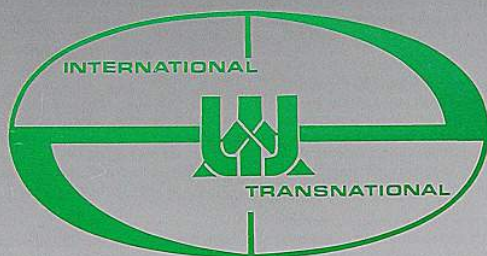


TRANSNATIONAL

ASSOCIATIONS

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Les OING et les
droits de l'enfant

Cultural Energy and
Grassroots Development

1993 - n° 1

The review of international
associations and meetings

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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 association phenomenon in a human society which continues to grow and evolve.

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 association questions. The articles do not of course necessarily reflect the point of view of the publisher.

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Les organisations non gouvernementales et la Convention des Nations Unies relative aux droits de l'enfant

par Nigel Cantwell *

Les organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) travaillant à l'échelon international dans le domaine des droits de l'homme sont concernées dans une large mesure par le droit international contenu dans les conventions des Nations Unies et s'emploient, en particulier, à veiller au respect des droits de l'homme qui y sont consacrés. Les ONG ont eu aussi une certaine influence sur la teneur des conventions internationales et se sont, dans certains cas, attachées à sensibiliser l'opinion publique à un instrument particulier ou aux droits de l'homme en général.

Toutefois, on s'accorde à reconnaître, aussi bien dans les milieux gouvernementaux que dans les cercles non gouvernementaux, que la contribution apportée par la communauté des ONG à la rédaction et à la promotion de la Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant a marqué une nouvelle étape à cet égard. Cela pourrait — et devrait — avoir des incidences positives pour l'avenir, en ce qui concerne tant la mise en application de cet instrument particulier que le développement éventuel de nouvelles normes internationales relatives aux droits de l'homme. Il est donc intéressant de revenir sur les efforts déployés par les ONG en rapport avec cette convention, d'évaluer leur contribution à celle-ci et d'examiner les répercussions possibles pour l'avenir.

Cet article porte plus spécialement sur les résultats de la coopération entre les ONG à l'échelon international, mais le rôle joué par les organismes non gouvernementaux tant individuellement que collectivement, notamment pour promouvoir cette convention aux échelons national et régional, est également considérable et mérite lui aussi d'être examiné.

* Directeur des programmes. Défense des enfants International (DEI).

Cet article a paru précédemment dans *Bulletin des droits de l'homme*, 91/2, Nations Unies, 1992.

Le renforcement de la coordination entre les ONG

Dès 1979, lorsque la Commission des droits de l'homme de l'ONU a décidé de créer un groupe de travail spécial «ouvert» pour étudier la proposition polonaise de rédiger une convention relative aux droits de l'enfant et pour établir un projet de texte définitif pour cette convention, on s'est efforcé de promouvoir la coopération inter-ONG sur cette question. Les ONG accréditées pouvaient participer aux séances du Groupe de travail (qui étaient d'ailleurs publiques) bien qu'il ait été laissé à la discrétion du Groupe et de son président de décider si et quand elles seraient autorisées à prendre la parole — et une déclaration écrite corédigée par plusieurs ONG a été présentée à un stade très précoce. Il semble toutefois que, au cours de ces premières années, un sentiment de découragement ait gagné les représentants des ONG. Très peu d'entre eux avaient déjà travaillé auparavant dans ce genre de contexte. Ils savaient qu'ils possédaient le potentiel nécessaire pour apporter une contribution majeure à ce travail, mais ils craignaient d'être, à l'instar des enfants eux-mêmes, tenus pour quantité négligeable faute de pouvoir expliquer leurs préoccupations de manière suffisamment éloquente et efficace. Bien qu'à titre individuel les ONG aient eu la parole presque chaque fois qu'elles l'avaient demandée, elles se sont trop souvent révélées incapables d'en profiter. Leurs déclarations avaient tendance à être trop spontanées et trop réactives, alors qu'elles auraient dû être plus soigneusement préparées. En outre, il n'y avait aucune cohésion dans leur approche. Il s'ensuit que leur influence sur les projets d'articles adoptés au cours des cinq premières années a été relativement restreinte et s'est limitée aux quelques résultats obtenus à titre individuel par une poignée d'organisations ayant l'expérience du travail dans le domaine des droits de l'homme.

C'est dans ce contexte que certains des représentants des ONG présents à la réunion de 1983 du Groupe de travail ont décidé qu'il fallait modifier leur approche — ou tout au moins essayer. Avec le soutien logistique du Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'enfance (UNICEF) à Genève (et en particulier de son attaché de liaison avec les ONG), ils ont organisé une «consultation d'ONG» en mai 1983. Plus de vingt ONG y étaient représentées, et la principale décision de cette réunion a été que les ONG intéressées par la Convention devraient constituer un groupe spécial, pour essayer avant toute chose de corriger les deux principaux défauts que l'on pouvait reprocher jusque-là à leurs interventions, à savoir le manque de préparation et l'absence de cohésion. Le Groupe d'ONG ainsi formé avait besoin d'un «point focal» et a choisi comme secrétariat l'organisation Défense des enfants International (DEI). Une autre réunion a eu lieu plus tard dans l'année, et le Groupe a présenté des propositions conjointes sur certains articles qui devaient être examinés à la session de janvier 1984 du Groupe de travail. Ces propositions étaient réunies dans un rapport écrit qui a été distribué aux délégués lors de cette session. L'effet a été immédiat et considérable. Les propositions figurant dans ce rapport — qui étaient officieuses du fait qu'elles n'avaient pas été soumises par l'intermédiaire du Centre des droits de l'homme — ont été mentionnées au cours des débats; on a demandé aux ONG d'en expliquer certains aspects, et plusieurs délégués sont venus à titre individuel parler de points précis. En résumé, la voie était ouverte pour améliorer considérablement l'apport et l'influence des ONG.

Encouragées par ce résultat, les ONG se sont à nouveau réunies à deux reprises en 1984. Outre qu'elles ont rédigé un rapport résumant leurs propositions, elles ont affiné leur stratégie et ont en particulier organisé la première d'une série de «réunions d'information» à l'intention des représentants des missions permanentes à Genève. De cette manière, les délégués des différents pays ont pu être informés avant les réunions du Groupe de travail et prendre en considération le point de vue des ONG lorsqu'il s'est agi de déterminer la position de leur pays. Les réunions semestrielles du Groupe spécial, les réunions d'information annuelles à l'intention des missions permanentes et les présentations de propositions écrites au Groupe de travail se sont poursuivies pendant tout le temps qu'a duré le travail de rédaction de la Convention.

Au fil du temps, le Groupe des ONG a rapidement grossi, jusqu'à comprendre une soixantaine d'«organisations participantes» (il n'y avait pas de «membres» à proprement parler), et son champ de compétences et d'expérience est devenu très vaste, car le Groupe comprenait non seulement des organisations spécialisées dans le domaine de l'enfance, telles que DEI, le Bureau international catholique de l'enfance et l'Alliance internationale Save the Children, mais également des ONG spécialisées dans la défense des droits de l'homme (Amnesty International, Société anti-esclavagiste, Commission internationale de juristes, etc.), ainsi que des organisations religieuses, des associations professionnelles, des mouvements de jeunesse, des organisations de protection sociale et des groupements féminins.

L'influence du Groupe des ONG

L'étendue des compétences représentées au sein du

Groupe des ONG est pour beaucoup dans le fait que celui-ci soit arrivé à exercer une influence dans un aussi grand nombre de domaines couverts par cette convention au champ d'application particulièrement vaste. En fait, treize au moins des articles ou paragraphes de fond dans le texte approuvé de la Convention ont été suggérés à l'origine par des ONG (1). On peut citer par exemple l'article 39 concernant la responsabilité des Etats à l'égard des enfants victimes d'exploitation ou de sévices et le paragraphe 3 de l'article 24 concernant l'abolition des pratiques traditionnelles préjudiciables à la santé. Les ONG ont aussi eu une influence considérable sur la formulation, la forme et le contenu de deux autres articles (2): l'article 19 (brutalités et négligence) et l'article 32 (exploitation du travail des enfants). C'est aussi aux ONG que l'on doit le fait que les articles 37 (torture et privation de liberté) et 40 (administration de la justice pour les mineurs) fassent l'objet de dispositions distinctes et aussi détaillées dans la Convention.

Les propositions des ONG n'ont pas seulement porté sur des articles de fond. Le Groupe a mis au point un projet de texte pour ce qui constitue maintenant les articles 42 et 45, et plusieurs des idées des ONG sont reflétées dans les dispositions adoptées. Ces idées portent sur des aspects aussi fondamentaux que l'obligation pour les Etats parties de faire connaître la Convention aux enfants et aux adultes dans leurs pays respectifs (article 42) ou les rôles attribués au Comité des droits de l'enfant, à l'UNICEF et à d'autres organismes compétents » (terme qui, ainsi que les travaux préparatoires l'indiquent, englobe les ONG) dans l'article 45.

Bien entendu, il y a eu aussi de nombreux cas dans lesquels le Groupe des ONG n'est pas parvenu à convaincre les représentants des gouvernements. Le plus connu concerne la participation des enfants âgés de quinze à dix-sept ans à des conflits armés (art. 38) qui, en dépit des pressions massives des ONG et d'autres organes, n'a pas été proscrite par la Convention (ironie du sort, ce sont les ONG elles-mêmes qui avaient les premières suggéré d'inclure dans la Convention une disposition relative à la protection des enfants en cas de conflits armés). Le Groupe des ONG n'a pas non plus pu obtenir l'interdiction explicite de l'expérimentation médicale sur les enfants, bien que certaines garanties soient offertes à cet égard par le principe de la protection générale des enfants contre toutes formes d'exploitation énoncé à l'article 36, qui couvrirait certainement ces expérimentations.

Au-delà du travail de rédaction proprement dit

Au fil des années, le rôle du Groupe des ONG s'est rapidement accru et n'a plus consisté seulement à contribuer au projet de texte, mais aussi à faire connaître et appuyer la future convention.

A partir de 1987, les ONG, tant individuellement qu'en groupe, se sont occupées de plus en plus d'organiser et d'appuyer des réunions à tous les niveaux et dans le monde entier pour faire connaître la future convention et son importance. Beaucoup d'entre elles lui ont consacré une place considérable dans leurs publications. Elles ont été unanimes à réclamer que l'on accorde une priorité spéciale à la formulation appropriée et à l'adoption en temps voulu de cet instrument. Plus ou moins rapidement, on a assisté à une modification notable des attitudes et des poli-

tiques de certaines ONG à l'égard de cette convention du fait qu'elles participaient au Groupe. Jamais auparavant un instrument international dans le domaine des droits de l'homme n'avait suscité autant d'intérêt et recueilli autant de soutien alors qu'il en était encore au stade de l'élaboration.

Grâce à cet exercice de sensibilisation et à ces contacts avec les représentants des gouvernements tant dans le cadre qu'à l'extérieur des réunions du Groupe de travail, les ONG ont contribué à convaincre les Etats et les délégations de prendre cette convention plus au sérieux. Il y a eu une augmentation progressive du nombre des pays participants, alors qu'on croyait généralement que l'intérêt pour la convention s'effriterait à mesure que le travail d'élaboration s'éterniserait. En fait, les représentants des Etats ont eu tendance à être mieux informés et les ONG sont arrivées à ranimer leur enthousiasme faiblissant en démontrant constamment que la rédaction de cette future convention n'était pas simplement un «exercice académique de plus» mais la mise au point d'un instrument d'importance décisive pour la protection et le bien-être de près de la moitié de l'humanité. En 1987, les ONG et l'UNICEF ont recommandé que l'on se donne pour objectif d'achever l'élaboration de cette convention en 1989. Il s'agissait de redonner un but concret au travail de rédaction qui, à l'époque, semblait devoir se prolonger pendant encore plusieurs années, avec le risque que les Etats se désintéressent de l'ensemble du projet. Bien que le niveau d'influence global du Groupe des ONG n'ait évidemment jamais pu être quantifié, il est certain que ces organisations ont joué un rôle dans le processus d'élaboration de la convention en mettant constamment l'accent de diverses manières sur l'importance de ce travail.

Les ONG ont aussi été partiellement — certains diraient largement — responsables du fait que l'UNICEF a également commencé à s'intéresser à ce travail. Ayant bénéficié dès le départ du soutien de cet organisme, le Groupe des ONG l'a poussé à jouer un rôle plus actif. Dès 1986/87, ses efforts ont été récompensés, et l'UNICEF est devenu un défenseur inconditionnel et influent de la Convention, jetant dans la balance toutes les ressources et toute l'influence dont il pouvait disposer. La coopération entre l'UNICEF et le Groupe des ONG a, en fait, été si poussée que certains croient encore que la Convention est essentiellement le fruit de leurs efforts conjoints et aurait simplement ensuite été soumise à l'ONU pour approbation!

Tous ces efforts ont également eu un résultat inattendu, mais qui mérite d'être mentionné: au lieu de rester simplement l'affaire d'un cercle fermé de diplomates et de juristes internationaux, la Convention a progressivement pris sa place dans le domaine public en tant qu'instrument pluridisciplinaire. C'est maintenant que l'on est passé de la phase de la rédaction à celle de la mise en œuvre que l'on devrait en ressentir particulièrement les effets, car, pour avoir été depuis longtemps partie prenante dans le processus, un nombre sans précédent d'individus et d'organisations se sentent déjà tenus de «faire fonctionner cette convention».

Les leçons de l'expérience

L'un des principaux points à l'ordre du jour de la réunion de mai 1989 du Groupe des ONG (la première qui a suivi l'approbation de la Convention) par la Commissions des

droits de l'homme) a été une évaluation préliminaire de l'expérience du Groupe. Cet exercice avait un double but, à savoir: premièrement, déterminer quelles étaient les leçons à tirer concernant la coopération entre les ONG. l'influence des ONG à l'intérieur du système des Nations Unies et la coopération entre les ONG, les gouvernements et l'ONU et, deuxièmement, évaluer l'opportunité de poursuivre cette coordination inter-ONG dans la phase «post-adoption».

En dehors des multiples facteurs qu'il a considérés comme ayant contribué au succès relatif de son travail, le Groupe des ONG a estimé qu'il y avait eu trois conditions préalables qui lui avaient permis de poursuivre et de développer son action sans tomber dans les pièges qui font si souvent échouer la coopération entre les ONG, à savoir: la perte de vitesse, la perte d'objectif et les désaccords fondamentaux de politique générale, etc. Ces trois conditions préalables étaient les suivantes:

- 1) Le fait que le travail du Groupe ait eu un objectif clairement défini. Il ne s'agissait pas d'une alliance générale pour s'occuper de questions relatives aux enfants, mais d'un groupement créé pour accomplir une tâche bien définie afin de répondre à un besoin ressenti par tous les participants;
- 2) Le caractère implicitement limité dans le temps de ce travail: étant donné que la tâche fondamentale à accomplir était de contribuer à la rédaction d'une convention, une fois le texte adopté la raison d'être du Groupe devait en principe disparaître;
- 3) L'existence d'un soutien financier suffisant pour assurer un fonctionnement efficace, eu égard au fait que la nature même de l'activité entreprise signifiait que le niveau du financement extérieur nécessaire demeurerait dans tous les cas relativement limité.

On pourrait aussi ajouter à cette liste une quatrième «condition préalable»: le fait que le Groupe des ONG se soit uniquement attelé à des tâches qui n'auraient pas pu être menées — ou du moins pas aussi efficacement — par ses membres à titre individuel. Les organisations en nombre croissant qui ont participé au Groupe n'avaient donc pas de raisons de craindre que l'on empiète sur leur territoire et étaient au contraire convaincues que la mise en commun de leurs expériences et de leurs efforts était essentielle pour obtenir les résultats désirés.

Ces «conditions préalables» ainsi que d'autres facteurs ont bien entendu été pris en considération lorsque le Groupe a commencé à examiner le rôle éventuel qu'il pourrait jouer après le 20 novembre 1989. Cette interrogation peut évidemment sembler paradoxale puisque le Groupe avait déjà conclu que le fait que son activité ait été limitée dans le temps avait été un facteur important de son succès, et qu'il ne faisait ni plus ni moins qu'envisager ainsi de «jouer les prolongations» dès que cette limite aurait été atteinte. Néanmoins, il est clairement apparu aux ONG qu'on ne pouvait simplement mettre un terme à ces six années de coopération sans envisager la possibilité d'une action conjointe dans l'avenir.

Le rôle du Groupe dans l'avenir

Le Groupe a donc commencé par dresser une longue liste d'activités qui pourraient être poursuivies utilement par les ONG pour promouvoir la Convention et les droits qu'elle consacre. Il a ensuite entrepris de rayer de cette

liste toutes les activités qui ne nécessitaient pas une coopération formelle ou structurée et celles qui pouvaient en fait être menées plus efficacement par chaque ONG à titre individuel, selon sa propre approche et son propre statut. Après avoir évalué et classé par ordre de priorité les tâches restantes, le Groupe a décidé qu'il devrait continuer à jouer un rôle dans deux domaines en particulier.

La première tâche devait être de courte durée, mais pour des raisons en réalité très positives. Le Groupe avait estimé assez naturellement qu'il devrait encourager la signature et la ratification de la Convention. L'avalanche sans précédent de signatures et de ratifications annoncées dès l'instant où la Convention a été ouverte à la signature et qui a redoublé après la tenue du Sommet mondial pour les enfants en 1990 a rapidement montré qu'il ne serait pas nécessaire de lancer des campagnes de grande envergure à l'échelle mondiale pour persuader les Etats de ratifier la Convention: il suffirait d'envisager l'organisation d'actions ponctuelles — en particulier à l'échelon national — dans certains pays où la ratification était contestée ou négligée par les pouvoirs publics.

Il semble bien que les ONG avaient en fait déjà accompli tout ce qui était nécessaire pour favoriser la ratification, sans s'en être rendu compte. Si les gouvernements s'étaient ainsi hâtés de démontrer qu'ils adhéraient à la Convention, c'était bien entendu en partie parce qu'ils ne souhaitaient pas être accusés de se désintéresser du sort des enfants et sans doute aussi en partie parce que la Convention avait été délibérément rédigée de manière à encourager l'adhésion du plus grand nombre possible d'Etats — notamment par l'accent mis sur la coopération internationale et l'assistance technique pour la mise en application des droits qu'elle énonce. Mais cet enthousiasme était certainement dû aussi à la sensibilisation du public et aux pressions qui existaient bien avant que la Convention ne soit adoptée et auxquelles le Groupe des ONG avait très largement contribué. En outre, le Sommet mondial pour les enfants a suscité un grand nombre de ratifications. Ce sommet résultait d'une initiative de l'UNICEF découlant directement de la participation de cet organisme à l'élaboration de la Convention, participation qui, ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, était due en grande partie aux encouragements tant officiels qu'informels des ONG.

La seconde activité majeure du Groupe réformé a été de promouvoir et de coordonner la présentation à l'ONU d'informations sur certaines questions relatives aux droits des enfants. Le but était de mettre à la disposition des organes les plus appropriés de défense des droits de l'homme, en fonction de la question concernée, le maximum d'informations pertinentes — y compris des recommandations — d'une manière à la fois cohérente et coordonnée. Cette activité constitue un prolongement naturel du travail entrepris par le Groupe pendant la phase de rédaction de la Convention au cours de laquelle il a pu mesurer l'importance de fournir des données et des opinions concises et pratiques soutenues par un large éventail d'ONG.

Cet effort de coordination est maintenant bien engagé. Ainsi, près de trente ONG ont copatronné une déclaration conjointe sur la Convention lors de la réunion de 1990 de la Commission des droits de l'homme. Le Groupe a créé des sous-groupes sur des thèmes spécifiques tels que l'exploitation du travail des enfants, la situation des enfants dans les conflits armés - un membre étant plus spécialement chargé de préparer les contributions des ONG pour la

Sous-Commission de la lutte contre la discrimination et de la protection des minorités, pour ses groupes de travail sur les formes contemporaines d'esclavage et de détention, ainsi que pour les rapporteurs spéciaux et, à terme, pour le Comité des droits de l'enfant lui-même. Le Groupe a aussi créé un groupe de travail spécial chargé de rédiger un document des ONG proposant différents éléments à examiner par ce Comité lorsqu'il définirait son mandat; il travaille également à la formulation de directives pour l'établissement des rapports qui seront également soumises au Comité.

Il sera évidemment important, maintenant que la Convention existe, que le Groupe des ONG maintienne une présence au sein de certains organes de défense des droits de l'homme, en dehors de son travail avec le Comité des droits de l'enfant. Ces organes auront, en effet, un rôle spécial à jouer, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la situation des enfants dans les pays qui sont parties à la Convention et en ce qui concerne la formulation de commentaires ou d'interprétations générales touchant certains droits de l'enfant spécifiques. Mais les rôles de la Sous-Commission, de ses groupes de travail et des rapporteurs spéciaux concernant les droits des enfants ne devraient en aucune manière se trouver diminués du fait de l'existence du Comité, pas plus qu'ils ne le sont dans le cas de droits de l'homme visés dans des conventions dont l'application est confiée à des organes spécifiques. Le Groupe des ONG sera au contraire très conscient de la nécessité d'encourager la plus grande concertation possible entre tous ces organes (et d'autres éventuellement), car cette concertation est vitale pour maximiser l'impact de la Convention, et de protéger les droits qu'elle énonce.

La circulation de l'information entre le Groupe et les organes de l'ONU concernés n'est pas, en fait, conçue comme un exercice à sens unique. Le but est de permettre à la communauté des ONG — et à ses membres à tous les niveaux — d'être tenue au courant de tous les développements pertinents qui auront lieu au sein du système des Nations Unies. Les réunions semestrielles du Groupe, qui se poursuivent et auxquelles des représentants du Centre des droits de l'homme ainsi que des délégués de l'UNICEF sont systématiquement invités à participer pour rendre compte des progrès de leurs travaux et exposer leurs plans d'action concernant la Convention devraient y contribuer. De cette manière, le Groupe sera mieux placé pour apporter, le moment voulu, des contributions appropriées, ainsi que pour prendre les initiatives qui lui sembleront souhaitables.

On espère en résumé que le partenariat qui s'est établi au cours de la phase de rédaction de la Convention entre les ONG elles-mêmes et avec les organes intergouvernementaux et les représentants des gouvernements se consolidera et se poursuivra au cours de la phase de mise en œuvre. La Convention elle-même appelle cette coopération, et la réalisation des droits qu'elle consacre dépendra en grande partie de la mesure dans laquelle chacun y mettra du sien, à tous les niveaux.

Les répercussions de l'expérience de coordination

Bien que l'on place actuellement l'accent, de manière bien compréhensible, sur la mise en application des normes existantes dans le domaine des droits de l'homme

plutôt que sur l'élaboration de nouveaux instruments et de nouvelles déclarations, le travail du Groupe des ONG fournira sans nul doute des points de repère et des lignes directrices utiles aux organisations non gouvernementales qui participeront à l'avenir à un travail de rédaction, pas forcément dans le contexte des Nations Unies. Ainsi, sur une beaucoup plus petite échelle, plusieurs ONG unissent actuellement leurs efforts pour contribuer à la formulation d'une convention sur l'adoption inter pays, convention qui est actuellement établie sous les auspices de la Conférence de droit international privé de La Haye. Défense des enfants International, qui est l'une des organisations associées à ce travail, s'est beaucoup appuyée sur l'expérience du Groupe des ONG à cet égard.

Cela étant, c'est probablement dans le cadre plus large de l'interaction entre l'ONU et les ONG — y compris bien entendu pour contrôler l'application de la Convention dont nous nous occupons — que cette expérience de collaboration pourra s'avérer particulièrement utile.

Parmi les divers aspects de l'expérience du Groupe des ONG, le partenariat établi entre les ONG elles-mêmes, bien entendu, mais aussi avec les organismes intergouvernementaux et les gouvernements, a eu une importance fondamentale et essentielle pour presque toutes les réalisations du Groupe.

Pour les ONG, cette expérience a significé un travail en commun dans un esprit de respect mutuel pour les compétences et les points de vue de chacun, en s'efforçant au maximum d'arrêter et de maintenir des positions communes sur des questions déterminées. La coopération entre les ONG ne devrait jamais être de nature à remettre en question ou à porter atteinte à l'indépendance de chacune d'elles. Le but n'est pas de faire adopter de force une position commune mais d'arriver, chaque fois que cela est

possible, à se mettre d'accord lorsqu'une approche conjointe semble potentiellement plus efficace qu'une démarche individuelle.

Le travail du Groupe des ONG avec les organisations intergouvernementales et les gouvernements reflétait une attitude de coopération réaliste plutôt qu'une volonté de maintenir à tout prix une position distincte et rigide. Bien entendu, ce n'est pas parce qu'elles établissent une relation de partenariat avec les gouvernements que les ONG doivent renoncer, même partiellement, à promouvoir et à défendre leurs valeurs fondamentales tant collectivement qu'individuellement. Mais une approche non agressive et technique peut manifestement constituer, à priori, un moyen potentiel d'atteindre un objectif donné en respectant ces valeurs.

L'utilité d'un partenariat a été clairement démontrée dans d'autres sphères de l'activité de l'ONU et des ONG, et s'est confirmée lors du Sommet mondial pour les enfants en ce qui concerne la réalisation des droits de l'enfant. À l'évidence, l'expérience du Groupe des ONG en liaison avec la Convention sur les droits de l'enfant n'est en aucune manière, « définitive », mais elle montre une fois de plus que, en dépit de tous les problèmes que l'on sait, les ONG peuvent travailler efficacement ensemble dans le contexte des Nations Unies.

