the free use by all of the mechanisms characteristic of truly democratic forms of government, are essential.

The peace dividend, even if used as foreseen above, will not be adequate. In view of increasing protectionism, falling commodity prices, volatile exchange rates, the debt overhang etc. The SI calls for action on many other fronts. It

has chosen to consider three areas as being of particular importance. These are trade, financial flows and debt reduction, and development co-operation. Taking two areas—namely agriculture and textiles as examples—the SI points out that fully liberalized world trade in these two areas would bring potential annual gains to the poor countries of about \$100 billion and \$50 billion respectively. These two amounts taken together would be three times the annual amount of development assistance. Hence SI proposes that a multilateral framework of trade related agreements be developed and strengthened, protectionism on all fronts be reduced and opportunities for the participation of developing countries in world trade be expanded.

As for financial flows the North should increase savings and agree on mechanism that induce confidence in their economies, facilitate development of their private sectors, attract foreign investment and curb capital flight.

There is no doubt that the debt crisis is having a debilitating and demoralizing effort on Third World economies. Debt burdens and debt structures are different in different countries. Hence there is no simple solution for debt relief. Among the solutions proposed are what I would call 'debt forgiveness', 'conversion of loans into grants', 'loan rescheduling', and 'increased financing that would be more sensitive to the needs of the poor in the recipient countries'. Let us not forget that 20 percent of the debt was due to military expenditure. Should all the factors mentioned above work out as proposed there are still other elements related to security to be taken into consideration. These are the protection of the environment and the need for sound population policies.

As for the protection of the environment, the SI considers the overall issues which threaten the very existence of the planet and all life within it. These have been discussed in the PrepComs and many other fora and it is now clear that environmental considerations must be integrated into every aspect of our economic, social and political life. What is most encouraging for the South is that not only does the SI focus considerable attention on the problems that the poor countries are facing, but also that the SI considers valid the growing concerns of the Third World that 'the industrialized nations are asking the developing world to scale down their economic aspirations to share the burden of averting the global ecological threats which are mainly due to the industrial countries' patterns of consumption'.

We are already condemned to some degree of global warming and adverse climatic changes. It is also true that 'irreversible damage is being done to soils in many parts of the world' and that 'two-fifths of Africa's non-desert land risks being turned into desert, as does one-third of Asia's and one-fifth of Latin America's'. The fact is that extreme poverty forces the poor in the Third World 'to over-graze their grasslands, to over-exploit their soils, to cut down dwindling forest stocks and to rear large families as insurance against higher mortality'. In other words environmental stress in the South cannot be eliminated without attacking poverty.

After all that has been said before about development and disarmament there appears in SI an underlying accusation, not specifically stated but definitely implied, that the North could have helped more to eradicate this poverty which is the root cause of environmental degradation in the South and its high population growth which in turn has caused environmental stress. 'Few issues accentuate the

interdependence of nations as environmental problems", but conflicting interests in the North as well as the South threaten international security for if oil was at the centre of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, water, rising sea levels, and the resultant changes in the configuration of lands can become the causes of future conflicts.

The SI hopes that from UNCED 1992 there will emanate an "Earth Charter" which is in reality an environmentally sound Code of Conduct, "A Convention on Global Climate and Biological Diversity", and an Action Programme generally referred to as "Agenda 21". These commitments will have to be backed up with additional resources, measures to transfer environmentally sound technology and more efficient international institutions.

As for additional resources, the SI considers as 'encouraging' and 'welcome' the Global Environment Facility under the auspices of the World Bank, UNEP, and the UNDP as the recent agreement to set up an Interim Multilateral Fund "to help the developing countries make the transition required by the Montreal Protocol on the protection of the ozone layer". It is significant that these are considered only as 'precursors' the implication being that more Environmental Facilitating Agencies and other Funds need to be established to assist the developing countries.

The developing countries, however, 'firmly reject' any arrangement by which the World Bank becomes "the central institution that should administer environment and development projects and programmes for the South". According to the recent report of the South Centre, Environment and Development: Towards a Common Strategy of the South in the UNCED Negotiations and Beyond, "the concentration of power in an already powerful institution such as the World Bank whose policy and decision-making is dominated by the North would be detrimental to the interests of the South, its voice in global environmental policy and the autonomy of individual developing countries in their national policy-making". Moreover, the fact that "the World Bank has no lever on the policies of countries of the North" would only aggravate "the imbalance in North-South relations". What the South should do is "to effectively coordinate its negotiating positions on all matters having to do with funding and financing environmental actions decided upon in UNCED and in the related negotiations, linking these decisions, and the issues that will be raised, to the broader questions of demoralization of international organizations and of democratic management of processes that are of concern to humankind".

Mention was made earlier that among the root causes of poverty, which is a contributory factor to environmental degradation in the South, is the related problem of high population growth. According to the Brundtland Commission Report world population will, unless adequate measures are taken to stabilize growth, reach seven billion by the end of this century and fourteen billion by the year 2100. While there is a growing awareness of this problem, this issue has to be dealt with much more directly as one that is vital for global security — in the sense that the security of our planet Earth depends, *inter alia*, on environmental protection. It is true that in 1994 there will be an International Conference on Population and Development, but I do not think the world can wait till then to promote and implement policies and programmes to reach population stabilization goals. By 1994, thresholds may have been crossed irreversibly. Adequate attention, therefore, should be given to this issue at UNCED 1992. The 1994 Con-

ference can review the progress made and in light of the situation prevailing then, elaborate further policies and implement procedures.

Finally to revert to a position stated earlier efforts are being made to promote global security, environmental protection and sustainable development for one and only one purpose and that is, in the words of the preamble to the UN Charter "to promote social progress and better standards of life for all peoples". It follows that the peoples for whom all these efforts are being made should be fully consulted in the decision-making process and must share in the implementation of the decisions made. This requires democratic form of governments with respect for human rights and freedoms, the rule of law, and transparency in wielding power, all of which can be secured only by a free press and other unfettered forms of media as well as accountability to the people by those who exercise power.

It is the lack of these requirements that has contributed to the present revolutionary transformation in Eastern Europe. It is the lack of these requirements that has contributed to violations of human rights, widespread corruption and wasteful high prestige projects in most countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America while the masses are living in dire poverty. There are, however, signs of a 'democratic breakthrough' in almost all parts of Latin America and in some parts of Africa and Asia. On the other hand, in Western Europe and in North America decreasing participation in elections appear to favor the emergence of extreme right wing and unfortunately also racist-oriented political parties in increasing numbers in legislatures. Hence in Europe and North America there is a need for a revitalization of democracy.

The question has been raised as to what should come first, development or democracy? The answer to this is given in the OAU "African Charter on Popular Participation in Development and Transformation". "Without democracy", it is stated, "a people's potential for economic and social development cannot be fully reaped. Yet without tolerable social and economic conditions and a vision of a future that makes hope plausible, democracy will be unsustainable".

NGOs have an important role to play but they can play this role only if they have free and active affiliates in each Member State of the UN, or at least in a large number of them, and they have not a Northern-dominated leadership but one that is representative of at least the major regions of the world. Only through active affiliates in at least most Member States, guided and assisted by a 'globally' representative leadership can NGOs claim to speak at international fora in the name of "We the peoples of the United Nations". On the other hand, Member States and the leadership of international organizations, including those responsible for preparing and conducting international and regional conferences, should realize that recognized and responsible NGOs constitute an important element of the international community and that the UN can succeed in achieving its aims and objectives only to the extent to which peoples' movements have a share in decision-making and in implementation. It is useful in this connection to recall that on 7 June 1946 the delegate of the United Kingdom declared in the Economic and Social Council that "unless we can capture the power of the organized movements of the world behind this United Nations, then in the long run it (the UN) will fail".

*Marek Hagmajer, Secretary-General, World Federation of United Nations Association,
immediate past-President, Conference of NGOs (CONGO)*

There are several points that may be emphasized in connection with the theme of this seminar and in connection with the intellectual debate that is going on today. First of all, it is gratifying to see groups of people, of individuals, who are sometimes backed by their government and sometimes not, who undertake a new approach to the question of relationships among nations. It is gratifying on one side, and on the other side it is striking that debates of this kind have never been conducted within the United Nations itself. In fact, all new thinking about the management of world affairs comes from independent commissions or other group which became the focal points for launching and advancing new ideas and popularizing international debate. One wonders why despite all the wise advice that is given in the reports of these commissions, the proposals are not translated into action even by the same countries of which these people are leaders.

In the Stockholm Initiative, there is an attempt on one side to dramatize the present situation, and on the other side to de-dramatize it. The document emphasizes the catastrophic situation of the peoples in the South and the need for North-South cooperation as a remedy. This is a very positive approach, and it differs from the positions that the UN Member States used to take at the General Assembly and in other UN fora, where confrontation was the order of the day.

My second point relates to the reference to a new world order in several parts of the SI text. I do not like the word 'new' because it can imply that everything that was done until now was wrong, that it needs to be scrapped, and that it should be replaced by something else. It seems to me that the new world order — establishing the United Nations — was drafted in San Francisco in 1945 and perhaps does not need to be redrafted but simply implemented and improved, taking into account the changes in the world since then, such as decolonization. The UN has created various institutions and has launched many programmes concerning development and the need for international cooperation. It should, therefore, be normal to come back to the origin, analyze what went wrong, and build on positive and negative experience. This should include what the Initiative calls 'governance', which is a polite way to refer to those who are running the world and to the means they use.

We must ask whether it is correct that the major decisions affecting the world should be taken by the G-7 or by some other summits, or whether the UN and its relevant bodies should make the decisions. The Stockholm Initiative addresses this question broadly and comprehensively, pointing out that work to improve present UN mechanisms is needed and that creation of some new mechanisms is needed as well. Some of the proposals put forward, such as the broadening of the mandate of the UN Security Council to include development and perhaps environmental issues (in the context of new understandings of the components of global security) might be quite valid, as the mechanisms in place until now are not satisfactory.

I belong to those who are deeply concerned about the future structure and governance of the world order. As the future structure of governance is intended to change the nature of relations between states, it will certainly affect North-South relations. The danger is that the industrialized countries will concentrate their potential to help the trans-

formations in Central and Eastern Europe and to save these countries from economic (and therefore social and political) disaster to the detriment of development aid to the countries of the South. One cannot escape addressing this question, especially since the Central and Eastern European countries have joined the West ideologically and politically, as their voting pattern in the United Nations illustrates.

Another point that I wanted to raise relates to democratization. Many of us are concerned about attempts to run the world outside of normal United Nations structures. Democratization of international relations should go along the lines foreseen in the UN Charter and other documents. There will be no democratic United Nations without democratic governments in democratic countries. One cannot speak about development for global security, about sustainable development, or about environmental protection if there is no democracy and if there are no structures to articulate and satisfy the needs of these societies. I would challenge many governments who take the floor at the UN on behalf of their people because I am not all convinced that they really do represent their people. I seriously doubt whether these governments can democratize international relations and the UN.

For reasons that one can understand but not necessarily appreciate, the authors of the Stockholm Initiative were not very forceful about human rights and democracy, and thus it is the duty of non-governmental organizations to be outspoken in the quest for democratization and respect for individual and collective human rights on both the national and international levels. The democratic process will not stop. It began on the Iberian peninsula, continued in Latin America, then in Eastern Europe, and now Africa is moving ahead. It will come to Asia. It is also interesting to note that many people in countries long considered democratic have lost faith in their governments and are calling for genuine democracy based on popular participation in the decision-making that affects their lives and the conduct of foreign affairs.