- (1) Les ONG ont été à l'origine de l'inclusion, dans la Convention, des articles suivants : article 9 (par. 3 et 4); article 24 (par. 3); articles 28 et 29 (d et e); articles 30, 34, 35, 37 et 38 (par. 4); articles 39, 41, 42 et 44 (par. 6).
- (2) Les ONG ont eu une influence directe sur la formulation, la forme ou le contenu des articles suivants: articles 8, 13, 16, 19 et 20 (par. 3); articles 23, 25 et 27 (par. 3 et 4); articles 28 29, 32, 33, 40 et 45.

Cultural Energy and Grassroots Development

by Charles D. Kleymeyer *

Is the culture of marginalized populations an anachronism to be cast aside or an opportunity to be seized?

"Culture is like a tree", says Mariano López, a Tzotzil Indian leader from the municipality of Chamula in Chiapas, Mexico. "If the green branches - a people's language, legends, and customs - are carelessly lopped off, then the roots that bind people to their place on the earth and to each other also begin to wither. The wind and rain and the elements carry the topsoil away; the land becomes desert".

More than 2,000 kilometers to the south, along the lush green coast of Ecuador, Afro-Ecuadorian folklorist Juan García echoes this urgency and, in so doing, offers a solution. "Cultural rescue", he says, "is impossible without development at the community level. And the converse is also true".

Both of these testimonies imply that cultural expression, in all its richness and variety, is not just a by-product of how a society organizes its social and productive relationships; it is a vital instrument for generating the insights and energy needed to transform those relationships. In his theory of "the conversation and mutation of social energy," Albert Hirschman (1983) has argued that grassroots projects — including many which seem to have failed — work cumulatively to generate the commitment and skills that poor people can rechannel into new and more-ambitious efforts of development.

The present article builds on case material reported in

more than a decade of Grassroots Development publications and examines the broader IAF experience to see how cultural energy is key for mobilizing the social action that drives successful grassroots projects. Cultural energy is a prime motivator of social action among individuals, groups, communities, and even nations. It is generated by common people through everyday creative expression — in work and in "entertainment," which often overlap. It is also galvanized by the concerted efforts of cultural activists who consciously use it as a development tool. They realize that the presence or absence of cultural energy can make the difference in whether a project is launched, sustained, and expanded. Cultural energy is a powerful force in the creation and reinforcement of group solidarity, organizational efficacy, participation, and volunteer spirit — all of which are basic ingredients of successful grassroots development initiatives.

Fewer than 10 percent of the Foundation's 3,307 grants during the past 21 years have focused on culture as a potential tool for development. This sample is too small to form a generic blueprint for project implementation, but it offers funders, government agencies, and local organizers crucial insights into the grassroots development process and how it can be strengthened. Before that can happen, however, certain misconceptions about the nature of culture and development must be overturned.

The Search for an Alternative Development Paradigm

Technicians and planners staffing government agencies and private institutions have long tended to overlook the positive linkage between culture and development, between tradition and change. When the resource base fueling the world's industrial economy seemed inexhaustible, it was possible to think of "development" in mechanistic terms, as a problem of scale rather than value. Tech-

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nology was a skeleton key for unlocking "the wealth of nations", and both capital goods and the institutional framework for using them were presumed to be one more set of consumer products for export, pouring off an assembly line in the North. By the late 1960s that optimism had dimmed, and many development theorists blamed the lack of progress on backward-looking traditional cultures.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, this criticism was frequently internalized, particularly in countries with sharp ethnic divisions dating back to the European conquest. Cultural homogenization that expressed the values and needs of modernizing urban elites was thought to be a pre-condition for economic growth, and local cultural and social differences were thought of as obstacles to be overcome rather than opportunities to be seized. Whether market-oriented or state-led, modernization was a regime to be imported from abroad and imposed from above.

The limitations of this approach were exposed during the 1980s by the debt crisis in developing countries and by a looming worldwide environmental crisis. A search is now underway for alternative methods to spur "sustainable development," in which long-term economic growth is presumed to depend on more careful management rather than on more intensive exploitation of resources. This requires a new way of thinking about problems that emphasizes diversity and seeks to tap the strengths of indigenous cultures and local communities, to see them as rich repositories of knowledge that has been distilled through generations of hands-on experience.

Recently, anthropologist Alaka Wali (1990) examined the experience of two IAF-funded development projects among the Aymara and Mapuche peoples in Chile. In examining these programs, Wali identified two urgent reasons for supporting indigenous local cultures. First, when people are uprooted from the country-side by ill-considered public policy, they lose not only their land but their cultural roots, that mixture of values, social relationships, and skills which forms the bedrock of their productivity. They are likely to flock to cities where, unequipped to support themselves, they are in danger of becoming a permanent underclass, further burdening a national society already unable to provide basic social services for its urban population.

Second, indigenous people may be the most effective stewards of the fragile ecosystems they often inhabit. When the Aymara in the Norte Grande range of the Chilean Andes organized to protect their traditional agricultural water rights from pollution by nitrate mining, they affirmed their intention that the land remain livable long after its mineral wealth was exhausted. In taking this long-range view, they protected their livelihoods and the watershed supplying the lower valleys and coastal cities of this arid region.

Generations of social and economic oppression and the concentration of power in nation states have made it unlikely that many indigenous people will save their land without outside assistance. Nearly two decades of grassroots development experience confirms Wali's contention that this aid is wasted unless it builds upon and strengthens the patterns of community organization which form the core of ethnic identity. This means the community must be given options that allow local people to set the agenda for their own development and to select technologies that reinforce rather than undermine community cohesion.

The Riddle of the Kuna

Nowhere has the hopeful identification between the fate of indigenous culture and the environment been more pronounced than among the Kuna Indians of Panama. With assistance from the IAF and other donors in the early 1980s, the Kuna created a park for scientific research that demonstrated their ability to select useful ideas and techniques from Western culture and adapt them to their own needs.

The park, which began as a road-block to prevent colonists from encroaching on tribal land, evolved into an ambitious proposal for decoding Kuna lore about their ecosystem in order to discover methods of sustainable agriculture suitable for tropical forests. In reporting on that experience, political scientist Patrick Breslin (1986) believed it was the Kuna's secure sense of identity — their knowledge of who they were and where they came from — that permitted this experiment to go forward. Breslin also offered it as a model for the kind of self-confidence required in any successful grassroots development project.

It is disturbing, then, to learn that traditional Kuna culture may be vanishing despite one of the most energetic and self-conscious efforts by any Indian group in the hemisphere to control the process of change (Chapin, forthcoming). Anthropologist Mac Chapin notes how the introduction of new skills needed to coexist with Panama's political and economic systems has slowly unraveled the tie between education and traditional work patterns, disrupting the transmission of beliefs to the young and undermining the ancestral view of how the world works and the proper place of human beings within that world.

The Kuna began setting up Western-style schools more than a half century ago, and now include within their ranks university-educated lawyers, biologists, and other professionals. Some of these helped establish the research park. According to Chapin, they envisioned the project as a receptacle in which the old culture could be mixed with Western science to create a new and stronger alloy. Yet their plans to catalogue the community's rich oral tradition, to bring Kuna ritual specialists to the park for identifying flora and fauna, to have elders work alongside project technicians to study the scientific basis for traditional forestry systems have not come to fruition.

Logistical difficulties are partially responsible since the park is inland and upland from the coastal-island communities where the elders live, and several hours from Panama City where most project members reside in order to coordinate the program with outside agencies. But the underlying difficulty is a generational rift among the Kuna themselves. The elders view culture as a body of inherited knowledge that is renewed through each generation's intimate contact with the reefs, estuaries, and jungles of the San Blas region; it is the sap of a living tree. The acculturated young view culture as clue to what it means to be a "genuine" Kuna, a solution to the riddle of self-identity posed by modernization. For them, culture is the immense and inert heartwood that holds a tree upright in a gale.

The park's limited progress reflects the narrowness of the generational consensus. The park's primary purpose was to form a coalition with sympathetic outsiders that would stem the rising tide of colonization by other outsiders. Some temporary breathing space has been won. But what will happen over the long term if the Kuna are unable to renew the spirit of the old culture before it is

reduced to an elaborately carved ornamental bowl? Can a variant of Western ecology still emerge to fill the bowl with something nourishing, or will it become a receptacle for the emptiness that comes from being neither Panamanian nor Kuna?

The answers are far from certain, and that poses an even thornier riddle. If one of the few indigenous peoples in the hemisphere to survive into the twentieth century with their culture, identity, and political and economic autonomy relatively intact cannot weather the buffeting of modernization, what are the prospects for culture-based development anywhere?

Polishing the Mirror of Self-Awareness

One clue comes from the Quechua-speaking Indians of highland Ecuador, where the Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios-Chimborazo (SEV/CH) has made impressive strides since the 1970s. SEV/CH works in Chimborazo Province, which has one of the highest concentrations of poverty-stricken native peoples in South America. Living in more than 1,000 villages, at altitudes that sometimes exceed 12,000 feet, the 250,000 indigenous inhabitants of Chimborazo have only recently emerged from a hacienda system that sharply limited their possibilities for self-sufficiency, social advancement, and economic growth. Nature has been no kinder, ravaging the land with drought, freezes, landslides, and severe soil erosion.

For more than two decades, streams of national and international organizations have set up shop in the province, offering relief and the prospect of change. Typically, the representatives of these public and private agencies have been white-collar professionals with social and cultural backgrounds far removed from those of local people. Most of these professionals never strayed far from the Pan American highway. Pulling into a village, they would meet with a handful of leaders, invariably men, explaining in Spanish how their agency was prepared to improve the community's lot. Local participation was limited to a brief question-and-answer period that concluded with a request for community leaders to attend all future meetings of the new project. Then the technicians would pile into their Jeeps for the three-hour drive back to the capital city of Quito. Unfortunately, despite much goodwill and expenditure of funds, most of these programs failed, leaving little if any trace behind.

The most successful grassroots initiatives in Chimborazo have sprung from the province itself. In the case of SEV/CH, a group of individuals — many of them born in indigenous villages — believed they could do a better job than the outsiders for whom they had once worked. With the Servicio's support, a group of young indigenous men and women formed the FERIA Educativa, or Educational Fair, to promote cultural revitalization and self-help efforts among the Quechua-speaking people served by SEV/CH (Kleymeyer and Moreno 1988).

The FERIA decided from the outset to learn from the mistakes made by programs out of tune with the local setting. The FERIA enters a village only after being invited. It performs songs in Quechua and gets people to dance. Once the ice has been broken, the FERIA begins to encourage community members to identify their difficulties and consider possible solutions. Two means for doing this are sociodramas and puppet shows. Vignettes are performed

that sketch out a common problem — such as illiteracy, poverty, or discrimination by urbanized mestizos against the indigenous rural poor. As the performance builds toward a climax, it suddenly stops, and the floor is turned over to the audience members, who are invited to bring personal experiences to bear in Grafting a resolution.

Slowly, this process leads to a collective recognition of how the problem being enacted is rooted within the local reality. Sometimes this results in proposals for immediate action, but more often the FERIA merely sets the stage for a much longer process of reflection that will one day culminate in a community development project.

The results are impressive. Since 1979, the FERIA has visited more than 750 villages. These contacts helped pave the way for a literacy program that has established more than 1,050 training centres, blanketing the province and becoming the most successful effort of its kind in Ecuador.

The FERIA's promotional work has also been key for a program that has established more than 30 community bakeries and 45 artisanal workshops, and helped villagers build 145 community centres and reforest barren hillsides with more than 200,000 trees. Many of these communities have joined together to form federations that sponsor their own cultural revitalization efforts and integrate them with training, production, health, and other development activities. The FERIA has helped train other groups like itself, and by 1988 there were more than 100 groups collecting or performing traditional music throughout Chimborazo.

Groups like the FERIA use cultural expression not only to spark action but to provide people with a mirror to examine their culture from within. This is a crucial skill for surviving in the modern world. In a series of lectures delivered at Harvard University about poetry and modernity, Mexican Nobel Prize winner Octavio Paz (1974) said that the essential quality of modernism is change, and its dynamo is a critical deconstruction of the immediate past that requires the reinvention of identity. This "identity crisis" is chronic and afflicts nations as well as individuals. The previously noted ability of the Kuna Indians of Panama to window-shop through Western culture and select what seems useful is part of this equation. But the other part, which the Kuna are still struggling with, is the ability to shop wisely through their own past. That is, the only antidote to the corrosive self-doubt that accompanies modernization is constructive self-criticism.

Cultural Awareness and Participatory Evaluation

An example of this process comes from Colombia, where the regional health service some years ago asked a team of anthropologists to help rescue a medical program among the Sikuaní Indians that was on the verge of collapse (Herrera and Lobo-Guerrero 1988). Indigenous paramedics trained by the health service seemed powerless to halt the spread of intestinal, respiratory, and skin diseases their communities. Drop-out rather among the paramedics approach 60 percent, and public health service officials wondered if the rest stays on only because of their modest government salaries.

Solutions were not readily apparent. Providing more advanced diagnostic training and medicines would only intensify Western-based resources that were already

underlived by the paramedics. Part of problem was the inappropriateness of training, which had been based on the needs and experiences of highland Colombians rather than lowland tribal communities. But the project team also began to question the program's technically narrow focus, wondering if the real problem was not the inability to treat tropical diseases but the failure to promote health.

Probing beneath medical symptoms for deeper socio-cultural roots, the project team proposed a program of participatory research in which the paramedics would explore Sikuni history and myth in tandem with their communities. Slowly a picture formed of how the transition from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle had polluted streams and resulted in lower-protein diets and widespread malnutrition. As the research deepened, a classification system emerged for traditional medical practices that were incorporated into the health program, not only recovering knowledge about alternative food sources and curative plants but also providing clues about how communities could tame Western technologies by making them their own.

By allowing them to examine their culture from within, participatory research provided the Sikuni with a powerful tool for problem-solving that unleashed the latent creativity in their own culture and provided the means for reconciling tradition with change. The Sikuni have institutionalized this process by teaching a second generation of paramedics to guide their communities in attacking a wide range of medical and economic problems. This has paralleled the rise of a representative political organization to defend the interests of all Sikuni communities vis-à-vis the outside world.

A similar process has been underway for over a decade in the Amazon region of neighbouring Ecuador, where the Shuar and Achuar peoples have engaged in a program of cultural recovery that has strengthened the federation they formed in 1964 to defend their traditions, their livelihoods, and the rainforest itself. The Federación de Centres Shuar-Achuar, in turn, helped found an Amazon-wide confederation of Ecuadorian indigenous peoples and staffed many of its highest offices. The lowland Quechua-speaking Indians, spearheaded by the performance group Los Yumbos Chahuamangos, also played a key role in this effort. They were coorganizers of the confederation and sponsored cultural festivals that brought together disparate tribal groups in one place for the first time ever. The Quechua-speaking Indians also inspired a subsequent confederation project to create a bilingual, multicultural education program for the Amazonian region of Ecuador.

One thing is immediately apparent in how these examples of cultural activism have unfolded: They are not attempts to restore an ideal, perhaps imaginary, past. Nor are they attempts to enshrine "the primitive", a concept that may reflect the West's nostalgia for reliving its own vanished past through proxies in the developing world. Rather they are attempts to make explicit what is implicit in every grassroots project, the linkage between culture and development that Juan Garcia alluded to at the beginning of this article.

Learning to Tap Cultural Energy

Cultural expression grows from the living roots of traditional culture. Properly focused, such expression updates

tradition in ways that energize a people to renew themselves and their society. This cultural energy has the power to mobilize individuals, groups, and communities to a heightened sense of purpose. It gets people to lock arms and pull together in a common effort. It brings them to meetings night after night. It keeps them working long hours on a community project as unpaid volunteers. It stirs their imaginations and their longing to transform their lives, and it shores up their confidence, and courage to face the challenges that lie ahead.

Cultural energy helps people to reach within themselves to find a previously hidden reservoir of strength and resolve. Cultural expression takes many forms: a gospel choir bursting into song; the panpipes of an Andean band blending with the wind of a high valley; the actor triumphing over adversity, through performance; the products people make and use in their daily lives; and the stories people tell to locate their place and make a way in the world. Cultural activists understand the link between cultural expression and energy, and seek to consciously harness it to spark grassroots initiatives.

This linkage has been compelling in the 215 grassroots projects supported by the IAF during the past two decades in which cultural expression has been a key element, even in those that began as archival efforts. Although the full impact of Juan Garcia's work compiling the oral folklore of Afro-Ecuadorians awaits the response of future generations, Garcia's presence has been crucial to the consolidation of numerous artisanal fishing cooperatives in his native province of Esmeraldas, culminating in the birth of the region's first federation of membership organizations. In an isolated section of Costa Rica, the effort of students in an agronomy school to collect and publish oral histories of the region (Palmer 1982-83) preceded efforts by a local group to stitch together an organization for starting experimental tree nurseries to diversify food and cash-crop production among the area's diverse Afro-Caribbean, BriBri Indian, and mestizo communities. In highland Bolivia, an Aymara musical group helped revitalize traditional Andean music around the old colonial capital of Sucre and then began to help a Tarabuco Indian group tackle the problems of rural poverty and development (Breslin 1986).

When cultural expression is linked to real life through action, it extends people's awareness of their latent power as individuals and as a group. Instead of being depleted, the store of cultural energy tends to grow with use. Although most cultural action projects exist in geographic and ethnographic isolation from one another, some of them offer clues about how this energy bubbling up from the grassroots can have a national impact.

Ironically, the clearest indication of how cultural rescue can have such an impact comes from an institution — the rural school system — that cultural activists have often viewed sceptically as an instrument of sociocultural homogenization (Goff 1990). The difference is that many of the teaching materials used in the Escuela Nueva program serving nearly half of Colombia's 26,000 rural schools have their roots in "participatory research,"

and are intended to inspire students to apply the same techniques to their own lives and communities.

The curriculum for Escuela Nueva is grounded in popular culture and designed to build self-esteem through participation. Students are encouraged to investigate the world around them, learning how traditional crafts are rooted in family enterprises that young people can join or

help start. The community becomes a laboratory for discovering and multiplying locally available resources for development. Multimedia educational materials based on regional cultures are being collated with standardized packets for national distribution, offering the next generation of citizens a vision of how they can together create a Colombian model for development.

The program has attracted widespread interest and support from international funders, including UNESCO, the World Bank, the IAF, and others, it has been studied by officials from 46 other nations as a promising model for replication. This level of interest in a culture-based development project is highly unusual, and it suggests two things — a growing realization of the need for a new development paradigm and the general lack of knowledge about which combination of techniques might make a workable model.

The fact that large-scale development institutions know so little about the process is in itself revealing. The cultural component of the Escuela Nueva program has taken nearly two decades to evolve, and it happened with minimal outside support. Like many other cultural projects funded by the IAF, it began with local voices responding to local needs. The fact that so many disparate groups from all corners of the hemisphere have felt this urgency and adopted this strategy despite the general lack of outside support suggests that there is a common source of energy driving grassroots development. There is an urgent need to record these experiences, to find an analytical framework that fits the contours of what is being lived, so that knowledge can be shared, refined, and passed on, so that vital lessons will not be limited to those who live within range of a project's voice and will not be lost when the project ends.

The Prospects for Culture-Based Development

The IAF's experience with cultural expression projects shows that timely and appropriate outside assistance is often vital for ethnic and community groups to diagnose their problems and mobilize local resources for development. When the Chilean writer Ariel Dorfman (1984) visited a number of these projects nearly a decade ago, he wondered if they could hold their own in a time of financial scarcity and if these individual voices, noble as they were, would ever be heard above the din of the mass media. This is a crucial question because neighbourhood or community self-help can seem futile if the only available images of successful people are North American or European actors on syndicated television series, or if the solution to problems is portrayed only in terms of mass consumption.

Only a handful of projects — such as Radio San Gabriel in Bolivia and Radio Latacunga in Ecuador — have gained access to the airwaves to broadcast culture-based, nonformal educational programming to widely dispersed communities. Their experience suggests that the same modern technologies which threaten to undermine traditional cultural form can be harnessed to preserve and renew them.

Juan Garcia, for one, is acutely aware of both possibilities. He argues that radio and television have done more damage to ethnic culture in his native Esmeraldas during the past 30 years than slavery did in 300. Yet, he is among those who recognize that new technologies can become tools of survival. Low-cost tape recorders and cameras and

readily available print technology, such as presses, off-sets, mimeographs, and photocopiers, are being used with great skill by cultural activists throughout the hemisphere. The potential for such interactive technology is great and needs to be developed further.

Some critics believe that even these minimal investments are unjustified at a time when the pool of development resources is shrinking relative to growing worldwide demand, particularly since cultural action projects offer limited benefits compared with projects concentrating on "basic" human needs such as food, shelter, family incomes, and health care.

Grassroots projects that have incorporated cultural action as an underlying strategy offer a counterargument. In each case, low-income people have spontaneously chosen to allocate their own scarce time, materials, money, and energy because they take a broader view of basic needs and deprivations. They understand the anger, diminishment, and paralysing shame that come from negative stereotyping. Reversing that process can transform a group's culture into the foundation upon which firm structures can be built to satisfy basic needs and promote greater self-sufficiency.

At a time when theorists of all stripes agree that high levels of participation are needed to leverage new development resources and maximize their effectiveness, the linkage between cultural energy and project results can no longer be overlooked. The degree to which culture is integrated into a project can offer funders a vital clue about the level of real participation. The degree to which elements of popular culture are manifest provides a thumbnail measurement of whether or not local people have been allowed to bring themselves to the project.

Understanding the importance of this linkage does not, in itself, constitute a foolproof plan of action. Cultural action projects, despite their frequently charismatic and articulate leadership, confront many of the same challenges that face other grassroots initiatives: overcoming internal conflicts to strengthen their organizational base; developing management, bookkeeping, and marketing skills; and overcoming social or geographic isolation. Some of these can be resolved through training, technical assistance, networking, and the experience that comes from self-management and participatory evaluation. When the problems are systematic ethnic discrimination or governmental oppression, solutions are usually beyond the means of local groups. In this case, international donors can help open valuable social space for local groups to function and coalesce. In doing so, donors must be careful not to replace one dependency with another. Planning and control of projects should be largely entrusted to the local people who know how to mobilize and channel cultural energy best and who have often spent lifetimes refining their craft.

Donors are also well-positioned to assist in certain kinds of second-level investments that can pay future dividends. The IAF, for instance, has supported grants for networking that facilitates cultural exchanges and the transfer of skills among groups. One of these enabled the Kuna Indians to journey south to spend time observing and collaborating in project work with the lowland Quechua-speaking Indians of Ecuador, and a mix of Ecuadorian native peoples to travel north to visit Panama. Workshops, computer networking, and performance tours are other viable mechanisms that require resources not often readily available to financially strapped cultural groups.

Donors can also play useful roles in establishing clearinghouses for fund-raising and in targeting research to find which cultural action techniques are best-suited to meet specific development problems. By promoting and devising mechanisms that protect cultural property rights to crafts, artisanal designs, medicines, and other products, national governments and international agencies can use the world market to leverage new development resources for marginal populations.

The IAF's grant experience with cultural projects confirms the linkage that Mariano López and Juan García postulated between cultural energy and development at the beginning of this article. How shortsighted it will be if

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- donors and governments ignore the search for effective ways to tap that force just as its promise has become apparent. In a world of shrinking resources, it is in all our interests not to waste any longer the creative talent and cultural energy of grassroots people who are living the problems that we and they are attempting to solve. AS García said while visiting a cultural centre in Appalachian Tennessee, "our oral tradition has a term — *nosotros*, gente — which you in the United States have also. We the people' is a powerful notion. It has the power to generate enthusiasm, to spark community action. There was a day when we owned our world, when we were capable. By learning how to work together, we have the capacity to restore that vision and fulfil our promise as human beings."
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The New Volunteerism : Japanese NGOs

Helping Hands

By Kunio Nishimura *

The Persian Gulf war forced the Japanese people to reflect upon a variety of critical issues, including showing the world in more concrete terms how they view it. The realized that, as a people, they cannot leave helping those in need to the people who administer official development assistance (ODA); they must be prepared to step in themselves. As a result, most Japanese have come to see volunteers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in an entirely new light. Press coverage of their activities has skyrocketed. The Yomiuri Shimbun, the world's most-read daily newspaper, for example, has boosted its coverage of NGOs from 13 to 55 articles per year since 1987 and its coverage of volunteers has increased four times over the same period, to a total of 453 stories in 1991. Japanese NGOs are now under more intense scrutiny, both at home and abroad, than at any time in the past.

"We define NGOs as grassroots organizations that tackle such global problems as poverty, starvation, refugees, human rights violations, and environmental destruction — especially in developing countries — inspired by a humanitarian impulse that defies national borders and cultural or religious differences," says Michio Itô, secretary-general of the Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC). "We do not include government-affiliated organizations, private foundations, or non-profit groups sponsored by business in our definition of NGOs."

JANIC was established in 1987 with the goals of promoting cooperation among NGOs active in international development and working for increased recognition of NGO activities. Its major functions consist of providing networking facilities for NGOs, conducting research on international cooperation, and collecting and disseminating NGO-related information. It has five full-time and five part-time salaried workers and several volunteers.

Still small

Itô says that, although there are many NGOs in Japan, their activities in such costly areas as opening overseas offices, dispatching volunteers abroad, and accepting overseas partners is insufficient. Many NGOs are too small to be recognized as organizations, and scant few have memberships numbering over 10,000; This, says Itô, reflects

the fact that public support for NGOs is very weak. (See related box article on page 15.)