Another point is arms trade and militarization. The Stockholm Initiative very rightly mentions this question, but we should go further and pay more attention to what the most recent UNDP Human Development Report says. One of the reasons for poverty is militarization and arms purchases. The countries of the South are not solely responsible for that by any means, but they spend proportionately more for arms and for the militarization of their countries than many of the industrialized countries. The idea of bringing arms transfers under UN control should be pushed. The governments which spend more on arms than on development should be exposed. We should work towards the limitation and control of arms transfers, for demilitarization, democratization, and finally disarmament. It is paradoxical that disarmament seems to have disappeared somewhat from the world's agenda. What happened to such initiatives as general and complete disarmament?

Let me end by saying that I once heard a Nobel laureate from a Third World country referring to the debt crisis. He said that if you owe a banker a thousand US dollars it is your problem, but if you owe a bank a hundred million dollars, it is not your problem anymore — it is the bank's problem.

Common Responsibility In The 1990's

The Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance

Preface

The world today has a unique opportunity to meet the global challenges. Securing peace, sustainable development and democracy requires nations, in their common interest, to create a new system of global security and governance. We believe that the time is right for nations to take that great step forward living up to their common responsibility.

The transformation of relations between East and West has ended the Cold War, freeing minds and resources that for so long were bound by sterile confrontation. The momentous changes in East-West relations in the final years of the past decade have provided new openings for the world in the 1990's. Though the openings are real, the process is fraught with dangers, including, in particular, the extreme difficulties facing the transformation of the Soviet Union.

The conflict in the Middle East, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, has revealed the weaknesses in the present system for international peace and security. Freed from the constraints of the Cold War, the United Nations did respond in an unprecedentedly speedy way to the crisis. Yet the organization was neither in a position to prevent the crisis, nor to solve it in a peaceful manner.

World leaders must now act determinedly to build a new system for peace and security, on both a global and regional scale. Failing this, the 1990's may become a decade of dangerous instability. Such a new system must meet the interests of all nations, strong and weak alike. Resolute action must be taken by the United Nations whenever international law is broken. Fears must be allayed that double standards played a role in making possible the international response to the Gulf crisis, and we must now make sure that military culture is not given a new lease of life. A system of security, on global and regional levels, must build on principles of sovereignty and universality, and not on the military might of individual powers.

Peace and security will not be achieved unless international cooperation is extended also to deal with the threats that stem from failures in development, environmental degradation and lack of progress towards democracy. Injustices that prevail throughout the world are a constant threat to the security of nations and people. Increasing economic and ecological interdependences have not been met by a corresponding strengthening of global cooperation and governance.

As we enter the new decade, the opportunities for progress in international cooperation are greater than ever before. Collective security can be achieved. Poverty can be reduced, and in foreseeable time extreme poverty can even be eradicated. Environmentally sustainable development is possible. Democracy and human rights are universal and increasingly potent values.

A new spirit of cooperation has been seen in many areas, but nowhere, perhaps, more evidently than in the trend towards revitalization of the United Nations. The organization has played a significant role as many regional conflicts moved towards resolution during the latter part of the 1980's.

After a decade, the greater part of which was characterized by selfishness and arrogance, we need to restore global morality. We need the vision of being one global neighbourhood. That is the idea of international solidarity, without which humankind might not survive the next century. We need a new world order, based on justice and peace, democracy and development, human rights and international law.

These visions led in the 1980's to a number of initiatives, taken by leading statesmen who shared the conviction that the increasing global interdependencies could only be dealt with by common action.

More than ten years ago, the former Chancellor of West Germany, Willy Brandt, formed an international North-South Commission. Being an independent group, the Brandt Commission could freely embark on a most imaginative project. In 1980, the Commission presented its analysis and its proposals for improving relations between industrial countries and developing countries. With its new thinking on mutual interests and solidarity between people and nations, the Brandt Report had quite an impact on public opinion.

In the report, Willy Brandt wrote that reshaping North-South relations is the greatest social challenge to mankind for the remainder of this century. He added:

While hunger rules, peace cannot prevail. He who wants to ban war must also ban poverty. Morally it makes no difference whether a human being is killed in war or is condemned to starve to death because of the indifference of others.

However, the "Programme for Survival" could not convince the decision-makers of key countries. While they accepted the idea of a first North-South summit (held in 1981 in Cancun), they disliked most of the recommendations for a profound change in international economic relations. Similar was the response to the second report, "Common Crisis", that focussed on debt and energy issues. Obviously, the invasion of Afghanistan and the following East-West confrontation had heated the international political climate, in a way that was not conducive for improving North-South relations. It was in the face of these deteriorating relations between East and West that in 1980 the late Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, founded his Independent

Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues. It dealt with another major aspect of global interdependence, that of security and the threat of nuclear war. The Palme Commission discussed confidence-building measures and disarmament. It furthered a new concept, "common security", which in 1982 also gave the report its title.

Olof Palme wrote in that report:

There can be no hope of victory in a nuclear war, the two sides would be united in suffering and destruction. They can survive only together. They must achieve security not against the adversary but together with him. International security must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than on a threat of mutual destruction.

The aim of the Palme Commission was to promote a downward spiral in arms. It elaborated a broad programme for reducing the nuclear threat by test bans and non-proliferation agreements. It agreed on the need for a further build-down of conventional forces and a ban on chemical weapons. All these proposals are still valid. Like the Brandt Commission, it also proposed measures for controlling the arms trade. And forcefully, it argued the effectiveness of confidence-building measures. The Palme Commission also paid particular attention to the security needs of the South, and suggested ways of strengthening the United Nations.

Many of the key ideas of the Palme Commission, including the concept of common security, are now being taken up — but only after a costly delay. All through the 1980's, the arms race continued, and violent conflicts took the lives of millions of people.

In response to growing concerns about the global environmental situation, the World Commission on Environment and Development was set up. The Secretary-General of the United Nations called upon Gro Harlem Brundtland to chair the commission. It presented its report in 1987, called "Our Common Future".

The Brundtland Commission found that present development patterns could not be allowed to continue. While economic and social development suffered from severe national and international imbalances, threats to the environment were becoming global in scope and devastating in scale. But the Commission also found that necessary changes were possible, that humankind had never before had greater possibilities to break out of the negative trends of the past. To do so would require political reform, a fair access to knowledge and resources and a more just and equitable distribution within and among countries.

The central concept introduced by the Brundtland Commission was that of "sustainable development". The report wrote:

Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future. Far from requiring the cessation of economic growth, it recognizes that the problems of poverty and underdevelopment cannot be solved unless we have a new era of growth in which developing countries play a large role and reap large benefits.

The report emphasized the increasing importance of interdependence in coping with global environmental problems. It brought out the strong connection between problems of environment and problems of development and security, and showed that meeting these challenges requires a coordinated and integrated approach.

During the final years of the decade, another commission was formed, the *South Commission*. Chaired by the former President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, it dealt with the situation of developing nations, and in particular with the possibilities and needs of strengthening South-South cooperation. It presented its report, *The Challenge to the South*, in 1990.

While recognizing the importance of a conducive international environment for development, and calling for efforts to revive the North-South dialogue, the report stressed the responsibility of developing countries to ensure a better future for themselves. It devoted much attention to economic and political reform and the importance of improving domestic economic management. It advocated a people-oriented strategy and came out strongly for strengthening democracy and for curbing authoritarianism, corruption and militarization.

The last paragraph of the South Commission's report expressed this clearly:

In the final analysis, the South plea for justice, equity, and democracy in the global society cannot be dissociated from its pursuit of these goals within its own societies. Commitment to democratic values, respect for fundamental rights — particularly the right to dissent — fair treatment for minorities, concern for the poor and underprivileged, probity in public life, willingness to settle disputes without recourse to war — all these cannot but influence world opinion and increase the South's chances of securing a new world order.

There is one basic common denominator in the thinking of all the four independent Commissions: no nation can resolve its own problems without relying on others. The Commissions spelled out our interdependence. They emphasized that we must work together to be able to live in one world, to reach a common security, to have a common future.

In early 1990, after the momentous changes of 1989, Willy Brandt assembled members of his own Commission, together with several representatives of the other Commissions. They met at Königswinter, outside Bonn, and reviewed the 1980's and outlined new prospects for the 1990's. There was solid agreement that the major challenges of the 1990's could be mastered only by coordinated multilateral action.

As a result of the Konigswinter meeting, Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Sir Shridath Ramphal and Minister Jan Pronk were asked to form a Working Group. Their task was to make an assessment of the new opportunities, and to suggest major areas for multilateral action. One year after the Konigswinter meeting, we assembled in Stockholm, at the year after the Konigswinter meeting, we assembled in Stockholm, at the invitation of Prime Minister Carlsson. Inspired by the themes of the earlier independent Commissions - and on the basis of a memorandum presented by the Working Group - we have tried to outline some elements of great relevance for the 1990's.

In this Stockholm Initiative, we put forward a number of proposals which we believe require urgent action. We may not all agree with each single suggestion, but the need for a comprehensive effort is recognized by us all. We are convinced that the present is a uniquely propitious time for an initiative to be taken, that responds with imagination and boldness to the manifest needs of the present and the future.

Stockholm, April 22, 1991

Summary of proposals

PEACE AND SECURITY

We propose :

1. improved United Nations capabilities for anticipating and preventing conflicts, in particular the establishment of a global emergency system;
2. the elaboration of a global law enforcement arrangement, in line with the United Nations Charter, focussing on the role of sanctions and on military enforcement measures;
3. organizational and financial measures to strengthen the United Nations capabilities for peace-keeping and peace-making operations;
4. Regional Conferences on Security and Cooperation to be tried in regions also outside Europe;
5. that the monitoring of world arms trade, particularly by the United Nations, be strengthened with the purpose of eventually agreeing on global norms, regulating and limiting trade in arms, and focussing on both supplier and recipient countries;
6. a pledge by governments in the industrialized countries to allocate a specific part of the peace dividend for international cooperation;
7. a commitment by governments in the South to substantially reduce their armed forces, with the purpose of creating a peace dividend to be invested in human development.

DEVELOPMENT

We propose :

8. that the world community sets the goal to eradicate extreme poverty within the coming 25 years, through a committed effort to achieve sustainable development;
9. that the following targets for the year 2000 be emphasized and that countries' achievements be monitored closely:
 - primary education for all children,
 - equal participation of boys and girls in schools,
 - reduction of child mortality by at least one third,
 - reduction in maternal mortality by one half;
10. a strengthening of the multilateral framework of trade-related agreements, reducing protectionism on all fronts, and expanding opportunities for developing countries' participation in world trade;

11. a strengthened debt strategy, introducing a strong element of debt forgiveness to radically cut the debt overhang:
 - by terms and conditions in Paris Club reschedulings that go far beyond today's in providing relief and applying to a broader range of countries,
 - by commercial debt restructuring that better corresponds to the secondary market value of that debt,
 - by increased financing on appropriate terms by the international financial institutions;
12. that all industrialized nations set public time-targets to provide one per cent of their GNP for international development cooperation.

ENVIRONMENT

We propose :

13. that fees are levied on the emission of pollutants affecting the global environment, in particular carbon dioxide emissions from the burning of fossil fuels;
14. an international energy dialogue promoting a more efficient use of the world's energy resources, and, in particular, the use of alternative and renewable energy sources, e.g. solar energy;
15. that the United Nations be encouraged to take up environmental issues at the highest level in all appropriate fora;
16. that nations resolve to make the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development a breakthrough for achieving sustainable development.

POPULATION

We propose :

17. that national and cultural leaders mobilize the political commitment and the technical means for making a breakthrough in limiting population growth;
18. that the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development promote the implementation of policies and programmes to reach population stabilization goals.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

We propose :

19. the strengthening of the United Nations role in monitoring how countries live up to their commitments to conventions and declarations concerning human rights and democracy, recognizing that democracy can develop only through popular internal will;
20. the strengthening of independent international institutions that offer to monitor countries' observance of democratic rules and principles, in particular at time of elections, respecting the constitutional order of each country.

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

We propose :

21. that the United Nations takes on a broadened mandate at the Security Council level, following the wider understanding of security which has developed, and that its composition and the use of the veto be reviewed;
22. that the Secretary-General be given a stronger position and the means to exercise authority, and that the method of appointment of the Secretary-General and of higher-level staff be reviewed;

23. that the system-wide responsibilities and authority of the Secretary-General concerning interagency coordination and cooperation should be firmly established;
24. that the financing system of the United Nations be reviewed, and that countries who do not adhere to the financial rules be deprived of the right to vote;
25. that the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields be strengthened and rationalized;
26. that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank be co-ordinated, among themselves and with the United Nations system and GATT, with the aim of a clearer division of labour, better harmony and full universality in their work;
27. that a World Summit on Global Governance be called, similar to the meetings in San Francisco and at Bretton Woods in the 1940's;
28. as a matter of priority, the establishment of an independent International Commission on Global Governance.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE STOCKHOLM INITIATIVE

Ali Alatas Indonesia Minister for Foreign Affairs; previously Permanent Representative to the United Nations.	Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart Venezuela Former Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Patricio Aylwin Azocar* Chile President.	Bronislaw Geremek Poland Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Sejm; Professor of History; in the 1980's adviser in the Solidarity movement.
Benazir Bhutto Pakistan Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, former Prime Minister.	Abdlatif Al-Hamad Kuwait Director-General, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development; former Minister of Finance; member of the Brandt and South Commissions.
Willy Brandt Federal Republic of Germany Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany; president of the Socialist International; Honorary Chairman of the Social Democratic Party; Chairman of the North-South Commission.	Mahbub ul Haq Pakistan Special Adviser, United Nations Development Programme; Minister of Finance and Planning 1982-88.
Gro Harlem Brundtland Norway Prime Minister; Chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party; Member of the Palme Commission, Chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development.	Vaclav Havel * Czech and Slovak Federal Republic President.
Manuel Camacho Solis Mexico Head of the Federal District of Mexico.	Edward Heath Great Britain Member of Parliament, House of Commons; Prime Minister 1970-74; member of the Brandt Commission.
Fernando Henrique Cardoso Brazil Senator, Partido Socialdemocrata do Brasil.	Enrique Iglesias Uruguay President, Inter-American Development Bank; Foreign Minister 1985-88; Executive Secretary UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean 1972-85; member of the South Commission.
Ingvar Carlsson Sweden Prime Minister; Chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party; Chairman of the Working Group.	Hong-Koo Lee Republic of Korea Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United Kingdom.
Jimmy Carter * United States Former President.	Stephen Lewis Canada Former Ambassador to the United Nations.
Bernard Chidzero Zimbabwe Senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development; former Chairman of the Development Committee of the World Bank and the IMF; former Deputy Secretary General, UNCTAD; member of the Brundtland Commission.	Michael Manley * Jamaica Prime Minister
	Vladlen Martynov Soviet Union Director, USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

Thabo Mbeki South Africa Director of International Affairs and member of the Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC).	Nafis Pakistan Executive Director, United Nations Population Fund.	Sadik
Robert McNamara * United States Member of the Board, World Resources Institute, Former President of the World Bank.	Salim Salim Tanzania Secretary-General, Organization of African Unity; former Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania; member of the Palme Commission.	
Bradford Morse United States Administrator of UNDP 1976-86.	Arjun Sengupta India Ambassador of India to Belgium, Luxembourg and the European Economic Community; former special adviser to the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.	
Julius Nyerere Tanzania Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania; Chairman of the South Commission.	Eduard Shevardnadze * Soviet Union Former Foreign Minister.	
Babacar Ndiaye Senegal President of the African Development Bank.	Kalevi Sorsa Finland Member of the Board of Management of the Bank of Finland; former Prime Minister.	
Saburo Okita * Japan Former Foreign Minister (represented in Stockholm by Mitsuru Taniuchi).	Maurice Strong Canada Secretary General, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development; former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations; Secretary General, United Nations Conference on the Human Environment 1970-72; member of the Brundtland Commission.	
Jan Pronk The Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation; Deputy Secretary General UNCTAD 1980-85; ex officio member of the Brandt Commission, member of the Working Group.	Brian Urquhart * Great Britain The Ford Foundation.	
Shridath Ramphal Guyana Commonwealth Secretary General 1975-90; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1972-75; member of the Brandt, Palme, Brundtland and South Commissions, member of the Working Group.		

* Could not attend, but has agreed to support the paper.

The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Crisis Management: AIDS, Drug Abuse, and Mass Migration as Cases in Point *

*International Expert Meeting
18-22 November 1990, Berlin, FRG*

A Introduction:

Background and Framework

1) An international expert meeting on "The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Crisis Management: AIDS, Drug Abuse, and Mass Migration as Cases in Point" was organized in Berlin by the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research in cooperation with the "Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband" (DPWV) — Landesverband Berlin and the "Deutscher Landsaussuss" (German National Committee) of the International Council of Social Welfare (ICSW). The meeting was held under the auspices and sponsorship of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany (Ministry for Youth, Family, Women and Health).

2) The European Centre's concern with different aspects of social welfare policies and systems is long established.

In recent years, the European Centre has helped in the organization of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Social Affairs (Warsaw, 1987). This conference was an important step on the way to more cooperation in social welfare policies crossing the borderline between North and South, East and West.

As a follow-up to the Warsaw conference, the European Centre organized an international expert meeting on "Common Goals and Different Roles for Social Welfare Policies in the UN-European Region" (25-27 January 1989, Bonn, FRG). This meeting was held under the auspices of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany and in collaboration with the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations offices in Vienna (UNOV/CSDHA).

One of the major focal points of this meeting, already noted in the final document of the Warsaw conference, was the role of non-governmental organizations in social wel-

fare policies. In the meeting of member countries of the Bureau of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Social Affairs (29-30 May 1989, Warsaw), The Bureau requested the European Centre to include in its future programme of activities, *inter alia*, the identification and role of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with social problems and policies in the UN-European region.

3) It is against this background that the recent international expert meeting in Berlin took place. In view of the high priority that many countries allot to the problems of AIDS, drug abuse, and mass migration — corroborated by the experts — it seems imperative to submit a number of recommendations arising out of this meeting to the Session • of the United Nations Commission for Social Development (11-20 February 1991, Vienna).

4) Almost everywhere, voluntary, private nonprofit, non-governmental organizations tend to play an increasingly important role in the formation and implementation of public policies and in the provision of human services — in particular in the fields of health care, welfare, personal social services, and social development. Non-governmental Health and Welfare has become recognized as so crucial that many observers speak of a special "third sector" beyond markets and the state to serve individuals and families and the public at large.

At the same time, very little is known in a systematic scientific and comparative way about the thousands of voluntary and non-governmental organizations "out there". This applies in particular to their capacity in crisis management, often in cooperation with public agencies.

Effective crisis management requires quick, flexible, un bureaucratic and cost-efficient public responses in initially unexpected or surprisingly large-scale or rapidly increasing social problems. AIDS, drug abuse, and mass migration are especially prominent cases in point of such recent crises. As the rapid, flexible, and economic response to unforeseen problems is exactly the comparative advantage claimed by and for voluntary and non-governmental organizations, experiences in these areas should be presented, exchanged, and discusses more

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widely. The international expert meeting in Berlin was a first move in this direction.

B. Summary of Deliberations

I. AIDS and Drug Abuse

1) Less than ten years after its appearance, the AIDS epidemic is taking a new turn. If in the past the main risk groups were homosexual men and intravenous drug users, recent WHO reports indicate that women and children all over the world are and will be increasingly affected by the disease. If, since the beginning of the epidemic, 300,000 out of 1.3 million AIDS cases have been women, it is estimated that at present up to 10 million adults are infected by the disease - and of these 10 million, 3 million are women : that is, one woman in 40 in Africa, one in 500 in Latin America, and one in 700 in North America. According to recent figures, about 200,000 women have been infected in Southeast Asia during the past three years. A strong increase in these figures is expected for the 1990s.

While in the industrialized countries about one-half of all HIV-positive persons will suffer from AIDS in the ten years following infection, the incubation period is likely to be much shorter in developing countries. Until 1992, another 600,000 will probably be affected. While these estimates are projections based on the present situation, forecasts may need to be drastically revised should rates of infection increase rapidly in Latin America and in Africa south of the Sahara or should the virus spread to the densely-populated Asian regions which so far have been relatively spared.

In any case, women — as partners of infected men, as mothers, as caregivers, as economic and educational agents — are thus carrying a major burden of the disease and will be a group at highest risk during the 1990s. In addition, the human rights of women who already suffer *de facto* unequal status are being further eroded as a consequence of HIV/AIDS.

A major social problem will arise due to the large number of non-infected orphans left behind at young age by HIV-positive mothers: their numbers are estimated at 10 million alone in Africa south of the Sahara, often in communities ravaged by the death of many adults.

2) In industrialized countries, there is a strong link between AIDS and drug addiction. In fact, one of the major risk groups for HIV infection are intravenous drug users sharing injecting equipment. While at the very start, HIV/AIDS was identified as a disease affecting mainly homosexual men, in some countries there now tends to be a proportionally higher increase in AIDS cases among intravenous drug users. In addition, the risk of infection is higher for women than for men because of asymmetrical transmission probability and since women sometimes fund their drug habit or that of their partner through commercial sex. Although AIDS-related knowledge among drug users has increased high-risk behaviour on their part is still common.

3) With regard to both AIDS and drug abuse, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have played an important part in setting up preventive programmes and in organizing care, as was acknowledged by the 42nd World Health Assembly of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1989.

This assembly adopted a resolution on the role of NGOs in the global strategy against AIDS : governments are urged to recognize the contribution which NGOs have made to

the fight against AIDS, to include NGOs in the national AIDS committees, to avoid legal constraints that might hinder their work, and to provide financial and technical support as might be needed. Voluntary and non-governmental organizations are active in a wide variety of areas, such as:

- a) *prevention* which includes educational work and AIDS information campaigns — that is, counselling, working with the media, producing information material, and training volunteers and health care professionals;
- b) *care and social services* ranging from medical care to psychological support, helping AIDS patients with their daily living — such as cooking, cleaning, shopping, and transportation — pédiatrie AIDS care, shelters, housing facilities, and foster care for children;
- c) *policy advocacy* covering self-help groups, counselling for insurance or welfare entitlements, civil and human rights protection against discrimination, political lobbying, and legal advice;
- d) *control* which is complementary to statutory services — that is, epidemiological and social research; AIDS policy coordination and implementation; control of blood and plasma product safety; HIV screening, testing, and identification; and drug abuse control; and finally,
- e) *support activities* such as fund raising, lobbying for resources, etc.

According to estimates, about three-quarters of all AIDS-related activities are at present provided by non-governmental and voluntary organizations.