Itô, however, notes that there have been some recent changes that should help the NGOs. "First of all," he points out, "with Japan's level of ODA rivaling that of the U.S., increasing attention has been paid abroad to Japanese NGOs working in connection with ODA or development education. In addition, those businesses operating in the U.S. have recognized that they cannot survive there without acting as socially responsible corporations. This idea has actually spread back to the headquarters in Japan, so a kind of *gaiatsu* (foreign pressure) has influenced Japanese companies to recognize the NGOs."

Itô adds: "Voluntary Deposit for International Aid (VDIA), initiated by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications (MPT) in January 1991, seems to have had a great impact on the vitalization of NGOs."

The MPT's Postal Savings System, with Y 153 trillion (\$1.2 trillion) in deposits the world's largest savings program, is administered through Japan's 24,000 post offices. Contributors to VDIA agree to donate 20% of the after-tax interest on their accounts to NGO projects. In the first year it collected Y1.1 billion (\$8.8 million) for NGO activities. Last June, Y914 million (\$7.3 million) was allocated to 148 projects in 48 countries carried out by 102 NGOs.

Who's in charge ?

VDIA is a success, but the question must be asked, "Can even a voluntary organization in Japan survive without government guidance and initiative?"

* Executive Editor in Chief of *Look Japan*.

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Yutaka Kumagai, director of, the VDIA office of the MPT says, "Honestly speaking, this may be an area in which government should not take a leading role. But somebody must, or the situation will not improve. Furthermore, VDIA is an example of the post office's basic stance toward the community. VDIA utilizes the existing network of 24,000 post offices to contribute to the enlightenment of the people."

So far, NGOs have praised VDIA for its flexibility. Kumagai says, "Regarding VDIA as unstringent is incorrect. The recipient NGOs are naturally requested to present documents such as receipts after the implementation of the projects. If 'flexibility' refers to freedom from time constraints, however, that is accurate. It is unrealistic to fence projects into fiscal-year time-slots. Some projects stretch over several years."

Kumagai explains that the MPT asks NGOs to file reports to reassure the depositors. This is expected to convince depositors of the NGO's trustworthiness, fostering good images for the NGOs and encouraging more deposits to VDIA.

"The government has recognized the importance of NGO activities for international cooperation, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has created a division exclusively for NGOs", says Hiroyuki Kimoto, director of the MFA's NGO cooperation center. "We secretly pride ourselves on having pioneered in assisting NGOs, giving them a strong impetus," he adds.

Government assistance

In 1989, before the inception of VDIA, the MFA began providing NGO Project Subsidies to NGOs headquartered in Japan. It also created the Small-Scale Grants Assistance (SSGA) system, to which even foreign governments can apply. Beginning with a Y10 million (\$880,000) allotment in fiscal 1989, the NGO Project Subsidies program's funding has steadily increased to Y340 million (\$2.7 million) in fiscal 1992. The SSGA began with Y300 million (\$2.4 million) in 1989 and received Y700 million (\$5.6 million) in 1992.

NGOs often ask the MFA if the subsidies can be used to cover personal expenses. Kimoto says, "Covering expenses incurred by NGO personnel would entail increasing the size of the program. I don't believe a consensus has been formed on this issue. I would also like to remind the NGOs that there is the question of the true meaning of volunteer spirit involved as well. But as for covering such costs as the salaries of local assistants, we are trying to allocate as much money as possible."

As for complaints that the MFA requires NGOs to do too much paperwork, Kimoto explains, "What we request of NGOs is only routine work, a matter of common sense." Concluding, he adds, "I believe criticism is essential for improving society, but criticism based on predilection or prejudice does nothing to help."

But what should the government-NGO relationship be, especially when NGOs receive government support?

"Critical for NGOs," says JANIC's Ito, "is not whether or not they use government funds, but whether or not they maintain autonomy from the government; whether they can use the government funds to fulfill their own goals."

"Of much greater importance to NGOs," he continues, "is that most Japanese lack a sense of individualism, a

sense of responsibility, and a readiness to share with others. We have been very weak in recognizing individual rights and differences and the volunteer spirit, and heavily dependent on group decisions and deference to authority, particularly government. As long as we follow a pattern of unconditionally trusting the government, NGOs cannot be expected to progress. The government also needs to transform its basic premise that its role is to guide the people."

"Our mission," Ito concludes, "is to nurture those people who are openminded, respect individual rights, differences and the diversity of the global community. The NGO is one expression of this movement."

Religious impulse

Says Catholic novelist Ayako Sono, "NGOs activities are among the most important in Japan today, because they act on their own initiative without prodding from anybody." Sono finds some similarities in Jewish ethics. "Tzedakah, meaning 'justice' or 'just cause' in Hebrew is one of the key concepts in Judaism," she says. "It refers primarily to the environment in which the relationship between God and humans can be kept in order. To give a helping hand is not considered a matter of choice, but an obligation, and act of justice."

She finds this idea at work in the Christian concept of "love thy neighbor" and the Greek idea of *agape*, or "love of reason."

"One of the reasons the Japanese people are not respected abroad," she continues, "is that the post-war Japanese education system has placed emphasis on the because-I-have-rights-society-owes-me aspect of democracy, and has ignored consideration of such concepts as 'it is much better to give than to receive.'"

Sono advocates spreading the idea that sacrifice is a virtue, that humans are different from animals because they can act in ways contrary to their personal interests. She believes that people cannot boast of having helped others if giving the help caused them no inconvenience. She is therefore very critical of the idea that if the Ministry of Finance (MOF) grants more tax exemptions for charitable donations, NGOs will collect more money from corporations. She does not believe that corporations will be motivated to donate by love or a sense of justice, but only because they will receive tax breaks and boost their images.

Sono herself has been the secretary of an NGO for 20 years, and is responsible for overseeing a Y35 million (\$280,000) annual budget which provides assistance to St. Lazarus Village in South Korea, where Hansen's disease sufferers are treated, and Ave Maria Maternity Hospital in Madagascar.

Sono is proud of the fact that "our running cost is nil. All contributions reach the hands of the people for whom they are intended, because all who work here offer their service for free." And it is not only the staff who sacrifice for the needy, but the contributors as well. "Everyday," she says, "unimaginable amounts of money are donated to us. Our activities have given me a renewed respect for the Japanese people here. Though the rich are reluctant to give money, the ordinary people — we can identify with the pain of others — are very willing to give."

Open to new ideas

Jitsujo Arima, secretary-general of the Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (JSRC), says, "While there are drawbacks to the Japanese situation, one characteristic of Japanese NGOs that will be beneficial in the future is their readiness to accept differences in values and ideas. Japanese NGOs do not force their values upon recipient countries — an important factor as we enter an era in which different values will exist side-by-side, and in which we must respect the values of others."

Since its founding in 1979 by Japanese Soto Zen Buddhists, JSRC has operated as a UN High Commission for Refugees' implementing agency, providing assistance to Cambodian and Laotian refugees in Thailand. JSRC activities have also expanded to include community development in rural and urban areas in Thailand.

JSRC, known as the Sotoshu Volunteer Association (SVA) in Japan, has also promoted development education among the Japanese people. It presently has 11 full-time salaried workers in Tokyo, nine in Thailand, three in Cambodia, and one in Laos. It has 1,900 members and an annual budget of ¥450 million (\$3.6 million).

"I'm very worried," says Arima, "that Cambodia will become a UN 'colony,' because it will have to depend heavily on UN economic assistance in order to rebuild."

Arima continues, "We should not think that NGOs exist to complement ODA. It is necessary for those who administer ODA and those involved in NGOs to recognize each other's unique identities and independence, to learn from one another, and to help formulate a philosophy of assistance for the coming age."

"NGOs must conquer their weaknesses — particularly

their financial vulnerability. At the same time, however, we should limit government subsidies to 40% of our budgets." Arima is also chairman of the Joint NGO Committee for Kurdish Refugees and Displaced People, formed in April 1991 by 17 NGOs. In the Gulf, he says, "Our activities were too little, too late. We were unprepared for emergency relief because we lacked funds and qualified personnel. But we expect that the establishment of a permanent joint committee will enable the cataloguing of successes and failures as common assets for all the NGOs, and create a network encompassing donors and recipient countries." The Joint NGO Committee will soon begin emergency activities in Ethiopian refugee camps.

Greening the desert

"With reforestation efforts spreading, wide swaths of green will soon be seen in the deserts. People with the dream of greening the deserts exist even in Japan," says Tadayoshi Miyao, volunteer and self-proclaimed cheerleader for the Association Sahel, established in 1987. The association has a membership of 965 and three full-time workers. It began a reforestation and agro-forestry project in Mali in 1988.

"We've had many trials and tribulations," Miyao says. "The Japanese are an agricultural people, and we unconsciously regard it as natural to settle in one place and lead a self-sufficient life utilizing the local greenery. But this is not the lifestyle of the people in the sub-Saharan Sahel region. We've realized that we have to be very careful about reforestation because they have not had any experience planting and nurturing trees, and have never seen the necessity of doing so."

Close Up: Japanese NGOs in Brief

Though the Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation's (JANIC) *Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Japan, 1990* lists 200 NGOs, JANIC's Michio Ito says the actual number of citizen-based NGOs is closer to 170, the balance being grant-making foundations, labor union affiliates and government-affiliated non-profit organizations.

According to Ito, while a few Japanese NGOs date from the 1960, the history of Japanese NGOs is short: approximately 80% were established after 1975, and the majority of those were founded in the '80s. By comparison, the U.S. and Europe have a more than 30-year history of NGO activity.

Of the 170 NGOs that Ito cites, 82 engage primarily in development-oriented activities; 16 are involved in refugee related activities, 64 conduct global development/global citizenship education in Japan, and eight are networking organizations like JANIC.

Of those active in development assistance, the

majority are involved in education — finding poster parents, providing scholarships, offering literacy training, education adults, and giving vocational training — and health and welfare — improving nutrition, providing doctors and nurses, and training local health-care workers. Roughly one-third take part in rural village development, and one-quarter in environmental preservation. A growing number are turning towards improving the status of women in developing countries. Fourfifths of all Japanese NGOs concentrate on Asia.

The NGOs' activities are limited by their funding. Two-thirds have budgets under ¥30 million (\$240,000) and 30% get by on ¥5 million (\$40,000) or less. Five NGOs have budgets between ¥30 million and ¥50 million (\$400,000); four are in the ¥50 million-¥100 million (\$800,000) range; and only 10 have budgets over ¥100 million per year. Only one out of 10 NGOs have 10 or more full-time staff members.

"Our solution was to use technology appropriate for the local people, not adopt large-scale plans, not to deploy large numbers of people at once, and to plant small, sporadic forests."

So far, this method of reforestation has worked in five villages, and a Malinese partner to lead the local staff has also been secured.

"We do not think it is good to station Japanese staffers at one place for a long time. It is far more desirable to hand the operation over to the local staff after a few years," Miyao says.

Miyao thinks that, though the situation for volunteers in Japan has improved steadily, it will take much more time for them to be truly appreciated in Japanese society, in terms of social status and salary. "They cannot continue sacrificing forever," he warns.

Two years ago, the Association Sahel started collecting used milk cartons for recycling in Japan. "Compared with the volume of paper consumption," says Miyao, "what we have been doing is negligible. We have to change the 'throwaway lifestyle'."

The plight of women

"What we have been doing is less visible," says Keiko Yamamoto of the Asian Women Workers' Center (AWWC). "Our ultimate goal is to raise Japanese awareness about the reality of Asia, particularly about that of Asian working women. Their work conditions are appalling and they experience many problems. If we do not raise these issues, they will be ignored."

The center was established in 1983 as a sister organization of the Committee for Asian Women Workers (CAW), headquartered in Hong Kong. Its mission is deepening mutual understanding, strengthening solidarity with Asian people, and providing accurate information on Asian working women's issues. It has a membership of 700, one-third of whom are male. There are three salaried staffers, but none work full-time at the center.

"The situation is different in each country," says Yamamoto, "but generally speaking, low wages and long working hours are common problems for Asian women workers."

The center has sponsored Asian women workers' exchange programs once a year since 1983 — a total of 27 participants from 13 countries attended the program in 1990 — organized study tours to various Asian countries, published Japanese-language newsletters to educate the Japanese people about the plight of Asian women workers, and printed English-language newsletters to alert the world to the situation of Japanese working women.

Yamamoto is adamant: "We should recognize the fact

that our economic prosperity is partially dependent upon the labor of Asian women in deplorable conditions."

Part of the solution

"When the Gulf war broke out in January 1991, I was completely distraught that the world's best minds were unable to prevent it," says Mieko Osanai, a TV scriptwriter. "I am in favor of cooperating for peace, but I could not have possibly supported dispatching the Self-Defense Forces to the Persian Gulf. But at the same time, I knew that mere opposition would not lead to a solution."

Osanai refused to shed blood, but she did favor shedding some sweat. She thought about going to the refugee camps in Jordan with her son and five of her friends, and consulted Ken Joseph, founder of the volunteer organization Agape House, but was uneasy. "How can we help?" she wondered. Joseph's remarks, however, reassured her. "Even if you can't be of any help to them, it's OK," he said. "Even if you can't communicate in English, or in their language, it's OK if you just sit next to them and say 'I know you've had big trouble.' It will help." Osanai, comforted, decided to fly to Jordan. She brought money and emergency supplies that she collected.

"I believe it was worthwhile to have gone to Jordan because while many Japanese feel small because of Japan's 'checkbook' diplomacy, I was able to see how useful the money we sent really was," Osanai says.

Upon returning to Japan, Osanai became one of the founders of the Japan International Rescue Action Committee (JIRAC). "JIRAC", says Osanai, "is a group for those who think seriously about world peace and who act as global citizens. We seek to help people suffering from wars and natural disasters. Anyone who can provide money or labor is welcome in our organization."

Since its inception, JIRAC has sent groups of volunteers to Iran and Cambodia. "We are amateurs," says Osanai, one of the team sent to Cambodia, "so we should devote ourselves to helping the established NGOs in supporting roles. But it is important that ordinary people get a chance to experience the world with their own eyes."

Osanai also thinks Japan should jump to help, whenever a need arises. "Ken Joseph," she says, "advocates a very interesting idea: whenever a disaster happens somewhere in the world, Japanese volunteers should be the first on the scene. He says it would be a good sight. I think so, too."

It is undeniable that Japanese NGOs are ahead of the game. But the more active they become, the more scrutiny they will have to endure. The world is watching to see whether they will have enough power to be independent and reliable. And many will judge Japan and its people by the performance of the NGOs.

Europe and Latin America 1992: The Trade Union Dimension *

(Part 11)

Chapter Three:

ICFTU/ORIT'S Social and Political Strategy for the 1990s

Introduction

The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) was founded on 12 January 1951 in Mexico City, where representatives from 23 trade union organizations from 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries participated in ORIT's constituent congress.

ORIT was set up as the sister organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and established its headquarters in Havana, Cuba.

ORIT was the successor to the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (CIT), and had as its main aim the building and empowering of free trade unionism in the region.

At the beginning of 1953, the headquarters were moved to Mexico City, where they have remained since. Sub-regional offices have also been opened in Central America, the Andean region and the Southern Cone.

Today, 40 years since its foundation, ORIT has 32 affiliated organizations, representing around 40 million workers in North, Central and South America and the Caribbean.

ORIT also maintains fraternal links with other union confederations who represent a further 10 million workers in Latin America and the Caribbean.

This document sets out some of the guiding principles behind trade union social policy, with the emphasis on international economic relations. The aim, in doing so, is to join this overview on the trade union movement in connection with the double event in 1992 of the Fifth Centenary of Columbus' voyage and the completion of the European Single Market.

Although this document is essentially highlighting the situation of trade unions in Latin America and the Caribbean, who form the majority of ORIT affiliates, there will be

parts which will also be of relevance to the situation of trade unions in North America, particularly with regard to their governments' neo-conservative policies at national and international level during the 1980's. Some examples of this are in the areas of labour policy, social welfare expenditure, transnational corporations, and the effects of customs unions between Canada, the United States and Mexico. The last issue was the subject of a recent ORIT conference on integration where the lack of participation of trade unions affiliated to the AFLCIO (United States) and the CLC (Canada) in governmental negotiations was emphasized. Moreover, the ORIT document "New Directions for Trade Unions" notes the marked similarity between the neo-liberal policies being implemented in Latin America and those of the Conservative and Republican governments in North America.

/ General Aspects of ICFTU/ORIT's social and political Strategy

The most significant development for ORIT over the 1980's has been the evolution of a socio-political platform for trade unions, starting with the 10th Congress in Toronto in 1981, followed by the 11th Congress in Mexico in 1985 and the 12th Congress in Caracas in 1989.

The development of this policy has been the starting point for concrete action at an educational level aimed at strengthening, giving cohesion to and modernizing ORIT's affiliated organizations.

The document setting out this policy "New Directions for Trade Unions" was passed at the 12th Congress in 1989 and was the culmination of the work started eight years earlier at the Toronto congress.

"New Directions" was followed up by the document "Challenges for the Trade Union Movement to the Year 2000" which was presented to the international conference of the same name in Panama in 1990.

* The first part of this document appeared in the previous issue (6/1992, November-December) of *Transnational Associations*, pages 333-343.

Other documents published by ICFTU/ORIT which have contributed to the drawing up of policy in the areas of education and trade union economic strategy are: "New Focus on the Crisis" (Cuernavaca, 1984), "External Debt and Development" (Buenos Aires, 1987), "Educational Policy" (Antigua, 1987), "Economic Crisis and Technological Revolution - new strategies for trade unions" (Rio de Janeiro 1990) and "Integration, Development and Democracy" (San Jose, 1991).

The principal objective of trade union socio-political policy is to achieve a triple democracy: political, economic and social democracy.

Trade union social and political policy goes beyond the objective of simply achieving political democracy to set out socio-economic changes which will bring about democratic systems which embody this triple democracy.

Certainly, ICFTU/ORIT believes that political democracy is of "value in itself" since it is the validity of a pluralist political system which characterizes global and Latin American democratic cultural traditions. Moreover, economic and social democracy cannot be attained without the existence of pluralist political regimes which allow majority consensus to encourage socio-economic change and simultaneously guarantee trade union and welfare rights for the majority of the people.

But the trade union movement cannot accept that political democracy be limited to centralized and bureaucratic regimes which only encourage popular participation in the voting booth. On the contrary, the trade union movement supports modern political democracies which are decentralized, efficient and participatory.

The realization of democracy in this triple sense will bring about stability and will not be easily destroyed by controlled of dictatorial democratic regimes.

Political democratization implies:

- The guarantee that people are central to the existence of the democratic system.
- The elimination of all types of discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, or religion.
- A more direct relationship between the electorate and parliament.
- The defence and consolidation of social gains guaranteed by the state, which are being undermined by the expansion of privatization under neo-liberal policy.
- The establishment of a true welfare state.

Economic democratization requires a new productivity structure, and new forms of workers' participation and ownership. Three ways of advancing economic democratization are:

- The democratization of company management, particularly management of transnational and public sector enterprises, through consultation and sharing of information.
- The democratization of management through co-determination.

— Democratization of ownership, by means of self-determination and the creation of enterprises in the social sector of the economy, including a trade-union sub-sector.

In addition to this, social democratization involves a strengthening of trade union democratization. This is linked to three other factors: trade union autonomy as it exists now, a move towards more pluralist trade unionism, and an affirmation of the moral principle of solidarity.

ICFTU/ORIT recently summarized their position on the defense of all human rights, by which economic, social and cultural rights are integrated into civil and political rights.

More specifically, the policy on integration at national, regional, continental and supranational levels comprises a global economic perspective, as well as a social aspect which is based on these fundamental human rights. This policy supports the creation of "social charters" according to ILO international standards and according to other inter-american and international agreements.

Thus for economic reasons, the integration process lends itself to the medium and long-term improvement of the working and living conditions of the population of each country. The standards established in its implementation also mean a specific step forward, starting with the commitment to an agenda for human rights by the member states.

Such rights may or may not already be enshrined in the national law of each country. Thus the integration initiative is an additional impulse towards the desired process of social advancement by accelerating the pace of improvement in the countries which are lagging behind.

ICFTU/ORIT's socio-political has other central components:

- a) Traditional trade union strategy, concerning actions to defend workers' interests, has been renewed and heightened by the current economic crisis. Trade union action in defence of workers' interests remains a priority. Trade union policy which places an emphasis on the struggle to transform society can only be effective if it draws attention to the everyday needs and struggles of workers.
Therefore it is proposed to have an integrated approach to social, labour and trade union policy, with regard to:
 - Traditional demands, such as fair wages, employment and trade union freedom.
 - Specific demands such as rights for women workers and young people.
 - New demands related to acceptable working conditions, particularly in the new technology industries.
 - Specific demands for workers in export industries (free trade areas and assembly plants) and in transnational corporations (TNCs).
- b) Methods for strengthening trade union organizations include the following:
 - The extension of freedom to belong to a trade union to new entrants to the workforce, women and other unorganized sectors, such as those in the informal sector and in unsafe industrial employment.
 - The establishment of public sector trade unions.
 - The expansion of trade unions at a national level which represent a single trade, particularly members of professions, and those working for the same company.
 - The extended use of collective bargaining for workers in the same trade.
 - An increase in the level of organization of workers in the export industries and in TNC's, the economic sector most closely linked to the process of integration and liberalization promoted by global economic forces.
- c) Social agreements at national level between governments and employees on the best way forward for economic change should be obtained through the approval of the majority.
ORIT has recently added two particular points to the general proposal on this theme, which are linked to the changes in economic structure it is demanding:

- There is a need for agreements on social progress, growth and equality. The content of these agreements forms an essential part of trade union policy on flexible working. The programme acknowledges the reality of the modernization of production, which is at the centre of economic reform as a means to better international relations. It should therefore become a key point in the relationship between productivity and wages.
 - The participation of organizations such as work councils, committees and groups involved in integration has brought about the sub-regional processes already underway. These bodies could assist the main organization in carrying out its functions along all or some of the lines already mentioned. They could become the focus for direct confrontation and debate between the social organizations and the decision-making bodies. They would have a consultative role and act in an advisory capacity, either on request or on their own initiative, with regard to decisions and measures which the expanded market is planning to undertake.
- d) Proposals for new social policies should accompany the process of equitable economic modernization, and should be based on "indirect wages" for workers, i.e. the social security system (pensions, health insurance, family credit, welfare benefits, unemployment benefit) and housing and social policy.
- It is necessary to propose a set of actions designed to address the defence, modernization, improvement and extension (particularly to workers in the informal and other marginalized areas of the economy) of those systems whose institutions and services are facing serious financial and efficiency problems in the majority of the countries in the region, especially with today's trend towards privatization and the restriction of access to these services.
- e) The definition of a strategy of alliances with social sectors linked to trade unions such as peasants' groups and cooperative movements. In some countries in the region, a large proportion of these sectors have already been integrated into central bodies.

ICFTU/ORIT has also presented a general economic proposal as part of its policy on what is termed the "integrated mixed economy". This initiative is the result of the "recognition of the weaknesses of modes of development which are prevalent in Latin America and the Caribbean, and acknowledges that the implementation of new strategic development projects is the only way forward out of the current economic crisis. Therefore, the trade union movement has to tackle these problems which have generally been addressed exclusively in terms how they impact on labour, rather than looking at their viability in both social and economic terms". Trade unionism should "start to voice its demands for new capital accumulation and national economic development, which are integrated into selective economic liberalization towards the world market as a condition for reaping the benefits of the increase in the internationalization of the world economy" (New Directions),

To reach this goal, it is vital to form popular national blocs which will promote and establish these new models.

As part of this process, trade union socio-political policy should voice its demands for these new socio-economic

models and tackle the new problems which have generally been dealt with exclusively in terms of how they impact on labour, rather than looking at their viability in both social and economic terms. However, although there are many common features of dependence shown by Latin American countries, there are also obvious differences between their economic structures, internal power structures, and foreign alignments. Therefore, ICFTU/ORIT's view on economic strategies is necessarily global and open, so that trade unions can use it as a direct basis for encouraging specific viewpoints. Much of this strategy concerns international aspects and is taken up again in the following sections. The "internal" component, which is based primarily on a critique of the import substitution model of former times, is not presented, in order to simplify the document.

// ICFTU/ORIT Strategy in relation to the International Economic Dimension

The Globalization of the Economy

The proposed socio-political strategy ICFTU/ORIT is presenting to trade unions concentrates on the international economic situation, particularly in the industrialized countries.

From this, it can be seen that the process of economic globalization is unrelenting and irreversible, a process which is evident in the formation of regional economic blocs which are competing for superiority in the international markets, leading to a redistribution of global economic and political power.

As a result, there is a growing interdependence between nations, which necessitates a revision of the international agreements made at the end of the Second World War.

This is not a new trend, and can be traced back over the last forty years, but the 1980's have constituted a decisive phase and the 1990's will mark its consolidation.

Practically all the countries in the world today depend to a far greater degree on international economic relations than ever before. The average share of trade in the national product has doubled since 1950, which shows how dependent countries are on foreign markets for exports. At the same time direct investment by transnational corporations has increased, as part of another form of integration. The globalization of money markets has meant that every country is affected by the decisions of other countries on the level of interest rates, loans, and so on. This process of structural change has unavoidable implications for the strategies of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

In this respect, it is very likely that globalization of the economy will pose many threats and challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean as well as for the rest of the underdeveloped and less developed countries. Some of the

areas of concern highlighted by ICFTU/ORIT are:

a) Regional blocs could be open internally but closed to the outside, in what will be a combination of internal liberalization and external protectionism.

The continuation of this economic regionalization process could generate commercial tensions on a large scale, in view of the varying strategies and technological capabilities of each one of these blocs. Therefore, it

is to be expected that parallel to the growth in oligopolization of the world market, the current protectionist trends will continue.