//. Mass Migration

1) Mass migration withing, into, and from Europe is neither a new nor an exceptional phenomenon. More specifically, however, Europe since 1945 has had to cope with four different types of migration.

2) The first type of mass migration was directly related to World War II and its consequences : that is, the displacement of millions of ethnic Germans from the eastern parts of the former "Reich", from some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and — until the early 1950s — from the German Democratic Republic. Thus, between 1945 and 1955, the Federal Republic of Germany absorbed almost 12 million people, expatriates as well as refugees from the East. At the same time, the new national boundaries drawn at Yalta and Potsdam caused millions of Poles to leave their homes in Eastern Poland to be settled in new, formerly German territories.

3) The second type was and still is related to the colonial history of the major Western European nations. On the one hand, large numbers of people were repatriated during the period of decolonization during the 1950s to Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom; during the 1960, over one million French left Algeria; and during the 1970, many persons returned or moved to Portugal from its former colonies.

On the other hand, a growing demand for labour in Europe and the desire for better living conditions brought several million people from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean to the mother countries of the former colonial powers. At the same time, large numbers of people from Central America moved to seek work in the United States.

This type of migration, both to Europe and to the United States, persists — despite high rates of unemployment and anti-immigration policies in most Western countries. It has transformed many metropolitan areas of Western Europe

into multi-ethnic and multi-cultural centres, leading to the establishment of ethnic networks and visible minorities. Apart from reminding Western Europe of its colonial past, their presence has revived underlying racist prejudice, creating tension and leading in many places to xenophobia and to the emergence of populist movements fomenting hostility to migrants.

4) The third type of mass migration is the result of the internationalization of European labour markets. It has brought more than twenty million people from the southern to the western parts of Europe, relocating them within the European Community and European Free Trade Association regions — and creating new underclasses largely excluded from political and civic participation, even though they form considerable minorities. These minorities are also frequently confronted with ethnic stereotypes, xenophobia, and militant extremist groups.

5) The fourth type started as a stream of political refugees and asylum-seekers from Eastern Europe and the Third World and has more recently turned into a flight from poverty and economic plight. For over four decades, there were distinct "waves" of migration directly linked to political events — such as in 1956-57 in Hungary, in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, or in 1980-81 in Poland, topped off by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Germans leaving the German Democratic Republic in 1989. In addition, large numbers of ethnic Germans came to the Federal Republic of Germany from Romania, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

6) The major change that is taking place at present is the shift from an organized labour migration based on bilateral agreements within Western Europe, to a continuous and growing stream of people asking for political asylum. Yet this can no longer be linked to violations of human rights in Eastern European countries.

While in 1983 only 75,000 people were seeking political asylum, their numbers tripled to 215,000 in 1986 and grew to an estimated 400,000 in 1990. Many of them are not political refugees in the sense of the Geneva Convention but are rather trying to escape from economic misery, ecological disasters, or ethnic tensions.

Because of their growing numbers and the subsequent xenophobia, Western European immigration regulations have become less liberal. Only less than ten per cent of all asylum-seekers are accepted as refugees, while overseas countries — such as the United States, Canada, and Australia — no longer give priority to migrants from Eastern Europe.

The first result is an increasing number of *de facto* refugees with precarious legal and economic status in Western Europe, and the second result is a growing mass of illegal or clandestine migrants or "false" tourists seeking irregular employment. Since — unlike the United States, Canada, and Australia — Western European states do not consider themselves as immigrant countries, there is a lack of legal concepts, political instruments, and institutional agreements dealing with immigration.

7) In some countries — particularly the United States, Canada, and Australia — ethnic organizations, usually run by volunteers, are core elements in the social integration of migrants. These ethnic organizations are active lobbies *vis-à-vis* local authorities and the central government, but they also provide for the self-organization of special interests. By establishing formal and informal networks and by organizing ethnic interests, the organizations are of a two-fold nature. For one thing, they provide orientation and participation, while still allowing the immigrants to maintain some ethnic identity; and for another, they act as interpreters

with the receiving society and as speakers for the ethnic community.

Other types of voluntary and non-governmental organizations dealing with mass migration are, for example, the local Red Cross, volunteers organized by churches and by political parties, and traditional welfare and charitable organizations. Their organizational structure, based on a small core group of paid professionals and a large network of motivated volunteers, makes them more efficient and flexible than a bureaucracy in dealing with a political crisis. It is reported that within the European Community alone, about 500 to 600 non-governmental and voluntary organizations are active on migration problems.

///. Recommendations

As there is still a general lack of collective consciousness or awareness as well as a lack of social institutions dealing with these problems, voluntary and non-governmental organizations have a major role to play. In view of this situation, the following recommendations were made by the International Expert Meeting with the request that they be submitted to the United Nations Commission for Social Development:

- 1) Technical follow-up of the expert meeting with the goal of assisting Central and Eastern Europe in the areas of:
 - a) raising consciousness and awareness with regard to these problems;
 - b) creating networks and infrastructures of voluntary and non-governmental organizations;
 - c) Passing appropriate legislation, and
 - d) training social workers and appropriate social welfare staff, professional as well as volunteers. The European Centre would be able to assist in these training programmes if funds were made available.
- e) Finally, the experts also recommended that the European Centre organize a workshop in 1992 with emphasis on the training of voluntary welfare staff. This will also depend on the availability of funding.
- 2) Improvement of cooperation between individual experts, institutions, NGOs, and governments.
- 3) Improvement of cooperation between NGOs, international, regional, and United Nations organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs at the United Nations Office in Vienna (UNOV/CSDHA), the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), etc.
- 4) The governments of the UN-European region should consider and use more expertise in fact-finding and decision-making in the areas covered by the international expert meeting.
- 5) The United Nations Commission for Social Development should consider at its session in 1993 the topic "Social Consequences of Mass Migration" as a priority item and further consider convening a special working group in 1993 based on experts' papers.
- 6) The United Nations Commission for Social Development should examine, using the information and data available at the European Centre, in particular those aspects of the European experience which could be of value in combatting the social implications of AIDS in developing countries.

Peter Melvyn

Managing AIDS

The Role of Private Nonprofit Institutions and Non-governmental Organizations in Public Health and Welfare Policy *

*First Annual Project Meeting
12-16 November 1990, Linowsee, FRG*

This meeting was the first in a series of annual project meetings of the "Managing AIDS" project. These meetings bring together the national research teams of the participating countries, a WHO representative, and the European Centre project directors, as well as observers from other (scientific) institutions.

Their purpose is to discuss progress and problems concerning the project. The 1990 meeting was held in Linowsee at the *Jugenderholungs- und Schulungsobjekt der Sozialversicherung*, a recreational resort belonging to the Social Security Administration of the former German Democratic Republic. Hosting and meals were graciously offered by the former *Akademie der Wissenschaften* of the former German Democratic Republic. On or two persons from each of the ten countries involved in the "Managing AIDS" project, Dr Jan Brancaerts as WHO representative, along with two observers from the former Academy of Science of the former German Democratic Republic, took part in the meeting.

"Managing AIDS" is the first subsectoral study of a cross-national research project on the role of non-governmental, nonprofit, and voluntary organizations in health, welfare, and social development. More than in other sectors of health and welfare, it seems that AIDS prevention and AIDS services are run by voluntary associations, volunteers, charitable and philanthropic organizations, community-based self-help groups, advocacy groups and other political intermediaries. Without their (largely unpaid) work and commitment, AIDS management would most probably rapidly collapse in most of the countries seriously hit by this epidemic.

So far, next to nothing is known in a systematic and comparative way about the thousands of organizations "out there", be they specialized AIDS service associations or institutions created for other purposes but performing significant AIDS programmes (at times predominantly). In addition, very little is known about their functional capa-

cities, institutional properties, inter-organizational linkages, cooperation, division of labour, etc. as well as about the role and integration of these mainly private nonprofit institutions into an overall public health and welfare policy. The main outcomes to be expected from the project are:

- an AIDS Institutions Directory;
- an integrated AIDS policy management information system;
- a publication containing country reports;
- an international analysis;
- a short summary assessment with recommendations for an institutional design and public AIDS policies in health and welfare.

The main subjects discussed during the first annual project meeting were, on the one hand, theoretical considerations regarding basic concepts respectively working hypotheses and, on the other hand, practical issues concerning empirical field work.

Within the theoretical reflection, there was a lively and crucial debate on the framework of the study — i.e. we discussed whether to cope with the project as an organizational study or as a policy field study. This differentiation is of major importance, because it not only requires different empirical procedures but also has impacts on the results of the research. Finally, we collectively agreed that the project is considered to be an interorganizational study with policy implications. That means that we primarily focus on the analysis of organizations and interorganizational relations and how these associations cope with the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the different national health and welfare systems.

Further theoretical aspects discussed were, e.g. which kind of variables have to be gathered. We decided that the "Managing AIDS" project has to combine three different sets of variables:

- a) *Micro Variables* - these variables help to describe the organizations themselves;
- b) *Meso Variables* - this type of variables is relevant to describe the AIDS policy field in the respective countries;

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- c) *Macro Variables* — these variables should give a picture of the relevant national context of the "Managing AIDS" policy field.

Further, clear guidelines were set about which organizations are to be included in our study and which are to be excluded. Without going into detail, it can be stated that all those organizations will be part of our study, which are engaged in at least one HIV/AIDS-related activity in the field of:

- a) prevention, education, information;
- b) health care and social services;
- c) control, intelligence, surveillance, monitoring;
- d) policy advocacy, interest organization, civil and human rights or
- e) fund raising for AIDS programmes.

In addition, a classification scheme of AIDS service organizations was set up so as to structure their wide range. This typology distinguishes between *client-oriented*, *higher-order*, *mixed* or *peak (umbrella)* organizations. The above-mentioned classification is not only important in theoretical but also in practical terms.

Moreover, a controversial discussion arose on how to select a representative set of fifty AIDS service organizations to be interviewed in each country for in-depth study. Some of the researchers declared themselves in favour of a quasi-qualitative sampling procedure, while others preferred a quantitative method. With the aid of a Cluster Analysis, we finally found a strictly (quantitative) *scientific procedure* for random sample selection.

This more theoretically-oriented discussion was followed by brief national reports on "Managing AIDS" from the participating countries. Each country team summarized the specific national AIDS policy within the overall health and welfare system. In addition, the role of voluntary, non-profit organizations in general — and for AIDS in particular — was described. Finally, recent epidemiological HIV/AIDS data, as well as projections based on the present situation, were provided.

One of the major practical items discussed at the meeting was the exchange of interview and pre-test experiences, since most of the country teams have already started with the field work. Based on these experiences, some items from the questionnaire, as well as from the directory

sheet, were reformulated. Some questions were modified in order to keep the comprehensive questionnaire understandable. Also, uncertainties could be eliminated concerning the operationalization of different terms and items.

Moreover, we decided not to use as key concepts the classification of "exclusive" organizations — i.e. organizations which exclusively provide HIV/AIDS-related activities — and "inclusive" organizations — i.e. organizations which provide HIV/AIDS programmes among other activities — for the final Directories. This was done in order to avoid misunderstandings by the people reading them.

Also the question ordering and layout of the *European Directory*, as well as the *National Directories*, was a theme of discussion. We agreed to have one *European Directory* in English and single *National Directories* for each country in its respective language(s), in order to be user-friendly. In addition, decisions were taken on the various publications to be expected — e.g. *European Directory*, *National Directories*, *Country Reports*, *Country Studies*, *Comparative Studies* and the *Policy Recommendations Report*. The meeting was closed by discussing the time-table for 1991, "the year of extensive field research".

To sum up, it may be said that this first project meeting essentially contributed to get over the preparatory stage of the project, which started with a WHO-sponsored preparatory session in Vienna in October 1989. Collective decisions have been taken on the project design, type of organizations to be investigated, methodology, definitions, and classifications of concepts to be used — as well as methodological tools.

Therefore, the next annual project meeting — which will be held 8-14 July 1991 in Vienna — will primarily deal with preliminary empirical results of the field research. By then, it is expected that all information concerning the Directory Sheets for all AIDS service organizations in the different countries, will have been gathered. During this meeting, we will mainly discuss issues concerning the finalization and publication of the Directories. During an interim meeting in Leiden (Netherlands) 11-14 December 1991, the first country reports will be presented based on information from the Directory Sheets.

P. Kenis / B. Martin / K. Guzei

Séminaire international d'Abidjan sur les ONG, l'eau et l'environnement

Le manifeste d'Abidjan

1. Préambule

Ce manifeste représente la position prise par les ONG africaines opérant dans le secteur de l'eau et de l'assainissement, partie intégrante de la sauvegarde de l'environnement, réunies à Abidjan du 21 au 25 octobre 1991.

Il part du fait que la question de l'eau, de l'habitat et de l'assainissement n'est plus perçue comme une nécessité ou une priorité seulement, mais comme un droit inaliénable pour tout être humain.

En effet dans les pays africains une grande partie de la population n'a pas accès à l'eau potable et ne bénéficie pas d'assainissement satisfaisant. Cette situation est source de propagation des maladies hydriques.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, nous affirmons que doit être établie et consolidée la compétence de la communauté africaine à contrôler effectivement l'application des principes, des stratégies régionales et locales visant l'équipement, les infrastructures et les activités de production et transformation conçues ou mises en œuvre dans tous les écosystèmes et la biosphère. A ce titre, la gestion intégrée des ressources en eau, l'amélioration des conditions d'habitat et d'assainissement que veulent les ONG africaines pour leurs populations rejoignent l'effort déployé à l'échelle internationale pour faire de l'eau et de l'environnement des priorités de la Conférence mondiale des Nations Unies sur l'environnement et le développement.

2. Constat sur l'eau, l'habitat et l'assainissement

L'habitat et l'assainissement s'avèrent être un droit inaliénable de tout être humain, il est d'une importance capitale d'y associer une alimentation en eau de qualité et en quantité suffisante.

Atteindre cet objectif sera nul et non avenu si les ONG n'orientent ni ne renforcent leur action vers les populations par des campagnes de sensibilisation, de formation et d'éducation appropriées à ce secteur.

A la lumière des études faites, on constate :

- une faible sensibilisation des populations aux questions liées à l'habitat et à l'environnement et à l'eau;
- une insuffisance des mesures d'assainissement, de collecte et d'élimination des ordures ménagères;
- la faiblesse des moyens financiers des ONG;
- l'absence de ressources d'auto-financement.

3. Constat sur la participation communautaire

Le séminaire constate que le mode de développement des pays africains a entraîné de graves conséquences écologiques, sociales et économiques, c'est pourquoi les ONG ont la lourde tâche de tirer un meilleur parti des éléments susceptibles de promouvoir la participation accrue des populations.

Elles détiennent l'expérience, la confiance des populations et surtout les stratégies nécessaires pour réaliser cette participation.

Les réflexions ont conduit à relever l'existence de certaines carences et limites, imputables aux degrés de formation et aux approches insuffisamment intégrées; néanmoins les ONG demeurent vigilantes pour sauvegarder la pérennité des projets et leur appropriation par les populations en amont comme en aval du processus.

Devant la complexité de la situation, les ONG sont appelées à :

- a) parfaire leur définition;
- b) promouvoir de nouvelles formes de collaboration avec les partenaires actuels ou potentiels.

L'enjeu tient à la fois de la prise de responsabilité des populations et de l'engagement des ONG.

4. Constat sur la gestion intégrée des ressources en eau

Considérant l'échec de nombreux projets relatifs à l'eau en Afrique en raison de la négligence apportée à l'intégration de facteurs différents, un consensus s'est dégagé pour affirmer que :

- l'eau doit être considérée comme l'élément pivot du développement humain et de l'environnement,
- l'approche communautaire et la gestion intégrée permettent :
- d'améliorer l'économie des ressources en eau et de l'environnement,
- de minimiser les conflits inhérents aux différentes formes d'utilisation et leur impact sur l'environnement.

5. Recommandations

Fort de tous ces constats, le séminaire international d'Abidjan, tenu du 21 au 25 octobre 1991 sur les "Stratégies des ONG africaines pour le futur - eau et environnement" recommande que:

- les ONG poursuivent et renforcent leurs actions dans le secteur de l'eau, de l'assainissement, de l'habitat et de l'environnement en général, en étroite collaboration avec les populations bénéficiaires les plus démunies pour dynamiser activement la participation communautaire;
- les ONG africaines aient une approche multidisciplinaire des projets à exécuter afin de tenir compte des corrélations étroites existant entre l'approvisionnement en eau, l'agriculture, l'érosion des sols, la pollution atmosphérique, la pollution des ressources naturelles en général;
- les ONG aient un lien plus étroit avec les institutions de recherche développant les technologies appropriées à faibles coûts (CREPA, GREA, TNC, WATNET, etc...) ayant des approches novatrices qui font appel aux ressources humaines et matérielles locales;

- la coordination entre ONG/institutions gouvernementales/bilatérales et multilatérales soit plus renforcée et s'exécute dans des rapports de véritable partenariat transparent;
- les ONG créent un front commun appelé "Alliance panafricaine des ONG pour l'environnement et le développement (A.P.E.D.)" regroupant toutes les structures nationales, régionales et internationales pour une concertation permanente, la diffusion de l'information, et l'échange d'expertise locale entre les ONG elles-mêmes et entre les ONG et les gouvernements;
- les réseaux internationaux d'ONG travaillant dans le secteur de l'eau et de l'environnement soient renforcés, et que les potentialités de coordination existantes soient exploitées;
- les ONG et structures africaines et internationales œuvrant dans le secteur de l'environnement et de l'eau travaillent en étroite collaboration pour la diffusion et le suivi de ce manifeste.

Fait à Abidjan, le 24 octobre 1991

Le Séminaire

Commentaires sur le manifeste d'Abidjan

1. Présentation

Il convient de préciser que le présent travail se situe dans le cadre du suivi du Séminaire international "ONG/eau/environnement", en vue de fournir à tous les participants ainsi qu'aux partenaires concernés un document technique bref et reproductible aisément pour être diffusé partout où besoin sera.

Il a pour objet d'éclairer et de développer (s'il y a lieu) les points saillants des constats et recommandations dont le document final intitulé "Manifeste d'Abidjan" adopté en réunion plénière le 24 octobre 1991 s'est fait l'interprète.

Un document en cours de réalisation, intitulé *Actes du Séminaire international ONG/eau/environnement* sera adressé ultérieurement à tous les participants.

Dans l'immédiat et afin de ne pas laisser faiblir les élan dont la rencontre d'Abidjan a constitué le fédérateur, le RECI (Réseau de l'environnement de Côte d'Ivoire) est prêt à assumer provisoirement le rôle de l'Alliance panafricaine des ONG de l'environnement et du développement (APED). A ce titre, il se charge de toutes les tâches de collecte, de traitement et de diffusion des informations concernant le cheminement des résolutions d'Abidjan à travers les différents forums et plates-formes (Paris, Dublin par exemple) consacrés aux stratégies environnementales dans la perspective de la Conférence mondiale de Rio de Janeiro en 1992.

Parmi les éléments appelés à jouer un rôle capital dans les activités qui relèvent de la promotion du secteur eau/environnement, il nous paraît primordial d'éclairer, à l'intention des acteurs et partenaires actuels et potentiels de l'Alliance, quelques points forts.

Ces derniers, compte tenu de:

- L'insuffisante réussite des politiques publiques mises en commun au cours de la DIEPA 80 (Décennie internationale de l'eau potable et de l'assainissement),

- L'ignorance ou la négligence des spécificités culturelles, sociales et politiques des populations concernées,
- L'inadéquation des procédures liées à l'investissement, à la maintenance, au développement des équipements et à la rentabilité économique,
- * s'efforcent de cerner:
 - les implications de la notion d'ONG dans le contexte africain,
 - le fonctionnement de l'Alliance (cf. § 14.5 des recommandations),
 - la délimitation de certaines dimensions spatiales et d'échelle.

2. Rôle des ONG en Afrique

Si le consensus existe sur la définition de KONG comme d'un groupe d'individus ou d'organisations à but non lucratif et qui cherche à aider les populations à se prendre en charge tout en sensibilisant et en informant les institutions, organes et structures détenteurs des ressources et des moyens sur les besoins du terrain et des modalités pour y répondre, la réalité du cadre social, culturel, administratif et politique n'est pas toujours préparée à favoriser cette action.

Il s'ensuit que les ONG devraient pouvoir bénéficier, dans la région Afrique, à l'instar d'autres régions, non seulement d'un statut juridique reconnu, mais que leurs activités ne puissent être interprétées ou récupérées à d'autres fins que celles de la nécessaire solidarité responsable.

Ainsi, le bénévolat pratiqué par les ONG devrait pouvoir bénéficier d'un label dit "d'intérêt général". Ainsi pourrait croître l'espace de liberté dont toute initiative civile a besoin pour s'épanouir en atteignant ses objectifs de solidarité. Des "statuts" et "réglementations" permettant la prise en compte (après vérification) du bénévolat comme d'un "service civique" protégé et reconnu comme tel, devraient voir le jour.

Par ailleurs, les ONG, constituées dans leur grande majorité par des individus se regroupant dans le but de pallier à des carences, insuffisances ou négligences constatées dans le secteur prioritaire et transversal du développement humain, ont vocation de sensibiliser et de rendre opérationnelles les communautés de base et collectivités locales.

De là découle le respect d'une éthique et d'une déontologie dont les pouvoirs en place doivent tenir compte.

Les différents forums et rencontres internationales devraient tenir compte de cette situation et en faire l'un des points essentiels de leurs objectifs d'action.

3. L'alliance panafricaine des ONG de l'environnement et du développement

panorama général

La constitution de cette fédération d'ONG africaines est la tentative de répondre à une conjonction de réalités et de facteurs défavorables aux aspirations des populations vers davantage de bien-être, de santé, d'éducation, de confort et de dignité.

Ces réalités sont, entre autres:

- l'insuffisance des moyens techniques et des ressources financières,
- la pression démographique actuelle et ses conséquences sur l'avenir,
- la faiblesse ou quelquefois l'absence de politiques publiques nationales pertinentes,
- le cloisonnement entre différents pays d'une même sous-région ou d'une région,
- la centralisation excessive des Etats et le faible niveau de participation des populations aux décisions les concernant.