- b) More and more, the industrialized countries are increasing their level of commercial reciprocity, trade and financial transactions amongst themselves, which tends to leave out the developing countries.
- c) Recent changes in Central and Eastern Europe could lead to a situation whereby the industrialized countries start to channel investment away from the Latin American economy.
- d) Protectionism by the large blocs presents another problem which will be detrimental to Latin America and the Caribbean. Some exporting countries from the South are carrying out social dumping for countries of the North, to "exploit" their poor working conditions to increase productivity. Unfair employment practices are becoming an increasingly important element in the competition between countries which are trying to expand their export markets.

In some countries it is all too easy to violate basic rights with a view to gaining a competitive advantage over neighbours and trading partners. International standards on safety and hygiene in the workplace, the right of workers to join a free trade union and of trade unions to negotiate are not being respected.

This constitutes support for exports equivalent to a direct financial subsidy, but with the difference that the subsidy is derived from the exploitation of workers.

This produces the following effects:

- A vicious circle of competition based on the reduction of labour costs. Other trading countries find themselves forced not to observe workers' rights. This is particularly the base for those developing countries which are genuinely trying to improve working conditions and as a result incur higher costs.
- Importing countries with better employment standards may implement measures to restrict imports in order to protect their own workers.

- e) Moreover, during the 1980's Latin America and the Caribbean have been on the receiving end of a negative ideological doctrine emanating from Europe and the United States, that there is a close relationship between the New World Order and the implementation of neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies. These policies were conceived in certain industrialized countries: neo-liberalism has been the predominant ideology during the economic recovery of the 1980's. The economies of some European countries, Japan and the US have aimed at trying to overcome economic crisis of the last decade using the combination of a new technological revolution, bringing with it industrial modernization, and the implementation of austerity measures on public spending, including cuts in social expenditure, a reduction in the size and functions of the state, including privatization, and amongst other things, the elimination of subsidies on consumption.

But the neo-conservative strategy has not limited itself to the economies of the industrialized countries. A close alliance of TNC's, conservative parties and governments have devised a new internationalization of the economy which has redrawn the existing international divisions of labour.

In international trade, while developing countries have been advised to open up their borders to imports from industrialized countries, the industrialized countries are using protectionist measures and restrictions on the entry of developing country exports. Thus it can be stated that as the industrialized countries are not applying to their own economies the policies which they are forcing on developing countries, they are taking a contradictory approach to implement a strategy which favours their own situation.

These elements are clearly present in the orthodox adjustment programmes recommended by those who have insisted repeatedly on the need to expand economic liberalization so as to remove all obstacles to efficient and competitive participation in the international market.

In the Americas, neo-conservative policies have reached still greater heights than in other industrialized regions. In North America, the governments which came to power in the 1980's — the Conservative government in Canada and the Republican government in the United States — have taken part explicitly in the elaboration and implementation of these policies. In Latin America and the Caribbean, neo-liberal models have been applied to the majority of countries, whether with democratic or authoritarian governments, and the programmes which attempted alternative forms of economic change in Brazil, Argentina and Peru have been forgotten.

Transnational corporations are another aspect of this analysis, as they reach beyond the established economic blocs. Transnational corporations have the following features:

- They dominate trade strategies. Approximately 40% of world trade is made up of exchanges between branches and subsidiaries of TNC's, known as intra-firm trade.
 - They are active in all regions of economic importance, due to their origin in North America, Western Europe and Japan.
 - They take part in all areas of production: primary, manufacturing and services sectors. It is in the services sector where their expansion has been the most rapid. TNC's have an important presence in international financial markets and have been particularly able to make use of financial surpluses for technological changes in telecommunications, information technology and spin-off industries.
 - By having principal control of scientific research, they have the necessary resources for costly research into and development of high technology industries.
- From the point of view of Latin America and the Caribbean, and the South in general, TNC's:
- have produced an unbridgeable gap between the industrialized countries' technological capability and that of developing countries, and have gained domination in whole sectors of national economies;
 - control financial, commercial and technological processes which are essential for the modernization and development of national economies. The technological gap cannot be bridged despite the efforts by the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, simply because of the lack of resources and the technological base necessary to produce technology at local level;
 - violate national employment legislation by obstructing the establishment of trade unions and using substances

and materials in the industrial processes which endanger the health of workers.

Proposals for External Linkages

On the basis of the preceding analysis, ICFTU/GRIT considers that world economic integration is the only practical way forward. Attempts to ignore the world economic situation have resulted in a decline in productivity and increased isolation from industrialized countries, as happened in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

On this point, ICFTU/ORIT believes that there are at present two major alternatives for international economic relations:

- The proposal for general liberalization originating from neo-liberal and orthodox theories of international trade, which are based on the exploitation of so-called "natural or static" resources of the economies in the region.

- The proposal for regional, subregional or continental integration, based on the observation of the processes underway in the creation of economic blocs, and on new economic theory.

There are three factors which should be taken into account in the strategy for integration at continental, regional or sub-regional level:

- The need for more stable and global interdependence between the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and other regional economic blocs. Integration will allow those member countries who participate to develop along similar lines.

- The need to create a power to negotiate which can neutralize the protectionist measures of industrialized countries. Increased protectionism towards external countries through greater integration creates a negotiating power which can limit or neutralize the negative impact of such measures.

- The need for sectoral diversification and the application of new technology to bring about less unequal conditions of competition than would be brought about by an unconditional opening up of the economy.

From a regional perspective, the Latin American presence in international trade needs to be increased, in view of the new rules that international capitalist competition has imposed. Gaining access to the markets of the current hegemonic blocs is therefore an attractive alternative, as much to obtain better involvement in the international economy as to protect the region from the impact of competition from the new economic powers in the world. In this context, developing countries have comparative advantages such as agriculture, textiles, construction, transport and tourism.

But whatever the outcome of this process of realignment of the principal international powers, an unequal association will always be there because of the structural economic and social inequalities which characterize different groups of countries. Latin American countries will therefore have to ensure that the interest of the industrialized countries do not predominate over their own interests.

Latin American countries initiated their participation in the Uruguay Round of GATT trade negotiations by immediately dismantling numerous tariff barriers, believing that this would stimulate their economic growth by giving their products greater access to other markets. This generous

offer was not reciprocated by similar initiatives from the industrialized countries. Many developing countries spent a number of years introducing reforms to prepare themselves for participating successfully in the open competitive international system, and such efforts now appear wasted.

Following this line of argument it would appear that the aggressive nature of trade promotes a return to the use of subsidy policies. If there are no prospects for a change in the rules of the international game, the conclusion must be that there is no point adapting national policies until there is a greater opening up of markets.

On the basis of the conclusion that the process of globalization is irreversible, a strategy for economic openness has to be pursued in a way that will be beneficial to the South in general and to Latin America in particular.

Therefore, economic integration at a subregional level in Latin America and the Caribbean, as opposed to the semi-closed models of the past, is a priority. This option provides a middle way between the protectionist traditions of the region and the acknowledged need to begin to progressively liberalize its economies. It is a formula which would entail fewer social sacrifices, and potentially provide a joint way out of the economic crisis for countries in a similar situation, and so would increase the possibility of finding a solution. Integration at regional level and also at continental level with North America is a more complex objective, which could be set in motion once the subregional processes were well underway. In this context, calls for the creation of a Latin American bloc, although generally well-intentioned, seem fairly unworkable at this stage.

In the same way, the programme of the US government, "Initiative for the Americas", which includes the integration of the north and south of the continent as one of its goals, merits further preparation. The incorporation of Mexico into the Trilateral Free Trade Treaty with United States and Canada cannot be used as a model, since it is the result of the particular situation of Mexico in terms of its geographical location and the significant unilateral liberalization which it has already undertaken.

This proposal for integration is not in contradiction with multilateral liberalization of the economy, which is the ultimate strategic aim, but which must take place on the basis of maximizing the opportunities for Latin American and Caribbean countries to negotiate economic openness with the large economic blocs.

In this context, the bilateral agreements for integration in the region which have been secured in an uncoordinated manner between some states are not an adequate substitute for this strategy, although they are a move in the right direction towards economic openness.

Prospects for Latin American Integration

The capacity of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to establish true integration is a question concerning which there have been some developments, which need to be realized before a positive response can be given.

Since the beginning of 1990 there have been some clear signs of the revitalization of these processes at subregional level, and there have been more initiatives in this direction in the last two years than in the last thirty. The Cartagena Agreement set out deadlines for a new tariff pol-

icy (1992); four countries in the south of Latin America have formed MERCOSUR, which has set itself a short time span for completion (by 1994-5); and finally. Central America is beginning to reconstruct the arrested integration process which had started in the 1960's, with similar agreements as before (a common tariff policy by 1993). At the end of 1991 the commitment was expressed by the countries of MERCOSUR, the Cartagena Agreement, Mexico and Chile to pull the Latin American Association for Integration (ALADI) out of its current semi-paralysed state. The influence of the launch of the "Initiative for the Americas" by the United States government in June 1990, which at the end of 1991 had resulted in framework agreements with nearly all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean including one sub-regional agreement with MERCOSUR, is not interfering with this frenetic wave of integration. Similarly, the Trilateral Free Trade Treaty between the United States, Canada and Mexico is acting as a "constructive example" for the rest of the continent, leading Central America to make agreements with Mexico, for example at Tuxtla (January 1991), and to the bilateral agreements of Mexico with Chile and Venezuela. Mexico has also cemented the Group of Three with Venezuela and Colombia, which from a start as a policy on energy has become a trade liberalization programme.

At the same time, however, there have been difficulties in putting these agreements into practice. Under the Cartagena Agreement, there are clear disagreements between Peru and Ecuador, and Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia over setting the rate of the common external tariff, which will delay the setting up of a free trade zone with an external tariff and probably lead the two larger countries to take a bilateral decision. In Central America, Costa Rica is having differences with its neighbours, preferring to sign agreements with the United States (and expressing its willingness to join the "Initiative"), with Venezuela, and soon with Colombia.

The four countries in MERCOSUR (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay) seem to be maintaining a high level of cohesion in their integration strategy. However, this has not prevented individual agreements being made as allowed for by the Asunción Accord which gave birth to the Common Market. Thus, Argentina has made agreements with Chile, Venezuela and Bolivia, Brazil with Peru (to have access to the Pacific), and Uruguay has expressed its intention to become the "way in" for North America to the market in the Southern Cone.

Bolivia is also interested in setting up a direct link with MERCOSUR because of its geographic proximity and economic ties.

Chile has been reluctant to join MERCOSUR or to return to the Andean Agreement, stating that the moves towards liberalization carried out under the period of dictatorship have given it different conditions to its neighbours, allowing it to consider bilateral agreements with Venezuela, Mexico and the United States.

///, ICFTU/ORIT's Strategy in relation to the Industrialized Countries

The Need for a Reappraisal of Global Structures

ICFTU/ORIT's views include necessarily an "external"

aspect, as part of the proposals depends exclusively on actions being undertaken by the development world.

The central element is the demand for structural adjustment to be global, with the industrialized countries playing a key role.

In general terms, a reappraisal of global structures is more important than the national efforts of Latin America and the Caribbean at structural adjustments, it is necessary to arrive at a global understanding which establishes a consensus on the principal points of political and economic policy and also incorporates social objectives.

The ICFTU considers that there needs to be a new Bretton Woods or Marshall Plan to establish a large-scale commitment based on long term perspectives, conceived in terms of the interests of developing countries, and with the objectives of:

- Constructing the basis for the industrialized countries to extend the openness of their trade, to grant considerable debt reduction and substantially increase the flow of resources to the indebted countries.
- Allow a pattern of self-sustained growth linked to a dynamic global economy which includes the developing countries.
- With respect to these countries' internal economies, adjustment should incorporate social measures, including the maintenance of social protection and adequate labour standards

The issue of external debt should be examined in greater debt and industrialized countries should recognize that this should be reduced and not allowed to accumulate, so that debtor countries will receive new resources.

The three basic measures needed are:

- A rise in the flow of resources to the debtor countries, through schemes such as that proposed by France based on an increased issue of special drawing rights (SDRs).
- Cancellation of foreign debt to create genuine prospects for development. The commercial banks should be obliged by law to participate, so that they assume a significant part of the costs.
- A change in the statutes of the IMF and World Bank to allow them to reschedule debt, with the backing of a special guarantee fund provided by countries with surpluses on the world market.

Finally, it is clear that these policies to benefit developing countries should not be subject to conditionality in the form of adjustment programmes such as presently applied, so that whatever is obtained from industrialized countries is not counteracted by internal policies. In this context, the IMF and World Bank should modify their current support for adjustment measures which unsuccessfully combine the opening up of markets, privatization and deregulation.

In terms of international trade, it is necessary to maintain and expand an open world trade system as an essential condition for the effective promotion of economic growth, employment and higher living standards. Protectionism, in all its diverse forms, is slowing down necessary adjustments, reducing the growth potential of the world economy and results in a negotiation of comparative advantages. Protectionism is unacceptable because it exports unemployment from one country to another.

The ICFTU has recommended that in sectors of strong competition where it is not realistic to suppose that current barriers will be eliminated quickly, it would be a positive move for the industrialized countries to commit themselves

to establishing a timetable. The developing countries, for their part, would accept that once their rates of per capita income had improved as a result of economic growth, they would be expected to implement the customary principles of graduation according to GATT rules.

ICFTU/ORIT is also promoting efforts to include the creation of a Social Clause in GATT, to set trade on a more secure base which permits the benefits of competitive efforts to be felt without threatening working conditions. It is important that commercial pressures in international trade should not undermine basic internationally recognized standards. To achieve this objective, the participation of the countries of the South in the GATT process is vital.

The Need for Positive Links of the European Community with Latin America and the Caribbean

The new era for the European Community (EC) which will begin in January 1993 (of which the creation of the European Economic Area (EEA) linked to EFTA forms a part) is by definition a significant date. The stimulus that it will give to the international economy matches that of the postwar reconstruction of Japan and Germany. It can be considered the most important economic development of the latter half of the 20th century.

The costs of failure to create an internal market, and the advantages of the European Community, for those countries who make it up are evident, as they are for other countries of the industrialized world.

Whilst ICFTU/OBIT has not made any official statements through its Executive Council on the strategy to be adopted by trade unions in the face of this new reality, it can be assumed that its position will support the promotion of improved economic relations with these blocs. There are a number of arguments for this:

a) Europe continues to be the most obvious bloc to provide an alternative to the current domination of the United States of the commercial flows of investment and finance into the region.

ICFTU/ORIT, with the support of the North American trade unions, has adopted a cautious position regarding President Bush's initiative for the Americas, seeing it as a potential basis for a strategy of market domination. The elements which have played in favour of this U-turn of United States policy with regard to Latin America are linked with the presence of the EC:

- The agricultural threat of the European Community.
- The prospect that Central and Eastern Europe will join the European Community, diverting European investment which is being channelled to the United States.

In this context, it is a "belated conversion", since in the 1940's the US fought against the incorporation of regional accords into the GATT constitution. Its current position is similar to that taken later with regard to the Treaty of Rome, when European integration was a US policy objective.

In spite of the decline in relations between Latin America and the Caribbean with Europe, which will be examined later, Europe remains the second most important destination for Latin American exports — 20% for the ALADI countries — and for certain countries such as those in the Southern Cone, Europe is of even more importance.

b) As the EC becomes an even greater technological power, this will provide an additional option for the modernization needs of Latin America and the Caribbean.

c) The EC framework is based on a theoretical/technical model of how to conduct economic policy, specifically a common market policy, which contrasts with the freer and less regimented forms based on market forces practised, for example, in North America. It has already been noted by ORIT that the EC experience demonstrates that economic integration does not necessarily involve abandoning government intervention and subsidies or a degree of economic planning, as the neo-liberal platform would contend. The former is a necessity based on the need to reduce internal inequalities in a new extended market. In this context, the experiences of the EC's structural funds are very important.

EC regulations and procedures will establish new patterns of world influence which a priori seem important in that the wave of conservatism of the 1980s has not substantially weakened traditional European post-war policies.

d) The membership of Spain, Portugal and Italy presents the possibility of links which will be more than just economic, because of common ethnic and cultural roots dating from the time of mass emigration from the Old World during the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century.

e) There are still insufficiently explored commercial possibilities where reciprocal links of mutual benefit could be developed, and enhanced by joint negotiation so that these links would be on an equal basis. The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has identified a series of sectors where, by combining a degree of specialization with comparative advantages for each group of countries, areas of mutual benefit could be identified. Accordingly, 40 sectors (using the CIUU classification) with great potential to take increased exports were singled out in Europe and 14 in Latin America and the Caribbean, with a total effect of 20% increased exports to Europe and 14% to Latin America, without entailing much trade diversion from their respective exports and imports with Japan, Canada and the United States, of which only 4-5% would be affected.

Despite this positive analysis, it is essential that Latin America and the Caribbean take precautionary measures to tackle the future situation that the creation of the Single European Market will bring. Most important for Latin America and the Caribbean will be whether the EC will remain a comparatively open economic bloc or whether it will become a semi-fortress, safeguarding the European market through protectionism and customs laws.

It remains unclear what effect the application of the principle of reciprocity in EC external relations (i.e. the enjoyment of certain superior market advantages by granting similar concessions to other countries) will have on countries in the South. It is also unclear how great will be the trade diversion effect which could result from the completion of the Single Market, due to the relocation of capital and manufacturing activities that were previously located in other countries in order to have the resulting advantages of the reduction in costs which working in a highly competitive integrated market would represent.

With reference to the usual argument that a booming

European economy will have a favourable "extended filtering-down" effect on developing countries, this may not necessarily occur and the validity of this argument needs to be tested.

GRULA (an informal Latin American group made up of heads of diplomatic mission from every country in Europe) records that as early as 1958 the countries of the region had expressed their concerns to the six founder states of the European Community about some of the directions that Community policy could take, particularly in the area of trade policy. Thirty years later, a great number of those concerns have been confirmed by the fact that the various GATT rounds (Kennedy, Tokyo and Uruguay) did not give the results hoped for. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has hit other countries badly, through its protectionist measures on access to the EC's markets and the policy of subsidized exports to developing countries.

Arguments about the favourable impact that the EC will have on North-South relations and relations with Latin America, such as those generated by its own technical services, read more like a declaration of principles:

- that EC external economic policy is not a specific instrument of the realization of the Single Market;
- that the EC cannot afford to isolate itself in its own market, given its current participation in trade;
- that the EC's legal commitments provide a further reason for it not to turn to isolationism, as it is already committed to a series of international treaties and would risk losing its authority and credibility on the international scene;
- as regards EC resources for cooperation with Eastern Europe, there will be no diversion of resources intended for Latin America and therefore there will be an increase in the total resources available;
- that the diminution of European presence in Latin America should not be seen as a wholesale withdrawal.

In comparison with Asia, it is certain that Latin America and the Caribbean cannot obtain such rapid and dynamic results, and that the cost advantages are not so great. But at the same time, in Latin America and the Caribbean there is less heterogeneity, which in Asia has caused serious infrastructural problems and increases in production costs, and the Japanese presence is not significant. The same line of argument could be used for Eastern Europe, where the job of economic reactivation is going to be immensely problematic. Finally, political dialogue of the EC with Latin America is already directed and institutionalized through various channels, for example the Rio Group. In particular, the document on EC relations with Latin America and on industrial cooperation with countries at an intermediate stage of development in Latin America (together with Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean), approved in June 1987 by the Council of Ministers of the EC, has been seen as a key element.

But at the same time, it must be recognized that no country in the European Community has a specific national interest in Latin America, unlike Africa and certain Asian countries, as demonstrated by the first piece of Community policy towards the rest of the developing world, the Lomé Convention, and the privileged treatment of its African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) country members.

In the first half of the 1980's, a global policy on Latin America began to be defined (influenced by the entrance of Spain and Portugal to the EC) through a network of con-

tractual agreements, except with those countries where political dictatorships did not allow for it. The Commission of the European Communities has advanced some secondary non-commercial budget lines: development aid, scientific and technical cooperation, financial assistance, training, and aid for refugees. But these budgetary lines are not large, and bear no comparison to those provided under the Lomé Convention. Therefore, policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean can be seen as a by-product of the EC's general policy towards developing countries.

Evaluation of the interest of European investors in Latin America confirms that this region is seen as holding potential, but is not an easy location of a number of reasons:

- political and economic instability, which works against the long periods needed to establish a base for high technology industries, creates a risk of nationalization, and leads to concern about patent rights;
- lack of a small and medium-sized enterprise sector to operate as supplier for large enterprises;
- the limiting regulations or costly and bureaucratic procedures for exports;
- the lack of a progressive distribution of income;
- insufficient technological development and a lack of sophisticated technological research, or personnel experienced in technological research and development.

On the other hand, reasons for investing in Latin America and the Caribbean are not motivated so much by cost differentials as by the desire to build up a market position and compete with producers from other countries. As a result, investment is predominantly to reach the local market and not to export.

Latin America and the Caribbean is not seen as an attractive proposition in terms of investment in modern forms of industrial cooperation either. The state of technological development is not sufficient for a transfer of technology in the widest sense, for example through licence agreements. Rather, what is being looked for is to transfer technology through whole plants, which often does not allow the integration of new technologies into domestic production.

In addition to these different prospects, which may or may not be borne out by future events, recent realities of the economic linkages between the regions in terms of reciprocal trade and investment should also be taken into account.

In relation to trade, it is clear that Latin America and the Caribbean has looked for a strategic expansion of economic links with Europe and other regions in order to lessen its dependence on the United States. This happened, in fact, between the 1960's and 1970's, when the level of trade in Latin America and the Caribbean accounted for by the United States fell from 50% to 30%. But in the 1980's, this trade returned to its original levels, simultaneously reducing the reciprocal strategic relevance of Latin America and the Caribbean and Europe — the shift in trade in the previous decades did not favour Europe, and later the gap expanded and resulted in the stagnation of trade between Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe, which stood at 20% at the end of the 1970's. For the EC, Latin America and the Caribbean have lost their relative importance, to the extent that the region only absorbs 5% of its exports outside the Community, as opposed to double that in the 1960's.

Furthermore, this development happened in the context

of an expansion of European trade in relation to total world trade, even with the benefits of the EC's own progress in economic integration, since this formed part of dynamic trends which entailed an important place for trade with other countries and with developing regions (the OPEC and ACP countries). For its part, Latin America and the Caribbean lost its global presence in the world markets; for example the ALADI countries have declined from more than 7% of world trade in 1955 to only 3% currently, or from 28% of sales of developing countries to only 15%.

In qualitative terms, the trade relationship between the EC and Latin America and the Caribbean is clearly unequal: 90% of European exports are manufactured goods and 75% of Latin American exports are raw materials (mineral and agricultural products) with a low level of processing and facing a serious deterioration in markets and prices. Manufactured goods amount to only 8% of exports to Europe as compared to 20% of exports to the United States.

It is obvious that there are internal causes for the fact that the integration of Latin America into the international production and consumption processes has taken place with basic products liable to structural deterioration of demand and prices. These have been considered as three weaknesses of Latin American economies:

- in not transforming the structure of exportable production;
- in not taking advantage of the commercial possibilities resulting from the growing demand for industrial products;
- in not anticipating the new trends and possibilities of exchange offered by the pattern of industrial trade with Europe.

There is no doubt that technological changes with a direct impact on consumption and use of raw materials to obtain greater efficiency in their use or their outright replacement, are unstoppable and will affect the relative natural advantages which the region has, leaving Latin America and the Caribbean with an enormous task in updating its technology and its enterprises.

However, subsidies, in the context of agricultural policies, also have a major impact; ECLAC has calculated that nearly 30% of exports, including industrial exports, from the region are affected by non-tariff barriers (against 10% of those from Africa and Asia).

More specifically ICFTU/ORIT has singled out the following factors:

- The OECD countries spend more than US\$ 250 billion on agricultural subsidies, which represents 5 times their official assistance to developing countries. Farmers receive prices which are 30%-55% higher as a result.
- The trade barriers imposed by industrialized countries cost countries in the South US\$ 100 billion in lost revenue. The World Bank has noted that this amount is double the interest payments transferred by countries of the South for their external debt, and also twice the amount of development assistance they receive each year.
- If the protectionist measures currently enshrined in the Multi-Fibre Agreement were not enforced, the developing countries would be able to export US\$ 50 billion more than they do currently. In this context, however, the ICFTU has emphasized that the textiles and clothing sector provides a case in point where trade liberalization, in the absence of proper guarantees of working conditions and rights for trade unions could lead to an

expansion of low-wage production in unacceptably poor conditions. Therefore, whilst supporting a fairer and more open world trading system, the ICFTU considers that future arrangements for trade in textiles and clothing must include clauses ensuring respect for basic workers' rights.

- Agricultural protectionism has led to a predominance of industrial goods in world trade, reducing the level of participation of the South. In 1979 agriculture accounted for 17% of world trade, while in 1989 this had fallen to 11%.
- The relative advantage of Latin America and the Caribbean in agriculture is being cancelled out by subsidies from the EC, Japan, the United States and countries of South East Asia equivalent to US\$ 330 billion annually. According to ECLAC, if the EC reduced its agricultural subsidies by half, annual exports from developing countries would grow by US\$ 3.5 billion.
- The active population which benefits directly from these subsidies (essentially agricultural producers) in the industrialized countries is a minority (5% in total), whereas in the South the proportion is much greater, given the continued importance of agricultural production structures.
- Comparative advantage does not really exist in a world where all potential importers are intent on subsidizing their own production. No government can guarantee its agricultural producers competitive conditions vis-à-vis the subsidized countries. SELA has stated that developing countries have to compete not with agricultural markets of other nations but with their treasuries.