Quant aux facteurs, il convient en premier lieu de souligner que les aides publiques ou semi publiques, consenties à un niveau central ont eu pour effet final de creuser les écarts entre groupes de populations. Par ailleurs, la "balkanisation" des aides (cf. exposé de Madame A. Traore-Prowess dans les "actes du Séminaire") aboutit à l'instauration de champs réservés qui ne favorise pas la propagation ou la reproduction adaptée à d'autres contextes géographiques d'éventuelles améliorations. Il convient de mentionner en outre:

- Le renforcement croissant de la dépendance économique et technologique des Etats du Sud par rapport à ceux du Nord,
- La constitution d'une expertise qui, même si elle est souvent d'origine locale, s'inspire des technologies et procédures du Nord, inadéquates aux contextes locaux,
- A mesure de l'affaiblissement des pouvoirs d'Etat, les difficultés des pouvoirs naissants à mettre au point des alternatives inspirées des réalités culturelles, économiques et sociales locales, soit par manque d'information soit par absence de réalisme.
- Enfin "l'intégration" négative des pays de la région dans les échanges Nord/Sud/Nord.

b) La mise en place de l'Alliance

La mise en place de l'Alliance propose de transcender

les frontières nationales, les cloisonnements sous-régionaux pour permettre aux ONG de renforcer leur action par l'amélioration des échanges, la concertation stratégique et le développement harmonieux des différents partenariats:

- Inter-ONG,
- ING-gouvernements,
- ONG-organisations internationales et organismes bilatéraux,
- ONG-institutions ressources (scientifiques, techniques et technologiques, documentations).

Partenariat ONG/ONG

ENTRE ONG africaines

* Au niveau local, l'Alliance se propose:

- d'aider à la constitution de réseaux d'ONG locales,
- d'adapter son assistance à l'élaboration d'un cadre national de concertation et d'action,
- de contribuer à la mise en place de banques nationales de données permettant:
 - la cartographie et l'identification des ONG locales, de leurs projets et de leur champ d'intervention,
 - le recueil et le traitement d'informations structurées sur les problèmes environnementaux.

* A l'échelon sous-régional, l'Alliance voudrait:

- permettre les échanges mutuels d'informations sur les ONG, les problèmes environnementaux spécifiques, en particulier ceux qui relèvent d'écosystèmes identiques (en eaux continentales, forêts, etc.) ou analogues,
- favoriser les actions concertées entre différentes ONG œuvrant dans des secteurs concernés ou voisins de la sous-région (gestion intégrée).

* A l'échelle régionale, l'Alliance souhaite:

Du fait même d'élan collectif qui a contribué à sa création, être un cadre d'échanges permanents au niveau de région Afrique. Sa mise en place effective a été confiée au groupe ivoirien dénommé RECI (Réseau de l'environnement de Côte d'Ivoire) qui a eu le mandat pour assurer provisoirement le secrétariat permanent de l'Alliance.

Entre ONG africaines et ONG d'autres continents, il sera nécessaire de développer le partenariat dont le Séminaire d'Abidjan à été une illustration. Les activités chercheront à:

- intéresser les ONG non africaines à l'exécution de projets au niveau local,
- transférer et adapter les technologies et à améliorer l'expertise des ONG africaines,
- permettre le cofinancement de projets locaux qui, compte tenu des dimensions mondiales des problèmes de l'environnement, intéressent la communauté internationale, ce qui implique:
 - la collecte et la communication des informations et données relatives à l'évolution de l'environnement (télédétection par exemple) et les solutions locales à y apporter,
 - participation à la recherche de financements, à la mise à disposition d'expertise et d'information pour les solutions locales susceptibles d'améliorer l'équilibre écologique mondial.

Partenariat ONG/Gouvernements

il relèvera des activités de l'Alliance de poursuivre, à travers ses organisations membres et leurs regroupements, l'implication accrue des ONG dans toutes les étapes de l'élaboration des plans nationaux et sous-régionaux dans le domaine de l'environnement. Ce qui signifie que les ONG œuvrant dans le secteur devraient participer aux plans et projets sectoriels tels que aménagement du territoire, urbanisme, hydraulique, santé/population/protection sociale, protection civile, énergie et industrie, recherche scientifique, éducation.

Les ONG ayant créé l'Alliance:

Considérant que leur rôle est de dynamiser et de faciliter la réalisation des politiques publiques là où celles-ci existent, de favoriser l'élaboration de ces politiques là où elles n'existeraient pas.

Elles souhaitent participer en qualité d'observateur aux scénarios gouvernementaux régionaux ou sous-régionaux ou, à défaut d'être régulièrement informées de leur préparation ainsi que de leurs résultats.

Partenariat ONG/organisations internationales et organismes d'aides bilatérales

De nombreux projets ayant été conduits et financés, souvent à la demande des gouvernements par les organisations internationales ou bilatérales n'ont pas toujours apporté la preuve de l'efficacité ou de l'efficience. Très souvent, la pertinence de leur élaboration ainsi que celle de leur gestion a été remise en cause.

Dès lors, les ONG africaines regroupées dans l'Alliance souhaitent que les organisations internationales et les organismes d'aides bilatérales les associent davantage à leurs actions en reconnaissant aux ONG :

- la capacité de participer à l'élaboration des objectifs, des stratégies et de l'évaluation prévisionnelle et finale des projets conduits dans le secteur de l'environnement;
- la capacité de faire les projets après avoir reçu une formation complémentaire ad hoc;
 - la perspective d'améliorer les compétences de leur expertise technique et technologique.

Le devoir de participer aux concertations au niveau régional et international à façon permanentes ou périodiques, par exemple le R.O.C. (Régional Orientation Committee) ou le RECI a été chargé d'étudier les modalités de participation de l'Alliance.

ONG/Institutions de recherche et instituts de formation

Les ONG représentées au Séminaire d'Abidjan ont recommandé :

- la collaboration étroite entre les centres et instituts de recherche nationaux et internationaux (plusieurs grands écosystèmes s'étendent à l'échelle sous-régionale et régionale sans "respecter" les frontières);
- la conception et le développement de projets communs entre ONG et instituts de recherche;
- l'appui stratégique et financière des organisations internationales aux projets ainsi identifiés;
- l'élaboration de programmes de formation destinés aux ONG;
- la participation des organismes de recherche aux campagnes de sensibilisation et d'information conduites par les ONG.

ONG/Collectivités locales, communautés de base

L'ensemble des ONG a fondé les réflexions du séminaire sur la proximité sociale, culturelle et géographique de leurs membres par rapport aux divers groupes de population. Les ONG considèrent que celle-ci est à la fois leur support, leurs cibles et la garantie de la pertinence de leur intervention.

Leur but est de rester à l'écoute des communautés de base, de les amener à prendre en charge l'aménagement de leur cadre de vie, de les éclairer sur les risques à venir d'un développement non équilibré et de les amener à formuler leurs besoins dans le cadre des instances, institutions et organes ad hoc, que ceux-ci soient d'ordre gouvernemental ou électif.

4. Les échelles de l'action

Dans la perspective d'une concertation mondiale devant aboutir à des stratégies efficaces, il est indispensable que celle-ci puisse s'appuyer sur des éléments opérationnels régionaux et sous-régionaux.

L'Alliance panafricaine des ONG de l'environnement et du développement (APED) se donne pour mission de jouer ce rôle à l'échelle régionale.

Son secrétariat basé à Abidjan assuré provisoirement par le RECI (Réseau de l'environnement de Côte d'Ivoire) s'attachera à réaliser ce programme avec le soutien de toutes les ONG et du comité de suivi et de contact mis en place au cours du séminaire.

Ci-joint la liste des membres du Comité de suivi institué lors du séminaire.

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1.	Mr Koffi Attignon	ASAFED	Togo	9.	Mr Raymond Jost	S.I.E.	Canada
2.	Mr Bugnicourt Jacques	ENDA-TM	Sénégal	10.	Mr Ibrahim Cheich Diong	RADI	Sénégal
3.	Mr Mondjanagni Alfred	I.P.D.	Cameroun	11.	Mme Alaoui Fatima	F.M.E.D.	Maroc
4.	Mme Catherine Thupaygale	I.A.V.E.	Botswana	12.	Mr Mansour A. Franck	RECI	Côte d'Ivoire
5.	Mr Fayemi Jean-Marie	E.L.C.I.	Kenya	13.	Mr Antoine Sendama	A.W.N.	Kenya
6.	Mr Florent Ouedraogo	A.V.D.	Burkina Faso	14.	Mr Mudooy Velerien	CINTERAD	Belgique
7.	Mme Tano Augustine			15.	Mr Kaulade	I.P.E.S.	Côte d'Ivoire
	Dagri	C.I. Ecologie	Côte d'Ivoire	16.	Mme Diarra Fatou	AGUIFA C.	Guinée
8.	Mr Maiga Diadie	P.A.A.	Mali	17.	Mr Deogratias Singayumuremyi	ARAMET	Rwanda

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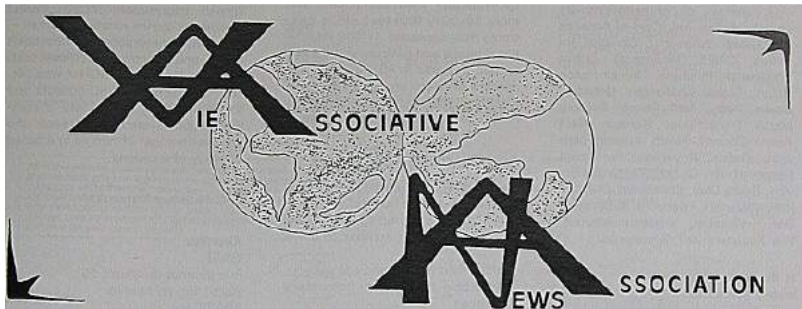
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Association for Progressive Communications

Global computer communications network for Environment, Peace and Human Rights

What is APC?

The Association for Progressive Communications is a worldwide body of member networks dedicated to providing low-cost global communications services for people and organizations working for the environment, peace, conflict resolution, health and public interest.

Problems such as ozone depletion, the greenhouse effect, nuclear threats, desertification, deforestation, hunger and oppression need solutions. Regional, national and global solutions will only emerge from efficient communications — and that's what APC offers you.

The Association for Progressive Communications regards international cooperation and partnership as essential for addressing global concerns of our time.

The focus of our work is to empower local, indigenous organizations by encouraging expertise in and technology for computer networking. We see computer networking as a powerful communications tool to foster true

global partnership, information exchange and international decision-making. Operation and management of a local APC node becomes the full responsibility of the local organization. All APC partners are independent organizations, and retain full control over their network. Member networks pay fees to a fund to further the global spread of the network.

APC Secretariat:
18 de Boom Street,
San Francisco, CA 94107, USA.
Tel.: +1 (415) 442-0220.
Fax: +1 (415) 546-1794.
Telex: 15405417. Email: apcadmin@apc.org.

Dial Locally, Act Globally

if you have a personal computer and a modem, or have access to a university system, you can communicate, share information, pool resources and plan events with individuals and groups all around the world.

How Environmental & Peace Groups are Using the APC Networks

On a "typical day", we might find users of the network doing the following:

- An organizer for an environmental group in Australia consults computer conferences on toxic and nuclear wastes to gather information for a new local campaign.
- The editor of a newsletter in Canada receives article submissions online, eliminating the need to key in the desirable articles herself.
- A peace group in Nicaragua sends comments to all the other members of an international peace network by writing them just once in a private conference.
- A solidarity group in England update themselves on events of the last few days in Central America (in English or Spanish), and send a message to the project they support in El Salvador.

Our network is helping all of these people to communicate and cooperate more effectively.

Who is using the Network?

A sample of organizations includes: Action Aid, Central America Resources Network, Christie Institute, CRIES (Nicaragua), Dublin Portswatch, Findhorn, Finnish Peace Union, Global Challenges Network, Green Party, Int'l Peace Bureau, Media Transcription Service, Nat'l Peace Council, North Atlantic Network, Oxfam, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Quaker Peace & Service, Sierra Club, Southscan, Survival Int'l., Swedish Peace & Arbitration Soc., Vlaamse Vredesuniversiteit, War Resisters Int'l, Zimtecnicia...