The situation concerning trade is somewhat different from that of foreign direct investment. The European presence in Latin America is greater in this respect — around 15% of European foreign investment is in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 35% of foreign investments in the region are from Europe.

If one includes financial links, the European presence is still greater: 30-35% of Latin American commercial debt is with European banks, even if there is less coordination between the European banks themselves, and in general they follow the policies of the North American banks.

Therefore the EC should show Latin America and the Caribbean a position consistent with the current expectations of that region concerning its relations with Europe.

V. Workers' Solidarity

As well as the policy demands formulated for governments, the political strategy of ICFTU/ORIT needs the support of trade union solidarity from the workers of industrialized countries.

In connection with the various points already presented, it is extremely important to have the cooperation of trade unions in the industrialized world for the following reasons:

- Support of a social clause in GATT, according to the position adopted by the ICFTU. This would discourage social dumping by governments and employers of developing countries, and would end the vicious circle of new protectionist measures on the part of developed countries.
- Coordination of joint trade union action in the transnational corporations' (TNCs) subsidiaries in Latin

Europe and Latin America: The ETUC Position

*Resolution adopted by the Seventh Statutory Congress of the ETUC,
Luxembourg, 13-17 May 1991*

As a result of the deep divide which separates North and South, the European Trade Union Confederation must take account of the situation within Latin America, without forgetting the regional economic and political diversity of such an extensive region.

The globalization of the economy which in some views was to have redressed the imbalances by natural means has merely widened the gap.

Neo-liberal political trends connected with the above-mentioned factors have been the cause of a gradual seizing-up of Latin American development. The dissuasive policies of the IMF, World Bank and conducted by many governments, have reduced the foreign indebtedness of Latin American countries. But the same policies have applied a sudden brake to growth, inducing massive unemployment and leading the informal sector to grow apace.

Today, it can be affirmed that the workers of Latin America have seen their living conditions deteriorate over the past four years, that unbridled inflation has undermined their purchasing power to an alarming extent, and that trade union organizations have felt the repercussions of these phenomena.

The emergence and strengthening of democracies throughout much of the regions is worth noting, even though there are still constant abuses of human and trade union rights at the present time.

The European Community must develop a global policy on Latin America which includes the debt problem which as yet has not been addressed.

The sparseness and decline of trade relations is also to be deplored given the precariousness of a marked suffering from the weaknesses referred to above. Finally, European cooperation with Latin America has only reached a very low level. What is more it is based more on bilateral and emergency aid than efficiently planned and consolidated assistance.

Consequently, the ETUC Congress resolves to:

- promote all efforts towards peace and the preservation of human and trade union rights within the region;
- support, through representations to the Community bodies, progressive policies aimed at speedy debt cancellation without conversion into domestic assets;
- propose that trade union organizations affiliated to the ETUC bring pressure to bear on their governments to this end;
- support the effective democratization of Latin American countries through the political, economic and financial role both of the EEC and its component Member States;
- propose to the Community bodies that instruments and policies for development cooperation with Latin America be created and strengthened, and that the trend of investment in this sphere be maintained and increased. Cooperation is also needed in the area of environmental protection;
- increase and build up institutional exchanges between the European Community and Latin America;
- support the initiatives adopted by those workers' organizations which have their own framework for activity (ICFTU, WCL) in the region with a view to buttressing the development of free trade unionism in Latin America;
- express its particular concern that there should be full observance of the human, political and cultural rights of the indigenous populations, particularly in view of the forthcoming celebration of the Fifth Centenary of the discovery of America.

America and the Caribbean. This will not be possible if links are not forged between the workers of the parent companies and the main subsidiaries.

Also with reference to TNC's, the initiative for the United Nations to adopt a Code of Conduct for these companies would improve this situation. Like the ILO Declaration of Principles, it offers a way towards guaranteeing the basic demands in this area - freedom of trade union organization and unrestricted application of national legislation

On another level, the contribution of the experiences of trade unions in Europe in their own social and political actions is essential for trade union confronting economic modernization, as shown by the following examples:

- Economic and social consultation: the examples most used of bipartite and tripartite agreements come from Europe and have made a major contribution to the development of this socio-political element, in spite of the much worse experience and fewer results obtained up to now in Latin America.

— Participation in enterprises through mechanisms of information, consultation and co-management.

— Participation in the structures of integration. The political platform recently elaborated by ICFTU/ORIT in the area of social affairs and participation has been based particularly on the experiences of European trade unions since the 1970's, notably the Social Fund and the Social Charter.

Finally, another series of problems where Latin American trade unions could benefit from the experiences of their European counterparts are:

— Reforms of the state, related to central administration and public sector enterprises (privatization).

— Reforms of labour legislation to bring about greater flexibility.

— Incorporation of workers in precarious employment into trade union structures, so that even if not all workers can be covered, they will at least be covered in certain aspects and will not be alienated from trade unions.

— Share ownership for workers in their companies.

In some of these areas, the experience of North American trade unions is also relevant.

V. Conclusions

This chapter has tried to present the ICFTU/ORIT position on the current situation of Latin American trade

unions, their expectations and future possibilities for participation in society at the time of the Fifth Centenary and the completion of the European Single Market.

The main thrust of the chapter has been its emphasis on the importance for ORIT to have a social and political platform concerning international economic relations. On the one hand it has presented a proposal for economic, as well as social and cultural, integration between the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, which takes up again the integrationist ideals of the popular and political leaders of the colonial period. On the other hand, it has developed a position on the existence of the large economic blocs, seeing the EC in particular as being of major importance in terms of future strategies for negotiating a reasonable participation in the international division of labour. A further aspect, which was also directed at European governments in the period when the EC was founded, concerned the necessity for the industrialized countries to adopt global structural reforms which essentially complement the internal structural adjustments of the economies in the region.

Finally, the other main point to be stressed has been the importance of the experience of European trade unions, which provide an advanced social and political model, and through international trade union solidarity should become a basic source of inspiration for the workers of Latin America and the Caribbean in their projects for transformation and economic modernization on the basis of equality.

First World Congress towards Spiritual Concord

Alma Ata October 1992

by Anthony Judge

Introduction

It is unprecedented for the government of a newly independent country to provide extensive official support for a large international non-governmental conference — especially for a country in which "nongovernmental" initiatives are a new and questionable phenomenon. That the conference should be organized on behalf of an international body headquartered in the capital of the former ruling superpower increases the challenge of creative diplomacy. But it is even more difficult to imagine any government providing official support for a conference on "spiritual concord" — and that this should be done in a country that is far from wealthy (as one of its first international conferences) is a further challenge to belief.

And yet, without external subsidies, the Government of Kazakhstan placed extensive facilities and resources at the disposal of the First World Congress towards Spiritual Concord recently held in its capital of Alma Ata (October 1992) with the explicit benediction of its President N Y Nasarbaev and his wife. The congress of 2,500 participants was organized by the International Association "Peace through Culture" (based in Moscow) in the record time of 3 months. This is a tremendous achievement by any standards, but especially in a country in considerable political and economic turmoil.

The physical location of the conference in Central Asia ensured an unusual range of participants. In these times of transition for the countries emerging from the Soviet Union it raised unusual challenges in terms of feasibility. The socio-political traditions developed within the Soviet Union favour a command approach which is less than satisfactory to nongovernmental conferences seeking other forms of interaction in which they are as yet inexperienced. How these challenges can be met is a matter of great interest for the future.

Global context

The dimensions of the social, economic, environmental and political challenges of the world are now discussed at most levels of society. The international community has explored many responses carefully articulated in numerous

programmes in many contexts. Despite such initiatives, it is clear to many that the situation is getting worse rather than better. Commitments made are diluted or ignored — notably in the case of the follow-ups to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (June 1992). The favoured ways of thinking and organizing have proved inadequate to the challenge.

In this context many are ready with "answers" in the light of their particular perspective, whether scientific, political, economic or otherwise. Many millions continue to place great hope in the transcendent perspectives offered by religion. Others are quick to challenge religions because of their inability to reconcile their own differences in any creative way — differences which continue to exacerbate conflicts around the world (with Yugoslavia being but the most currently visible example). The old styles of governance have completely lost their credibility. Religious hierarchies and movements, whether old or new, see an opportunity to occupy territory on which the disciplines of the 20th century have demonstrated their incompetence.

The past decades have seen many explorations of "inter-faith dialogue". These have served to develop communications between religions traditionally hostile to one another. A body of understanding has developed and in many cases bonds of friendship have been formed where enmity previously prevailed. This has however changed little in practice. The identity of particular religions remains closely associated with practices and beliefs which are unacceptable to other religions — whether or not they are "tolerated". Fundamentalism remains a continuing concern, whether in Islam, Hinduism or Christianity.

Efforts at inter-faith dialogue have themselves been subject to the dynamics typical of parallel initiatives on over-lapping topics. As with any international initiatives, that undertaken by one configuration of religious forces or factions is often viewed with suspicion by another. There is a marked tendency within any one context to ignore related initiatives. This can of course always be readily justified by emphasizing the specificity of the favoured initiative.

At this point in time there are a number of inter-faith initiatives. Four are grouped within an International Inter-faith Organizations Coordinating Committee (created in 1991). They are: International Association for Religious Freedom (created 1990), World Congress of Faiths (1936), World Conference on Religion and Peace (1970), and

Temple of Understanding (1960). The World Council of Churches (1948) may also be considered as such, especially through the various inter-faith dialogues that it has organized. Another is the series of meetings (Assisi 1986, Rome 1988, Warsaw 1989, Ban 1990, Malta 1991, Louvain-Brussels 1992, Milan 1993) organized by the Community of S. Egidio under the auspices of the Catholic Church. 1993 is in fact the centennial of the World Parliament of Religions (Chicago, 1893). It is being marked by a number of events, notably a succession of meetings in India. A second World Parliament of Religions is also scheduled (Chicago, August 1993).

Specific context

During the 1930s, a remarkable individual of Russian origin, Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947), was instrumental (through an international NGO, the International Union for the Roerich Pact) in bringing into being an intergovernmental treaty. This was the *Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments* (in force 1935) otherwise known as the "Roerich Pact", which presumably remains in force in international law. Roerich was an anthropologist and painter, based in the USSR, later in the USA, and finally in the Himalayas. He specialized in Central Asia. He promoted widely a concern for peace through culture. His concerns were obscured from the 1940s but interest in his work (and notably his 7,000 inspirational paintings) has been maintained in the West through various Roerich societies. With the fall of communism, some 500 Roerich societies have blossomed in Russia alone. An International Roerich Memorial Trust is headquartered in Bangalore (India).

In the former Soviet Union, an International Association "Peace through Culture" was founded in Moscow in 1989 on the initiative of the Writers Union and other cultural organizations (including Roerich groups) with the direct support of Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev. Its membership spread rapidly during the turbulent process of breakdown of the USSR and now has members in 11 countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, Ukraine, USA. As an "international association" formally recognized under Russian law, the organization has special privileges, notably the unusual one for an NGO of being able to support the issue of visas (a right normally restricted to official trade organizations). The association held a conference in Moscow in October 1991 which issued an appeal "Towards Spiritual Concord" that stressed the importance of placing spiritual principles above political expediency and called for a congress on that theme. This was positively received by leading personalities of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam and many spiritual-cultural communities.

In April 1992, on the initiative of the Kazakhstan "Peace through Culture" group, the President of Kazakhstan invited the international association to hold its proposed international congress in Alma Ata with an agreement to support the congress at the highest level. In June 1992, President Nasarbajev accepted patronage of the congress and the support of key political and spiritual leaders was obtained, including that of the Dalai Lama. Meanwhile, in May 1992, a primarily German-speaking affiliate of the international association was created (and based in Munich) to represent individuals in Europe as a whole.

Because of the unstable political and economic condi-

tion in the former Soviet Union, the decision was taken to use this window of opportunity and to organize the congress in October 1992 — despite the unusual time constraints for such an event. The Kazakhstan government, through its various economic institutions, provided funding, thus reducing the cost of foreign participation.

Alma Ata

Little known in the West as a constituent republic of the former USSR, Kazakhstan is in fact larger in size than Western Europe but with a population of only 16.7 million inhabitants, of which 6 million are Russian-speaking, and almost 1 million are descendants of German-speaking peoples displaced as a result of World War II. Kazakhstan prides itself on being home to over 100 ethnic groups, practising a mix of religions including Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. The 1000-year tradition of religious harmony is explicitly recognized and cultivated. Striking to Western eyes, is the freedom of Kazakh women compared to those of other countries with a strong Islamic influence — a freedom to which many women in Western countries might also aspire. This too is a traditional feature of Kazakh culture, where women were expected to ride and even fight like men.

Much of the country is impoverished by the standards of industrialized countries. As home to Baikonur, the principal space launching facility of the former USSR, Kazakhstan has the dubious distinction of being the poorest country with the most nuclear missiles. The extensive past use of the Semipalatinsk region of Kazakhstan as a principal site for nuclear weapons tests by the USSR has recently attracted attention, especially because of the high proportion of children now being born with genetic defects.

Alma Ata, the capital of 1 million inhabitants, benefitted from considerable investment during the Brezhnev era and is a pleasant city of low-lying buildings set back from tree-lined streets. It is partially surrounded by a ridge of mountains from the Northern Himalaya and Altai ranges. It has become the headquarters of the World Antinuclear Alliance of Citizens and Legislators (Nevada, Semipalatinsk, Mururoa).

The unusually agreeable feel to the city and the mood of its inhabitants can perhaps be illustrated by one simple practice that has a strange impact on Westerners. In the overcrowded rush-hour buses, which have no ticket collectors, money is passed forward to the bus driver from passenger to passenger. The ticket, and any change, is returned by the same means. It is difficult to imagine this level of trust in any industrialized country.

In addition to the religious tradition of Kazakhstan, Alma Ata itself is recognized as an important symbol of the spirituality common to several traditions. The name Alma Ata may even be translated in symbolic terms as the "original apple". Roerich noted in the 1930s that the ancient spiritual traditions were still active there. For those of esoteric persuasion, it can epitomize the hidden places of the mystical East and the home of hidden masters of wisdom, inhabitants, including government officials, readily comment on the cleansing spiritual energies of that environment.

The congress was held in the Congress Palace — a magnificent, marbled building, capable of holding 3,000 participants, with access to simultaneous interpretation. It was but a brief walk across a park to the main congress hotel. The complex will undoubtedly have a successful future as an international conference site.

Participants and representation

The congress brought together over 2,500 people in some sessions, of which 600 were from outside Kazakhstan, but with less than 100 from the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America. Participants came from the following countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, Switzerland, Turkey, UK, Ukraine, Uruguay, USA, Uzbekistan. There were 350 journalists from some 30 countries.

Of greater interest than the numbers of participants was the variety of spiritual traditions and tendencies represented. These included: Buddhism, Hinduism, Orthodox Christianity (Russian, Ukrainian, Indian), Christian fundamentalists, Islam and Zoroastrianism. Also represented were spiritual movements and organizations including: Ramakrishna Mission, Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University, Roerich foundations (Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan), Jews and various groups (Mamluk, Kalmuk, Taoist, Theosophist, Krishnamurti, Gurdjieff, Krishna Consciousness, Rosicrucian, Sufi, Agni Yoga). These reflected such concerns as: orthodox spiritual practices, spiritual healing, charismatic approaches, esotericism, humanism, and ethical materialism. Also present were business leaders.

Many participants exhibited considerable levels of commitment in travelling great distances within their economic constraints (for example, students travelling three and half days by train from St Petersburg). In that region, 1,000 kilometres by train is considered "not far".

The languages of the congress were Russian, Kazakh, English and German, although workshop interpretation tended to be more limited.

Key figures and endorsements

The congress was formally endorsed by Buddhists (in the person of the Dalai Lama, represented at the event by Telo Tulku Rinpoche, Shadzhin-Lama of Kalmykia), Orthodox Christians (Paulos Mar Gregorios, Metropolitan of Delhi and President of the Inter-Religious Federation "World Peace"), Hindus (Sankaracharya Jayendraj), Moslems (Ahmed B Zakharia, Islamic Cultural Centre, Bombay), the Ramakrishna Mission (Swami Jotirupananda, Moscow), the international Theosophical Society (Pedro Rogerio Moreno de Oliveira, Adyar), Krishnamurti Foundation (Sri Radhakani Ramakani Upasani, India), Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University (B K Chakradhari, General Director), Zoroastrians (Meher Master-Moos, President of Zoroastrian College, Bombay). The Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia was also represented.

The key personalities in the actual organization of the event may be clustered into three groups:

- (a) Valentin Siderov, President of the International Association (Moscow)
Afenasy Vesseltskij, General Secretary of the International Association
- (b) Wilhelm Augustat, President of the European Association (Munich)
Andreas Graf Dönhoff, Vice-President of the European Association
Arnold von Keyserling, School of Wisdom (Vienna)

(c) Tolegen M Mukhameganov, President, Kazakh Association "Peace through Culture"

It is to be noted that the Russian and German-speaking personalities could only communicate through interpreters.

Organization and structure

The event was organized from Moscow, in collaboration with the Kazakh "Peace through Culture" group, with the advice and material support of the European group. None of the partners had concrete experience in the organization of international conferences. It was therefore natural to rely on the traditional approach to conference organization developed within the USSR. Where use could be made of the well-honed command structures, certain infrastructure details (hotels, transportation, interpretation, etc) could be arranged without too much difficulty within the socio-economic constraints.

Structuring the programme raised other challenges. Clearly the Kazakh group were under local pressure to create openings for local personalities, whilst the Moscow group was anxious to maintain the international and multi-confessional image. The European group was anxious to relax the traditional Soviet and Asiatic style of conferencing, although this style was to a large degree reinforced by the Germanic background of that group.

Because of communication (telephone, fax, etc) and language difficulties, negotiating the structuring of the programme proved extremely problematic. The situation was further exacerbated by the traditional Eastern European technique of cultivating the opportunities offered by the limited availability of information (often justified by the severely limited photocopying possibilities). The programme was not announced to participants in advance, nor was it clear how many participants there would be, or from what countries or religious backgrounds.

The situation of non-transparency continued during the event. The participant package contained only a skeletal programme indicating times for non-thematic plenary sessions (daily from 10.00 to 13.00) and workshops (daily from 15.00 to 18.00). Only workshop themes and chairpersons were shown. The themes were: Religious experience and spiritual concord (interconfessional roundtable); Toward spiritual concord through humanism (Humanitarian roundtable); Harmony of planetary and human health (problems of traditional and non-traditional medicine); All-planetary role of culture of man and mankind; Man and mankind as cosmic substance; Humanization of science and technology; Spiritual world and different educational cultures.

Very unfortunately, the original intention to house all foreign participants in the main congress hotel proved impossible at the last minute. Dividing that group eroded communication patterns and destroyed coherence. Transportation from distant hotels was a major problem. For some this became symptomatic of the negative side of the event.

Part of the difficulty arose from the 3-month organizing time and the difficulty in knowing which tentative participants and speakers would actually be in Alma Ata. Much negotiation on speakers was done behind the scenes on the spot. But even daily lists of speakers proved difficult to organize and when posted proved totally unreliable. It is a strange experience attending a session without having any

sense of who will speak, or when one might be called to speak oneself. One conclusion was that the Russian group had effective control of the plenary sessions but that the Kazakh group had achieved control of the workshop organization — and that there was very little communication between the two.

Process dynamics and communication

The difficulties noted above did not affect the appearance of sessions which all ran in a quite smooth and orderly manner on the basis of the last minute structure available to the chairperson. The opening session, with 3,000 participants facing 20 people barricaded behind a podium, evoked all the fears of those favouring more participative processes. The "barricade" was however removed for subsequent plenaries to be replaced by a less threatening cluster of casual seats.

The pattern of plenary processes remained unchanged. Named speakers spoke from the podium without any participation from the floor. This pattern is widely accepted in Eastern Europe and Asia, and is indeed common in German-speaking countries as well. It was accepted with difficulty by some participants and, given the lack of speaker lists, encouraged some to engage in other activities. The pattern tended to be repeated in workshops, although the opportunities for floor participation were greater in some cases.

In contrast to this authoritarian formal atmosphere was the informal process during extensive breaks within sessions. To a far greater extent than in Western countries, participants used the breaks to surround, question and dialogue with speakers. It was clear that participants felt empowered to use this time in a fruitful manner. It was notably the occasion for participants to congregate around a number of charismatic figures. This process was in part catalyzed by the activities of the many representatives of the press and audio-visual media.

In a further move to offer an alternative pattern of communications, the European group had funded the presence of a communications consultant, Tim Casswell (UK). During plenary sessions he used drawing and painting techniques to develop a visual record of the points made by speakers on flipchart paper. His English textual comments were supplemented by Russian translations. These sheets were then attached to the wall of the plenary room. After several days this provided participants with a visual journey through the event which could be conveniently scanned at leisure. This process attracted much attention from participants and from the media.

As an additional technique to facilitate communication between participants, Tim Casswell provided participants with the opportunity to formulate messages (questions, comments, wisdom, fears) on "post-its" (donated in quantity by the manufacturer). These were clustered onto flipchart sheets (also on the plenary wall) by theme. This simple technique, explored in other conferences (notably at the Earth Summit in Rio), also opened up new participative possibilities to participants. Both techniques had the merit of appearing complementary (rather than threatening) to the formal communication processes natural to the Russian and Asian cultures.

A number of participant groups made extensive use of the large foyer of the Congress Palace to further their own initiatives. Many set up mini-stalls from which to distribute

brochures, newsletters and books. Others freely interacted with participants in a "Hyde Park Corner" style that resulted in the formation of clusters around such speakers. These self-organizing events were tolerated by the organizers and by the security forces controlling entrance to the building. It was clear that participants felt empowered to take advantage of this opportunity — to some degree with more determination and response than in equivalent situations in the West.

Purpose and content

It could be said that the art of ensuring an interesting conference is to formulate an overall theme, such as "spiritual concord", with sufficient creative ambiguity such that many different potential participants can project their own expectations onto it in the light of their special interests.

Failure to supply information to challenge such expectations allows each to make of the event what they will. The declared purpose for the event was of course supplied in advance to participants. This built on the Appeal formulated in October 1991. It included the following statements :

Our civilization has reached its limits. Meanwhile we are amidst a world-wide economic, social and ecological crisis which is due to our own failure... All of these crises are obviously only the consequence of a certain development, a spiritual and moral paralysis which has afflicted all mankind. This mental standstill is the main cause for failed developments... We have to understand that there is indeed a way out of the vicious circle of contradictions which we have run into. No special cleverness or heroic efforts are necessary, but common sense and, above all, the striving for spiritual concord.

We have to recognize that suggestions for economic and political solutions, however promising they maybe, cannot improve the situation any more. They are coming too late. The only feasible alternative lies in the evolution of consciousness, a change and expansion of thinking in nations, also in the awareness of being part of a living cosmos.

One abbreviated formulation for the Congress itself was:

The goal is to acquaint the world, in the light of today's problems, with the principle of peace-creating spiritual concord, in a quest to offer solutions to our major problem areas.

Another formulation, by the Kazakhstan national organizing committee, was as follows:

In our time, when the world is torn by contradictions and some remain under the spell of outdated ideas of confrontation, when basic moral values are sinking into oblivion and mankind is ruining itself in wars, we, inhabitants of the planet, should strive for the principles that will unite us — we should strive for spiritual concord in order to preserve this civilization (edited).

The problem with such statements is that they echo so many others of similar nature that commitment to participate can only be made on the basis of other factors. One preliminary document offered the following : *In search of the experience of oneness, the Congress offers the possibility of common meditation with Buddhists or to pray with Christians and Moslems.* Another document emphasized the importance of "spirituality" as a dimension.

Spirituality and concord: questions vs answers

The collective pursuit of any common understanding of "spiritual concord" or "spirituality" is fraught with traps for the unwary. Most religions slide readily into complex articulations of answers and patterns of necessary beliefs as the most appropriate way of enhancing spiritual awareness. By such means spirituality may seemingly be satisfactorily defined although its essential experiential qualities must necessarily escape any such definition.

provocatively one might present the following comparisons, in which much depends on the quality of the questions and the answers:

Culture:	many questions; many answers
Science:	many questions; few answers
Religions:	few questions; many answers
Spirituality:	few questions, few answers
Peace:	one question; one answer.

The Congress offered many the opportunity to present answers — and this they did. Unfortunately few questions emerged from such presentations. Without questions there is no challenge or sense of opportunity for collective evolution into the unknown. Answers can be alienating to the spirit in that they deaden any potentially active response. Many of the answers have been disseminated for a long time. We have long reached the time when reiteration of value statements has become fruitless, especially when no new action is imagined or intended. Relying on this mode could therefore be dangerous in these critical times.

The calls for a common understanding of spirituality, or for spiritual concord, may therefore be usefully seen not in terms of common answers of whatever quality. Is it not rather a shared understanding of the questions raised by the spiritual dilemma of our times which constitutes a more appropriate challenge for the future? What are the new questions raised by the challenge of spiritual concord?

Spirituality and concord: challenge of language

Several plenary speakers at the Congress referred to the inadequacy of the language used to articulate the challenge of the times. We make daily use of languages which are essentially "obsolete" in terms of our needs. What we need to understand and communicate may not be expressible in any one of the languages to which we have access. Most spiritual traditions concur in indicating that ordinary language is inadequate to the expression of the levels of understanding to which we are called to aspire — especially if our conflicting positions are to be reconciled. This recognition is increasingly supported by academic studies of the limitations and distortions of any particular conceptual language. A congress using Russian, Kazakh, English and German provided frequent reminders of this challenge — preventing participants from being entrapped by the insidious assumptions of "English-think" common to many international inter-faith events.

Guidelines to inter-faith discourse have been clarified in earlier meetings. Convergence in understanding for the answers formulated by different spiritual traditions has emerged from the pioneering work over a decade of the Snowmass Conference grouping representatives of 15

world religions and led by Thomas Keating. This has agreed on eight guidelines that religions have in common: 5 relate to ultimate reality; 1 to mystical life and transformation; and 2 concern moral values, non-violence and the promotion of harmony among the traditions by mutual respect for differences (see Thomas Keating: *Guidelines for interreligious understanding*. In: *Speaking of Silence: Christian and Buddhists on the Contemplative Way* (Mahweh NJ, Paulist Press, 1987).

But is there any sense in which these pose challenges to comprehension within our existing mind-set? Do they simply call for "universal agreement"? What of those who resonate to other understandings of spirituality? Is it really necessary, as argued by Father Luis M Dolan (see *Religious Spirituality: the soul of development and change* (Bucharest UNDP Round Table on Global Change, September 1992), to accept the fundamental distinction between "religious spirituality" and "spirituality"? The former being defined as: "a very deep and universal form of spirituality that expresses the essence of religion by connecting the transcendental with the immanent, the eternal with the temporal, through a series of significant and revealing prayers, values, beliefs, rituals and offerings that were learned from one of the original religions". Whereas the spirituality which has recently inundated the Western world is defined as: "a series of values, actions, rituals and lifestyles that are usually partially or totally separated from any known religion in the world". As might be expected, philosophers have agreed the opposite, namely that "religions" do not have a monopoly on religion (Raimon Panikkar reporting on the 1973 World Congress of Philosophy, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 11, 3, Summer 1974, pp 515-517).

With the track record of religions in exacerbating conflicts, even in recent times, is it not appropriate to raise questions about their monopoly of the understandings of spirituality and transcendence appropriate to the kind of reconciliation which is apparently called for? Is it possible that there may be inherent limitations in their articulations of "rules" and "guidelines" and in their failure to evoke challenging new questions?

Speakers at the Congress were disappointing in their simplistic reiteration of familiar value statements and their exhortations to unquestioning belief in favoured creeds. These is a need to move beyond this unchallenging stage which condemns so many speeches and declarations to well-deserved oblivion. Has it not been made clear that this does not meet the needs of the young?

Using differences creatively

Speakers were impressive in their ability to avoid expressing reservations about each others positions. If concord is synonymous with conflict avoidance then this form of concord was well-expressed — and disappointingly so. The positivist school of thought which favours elimination of any use of the negative form from language continues to attract fanatic adherents. The belief that concord is based on the absence of discord and tension is a growing force that ignores any challenges and condemns all opponents as requiring re-education. And yet the closing plenary session revealed depths of disagreement whose expression was swiftly suppressed — although the challenge remains.

Is it not strange that a congress arising from a focus on "peace through culture" should ignore all that culture has been able to communicate so creatively over the centuries about the relationship between harmony and discord? As one plenary speaker noted, using a guitar to make the point, a discord in isolation is indeed unacceptable, but music based only on the use of harmonious chords rapidly appears insipid and monotonous. Music comes into its own when it uses discords to evoke recognition of higher orders of harmony by challenging the musical framework in new ways. The same point may be made in painting, drama and the other arts. Culture might indeed be defined as the art of using differences creatively. And yet here too, at least in music, different cultures have different understandings of what constitutes "harmony" and "discord" — as is the case in some marriages where even violent conflict may be viewed as an aspect of a fundamentally harmonious relationship.

The 1991 Appeal referred to the need to find a way out of the "vicious circle of contradictions". Is it not possible that the spiritual challenge lies in using what divides us to define what unites us? The call of Professor Arnold von Keyserling, one of the principal speakers, to focus on what unites us rather than what divides us, then needs to be reframed. It is by recognizing the configuration of definable forces which divide us that we are able to use that configuration to identify the undefinable focal point which unites us. What visibly divides us in this world, is indeed superficial, being "of the surface". What unites us, underlying that surface, is a challenge to our comprehension to which the configuration of visible differences provides the key. Responding to the call to shift attention from what divides us can only be successfully accomplished by accepting the challenge to comprehension of what unites us.

The point has notably been made by Lao Tzu :

The names that can be named are not definitive names.

Naming engenders ten thousand things...

Thirty spokes share the wheel's hub.

It is the empty centre hole that makes it useful...

Therefore profit comes from what is there.

Usefulness comes from what is not there.

How is the nature of the emptiness which unites us to be understood other than through recognizing the configuration of forces which so "profitably" divide us? Our expressions and deepest understandings can only be carried by partial and inadequate language alienating to those with the complementary insights to correct that partiality. Comprehension of spiritual concord lies through an understanding of that emptiness — an emptiness whose nature is the challenging question of spirituality. Efforts at naming the different understandings of that emptiness enhance the divisiveness which characterises the surface configuration of forces that protect its transcendent nature as the quality without a name. And yet it is that configuration of divisiveness that most effectively focuses our understanding on the quality of concord that transcends it.

Configuration of tensions towards polarization

Why did the Congress succeed, for succeed it did. Why did it "work" despite the numerous constraints and the apparently cumbersome organization? How could it possibly have worked when participants and speakers avoided

the central issue which had presumably brought people together?

Is it possible that it succeeded because a set of dramatically opposed forces were held in balance in such a way as to open some degree of recognition of the transcendent quality of spiritual concord? Such a configuration of polarizing forces might include the following:

(a) The orthodox religion vs alternative spirituality polarity: Traditionally orthodox religions have avoided contacts with those with "non-religious" views of spirituality. This is the tension noted above with respect to "religious spirituality" vs the forms of spirituality that have for example recently blossomed in the West. The event saw a reasonable compromise struck between the two tendencies with some evidence of mutual tolerance, if not respect, on both sides. Any criticism was voiced with circumspection. Attention was accorded to both exoteric and to esoteric perspectives, although neither was given weight as such.

(b) The "alternative medicine" vs "spiritual healing" polarity: One manifestation of "spirituality" that has some academic legitimacy is that perceived in the light of various forms of alternative medicine implying an understanding of subtle "energies". This perspective is treated with a fair degree of impatience by practitioners of "spiritual healing" of whatever school. And these in turn (especially when manifested by charismatic personalities) are viewed with some scepticism by academic investigators. Both groups were well-represented at the event. The academic perspective was legitimated by formal representatives from various academies of science, and indeed some meetings were held on university premises. Spiritual healers and their retinues were present in great numbers and attracted much media attention through their practices. But neither succeeded in dominating the proceedings.

(c) The humanistic vs transcendental polarity: There are ways of defining the human "spirit" which require no reference to transcendent dimensions or experience. Translations can easily emphasize natural definitions foreign to those who stress mystical and related experiences. The humanistic perspective is of course most readily acceptable to the academic world. It reinforces any focus on the ethical dimension, which others would consider a substitute for action in the light of a more transcendental perspective. As such it provides an opening for those educated in a materialistic culture, whether in the East or in the West. Both views were represented at the event. The concluding appeal is worded in such a way that neither holds sway.

(d) The global vs personal polarity: The invitation to the event emphasizes the contextual planetary crisis and focuses on spirituality as offering the possibility of a valuable response. For some spirituality is readily reinterpreted through an exclusively personal experience. This may lead to a concern with spiritual healing, namely healing the person, as the most valid way to open the person to higher forms of insight and action. There is therefore a tension between an individual's personal situation and concern for the situation on the planet. Both were manifest in different ways at the congress. There was much focus on personal healing and many would see that the most memorable feature of the event. But the strategic objectives of the event placed that concern firmly in a global context that called for less personal preoccupations.

(e) The formal vs informal congress processes: As noted above, the formally scheduled processes did not totally constrain the informal processes that allowed for greater individual involvement. But the informal processes did not disrupt the formal processes and the structuring that it provided. Each tolerated the pressures exerted by the other.

(f) The altruistic vs business polarity: Despite the seemingly altruistic theme of "spiritual concord", the event was organized with funding from the "economic institutions" of the Government of Kazakhstan. The principal local organizer (on behalf of the government) was a businessman with business responsibilities. The leader of the German-speaking group was himself a businessman with commercial interests in Kazakhstan. It had been made known, at least to some Russian participants, that the event would offer opportunities to make contacts and "do business". Any such business priorities seem to have been frustrated on the whole, although many working contacts with financial consequences were made. The more altruistic were undoubtedly equally frustrated at any implication that the event could have been a cover for economic operations — although such concerns would be understandable in a country in such dire economic straits where economic needs could legitimately be considered of much greater importance.

(g) The material wealth vs material poverty polarity: Implicit in the structure of the event was the considerable discrepancy between participants from industrialized countries and some from the countries of the former Soviet Union (or even from Asia) — although others were from the former nomenklatura. This tension was handled very smoothly although clearly it was a factor in many interactions. Neither perspective acquired a predominant importance.

(h) The ethical austerity vs alcoholic concord polarity: With such a mix of participants of different religious backgrounds, some clearly attached great importance to various forms of abstinence, whether from meat, alcohol or both (the food available was very simple throughout the event). Others saw fit to indulge, even to excess, to create a more mundane, and better known form of "spiritual concord". Some were vegetarian but consumed alcohol. A sheephead, a delicacy in Central Asia, circulated around the table at the closing presidential dinner. The tension between those modes of behaviour was also handled effectively.

(i) The verbal vs non-verbal polarity: As with all congresses, this was a distinctly verbal event, despite its declared concern with non-verbal dimensions of human experience. And yet, with the displays of spiritual healing, and the constant evocation of non-verbal experience, the verbal dimensions did not eventually dominate. In part this was due to the language problems which all experienced at one time or another. Much communication had to be based on non-verbal cues. Perhaps the only real attempt to explore this interface was through a remarkable use of sound forms by Christian Ide Hintze (Vienna School for Poetry). His plenary intervention constituted a creative attempt at breaking conventional expectations from verbal sounds — thus evoking new patterns across cultural boundaries.

(j) The predictability vs uncertainty polarity: As noted above there was a strange mix of excessive planning and predictability accompanied by high levels of uncertainty

concerning the next moment in any portion of the event. This created an unusual tension for many participants.

(k) The Kazakh vs Russian polarity: This obvious tension arose on the one hand from the historical relationship between the countries. On the other hand it was compounded by the Kazakh situation as local organizers with the Moscow-based group as responsible internationally and to religious partners in the enterprise. It seems to have led to a stand-off condition in which neither was able to gain complete advantage, although manifestations of the problem were evident in the presence or absence of interpretations between Russian and Kazakh. The situation was complicated by the proportion of people of Russian origin that are now citizens of Kazakhstan. Russian and Kazakh are the principle languages of Kazakhstan.

(l) The "Roerich" vs "Peace-through-Culture" polarity: There was a tension underlying the event between the PTC organizational initiative and the "Roerich" group context from which it had emerged, at least in Russia. Roerich groups have proved to be an important rallying point for a certain apolitical approach to the cultural situation in the former Soviet Union. PTC represents a new formulation, using Roerich terminology, to ground an important insight in new ways — to some extent freed from an outmoded degree of cultism around Roerich as a personality. The congress was in many ways so successful that the "spiritual concord" focus suggested the need for a new organizational form to replace the PTC framework by which it had been brought about.

(m) The German (West) vs German-speaking (Kazakhstan) polarity: It was strange to witness the encounter between Germans from the West with those who had been displaced to Kazakhstan by the consequences of World War II. The latter are a potential political problem in the newly independent Kazakhstan and are the focus of special attention for potential repatriation if relatives can be found in Germany. Where indeed is the "homeland" of the descendants of such resettlement programmes — of which there are many other examples that cannot be readily resolved? This tension was acknowledged on the occasion but did not influence the organization of the event.

(n) Nuclear vs Humanitarian polarity: There was a strange and paradoxical balance to a humanitarian event in a context so marked by nuclear testing, by the presence of some many nuclear warheads, and with the major space rocket launching facility of the whole of Asia. The distorted spiritual energy was most evident to some in the extremely high incidence of genetic malformation. At the time of approving the event the President of Kazakhstan was faced with decisions on the dispersal and sale of warheads, and his wife was engaged in programmes to respond to the children needs.

(o) Male vs Female polarity: As might be expected, given the context, the speakers were predominantly male, with very few exceptions. And unfortunately, some of the exceptions notably failed to correct this imbalance. On the other hand the audience, and some of its key figures, exhibited a marked feminine quality. So although the event was formally controlled by men, its success can in large part be perceived as arising from the feminine quality governing the informal interaction for which that controlling framework had only partially provided a context.

For whatever reason, the congress therefore proved to be many things to many people. For some it was an inter-faith dialogue, for others it offered the experience of spiri-

tual healing. For some it created an academic opportunity for the presentation of papers offering some legitimacy to unusual subjects. For some it could be seen as an exotic form of tourism. Some saw it as an opportunity to make contacts, or even as a business opportunity. For others it led to encounters with extraordinary people under unusual circumstances. Some saw it as a form of pilgrimage to places with a special quality of energy. Some saw it as an occasion for spiritual work.

Hidden shift in focus

Such polarities, and the dualistic thinking that sustained them, in many ways established the boundaries of the event. Each polar tension prevented the focus of the event from drifting too far towards a polarized condition. Acting together these polarities concentrated the focus of the event at a level which transcended any of them. The congress effectively reconciled its differences, signified by those tensions, by shifting its focus into another dimension. The psychic "centre of gravity" thus emerged in a location which could not be defined by the words favoured in the language of any polarizing perspective.

This description is unnecessarily static. In reality the dynamics of the event pulled it in different ways at different times as each polarizing force exerted destabilizing pressures. Viewed more creatively, the energy engendered by any polarizing force was redistributed around the configuration of polarities. In metaphoric terms this might be understood as the expression of different musical notes. Whether in succession or in combination they formed harmonies and melodies. It was these that expressed the level of spiritual concord that was achieved.

In the best spiritual tradition, participants were unable to rely on any particular fixed pattern of categories in order to comprehend what was going on or emerging. It was a case of "not this, not that" (Neti, Neti — in the famous Sanskrit phrase). Any particular view or formulation was implicitly subject to challenge by other aspects of the event. In effect the congress made of itself a container. Some expressed their understanding of what emerged within the container as a "sense of presence", others referred to "the magic of the place", and others referred to the presence of "angels". Many felt free to place specific religious interpretations on their understandings. Such views were voiced in exchanges between participants but not publicly. Any such understandings were of course strongly coloured by the personal experiences of the participants during the event — of which spiritual healing was an important dimension for some.

Evaluations and learnings

In many respects the congress was a success despite remarkable constraints, notably the limited time in which it was organized. Some specific learnings might include:

(a) **Conventional wisdom:** Despite the conventional wisdom of international conference organizers, the event demonstrated that much could be achieved at short notice with large numbers of people.

(b) **By-passing rigid structures:** From a conventional Western perspective, it could be argued that the event was a success despite the non-participative organizational

structure. It would seem that there is an art in working around rigid structures which has been developed to a high degree in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Perhaps greater rigidity paradoxically allows for a quality of freedom which is of greater significance than when deliberately planned for.

(c) **Decision-making:** Decision-making, whether within the organizing committee, in plenary or in workshops, was conducted by a process strange to Western eyes but with its own strengths and weaknesses. Because of the command tradition, much more power was vested in the chairperson, who was able to brush aside objections and push decisions through — often by force of personality. No agendas were considered necessary and no records were kept of decisions taken. This "fluid" style, which undoubtedly complements the formal rigidity, does of course lend itself to various forms of abuse — but it can speed decision-making in valuable ways.

(d) **Culture of spirituality:** In many ways the dynamics of the event may have been carried by the phenomenal importance attached to spirituality in Russian culture. This is of course matched by its importance in the Islamic culture that is so present in Kazakhstan and Asia in general. In a sense there is a widely shared understanding that spirituality is important, if not primary. This affects the way that communications occur and takes the sting out of constraints that would be totally unacceptable in the West. From the views of some participants, material concerns weigh relatively lightly to the point of being invisible. Whereas in the West it is rather the spiritual concerns which weigh relatively lightly, to the point of being invisible in comparison with the material concerns. Material wealth can encourage spiritual impoverishment, whether or not material impoverishment encourages spiritual wealth. One touching example was the response, by a young Russian participant, to a drunken beggar acting aggressively towards a Western participant in a wheel-chair in the hotel lobby: she held up an open palm in a peaceful warding-off gesture whilst exhorting him to desist, made the sign of the cross in front of him, and then bowed to him with hand over heart. He complied. It is common in Russia for beggars to make the sign of the cross in response to gifts.

(e) **Tolerant curiosity:** Relating strongly to the previous point was a willingness to encounter and listen to those expressing apparently eccentric spiritual views. The media were especially interested in the following three cases: (a) one participant, widely known in Russia, presents himself as Christ, and dresses accordingly; (b) one group of Russian participants, known as the White Brothers, also dress in Biblical style and go without shoes; (c) one participant, a well-known spiritual healer from Italy, suffers from bleeding stigmata on the hands. All three cases blended into the dynamics of the event without creating any disruption (although it is somewhat disconcerting to encounter Christ in the hotel elevator). "Christ" was however labelled "Anti-Christ" by the White Brothers.

(f) **Speechifying:** The structure of the event, both in plenaries and workshops, highlights the issue of the length and content of speeches in relation to spiritual concord. Is movement towards spiritual concord achieved by exposing participants to lengthy speeches which reiterate statements made on many occasions in the past? It is too easy for those who preach to their congregations to use the same mode in a congress. Why is the importance of dialogue not appreciated? Clearly dialogue, especially in a

large meeting, makes for a relatively high degree of disorder. Participants, whether distinguished or otherwise, can be highly insensitive and undisciplined. The need is for a new balance between imposed structure and spontaneous interventions through which new insights can emerge. Spiritual concord may be considered as a higher order of consensus, namely a resonance between perspectives at a higher level of subtlety. It is a mistake to assume that building this level of consensus can be done by relying on the kinds of processes common to the treatment of more material concerns in conferences.

(g) Language of spiritual concord : As noted above and during the event, there is a concern with the outmoded nature of the language used to articulate spiritual concord. A special discipline is called for, namely new "rules of order" to curtail interventions which do not build towards higher forms of concord. The challenge is that it is unclear how such interventions are to be distinguished — especially when a "discordant" intervention may be what is required to evoke subtler forms of concord. New metaphors are required to enable people to respond in ways which build the harmonies that underlie such a higher order of consensus. It is possible that more could be accomplished by avoiding exhortations laced with the well-worn words that many continue to hope will somehow imbue society with new values and a new social order. More may be accomplished by exchange of visual images reflecting understandings of the types of order that could emerge. Rather than dialoguing about alternative views on the use and definition of terms, which represents such a preoccupation in religious discussion, greater shared insight might emerge through exchanges in terms of favoured images. Focus on terms constitutes a "direct" route which has proved relatively impossible. Switching to discussion of the merits and complementarity of visual images, as an exercise in "indirection", could prove more fruitful. Indirect routes can succeed where direct routes fail, especially where the obvious is controversial. It is useful to recall that the peace which can be defined is not the "peace which passeth all understanding". Presumably it is the latter which is a quality of spiritual concord.

(h) Collective meditation: It is strange that an event in which there were so many practitioners of spiritual disciplines avoided the opportunities for collective meditation. The event started and ended with a somewhat artificial "minute of silence". Some confessional groups made arrangements to meditate or pray together in hotel rooms. But despite much effort to arrange a collective plenary meditation, this proved impossible. It also proved impossible to negotiate access to a room for meditation amongst the European group. There is clearly a strong bias towards speech and listening to speeches. Presumably one factor opposing such meditation is the potential conflict between different groups anxious to "offer" or "guide" the meditation according to their traditional practice, and the resistance of some practitioners to such "guidance". It is disappointing that a more creative relationship between speech and silence could not be developed in the plenaries themselves. The Quaker style of meeting with its spacing of interventions, is one such format, but presumably with its own limitations.

(i) Quality of participation : Large conferences can usefully be understood as an instant community. The mix of participants always ensures the presence of a range of people. These include those with considerable expertise in

enhancing the life of the community as well as those whose prime objectives are self-interest even at the price of the viability of that community. It is obviously a delicate matter to evaluate participants in this way. As a result no distinction is made between interventions that build towards greater concord, and those designed to protect vested interests. The assumption is however made that those who are in some way perceived as spiritual leaders can contribute most towards building concord, at least within their own tradition. Whether they are best qualified to build concord between religious traditions is another matter.

(j) Issue avoidance : As noted above, there was a significant failure in dealing with the issues dividing participants. Is the concord which emerges to be seen as simply "papering over the cracks" that separate the different belief systems? Transcending differences is not achieved by ignoring them or being afraid of them. Differences need to be reframed so that their function in preserving cultural identity (and preferences in spiritual practice) is acknowledged. The concluding session left these questions as hidden problems for the future to handle.

(k) Culture as a resource: Also noted above was the complete failure to make use of culture to gain a new understanding of the subtler forms of concord which are unthreatened by the more obvious forms of discord. Culture constitutes a repertoire of exercises in balancing harmony and discord in order to evoke more profound harmonies that touch the human spirit. In this vein, one plenary speaker even made an appeal to give "power to the poets". The theory of harmony basic to music has much to offer in this respect. But despite an extensive "cultural programme", with magnificent musical presentations, the implications of the cultural insights could not be related to the substantive portions of the congress programme. This was disappointing given the "peace through culture" emphasis from which the event originated. And when cultural experiences are offered, politeness rules, for there are no available criteria to determine when the offering is an imposition rather than an enhancement of insights.

(l) Contact between participants: The absence of a participant list, or any messaging system, made it very difficult to promote contacts between participants, especially across language barriers. It is a mistake to assume that spiritual concord can be achieved by avoiding such interaction. It might be more appropriate to see the possibility of such concord as emerging only through such interaction — provided it can be encouraged to converge in insightful ways. The art of doing this remains to be discovered — as the limitations of computer-based messaging systems have demonstrated.

Conclusions for future initiatives

The congress was widely reported in the press and in the audio-visual media, especially in countries of the former Soviet Union. A remarkable press conference was held involving an unusual level of genuine dialogue between key participants and journalists — which journalists themselves rated highly. It was unusual because journalists were involved in the discussion rather than locked into their normal inquisitory role.

The congress achieved important strategic objectives in associating government with spiritual concord. This creates an important precedent in this period of crisis. That it

was successfully held may be considered miracle enough. The congress produced a further Appeal as a guideline for future work, including future congresses on the theme. Negotiations were made with regard to setting up several initiatives in Alma Ata to build on the congress theme, including the establishment of a School of Wisdom. A School of Ignorance was also founded.

As to the International Association "Peace through Culture", it is as yet unclear how this body will be able to navigate into the future through the troubled waters of the former Soviet Union — despite the success of the event. The documents of the congress will undoubtedly be published, although in what form and with what translation remains to be seen. A range of participant messages are also being edited into meaningful format in English and Russian. A further congress will undoubtedly be planned. But without written records, it is unclear what decisions will hold as a basis for further programmes. Like all extraordinary events, it could well prove unrepeatable — the configuration of circumstances for a Second Congress on Spiritual Concord may never arise.

Perhaps of most importance are the lessons to be carried forward to other events, notably the World Parliament of Religions (Chicago, August 1993). There is as yet a remarkable lack of contact between the various inter-faith initiatives. This raises important questions concerning the accumulation of insight and the institutional significance of "spiritual concord". This congress achieved a reasonably equitable encounter between Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists. That of the Community of S. Egidio (Louvain, September 1992) was significantly polarized around the Catholic Church. It seems likely that the World Parliament of Religions will de-emphasize the Catholic and Orthodox Christian dimensions, whilst opening much more widely to the non-Catholic Christian perspectives absent in the earlier gatherings. Clearly each such initiative is part of a much larger vision of spiritual concord.

Many would see the inter-faith concern as part of a wider debate on values appropriate to the emerging world order. Many conferences have explored this theme, most recently on the occasion of the Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro, June 1992). They include the Parliamentary Earth Summit (organized by the Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders), the Earth Parliament of Indigenous Peoples, and the Sacred Earth Gathering of Wisdom Keepers (organized by the Manitou Foundation).

Can the forthcoming World Parliament of Religions avoid the traps highlighted by these other events? Is "parliament" the right metaphor through which to seek spiritual concord — given the difficulties engendered by the spoken word and the allocutory sins into which speakers are tempted? Are speakers and participants provided with "guidelines" or "gentle hints" about the old statements, habitual responses and ways of participating that have proven to be less useful in moving such events towards higher levels of understanding? How can new perspectives emerge through old modes of speaking with their many outworn phrases? Why do the quarrelling specialists with psychodynamic, psychoanalytic, psychotherapeutic and psychosynthesis skills contribute so little to reconfiguring such challenges more usefully? Meditation will be an important dimension of the Parliament — but will this be more than collective celebration?

Such future events will undoubtedly prove to be successful in some measure — despite any major errors of organization — because participants will overwhelm any artificial barriers. But with so many such events, and so many appeals and declarations, is it sufficient to be satisfied with what such events tend to achieve? Is there a way of articulating insight, through new metaphors that do not trigger old reactions, in order to create a basis for new responses to the crises of the times? What are the new questions that are the real challenge of facilitating the emergence of spiritual concord? And what are the cognitive and cultural resources on which we can draw?

Après le Sommet de Rio, poursuivre le décloisonnement du monde

par Jacques Bugnicourt *

Le Sommet de la planète Terre organisé en juin 1992 à Rio de Janeiro n'a-t-il été qu'un non-événement? Que reste-t-il de ce qu'en attendait le secrétaire général des Nations Unies, M. Boutros-Ghali: « Un changement radical du regard que l'homme porte sur lui-même et sur la nature? ».