Is the Network more widely connected?

Electronic mail can be exchanged with GeoNet, Internet, Poptel, Janet, Bitnet, UUCP, Telecom Gold, and most other academic or commercial networks. You can send and receive telex and send fax messages directly from the network. As well, through our collaboration with the NGO Net Project, much information is spread via publications and radio to people who cannot access the network electronically.

How much does it cost?

Rates are surprisingly low. All the networks have similar charges. A Nord Net in Sweden, for example, a startup fee of US\$24 provides 90 minutes connect time, a manual, a mailbox and a communications program. A monthly charge of US\$5 includes 30 minutes use; additional use is 25 cents per minute. In the U.S., the average user spends less than \$30 per month. Contact the APC partner nearest you for their rates.

What if I need help to use it?

Our system is designed to be easy and quick to use. We will help you every step of the way, supplying step-by-step user manuals and online and telephone help. Some APC members can provide assistance in the purchase and installation of equipment. We can also link you to people who are able to provide technical expertise and training which addresses a host of computer needs.

Electronic Mail

Groups and individuals can instantly send written messages to each other for less than the cost of using the post office, with greater dependability than the phone, and more flexibility than fax! APC's electronic mail accesses 11,000 international peace and environmental users on our networks in 80 countries, and millions of users on other networks. Electronic mail is quick, reliable, secure, inexpensive and easy to use.

Computer Conferences

The conference (sometimes called "electronic notice-boards" or "bulletin boards") is an indispensable tool which enables any number of users to:

- share information and opinions
 - assemble information from many sources
 - collaborate on research, writing, or the planning of events
 - distribute and respond to "Action Alerts"
 - use the latest tools in group communication and event coordination
 - ask questions that can be seen and answered by any other user watching that conference.
- Geographically dispersed people can communicate electronically on any subject. All messages remain visible to all users, or to a preselected group. Many organizations also maintain private conferences for internal administration and discussions.

Information Resources

APC offers hundreds of public conferences containing a wealth of information. These include events calendars, newsletters, legislative alerts, press releases, action updates, late-breaking stories, calls for support, as well as ongoing discussions on issues of global importance. APC database capabilities also allow you to search lists of speakers, grant-making foundations, bibliographies, or list of resources.

How can I benefit from APC?

APC allows you to participate in and influence worldwide discussions on the most vital issues of our time. For example, APC's Brazilian mem-

ber AlterNex was spearheading electronic mail and conferencing services at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil, 1992.

APC collaborated with NGONet to spread information about UNCED through all communication sources — magazines, newspapers, radio, television and electronic conferencing. Based in Uruguay, NGONet was taking the information APC collects and distributing it by this variety of communication systems to reach the greatest number of people in a broad diversity of locations.

APC Member Networks

AlterNex

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22251 Rio de Janeiro
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Tel: +55(21)286-0348
Fax: +55(21)386-0541
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Chasque

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Montevideo 11200
URUGUAY
Tel: +598(2)496192
Fax: +598(2)419222
Email: suporte@ax.apc.org

Institute for Global

Communications

18 de Boom Street
San Francisco, CA 94107
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Tel: +1(415) 442-0220
Fax: +1(415)546-1794
Email: support@igc.apc.org

GreenNet

23 Beviden Street
London N1 6BH
ENGLAND
Tel: +44(71)608-3040
Fax: +44(71)253-0801
Email: support@gn.apc.org

Nicarao

CRIES
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Iglesia Carmen
1 Cuadra al lago, Managua
NICARAGUA
Tel: +505(2)26228
Fax: +505(2)26180
Email: ayuda@ni.apc.org

NordNet
Huvudskarsvagen 13 nb
S-121 54 Johanneshov
SWEDEN
Tel: +46(8)600-0331
Fax: +46(8)600-0443
Email: support@pns.apc.org

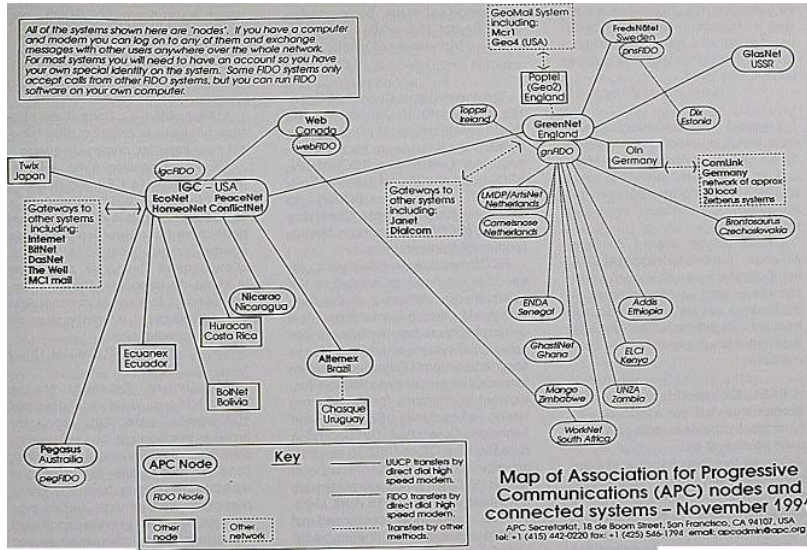
Pegasus Networks
P.O. Box 424

The Epicentre, Border St.
Burton Bay 2481, NSW
AUSTRALIA
Tel: +61(66)856789
Fax: +61(66)856962
Email: support@prg.apc.org

Web
Nirv Centre
401 Richmond St., Suite 104

Toronto, Ontario, M5V 3A8
CANADA
Tel: +1(416)596-0212
Fax: +1(416)974-9189
Email: spider-web.apc.org

APC Membership Pending:
SalNet (El Salvador)
ComLink (Germany)
GlasNet (Soviet Union).



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

Un réseau international de chercheurs en sciences sociales sur les questions de drogues et de substances psychotropes est en train d'être mis en place avec l'aide du Ministère de la recherche et de la technologie français et de la European Foundation for Science. Pendant les deux ans à venir des ateliers seront organisés afin de créer des liens entre chercheurs de nombreux pays et de comparer les problèmes en sérialisant les thèmes. L'objectif est de déboucher sur des recherches comparatistes entreprises par des équipes de plusieurs pays.

(msh informations n° 67)

L'accord de libre-échange conclu dans la nuit de mardi 11 à mercredi 12 août entre les Etats-Unis, le Mexique et le Canada, intervient après plusieurs années d'intensification des échanges commerciaux entre les trois pays.

Le but de cet accord de libre-échange nord-américain (ALENA) est d'éliminer — ou de réduire sensiblement — dans un délai maximal de dix à quinze ans les droits de douane frappant actuellement les exportations entre les trois partenaires commerciaux.

EAAE Europe-Afrique Echanges économiques est une association internationale fondée au début de 1992 qui a pour objet de:

- mener toutes recherches et prendre toutes initiatives en vue de resserrer les liens entre les entreprises et les Etats dont les membres sont les ressortissants;

- travailler à préciser les conditions optimales sur le plan économique, financier et juridique de développement des liens économiques dans le cadre précité;

- mener toutes recherches et prendre toutes initiatives concernant l'éducation, la formation et la formation continue des cadres et dirigeants d'entreprises et des acteurs économiques;

- mener toutes recherches et prendre toutes initiatives concernant les conséquences sociales des activités;

- dans le respect des lois en vigueur, collecter et gérer des capitaux en vue de participer à des projets industriels ou, plus généralement, à

des échanges économiques particulièrement exemplaires, compte tenu de son objet social.

L'objectif de l'association est d'œuvrer ainsi au rapprochement entre les acteurs économiques européens, en ce compris les pays de l'Est et africains."

Le conseil d'administration comprend trois Belges, un Rwandais, deux Burundais.

Le siège est établi : boulevard Auguste Revers 103, B-1040 Bruxelles. (Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*, 14 mai 1992)

The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) joined with the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of UNESCO, and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to sponsor a Global Climate Observing System (GCOS) by signing a Memorandum of Understanding.

GCOS has been established to respond to the need, articulated by the scientists and ministers at the Second World Climate Conference, for a comprehensive, interdisciplinary observational system to address issues of climate change. Following the Conference, the respective sponsors formulated a structure for GCOS consisting of a Joint Scientific and Technical Committee (JSTC) and a Joint Planning Office (JPO) to serve as secretariat for the JSTC.

The JSTC had its inaugural meeting in Geneva at WMO 13-15 April 1992. The Committee is composed of scientists selected by the co-sponsoring organizations on the basis of their expertise on climate related issues. A broad range of disciplines is represented. The chairman, Sir John Houghton, recently chaired Working Group I (Scientific Assessment) of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

The Committee heard from representatives of the sponsoring organizations, and the operational and the research programmes underway. Research needs for a global observational system were presented by the Director, World Climate Research Programme (WCRP), and a representative of the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP).

The JSTC endorsed the development of an implementation plan to provide a structure for the future evolution of GCOS. Working groups, selected experts, and other mechanisms will be utilized as needed. Presently, several task groups are being assembled to prepare for the next JSTC meeting in Washington in January of 1993.

As an initial action, the JSTC prepared a brochure on GCOS, and copies are available via ICSU, or from the JPO.

(*Science International* n° 48, June 1992)

L'Assemblée du Conseil de l'Europe souhaite la création d'un tribunal pour juger les crimes de guerre.

Réunie en session d'été à Budapest, l'Assemblée ("Europe des 27") s'est prononcée, le 1^{er} juillet, pour la création d'un tribunal international permanent pour juger les crimes de guerre, crimes contre la paix et crimes contre l'humanité, y compris le crime de génocide. Cette juridiction pourrait être saisie par tout Etat ou organisation internationale ou nongouvernementale.

(AFP, 3 juillet 1992)

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 45/107 (Annex, para. 28), called for broader involvement of, and assistance by, non-governmental organizations in order to fully implement the mandates emerging from the crime prevention and criminal justice programme and to provide additional technical and scientific expertise and resources for international co-operation in this field. The Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, in its resolution on Guiding Principles for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the Context of Development (para. 46), also called for more intensive efforts to secure support and co-operation from scientific and professional organizations and institutions with and established reputation in the field, so as to make greater use of those resources at the subregional, regional, interregional and international levels, and proposed establishing an international council of scholarly, scientific, re-

search and professional organizations and academic institutions to strengthen international cooperation in crime prevention and criminal justice by furthering the exchange of information and providing technical and scientific assistance to the United Nations and the world community which it serves.

Pursuant to these mandates, the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council (ISPAC) of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme was constituted. The constituent assembly of ISPAC, attended by some seventy representatives of non-governmental organizations and academic institutions and associations, from all regions, was convened at Milan, Italy, from 21 to 23 September, 1991. The tasks of the Council were defined as channelling to the United Nations professional and scientific input and creating a capacity for the transfer of knowledge and exchange of information in crime prevention and criminal justice, drawing on the contributions of non-governmental organizations, academic institutions and other relevant entities, so as to assist the United Nations in programme formulation and implementation in this field, and provide access to the services and expertise of the constituent organizations, including technical assistance, training and education, research, monitoring and evaluation.

One of the principal goals of ISPAC is to enhance the contributions of non-governmental organizations from developing countries.