D'emblée, ce qui frappe, c'est l'occasion manquée. Le moment était venu de rompre avec l'inacceptable, de reconnaître que la pauvreté est le problème majeur de notre temps, et que les problèmes d'environnement et de développement en sont indissociables. Or, il n'y a eu, de la part des pays du Nord, ni renoncement clair ni vrai partage. «Après Rio, estime le Malaisien Ismail Razil, la structure du pouvoir, à l'échelle mondiale, reste la même».

Cette déception globale, l'examen de détail la confirme. Si la déclaration et les conventions comportent des aspects positifs, qu'on ne peut nier, les acquis tangibles demeurent fort limités, n'allant guère au-delà de ce qui était déjà décidé et exposé, pour une part, à une remise en cause lors de la prochaine négociation du GATT. Le plus préoccupant, c'est que, en traitant les différents dossiers, la plupart des gouvernements du Nord n'ont pas fait preuve d'une volonté effective de lutter, avec détermination et continuité, contre la pauvreté et pour le développement durable. Tant de discours, beaucoup de conviction dans le verbe et l'adoption unanime de vingt-sept principes, réplique «verte» des droits de l'homme, n'ont débouché que sur fort peu d'engagements concrets.

Malgré de beaux effets d'annonce, il paraît peu probable que les financements supplémentaires promis à Rio atteignent 2 milliards de dollars par an, alors que, selon M. Maurice Strong, secrétaire général de la conférence, il aurait fallu, s'ajoutant aux 55 milliards de dollars de l'aide actuelle au développement, 70 milliards de dollars additionnels chaque année. Aucun engagement précis, non plus, quant à la date à partir de laquelle les pays industrialisés consacreront réellement au développement, comme promis dès 1970, 0,7 % de leur produit intérieur brut. Les pays nordiques et les Pays-Bas vont déjà au-delà, la France s'engage à l'horizon 2000 — sans être suivis.

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Quant aux mécanismes de décision à l'échelle mondiale, Fonds monétaire international et Banque mondiale se voient confirmer un rôle que beaucoup jugent excessif, avec, toutefois, une limitation de la mainmise de la Banque sur le Fonds mondial pour l'environnement. Point, pour le moment, d'autorité mondiale pour le développement et l'environnement. Tout juste un comité des sages, une commission pour le développement durable, auprès du Conseil économique et social des Nations Unies (ECOSOC). Faut-il se désoler du peu? Dans le contexte actuel, qu'auraient été, posées par une telle autorité, les conditionnantes, les ingérences, les sanctions — décidées et mises en œuvre par qui ?

Est-ce, pour autant, l'échec? Après la conférence de Rio, tout sera-t-il comme avant? Certainement pas. En premier lieu est contestée l'hégémonie du leadership américain qui, selon M. Bush, décide du devoir de faire ce qu'on trouve juste, même contre l'avis de tous. En dirigeant leur tir de barrage contre la convention sur la biodiversité, les Etats-Unis défendent, certes, leurs intérêts économiques, mais surtout, ce qui fonde leur prééminence: le marché libre à l'échelle mondiale, la maximisation des profits, gage d'une croissance rapide et, par là, du développement d'un monde économiquement unifié. C'est, aussi, l'attachement à la propriété privée des brevets et le refus de la solidarité, si elle doit être contraignante. Refus, de même, de reconnaître des droits nouveaux, moraux ou légaux au Sud, et d'assumer la responsabilité du pillage historique et de la « dette écologique » du Nord, que M. Fidel Castro, sous les acclamations, mit en balance avec l'endettement actuel du tiers-monde.

Menaces de guerre entre riches et pauvres

Encore marqués, semble-t-il, par la logique des blocs, les Etats-Unis attendaient des pays industrialisés qu'ils fassent front pour contenir les revendications «démagogi-

ques» d'un Sud endetté, imprévoyant, surpeuplé et politiquement émiétié, pour lui faire accepter les saines lois du libéralisme et de la démocratie à l'occidentale et lui imposer de protéger l'environnement en contrepartie d'une aide «raisonnable». Cette attitude, selon M. Maurice Strong, menait tout droit au «*déclenchement d'une guerre entre riches et pauvres de la planète, semblable à la guerre froide, la pire rupture...*».

Cette stratégie, précisément, les autres pays industrialisés l'ont rejetée, attachés qu'ils sont à un dialogue avec le monde sous-développé, c'est-à-dire la majorité de l'humanité. Même si elle n'était que passagère, cette dissociation des pays du Nord - Japon inclus - de la position des Etats-Unis marque une date.

Ce qui a facilité l'événement, c'est que le Sud s'est quelque peu ressaisi. Après une longue inconsistance, les « 77 » — aujourd'hui 128 — ont su se rassembler autour de quelques thèmes: il n'y aura pas d'environnement préservé sans développement préalable; le Sud a son mot à dire sur ce qui se passe dans les pays industrialisés; les pauvres du tiers-monde «*n'ont pas à payer l'addition pour nettoyer l'environnement des riches du Nord*». C'était là un ton et des propos que les pays «nantis» se devaient d'entendre.

D'autant que le langage lui-même évoluait. Les problématiques par thème spécifique, les découpages du système des Nations Unies en agences spécialisées (FAO, Bureau international du travail, UNESCO, UNICEF, etc.) avaient, jusqu'à présent, cloisonné les approches. Il en a coûté beaucoup, en temps et en efforts, au mouvement associatif, aux chercheurs, et à quelques autres, et il aura fallu bien des échecs pour que l'on considère enfin, d'un même regard, environnement et développement, c'est-à-dire la globalité des problèmes de la planète. Il faut l'admettre: même si certaines questions ont été négligées — comme la démographie, ou la situation des pays de l'Est — le Sommet de Rio constitue la première conférence majeure qui prenne en compte, dans le long terme, l'ensemble des préoccupations et des perspectives du monde.

Ce croisement des regards, ce parti-pris affirmé de pluralisme, cette confrontation de points de vue scientifiques et politiques ont permis de mieux situer les responsabilités, par exemple à propos de la pollution de l'atmosphère, et de définir plus clairement les solidarités. De mieux tenir compte, aussi, des positions du Sud, en matière de biodiversité, de desertification, d'avenir des forêts, etc.

Nombre des acteurs qui jouaient la liturgie de la conférence n'avaient pas, pour une fois, écrit seuls leur rôle. A vrai dire, l'influence des organisations non gouvernementales s'était affirmée tout au long de la préparation de la rencontre, ce mouvement brownien, qui, à des degrés divers, a parcouru plusieurs pays et secteurs de la société. Une étape décisive a été marquée par la conférence de Paris (décembre 1991), entièrement prise en charge par la France. Se sont concertés, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, huit cent cinquante groupes de base, ONG et mouvements populaires, dont plus de six cents venus du tiers-monde, et où ils ont mis au point, ensemble, un programme relativement cohérent. «*Ya wananchi*», c'est-à-dire, traduit du swahili, «*enfants et filles de la terre*».

Que le paysan burkinabé des Naam, la collecteuse-recycleuse d'ordures de Bogota et le militant de Green-

peace se soient reconnus, pour l'essentiel, dans un même projet de société, est un fait totalement nouveau. Et l'on ne saurait trop souligner combien cette rencontre de Paris, trop brève, relativement discrète, a apporté à la conférence de Rio. Certes, l'allure hétéroclite et bavarde du forum global a frappé les visiteurs. En fait, ce foisonnement de contacts, d'échanges et de discussions a permis de tisser de nouvelles alliances et coalitions, ainsi que de mettre au point une quarantaine de «traités», c'est-à-dire d'engagements souscrits par les ONG, de qualité fort inégale, mais s'attachant aux problèmes les plus cruciaux de l'im-médiat et du long terme.

Quelque chose de ces documents ou, en tout cas, des démarches qu'ils reflètent, a filtré jusqu'au Rio Center, là où se tenait le sommet. Cette fois — et c'est encore une première — nombre d'ONG faisaient partie des délégations nationales, certaines autres avaient qualité officielle de participant, et quelques-unes ont été admises dans les séances plénières. Les prises de position de certaines délégations se ressentent de cette proximité, et la Malaisie, par exemple, s'est nourrie des apports du Forum du tiers-monde et de son leader, M. Martin Khor. Ainsi, M. Flavio Cotti (Suisse) pouvait-il constater, lors de son intervention, qu'«*il n'y aura pas de politique internationale efficace en matière de développement durable sans la participation directe des ONG*». Dans la foulée, M. John Major invitait les mouvements associatifs à se réunir à Londres en 1993. La conférence elle-même décidait de faire une place aux ONG parmi les composantes de la Commission internationale du développement durable.

Dynamique des contacts

Pour les ONG les plus importantes et pour les principaux réseaux, la question suivante se pose: faut-il ou non accepter l'institutionnalisation? Une large coalition, qui a préparé directement la conférence, a vu son mandat prolongé d'une année, avec mission de diffuser les résultats du sommet et de faciliter les convergences du mouvement associatif à l'échelle internationale. Sa tâche la plus malaisée sera d'assurer une présence des ONG auprès des décideurs du système des Nations Unies, sans se laisser piéger par l'institutionnalisation.

En somme, si les ONG, à Rio, n'ont pas manqué d'afficher leur indépendance et, parfois, leurs fantaisies ou leurs rivalités, elles ont gagné en crédibilité et voient leur rôle renforcé.

Quelque chose s'est dénoué à Rio — certaines attitudes et habitudes politiques, et un discours, jusque-là strictement conventionnel et figé, — et quelque chose s'est noué: une conjonction de mouvements associatifs, d'élus locaux, de chercheurs et, parfois, de délégués officiels; de nouveaux clivages et de nouvelles concordances; l'esquisse, peut-être, d'une «société civile» à l'échelle internationale.

Cela reflète les effets invisibles, induits par le forum et la conférence, et traduit la dynamique des contacts, l'enthousiasme souvent partagé, et la conscience s'oeuvrer en commun à une mutation de l'histoire. «*Rio, déclarait, au sommet, le président du Sénégal, M. Abdou Diouf, c'est le vingt-et-unième siècle qui commence*». Et il invitait, pour donner à l'événement toute sa portée, «*à agir ensemble; à agir autrement, à agir vite*».

What the Rio Earth Summit forgot

by Desmond de Sousa *

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), popularly called the Earth Summit (June 3-14, 1992), in Rio de Janeiro, brought together some 132 heads of states from around the world. It was the first, and widely considered the last chance for a global agreement on how to save the Planet Earth. But like Nero, the heads of states fiddled and waffled, while the Blue Planet burned.

The central confrontation between the leaders of the North and those of the South can be described as SUSTAINABILITY VS SURVIVAL. Different starting points and immediate concerns separated them. For the North, the ecological crises presented threats to their reasonably secure way of life. They focussed on the sustainability of the earths eco-systems as an indispensable precondition. Without planetary preservation, all is lost for everyone. For the South, the survival needs of the vast majority of their people and their struggle for existence was at the heart of their concern. They insist that justice in economic and political relations between the North and the South will go a long way in preventing the forced plunder of their environmental resources.

What was forgotten in the ensuring confrontation was the causes of the present global ecological crisis.

Causes of the present global ecological crisis

Two words from UNCED, "Environment" and "Development" focus on the one hand, the global crisis of an increasingly unsustainable environment, and on the other, five decades of maldevelopment that has caused the present crisis.

A new post World War II economic system was crafted by the United States and its allies at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, in 1944. The key institutions in the new system were the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Their respective roles were to provide loans to countries short of money and to fund projects to improve infrastructure for development.

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The 1950s and 1960s were announced as the Development decades for the newly independent nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Direct foreign investment of capital from developed countries was supposed to boost the economies of the "developing" countries. It was believed that if the economic pie in these countries could be enlarged by the Western model of economic growth, the benefits would "trickle-down" to the poor. But two decades of so-called development, only produced greater disparities between developed and developing nations and within developing nations. The demand that foreign investments be made highly profitable through repatriation of profits to the home country, resulted in a depletion of the host country's domestic saving which was incorporated in the repatriated remittances. To make up for the loss, developing countries were forced to borrow money. Thus the Bretton Woods economic system encouraged debt based growth and dependency in developing countries.

The Development crisis of the 1960s worsened into the Energy Crisis of the 1970s. OPEC countries quadrupled the price of oil and deposited their "petro-dollars" in multinational banks. Since the banks were awash in cash, they eagerly lent this money at low interest rates to the developing countries. Many of them were already experiencing the economic crises of the development decades as a result of earlier loans. The rocketing oil prices reduced their economies to shambles.

These countries staggered into the "Debt Crisis" of the 1980s. In order to service its own burgeoning deficit, fueled by enormous military spending, US policymakers doubled interest rates resulting in highly inflated debts of developing countries. Indebted developing countries were forced to borrow more, just to pay previous debts. Interest payments alone exceeded principal payments, producing astronomical debts in developing countries. The developed countries had subtly transferred their deficits to the developing countries debts.

Spearheaded by the IMF, creditor banks and governments kept the debt payments pipeline flowing, by imposing austerity programmes on the debtors. The 1980s became known as "the lost decade of development" as living standards for the poor in the developing countries declined rapidly.

The ecological crisis of the 1990s is the direct result of five decades of maldevelopment of developing countries, imposed on them by the unjust manipulations of the global economic systems by the developed countries.

The development dilemma of the South

No country is more critical of the manipulations and impositions of the North than Malaysia. At the Kuala Lumpur conference (April 26-29, 1992) in preparation for the Earth Summit, Malaysia's Prime Minister Dr. Mahatir Mohammed thundered, "When we achieved independence, we thought we would be free. But the North is still subjecting us to imperial pressures".

But while his arguments against the distorted system that benefits the North are valid, it is here that the dilemma of the South governments is clearest.

On the one hand, Malaysia has adopted a strong anti-Western sentiment in insisting on the sovereign right to tap its own natural resources. On the other hand, it has wholeheartedly adopted the western model of development which has proven to be unsustainable. Dr. Mahatir's Vision 2020 aims at making Malaysia into a fully developed country by the year 2020. In an effort to diversify its industrial base it encourages foreign investment, export industries and mass tourism.

Environmentalists express concern at the tourism drive and the new road networks in the highland areas. The previous issue of *Contours* (Vol 5 No 5/6 March-June 1992) published the peoples struggle to Save Penang Hill and other hills like Fraser Hill from becoming tourism provoked disasters, along with the islands like Langkawi and Pulau Redang. Such projects have opened up vast tracts of forest to illegal logging activities while entailing severe soil erosion, river pollution and hardship to downstream villagers. The Department of Environment is only advisory and cannot stop the projects. Further, its chronic shortage of personnel makes monitoring extremely difficult.

While Dr. Mahatir demands more say for the Third World in the international arena, he is autocratic at home when it comes to Malaysia's domestic logging industry which continues to violate the indigenous peoples customary land rights. It also disrupts the livelihood of about 250,000 forest dwellers.

It is estimated that Malaysia, the world's largest exporter of tropical logs — about 13 million cubic metres of wood a year — will have harvested all its available primary forest for timber production, in about 11 years.

The authorities cannot believe the indigenous people are fighting for their own survival because their homes are being destroyed and rivers polluted by logging. They see the struggle as instigated from outside.

Environmentalist, Chee Yoke Ling of Malaysia's Friends of the Earth sums up the situation, "Environmental destruction does not stand by itself. It is caused by economic development that is not sustainable. If we do not rethink our economic policy, we cannot escape sinking deeper into environmental degradation".

Brazil, the Earth Summit's host country, is a showcase of the dilemma of development and environmental destruction. The country contains the world's largest tropical rainforest, its biggest river system and its richest array of plant and animal life. But with the world's 10th largest economy, the country suffers from the pollution, deforestation, encroachment of native populations and grandiose development projects that typify the global environmental crisis. The tourism gem Rio de Janeiro, is an urban environmental disaster. It has air and water pollution on a grand scale, crumbling infrastructure, raging crime and sprawling slums. Rio even has its own troubled tropical forest, the

remnants of which sweep up the hillsides behind the beaches of Copacabana and Ipanema. These famous tourist beaches have lost much of their attraction because the waters of the ocean are polluted and the beaches are vulnerable to a crime wave that is sweeping Rio. Paulo Silva, a taxi driver observed about Rio's youth: "When they are young, they beg for food. When they grow up, they just kill for it". Some 400 tons of untreated sewage are dumped daily in Guanabara Bay causing a grave pollution problem. Health officials are concerned about a cholera epidemic hitting Rio.

The mechanistic model of development

What really makes development in actual fact destructive of nature and the cause of environmental pollution, is a particular mechanistic model of development. It is based on science and technology and infused with a highly questionable ideology of human progress propounded by the rich and powerful nations and classes for their own benefit.

Science and technology are doubtlessly expressions of human ingenuity that offer possibilities of greater humanization. But the problems arises when scientific progress is equated with the quantitative increase in goods and services; when economic wealth and financial profits are identified with the improvement of the quality of life, both human and planetary; when human development is conceived as "having" more rather than "being" more.

This purely scientific and technological model of development relies on machines and dispenses with human beings, especially the poor. Its preoccupation with maximization of profits assumes that nature is to be commercialized and the poor made redundant.

Once Western Europe discovered the mathematical laws governing the universe, the idea emerged that the material universe was a machine to be controlled and manipulated by human beings for their own purposes. The ideology that technological progress was equivalent to human progress became in vogue. Its ensuing destructive potential for human and planetary life is evident in the global ecological crisis of the 1990s.

If properly designed and applied, technology could provide for every human beings physical needs. But the ultimate environmental and social tragedy is that technology is used to take resources away from the south largely for the production of superfluous goods for the North. Meanwhile the majority of peoples in the South sink deeper into the margins of survival.

Worse still, the very process of extracting resources of the South result in environmental disasters — deforestation, massive soil erosion and desertification, pollution of water supplies and the horrible human toll due to poisoning from toxic substances and industrial accidents. The Bhopal gas tragedy that killed over 3000 and disabled another 200,000 people is a classic example.

To-day the "growth first", "trickle down" mechanistic model of development is indefensible. Poverty has increased despite growth, environmental destruction has disrupted the sources of livelihood and threatened the health and existence of poor communities in the South. In an article "Polluting the Poor", Khon Kok Peng, research director of Friends of the Earth, Malaysia wrote that environmental pollution and increased poverty go hand in hand; that environmental decay and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin.

Tourism as a development issue

"In 1990 tourism reached the 415 million mark with US\$230 billion spent. This makes international tourism one of the fastest growing industries in the world and the third largest export industry after oil and oil products, and the automobile industry" (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) Oct. 1991). Proponents for the world tourism lobby claim that tourism can become a new development model for the South. It creates greater global understanding. It facilitates the transfer of capital from the North to the South. It is a "green", non-polluting industry. But the way luxury and mass tourism is organized to-day, only fosters imperialism, racism and the exploitation of the South by the North.

It is a new form of imperialism because the decisions behind modern mass and luxury tourism are apparently inspired only by economic and political considerations based on money, ideology, class, race and technology.

Modern mass and luxury tourism organizes human relationship in such a way that the whims and fancies of the tourists get precedence over the needs of local people. Tourist facilities are manoeuvred directly or indirectly by tour operators, hotel owners and government officials to pander to the interests of affluent tourists in order to earn precious foreign exchange. In the process, tourism condi-

tions or suffocates the economies of less developed countries. Agriculture, which is often a depressed sector in the economies of the South, is sacrificed for the development of the service industry; the land is used for luxury facilities, like golf courses for tourists, at the expense of essential commodities for local people.

This type of luxury tourism highlights the fact that side-by-side with the miseries of local peoples underdevelopment — itself inadmissible — is a scandalous form of superdevelopment, like luxurious swimming pools and saunas for tourists while local people are often deprived of drinking or running water. To sustain the arbitrary "wants" of the affluent, the survival needs of the locals are often sacrificed.

The money power of the tourists gives them the power to deny the local people their rights and respect. They have to be contented with the crumbs that "trickle down" from the tourists table of opulence and leisure.

Modern mass and luxury tourism epitomises the unjust relationship between the sustainability of the life style of the North and the survival needs of the majority in the South. It is a symptom of the model of maldevelopment that has afflicted the South for five decades. It inevitably accelerates the ecological crisis rather than contributing to its solution. The articles in this issue of *Contours* will highlight this.

WCC: Churches and Ecology

The global warming problem is related directly to the issue of sustainable development and the UNCED process. The over-use of natural resources and pollution by industrialized countries to feed their voracious appetite for energy and material consumption is the main source of the emissions causing global warming. Strategies to tackle global warming must be focused on the reduction of emissions. On the other hand, developing countries need to be able to significantly expand their production of energy and material goods in order to allow their people to attain a better quality of life. Those countries express strong concerns that international programmes dealing with global warming will impose restrictions on their ability to pursue further development. Global warming is thus integrally connected to the UNCED discussions between industrialized and developing nations about how to protect the global environment while allowing for sustainable economic development and justice for the poorer countries.

The World Council of Churches (WCC) views the issue of a global warming not only as a serious threat to the well-being of God's whole creation but also as an equity and justice issue, since the problem is caused largely by the polluting life-style of industrialized countries while many of the most severe consequences will be experienced by the poorer developing nations. These convictions have been repeatedly expressed by the World Council of Churches — at the world convocation on "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" in Seoul (March 1990) and at the assembly of the WCC in

Canberra (1991). A special meeting of church representatives from industrialized countries conducted an intensive analysis of the issues involved (Gwatt, January 1991). The WCC has been following closely the negotiating process for a climate convention. The WCC has had observers at each of the sessions of the INC to provide a witness to the churches' concern.

Through the process of "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" (JPIC), the churches have made a major contribution to the peace movement by recognizing that the interconnections between peace, justice and environmental issues are central to understanding, and to confronting, the forces of death. But often it seems that the peace component is overshadowed by the justice and environmental issues, both within the churches and the larger international community. At the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil, the connections between militarism and the environment were not highlighted. War causes economic destruction and human suffering of unimaginable proportions. Spending on military forces takes funds away from economic development and social programmes. A large percentage of the massive international debt afflicting countries of the South is due to purchase of armaments. Hopes of a peace dividend in the aftermath of the cold war are fading away. At the same time, we now that war destroys the environment — not just through bombs and mines, but in siphoning off resources to pay for ever-more sophisticated military arsenals — arsenals which create a momentum for use.

(Ecumenical Review, July 1992)

L'extension géographique des organisations internationales

On s'est intéressé et on s'intéresse encore beaucoup à l'extension géographique des organisations et associations internationales. Pourquoi?

Au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale divers éléments ont favorisé un désir d'universalisation: d'abord un souci de rétablir des communications ou des liens brisés par la guerre, d'en créer de nouveaux; la perception aussi de certaines interdépendances — et d'interdépendances certaines — au niveau régional et au niveau mondial; enfin, l'influence des organismes onusiens — la «famille des Nations Unies» — qui a stimulé auprès des états le désir de faire partie de ce «club». Parallèlement,

l'Unesco notamment a encouragé les ONG consultatives à «faire» des membres le plus loin possible et dans le plus grand nombre de pays possible en dehors de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord.

L'extension géographique est donc un souci parallèle des Etats, des associations nationales, des citoyens qui souhaitent s'insérer dans un circuit plus large et celui des organisations internationales elles-mêmes dont la vocation est de mettre en communication, de représenter, de synthétiser ou d'harmoniser des connaissances, des points de vue, des objectifs issus du terrain national.

(Suite page 45)

Tableau 1
Membrariat des organisations inter-gouvernementales (OIG)

OIG ayant des membres en :	total	soit en %	OIG ayant des membres en:	total	soit en %
A. dans un seul continent			C. dans trois continents		
Afrique (seulement)	169	14,06	Afrique + Amériques + Asie	7	0,58
Amériques (seulement)	144	11,98	Afrique + Amériques + Europe	10	0,83
Asie (seulement)	52	4,33	Afrique + Amériques + Pacifique	1	0,08
Europe (seulement)	201	16,72	Afrique + Asie + Europe	36	3
Pacifique (seulement)	13	1,08	Afrique + Asie + Pacifique	1	0,08
			Amériques + Asie + Europe	43	3,58
		48,17	Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	3	0,25
			Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	7	0,58
			Asie + Europe + Pacifique	12	1
					9,98
B. dans deux continents					
Afrique + Amériques	1	0,08			
Afrique + Asie	63	5,24	D. dans quatre continents		
Afrique + Europe	16	1,33	Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Europe	83	6,91
Afrique + Pacifique	0	-	Afrique + Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	3	0,25
Amériques + Asie	1	0,08	Afrique + Asie + Europe + Pacifique	1	0,08
Amériques + Europe	53	4,41	Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	7	0,58
Amériques + Pacifique	3	0,25	Europe + Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	44	3,66
Asie + Europe	13	1,08			11,48
Asie + Pacifique	22	1,85	E. dans cinq continents		
Europe + Pacifique	1	0,08	Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Europe +	192	15,97
		14,40			
				1202	100

Tableau 2 Membriat des organisations internationales non gouvernementales (OING)		
OING ayant des membres en:	total	soit en %
A. dans un seul continent (ou une partie de ce continent)		
Afrique (seulement)	195	2,85
Amériques (seulement)	320	4,68
Asie (seulement)	107	1,57
Europe (seulement)	1595	23,33
Pacifique (seulement)	18	0,26
	32,69	
B. dans deux continents		
Afrique + Amériques	10	0,15
Afrique + Asie	72	1,05
Afrique + Europe	88	1,29
Afrique + Pacifique	0	—
Amériques + Asie	20	0,29
Amériques + Europe	323	4,72
Amériques + Pacifique	5	0,07
Asie + Europe	125	1,83
Asie + Pacifique	90	1,32
Europe + Pacifique	12	0,17
	10,89	
C. dans trois continents		
Afrique + Amériques + Asie	22	0,32
Afrique + Asie + Europe	78	1,14
Afrique + Asie + Pacifique	7	0,10
Afrique + Amériques + Europe	173	2,53
Afrique + Europe + Pacifique	1	0,01
Amériques + Asie + Europe	280	4,10
Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	32	0,47
Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	80	1,17
Asie + Europe + Pacifique	22	0,32
	10,16	
D. dans quatre continents		
Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Europe	531	7,77
Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	15	0,22
Afrique + Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	54	0,79
Afrique + Asie + Europe + Pacifique	11	0,17
Amériques + Asie + Europe + Pacifique	410	6
	14,95	
E. dans les cinq continents	2141	31,31
Afrique + Amériques + Asie +		
Europe + Pacifique		
	6837	100

On constate en 1992 une diminution du nombre d'OIG auxquelles les pays ci-dessus participent.