The Ministerial Conference convened by the United Nations at Versailles (November 1991) and the General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution 46/152 (December 1991), emphasized that the non-governmental organizations and the scientific community are a valuable source of professional expertise, advocacy and assistance, and that their contributions should be fully utilized in programme development and implementation.

The Secretariat of the Council is located at the *Centra Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale*, in Milan, which has served as the seat of the Coordinating Committee of major NGOs active in the crime field. Dr. Adolfo Beria di Argentine, Secretary-General of the Centre, was elected as Chairman of ISPAC's Ex-

ecutive Board, composed of 9 members representing different organizations, disciplines and geographical areas.

A functional committee on information networking and resource committees on major issues were also established, and a programme of workshops and other activities envisaged.

The establishment of the ISPAC affords the international professional and scholarly community active in crime prevention and criminal justice an opportunity to contribute to the work of the United Nations in this field and to help in all aspects of programme execution, in accordance with the directives of United Nations policy-making bodies.

An invitation to join the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council is being extended to all organizations with expertise in crime prevention and criminal justice and with an interest in participating in the Council's work.

A computerized data base is being developed for the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, including the inter-regional and regional institutes. It will contain relevant information that can be utilized in establishing collaborative networks to advance action, research and training, promote the application of United Nations standards and guidelines, and foster appropriate reforms. The data base should help to strengthen international cooperation in crime prevention and criminal justice. It will be accessible through ISPAC, in conjunction with the United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network and the World Criminal Justice Library Network, (c/o Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, Piazza Castello, 3, 20121 Milano, Italy, Telephone: 39-2-86460714, Facsimile: 39-2-26864427).

In an effort to more steadily implement its resolutions and undertake projects, the 5th meeting of Representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Developing Countries, members of the Group of 77, held in Jakarta, Indonesia on February 16-20, 1992, decided to institutionalize itself and establish a permanent secretariat.

Participants from 39 countries attended the meeting.

The meeting approved the establishment of a Trade Information Network (TIN) and the institutionalization of the Conference by the adoption of a statute and by considering the establishment of a permanent secretariat.

Mr. Iman Tanfik was elected new chairman of the Conference.

The meeting also discussed measures of promoting South-South industrial cooperation, investment and joint ventures, including their financial aspects; the promotion of technology exchanges and cooperation in research and development; managerial and technical training and the role of chambers of commerce and other business associations in the above cooperation.

Other activities include:

1) the proposal to hold a meeting with banks of member countries to consider the establishment of a Development Bank under the umbrella of the G-77;

2) the holding of an International Exhibition of G-77 together with a conference on joint ventures for developing countries with the assistance of UNIDO; and

3) to ask subregional groupings of chambers of commerce to invite each other's representatives to attend their respective meetings.

(CACCI Profile, March 1992)

Dans un avis adopté à l'unanimité lors de sa session plénière des 26 et 26 mai 1992 à Bruxelles le Comité économique et social des Communautés européennes a accueilli favorablement la proposition de règlement communautaire portant création d'un Observatoire européen des drogues et du Réseau européen d'information sur les drogues et les toxicomanies (REITOX).

Le principe de la création d'un tel observatoire avait été décidé par les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement réunis en Conseil européen. L'objectif de cet observatoire consistera à fournir des informations objectives, fiables et comparables au niveau européen, qui facilitent l'adoption des mesures nécessaires pour réduire la consommation, la production et le trafic des drogues. L'information traitée, provenant de sources communautaires, gouvernementales ou non gouvernementales, existantes ou à créer, ainsi que des organisations internationales compétentes en la matière, sera par nature non opérationnelle, excluant

en particulier toute référence ou donnée concernant les personnes physiques.

L'observatoire sera un organisme de droit communautaire, fondé sur une infrastructure de collecte et d'échange d'information et de documentation (REITOX).

Pour plus d'informations: Francis Whyte, tél. (02)5199207.
(Communiqué du CES)

The International Research Society for Voluntary Associations, Nonprofit Organizations and Philanthropy was formed in Indianapolis March 1992.

The Society is "intended to assist research efforts, and the continued growth and consolidation of the field by pursuing the following objectives: advancing the knowledge about nonprofit organizations, voluntary associations and philanthropy nationally and internationally; serving as a platform for international exchange of ideas, discussion and cooperation among researchers, scholars and interested practitioners; safeguarding the integrity, ethic, and reputation of research in the area; informing policymakers and the public at large about the sector and specific types of organizations and philanthropic behaviors.

To serve these objectives, the International Research Society will provide the following services: hold an international research meeting at least once every two years; encourage research on all aspects of nonprofit organizations, voluntary associations and philanthropy; encourage the teaching of all aspects of nonprofit organizations, voluntary associations and philanthropy at the levels of undergraduate and graduate education; act as a clearing house and information exchange for researchers, practitioners and policymakers; assist in the dissemination of research results, curricula and teaching aids, as well as management and policy related material to the community of researchers and practitioners; publish a quarterly newsletter for distribution to all members.

The Charter was signed by Helmut Anheier, John Hopkins University and Rutgers university; Virginia Hodgkinson, Independent Sector; Benjamin Gidron, Ben Gurion University; and Susan Saxon-Harold, Charities Aid Foundation,

1828 L Street,
N.W. Washington DC 20036
Tel. (200) 223-8100
Fax (202) 457-0609

(Communiqué)

L'Annexe au Moniteur Belge du 25 juin 1992 publie les statuts de la Liaison des Groupes volontaires de lutte contre la pauvreté en Europe fondée par 13 personnes de 10 nationalités différentes. L'association a pour objet d'instaurer à travers l'Europe un réseau démocratique et efficace reliant entre eux les groupes volontaires de lutte contre la pauvreté, lesquels doivent être avant tout, l'expression de la volonté de personnes confrontées à la pauvreté d'impulser et de mettre en œuvre des modifications des structures qui maintiennent les personnes dans une situation marginale. Le rôle explicite et dominant des groupes qui adhèrent à la liaison doit être de permettre aux personnes et groupes en situation de pauvreté et d'exclusion sociale d'exercer leurs responsabilités et de jouir de leurs droits, de rompre leur isolement et de conjurer leur exclusion sociale.

L'association est régie par la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919. Le siège social est établi : rue Rempart des Moines 78, B-1000 Bruxelles.

Le 28 mars 1992 a été fondée à Bruxelles l'Association européenne des Organisations non gouvernementales sur la question de la Palestine (EURO ONG Palestine). L'association a pour objet "d'assurer la liaison entre les ONG associées et de faciliter leurs échanges et actions communes:

- a) pour parvenir à une solution juste, durable et pacifique de la question palestinienne sur la base des résolutions des Nations-Unies (ONU);
- b) pour promouvoir le développement économique et social dans les territoires palestiniens occupés par l'Etat d'Israël;
- c) pour faire respecter les conventions et chartes internationales de protection et de promotion des Droits de l'Homme et de l'Enfant à l'égard des Palestiniens.

L'association collaborera, pour réaliser ses objectifs, étroitement avec le Comité des Nations-Unies pour l'exercice des droits inaliénables du peuple palestinien et avec le Comité international de Coordination des ONG, sur la question de la Palestine".

Peuvent être membres de l'association avec la qualité d'associé, toutes les organisations non gouvernementales (ONG), quelle que soit leur forme juridique, à la condition que l'association candidate:

ait son siège en Europe;
que ses activités, en tout ou en partie, concernent la Palestine;
adhère formellement aux buts de l'association et reconnaisse l'ensemble des résolutions des Nations-Unies relatives à la question palestinienne.
Lé président est Bernard Mills (UK), le vice-président Mme Maria Gazi (Grèce), le trésorier-secrétaire Fritz Edlinger (Autriche). Le siège social est établi: Avenue de Cortenberg 62, B-1040 Bruxelles.

(Annexe au Moniteur Belge,
25 juin 1992)

L'Union internationale chrétienne de dirigeants d'entreprises (UNIA-PAC) au cours de la réunion de son Conseil à Budapest en décembre 1991 avait adopté à l'unanimité la décision de créer un Secrétariat Général de l'UNIA-PAC pour l'Amérique latine. Aujourd'hui, c'est chose faite. H s'agit non seulement de la reconnaissance de l'importance qu'ont les associations latino-américaines pour le mouvement mondial, mais aussi d'un défi pour ces associations qui ensemble auront à se développer, à se consolider et à s'étendre sur tout le continent.

Ce Secrétariat est établi à Montevideo au siège de l'association uruguayenne ACDE. Sous la direction de John Miles, il sera un organe essentiel au service du président de l'UNIA-PAC Latino-Américaine Hector Sapiza.

Le nouveau Secrétariat s'est fixé trois objectifs dans l'immédiat:

- une réunion du Conseil latino-américain et une rencontre latino-américaine de l'UNIA-PAC au Brésil en août 1992;
- la prise de contacts avec des entrepreneurs vénézuéliens en vue de la création d'une association UNIA-PAC dans ce pays;

— l'étude des activités de soutien à mettre en œuvre en vue de réactiver l'association UNIA-PAC-Pérou. (UNIA-PAC Latino-Américaine, José Enrique Rodo 2074, Casilla Postal 10695, Montevideo, Uruguay; tél. 598-2/485176; fax 412113).
(UNIA-PAC News, n° 2, 1992)

ASSOCIATIONS TRANSNATIONALES TRANSNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Some items in recent issues: <i>Parmi les thèmes traités récemment:</i>	Issue number:
The recognition of the legal personality of INGOs <i>La reconnaissance de la personnalité juridique des OING</i>	3/1986, 3/1990, 5/1990, 6/1990.
Latin American Associations <i>Les associations latino-américaines</i>	6/1986, 6/1989, 3/1990.
INGOs tomorrow <i>L'avenir des OING</i>	3/1987, 1/1990.
INGOs' vision of education for Peace <i>L'éducation pour la paix selon les OING</i>	6/1987, 3/1989.
New social movements <i>Les nouveaux mouvements sociaux</i>	1/1988, 6/1989, 1/1990, 3/1990.
Cooperatives in today's world <i>Les coopératives dans le monde contemporain</i>	3/1988, 1/1990, 5/1990.
Voluntary work <i>Le travail volontaire</i>	2/1989, 3/1990, 4/1990, 6/1990.
Cooperation between INGOs and IGOs (Unesco, World Bank, EEC, OECD) <i>La coopération entre les OING et les OIG (Unesco, Banque mondiale, CEE, OCDE)</i>	2/1990, 3/1990, 2/1991, 3/1992.
INGOs' view of environmental problems <i>Les OING et les problèmes écologiques</i>	3/1989, 4/1989, 1/1990.
Humanitarian aid and humanitarian law <i>L'aide et le droit humanitaires</i>	2/1988, 6/1989, 4/1990, 2/1992, 4/1992.
Europe 1993	5/1990, 6/1990, 4/1991, 3/1992.
Language in a transnational perspective <i>Langage et transnationalité</i>	1/1991, 6/1991, 1/1992.
Beyond the State: Civil Society and the State <i>La société civile et l'Etat</i>	3/1991, 1/1992.
NGOs and the Replication Trap <i>tes ONG et le piège de l'essaimage</i>	4/1991, 1/1992.

Forthcoming topics:

Dans les prochains numéros:

- Assistance et ingérence humanitaires
Humanitarian Aid and Intervention
- Europe and Latin America 1992: the Trade Union Dimension
L'Europe et l'Amérique latine en 1992: l'espace syndical
- Meetings and Membership of international organizations
Les réunions et la composition des organisations internationales

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