A côté de l'Europe, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique, l'Asie est moins bien représentée: seulement 9 % des organisations inter-gouvernementales régionales sont asiatiques et 4,8 % d'OING.

L'extension géographique des organisations de tout type et de tout domaine au-delà de leurs frontières d'origine a été un objectif et un idéal particulièrement actif après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Le développement

fabuleux des communications en a, pour une large part, favorisé les progrès. Il ne faut pas cependant en sous-estimer les limites. D'abord, parce qu'il s'agit avant tout d'une dynamique quantitative pas toujours appuyée sur la qualité nécessaire: qu'il s'agisse de la place accordée au sein de l'organisation à la représentation du pays ou de la productivité de cette représentation dans le concert des membres. Certains pays exercent une influence prépondérante et la juste pondération de ces influences n'est pas facile à établir.

Mais il y a peut-être plus profondément, dans les récentes années, une sourdine mise à l'idéal d'extension géographique des années 1950: l'individualisme et le repli sur soi des citoyens, un peu partout, et de leurs collectivités conduit à un renforcement et une multiplication d'organismes régionaux assez fermés ou protectionnistes.

Peut-être n'est-il pas inutile de rappeler que la plupart des organisations internationales et régionales inscrivent au premier rang de leurs objectifs celui de « faciliter la compréhension entre les peuples et les hommes ». Il ne faudrait pas l'oublier.

Tableau 3
Membriat des organisations non gouvernementales
bénéficiant d'arrangements consultatifs auprès
de l'Unesco (catégories A, B, C)

ayant des membres en:	total	soit en %
A. dans un seul continent		
en Afrique (seulement)	14	2,61
en Amérique (seulement)	21	3,91
en Asie (seulement)	2	0,37
en Europe (seulement)	13	2,42
dans le Pacifique (seulement)	0	
	9,31	
B. dans deux continents		
Afrique + Asie	10	0,86
Afrique + Europe	2	0,37
Amériques + Europe	11	2,04
Asie + Europe	7	1,30
Asie + Pacifique	1	0,19
	5,76	
C. dans trois continents		
Afrique + Amériques + Asie	1	0,19
Afrique + Amériques + Europe	11	2,04
Afrique + Asie + Europe	9	1,68
Afrique + Asie + Pacifique	1	0,19
Amériques + Asie + Europe	14	2,61
Amériques + Asie + Pacifique	1	0,19
Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	2	0,37
	7,27	
D. dans quatre continents		
Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Europe	70	13,04
Afrique + Amériques + Europe + Pacifique	1	0,19
Amériques + Asie + Europe + Pacifique	19	3,54
	16,77	
E. dans les cinq continents		
Afrique + Amériques + Asie + Europe + Pacifique	327	60,89
	537	100

(Suite de la page 43)

L'étude qui suit prend son point de départ chez l'organisation internationale elle-même pour mesurer son ouverture aux différents continents et ne tient pas compte de l'extension à l'intérieur d'un continent. Il s'agit de toutes façons d'une mesure statistique purement quantitative.

Le tableau 1 donne pour les organisations inter-gouvernementales (OIG) le nombre de celles qui ont au moins un membre dans un ou plusieurs continents et le pourcentage que ce nombre représente dans l'ensemble des organisations. On trouvera les mêmes éléments pour les organisations internationales non gouvernementales (OING) dans le tableau 2. Le tableau 3 concerne les seules OING bénéficiant du statut consultatif auprès de l'Unesco.

Rappelons que ces statistiques sont basées sur les données recueillies par l'UAI, qu'il y a des organisations qui ne fournissent pas d'information suffisante sur leur membrariat et que donc les chiffres bruts indiqués ne peuvent être considérés comme définitifs. Il sera donc intéressant de comparer non pas les chiffres bruts, mais les pourcentages.

Si nous examinons, dans les tableaux 1 et 2, la partie consacrée aux organisations internationales régionales,

c'est-à-dire n'ayant des membres que dans un seul continent, il apparaît que les inter-gouvernementales y sont nettement plus représentées que les OING. Par contre, l'universalisme se montre beaucoup plus développé (partie E) chez les OING que chez les OIG, puisque 15,97 % de celles-ci ont des membres dans les cinq continents, tandis que 31,31 % d'OING — pratiquement le double — ont cette même répartition. Quant aux OING consultatives auprès de l'Unesco, près de 61 % de celles-ci se présentent comme universelles. C'est un chiffre très élevé, compte tenu du fait que certains secteurs de « l'éducation, la science et la culture » ne sont pas accessibles dans tous les continents.

Les organisations limitées à un seul continent — régionales européennes, américaines, africaines, etc. — sont plus nombreuses chez les OIG (48,17 %) que chez les OING (32,69 %). Mais la prééminence de l'Europe est plus marquée chez les non gouvernementales que chez les gouvernementales. Il faut aussi tenir compte des tendances fédératives de sous-régions européennes: Communauté européenne, Association de libre échange, groupements nordiques, etc., qui s'expriment par un très grand nombre d'organisations, celles-ci pouvant un jour devenir des articulations internes dans une entité de forme fédérale.

(Suite page 47)

Participation des continents aux organisations internationales
(en pourcentage)

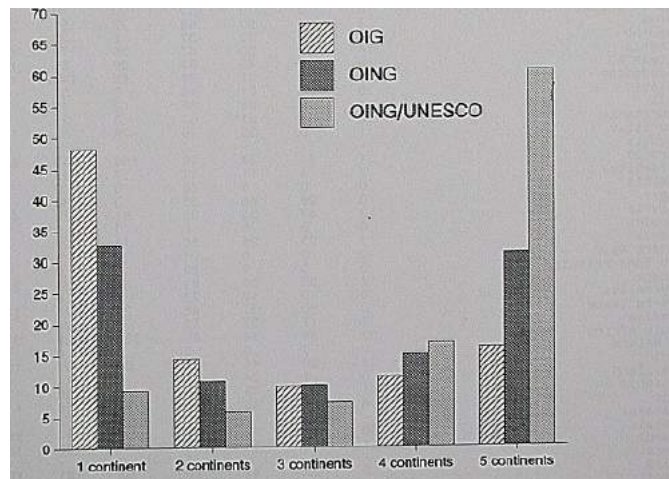


Tableau %: Membriat des organisations internationales en Afrique

Ce tableau donne un aperçu historique comparatif de la participation des pays et territoires africains dans les organisations et associations internationales. Etant donné que, après 1981, l'UAI a ouvert ses registres à des types d'organisations nouveaux ou non retenus précédemment, les statistiques ci-dessous portent exclusivement sur les catégories traditionnelles (c'est-à-dire les catégories A à D du 'Yearbook') afin de rendre la comparaison valable.

Country	Inter-governmental				Non-governmental			
	1960	1966	1977	1992	1960	1966	1977	1992
AFRICA								
Algeria	1	31	54	67	76	146	238	589
Angola	2	3	23	36	25	39	45	192
Benin	1	26	39	56	12	65	104	291
Bophuthatswana			-	1				9
Botswana	0	3	23	30	0	7	45	270
Burkina Faso	1	29	45	56	9	40	87	265
Burundi	0	22	26	38	0	29	56	194
Cameroon	3	37	53	66	35	104	163	450
Canaries				0				7
Cape Verde	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	74
Central African Rep.	1	28	36	46	8	51	64	180
Chad	1	23	39	51	8	44	54	145
Cikwi	1							2
Comoros	0	0	0	26	0	0	0	72
Congo	1	31	36	53	12	58	102	279
Côte d'Ivoire	1	37	52	64	19	86	187	482
Djibouti	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	112
Egypt	32	34	62	76	256	301	426	988
Equatorial Guinea	0	0	0	31	0	0	0	69
Eritrea	0							4
Ethiopia	15	19	27	34	38	90	171	339
Gabon	1	31	45	59	8	59	69	248
Gambia	0	10	23	44	0	20	58	213
Ghana	21	35	50	57	105	182	269	578
Guinea	0	18	26	48	4	33	31	186
Guinea-Bissau	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	81
Kenya	1	34	50	48	72	151	294	716
Lesotho	2	3	23	32	5	20	51	234
Liberia	14	21	30	47	36	75	116	276
Libyan AJ	18	27	45	63	26	55	114	292
Madagascar	2	33	37	38	52	143	180	352
Malawi	0	28	31	40	0	57	97	289
Mali	1	25	38	59	2	46	69	247
Mauritania	0	28	51	63	3	25	46	192
Mauritius	1	5	35	39	28	61	131	385
Mayotte				0				0
Morocco	31	44	56	68	156	238	300	714
Mozambique	2	4	11	27	17	33	59	203
Namibia	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	165
Niger	0	29	46	55	0	36	67	205
Nigeria	3	43	55	65	81	220	409	859
Reunion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	35
Rwanda	1	23	26	30	14	26	57	223
Sahara West	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	11
Sao Tome-Principe	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	41
Senegal	2	35	50	61	24	133	215	540
Seychelles	0	0	10	21	0	6	21	160
Sierra Leone	0	30	37	48	29	75	146	328
Somalia	1	17	27	52	4	24	46	156
South Africa	32	28	38	29	335	429	576	1042
St Helena	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	10
Sudan	21	30	46	68	60	101	182	428
Swaziland	0	1	24	34	0	11	48	197
Tanzania UR	1	35	49	50	39	105	171	472
Togo	4	25	40	55	20	58	111	311
Transkei	30	42	62	1	109	192	294	9
Tunisia	1	33	51	74	44	124	190	689
Uganda	9	29	41	46	85	131	195	394
Venda	0	23	30	1	0	84	193	2
Zaire	10	10	4	50	99	156	205	462
Zambia	5	11	42	42	39	70	78	447
Zimbabwe				39				602
Other								

(Suite de la page 45)

En dehors du régionalisme proprement européen, l'Europe est représentée dans un nombre important d'organisations pluricontinentales, ce qui donne à ce continent une présence dans 59 % des OIG existantes et 63 % des O ING.

A côté de l'Europe, les pays des autres continents ont une représentation plus modeste. Il faut cependant noter que 29 % des organisations inter-gouvernementales régionales sont inter-africaines, contre 34 % d'européennes. Au niveau non gouvernemental, les régionales inter-africaines ne représentent que 8,7 % du total des régionales. Globalement, la participation des pays africains dans les organisations internationales, qu'il s'agisse des inter-gouvernementales ou des non gouvernementales, tourne autour de 50 % des organisations existantes ce qui représente une proportion équivalente à celle des pays du continent américain.

Il nous a paru intéressant de placer ici (tableau 4) un extrait d'une statistique comparative publiée dans le *Year-book of International Organizations*, vol. 2, édition 1992/93 portant sur l'extension géographique de la participation aux

organisations internationales. Ce tableau 4 extrait les chiffres du membrariat des organisations en Afrique pour les années 1960, 1966, 1977 et 1992. La progression presque partout est spectaculaire, même si l'on tient compte de l'accroissement global du nombre d'organisations. Il sera intéressant, par comparaison, de noter au niveau inter-gouvernemental l'évolution parallèle de certains pays européens qui, traditionnellement, totalisent le plus de participations :

	1960	1966	1977	1992
Belgique	78	88	83	74
France	90	100	104	88
Italie	76	84	76	73
Pays-Bas	76	77	84	78
Royaume-Uni	76	90	91	70

G. Devillé



Status of the International Human Rights Instruments *

(as at 8 September 1992)

The international human rights instruments of the United Nations for which there are treaty bodies monitoring implementation are as follows:

- (1) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), which is monitored by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
- (2) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), which is monitored by the Human Rights Committee;
- (3) the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (OPT), which is supervised by the Human Rights Committee;
- (4) the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which is monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (5) the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* (APAR), which is monitored by the Group of three;

- (6) the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which is monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women;

- (7) the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), which is monitored by the Committee against Torture;

- (8) the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which is monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

The following listing of all Member States of the United Nations shows which of those States are a party (indicated by an "x") to the various United Nations human rights instruments listed above. The total number of human rights instruments to which each State is a party is also shown. As at 8 September 1992, 160 Member States and four non-Member States were a party to one or more of those instruments and only 19 Member States were not a party to any.

	CESCR	CCPR	OPT	CERD	APAR	CEDAW	CAT	CRC	Total no. Instruments
Afghanistan	x	x		x	x		x		1
Cuba				x	x	x		x	4
Cyprus	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Czech and Slovak Federal Republic	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	x	x						x	3
Denmark	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Djibouti								x	1
Dominica						x		x	2
Dominican Republic	x	x	x	x		x		x	6
Ecuador	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Egypt	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	7
El Salvador	x	x		x	x	x		x	6
Equatorial Guinea	x	x	x			x		x	5
Estonia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Ethiopia				x	x	x		x	4

* The following release is being reproduced as received from the Centre for Human Rights, Geneva, 9 October 1992.

	CESCR	CCPR	OPT	CERD	APAR	CED AW	CAT	CRC	Total no. Instruments
Fiji				x					1
Finland	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
France	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Gabon	x	x		x	x	x			5
Gambia	x	x	x	x	x			x	6
Georgia									0
Germany	x	x		x		x	x	x	6
Ghana				x	x	x		x	4
Greece	x			x		x	x		4
Grenada	x	x				x		x	4
Guatemala	x	x		x		x	x	x	6
Guinea	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	7
Guinea-Bissau	x					x		x	2
Guyana	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	7
Haiti		x		x	x	x			4
Holy See				x				x	2
Honduras	x					x		x	3
Hungary	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Iceland	x	x	x	x		x			4
India	x	x		x	x				4
						x		x	2
									4
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	x	x		x	x				5
Iraq	x	x		x	x	x			4
Ireland	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	6
Israel	x	x				x	x	x	7
Italy	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Jamaica	x	x	x	x	x				3
Japan	x	x					x	x	7
Jordan	x	x		x	x	x			0
Kazakhstan									
					"			x	4
Kenya	x	x						x	3
Kuwait				x					0
Kyrgyzstan									
Lao People's								x	4
Democratic Republic				x	x	x	x	x	7
Latvia	x	x		x					4
Lebanon	x	x		x				x	3
Lesotho				x	x	x		x	3
Liberia				x		x	x		7
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	x	x	x					x	4
Lithuania	x	x	x				x		1
Liechtenstein							x		6
Luxembourg	x	x	x	x	x			x	7
Madagascar	x	x	x	x		x		x	2
Malawi									0
Malaysia									
Maldives				x	x	x		x	3
Mali	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	6
Malta	x	x	x	x				x	7
Marshall Islands									0
Mauritania					x			x	3

	CESCR	CCPR	OPT	CERD	APAR	CEDAW	CAT	CRC	Total no, Instruments
Mauritius	x	x	x	x		x		x	6
Mexico	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	7
Micronesia									0
Moldova									0
Monaco							x		1
Mongolia	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	7
Morocco	x	x		x					3
Mozambique				x	x				2
Myanmar								x	1
Namibia				x	x			x	3
Nepal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Netherlands	x	x	x	x		x	x		6
New Zealand	x	x	x	x		x	x		6
Nicaragua	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	7
Niger	x	x	x	x	x			x	6
Nigeria				x	x	x		x	4
Norway	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Oman					x				1
Pakistan				x	x			x	3
Panama	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Papua New Guinea				x					1
Paraguay	x	x				x	x	x	5
Peru	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Philippines	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	3
Poland	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Portugal	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Qatar				x	x				
Republic of Korea	x	x	x	x		x		x	2
Romania	x	x		x	x	x		x	7
Russian Federation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		8
Rwanda	x	x			x	x			
Saint Kitts and Nevis						x		x	6
Saint Vincent and Grenadines	lines x	x	x	x	x	x		x	6
Samoa									
San Marino	x	x							0
Sao Tomé and Príncipe					x			*x	4
Saudi Arabia								x	
Senegal	x	x							0
Seychelles	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0
Sierra Leone							x	x	0
Singapore				x		x		x	3
Slovenia									0
Solomon Islands	x	x	"	x	x	x		x	6
Somalia	x	x		x					2
South Africa					x		x		6
Spain	x	x							0
Sri Lanka	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	7
Sudan				x	x	x		x	6
Suriname	x	x	x	x	x			x	5
		x		x	x				5

CESCR	CCPR	OPT	CERD	APAR	CEDAW	CAT	CRC	Total no. Instruments	
Swaziland			X					1	
Sweden	X	X	X		X	X	X	7	
Switzerland	X	X				X	X	3	
Syrian Arab Republic	X	X	X	X				4	
Tajikistan								0	
Thailand					X		X	2	
Togo	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8	
Tonga			X					1	
Trinidad and Tobago	X	X	X	X	X		X	7	
Tunisia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7	
Turkey					X	X		2	
Turkmenistan								0	
Uganda	X		• X	X	X	X	X	6	
Ukraine	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8	
United Arab Emirates			X	X				2	
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	X	X	X		X	X	X	6	
United Republic of Tanzania	X	X	X	X	X		X	1	
United States of America		X						7	
Uruguay	X	X	X	X	X	X	•	0	
Uzbekistan									
Vanuatu								0	
Venezuela	X	X	X	X				8	
Viet Nam	X	X	X	X	X			6	
Yemen	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	7	
Yugoslavia	X	X	X	X	X			7	
Zaire	X	X	X	X	X		X	7	
Zambia	X	X	X	X	X			7	
Zimbabwe	X	X	X	X	X		•	6	
TOTAL NUMBERS OF STATES PARTIES	116	113	66	132	94	117	68	122	828

SIPRI Yearbook 1992

World Armaments and Disarmament, Oxford University Press, June 1992, 670 pp. ISBN 0-19-829159-0

How have the events of 1991 fundamentally reshaped the world armament and arms control processes? Radical changes have given rise to unprecedented opportunities for building new security arrangements. The world is also confronted with new threats and challenges. Important questions connected with developments in the military sector must be asked. How should we deal with the new challenges emerging on the international scene? What are the prospects for a more stable international order in the post-cold war era? The twenty-third edition of the *SIPRI Yearbook* presents detailed information on arms and arms control issues.

The *Yearbooks* attract world-wide attention and are used by governments, arms control negotiators, United Nations delegations, parliaments, scholars, students, the media and citizens as unique and indispensable reference works.

The *SIPRI Yearbook 1992* continues SIPRI's review of the latest developments in nuclear weapons and examines the US-Soviet START Treaty and the Bush, Gorbachev and Yeltsin unilateral reduction initiatives, nuclear expositions, world military expenditure, the international arms trade and arms production, chemical and biological weapons, the military use of outer space and the future of the former Soviet space programmes, major armed conflicts in 1991, conventional arms control in Europe after the conclusion of the 1990 CFE Treaty, and the ongoing negotiations in Vienna.

The *Yearbook* describes the changes in Europe in 1991 and analyses the new security structures. It examines the post-Soviet threats to security and reports on the work of the UN Special Commission to inspect and destroy Iraq's nuclear, biological, chemical and missile capabilities. It also considers the nuclear non-proliferation regime beyond the Gulf War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Revue internationale de droit économique

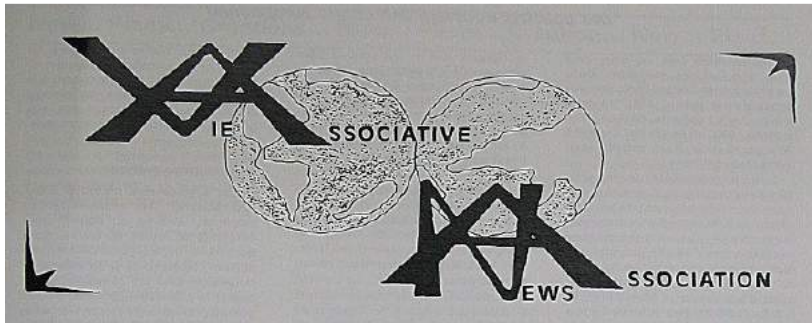
L'Association internationale de droit économique a lancé une nouvelle publication, la *Revue internationale de Droit économique*. *

Le «produit» manque de résumés et d'un sommaire, mais le contenu est digne d'intérêt. Outre la réflexion de Nathalie Mourgues sur la responsabilité limitée des actionnaires, remarquons celle d'Adrian Török à propos de la privatisation en Hongrie.

quelques implications de la théorie de Coase sur la question mériterait un long commentaire. Disons simplement que Török est très convaincant.

(*Le Monde*, 19 janv. 1993)

* N° 1, 1992, 95 pages, publiée par l'Association internationale de droit économique, Boeck éd., 203, avenue Louise, 1050 Bruxelles.



La Chine accueille les ONG pour la jeunesse

Des discussions souvent passionnées se poursuivant jusque tard dans la nuit, un mélange de cultures et de perspectives, des plans pour des projets communs, une visite de la Cité interdite et une promenade sur la Grande Muraille ont marqué la rencontre d'une soixantaine d'organisations non gouvernementales pour la jeunesse, qui s'est déroulée dans la capitale chinoise du 10 au 16 novembre 1992.

Hôte de la All-China Youth Federation (Fédération nationale chinoise de la jeunesse), la 18^e Consultation collective des ONG pour la jeunesse — un événement organisé tous les ans par l'UNESCO — s'est trouvée en conformité avec la nouvelle politique de réforme et d'ouverture sur le monde de la Chine. «Une Chine plus ouverte attend les Olympiades de l'an 2000 » annonçait une grande bannière rouge à l'aéroport de Beijing. Et cette affirmation aurait tout aussi bien pu s'appliquer à la presque centaine de participants de plus de 30 nationalités qui s'étaient donnés rendez-vous là.

Dans le cadre de la Consultation, à laquelle les ONG sportives ont participé pour la première fois, un séminaire de deux jours a été consacré à «Jeunesse et sport: convergence ou parallélisme». Arthur Gillette, directeur par intérim de la Division de la jeunesse et des activités sportives, a rappelé que depuis 1990-1991 la jeunesse et les activités sportives ont

été intégrées au secteur des sciences sociales et humaines, reflétant ainsi les efforts de l'UNESCO pour promouvoir l'importance des activités physiques et sportives pour la formation, l'intégration et l'épanouissement de la jeunesse.

Les discussions ont porté notamment sur la sur-commercialisation du sport, les moyens de lutter contre la violence et de combattre ce que M. Gillette a appelé «une tendance, surtout à l'Ouest, de dissocier les activités intellectuelles et sportives».

«Et pas seulement à l'Ouest», a ajouté Li Yaping, basé à Shanghai, l'un des onze délégués chinois, qui a exploré la maigre place accordée aux sports dans les écoles chinoises. « Mon propre fils, a-t-il expliqué, laisse rarement ses livres pour aller au stade. »

En ce qui concerne la sur-commercialisation, Li a regretté que «les champions olympiques gagnent plus que les enseignants, plus même que les professeurs d'université, alors que nous manquons par ailleurs d'infrastructures et d'équipement sportifs». Un autre participant, Mao Siwei, a toutefois insisté sur le fait que « la commercialisation n'est pas entièrement négative car elle peut être une force de promotion du sport pour tous », et a souligné le rôle des transmissions télévisées des jeux olympiques qui, a-t-il affirmé, « ont fait beaucoup pour populariser de nombreux sports ».

Dans le nouveau et luxueux hôtel Zhong Tuan, s'élevant à proximité du zoo de Beijing, célèbre pour ses pandas, la Consultation a jeté les bases de projets communs. Parmi ceux-ci, un inventaire des sports et jeux traditionnels, proposé par la Fédération européenne pour l'apprentissage interculturel (FEAI). Un autre projet, soumis par le Comité de coordination du Service civil international, présente le sport comme un moyen de créer des emplois pour les jeunes, en particulier dans les nouvelles industries des loisirs et du tourisme.

Outre leurs commentaires et contributions sur les aspects jeunesse et activités sportives du programme et budget de l'UNESCO pour 1994-1995, les participants ont procédé cette année à un examen minutieux de leurs objectifs, méthodes de travail, résultats et de leur coordination.

Organisé pour la première fois en 1975 pour servir de forum de dialogue et pour promouvoir le partenariat entre quelque 75 ONG pour la jeunesse, admises dans la catégorie de relations de consultation avec l'UNESCO, la Consultation a fêté cette année son 18^e anniversaire. « Dans une certaine mesure, estime M. Gillette, elle a atteint sa majorité. Il se peut que nous nous trouvions maintenant à un tournant et qu'il soit temps de passer à la vitesse supérieure ».

Des policiers adoptent une charte européenne

Représentant plus de deux cent mille syndicalistes travaillant dans quinze pays, le Conseil européen des syndicats de police (CESP) a tenu son deuxième congrès, du 3 au 6 novembre 1992, au Palais de l'Europe à Strasbourg, où il a adopté une «charte du policier».

Leurs pays respectifs les ont affublés de sobriquets plus ou moins flatteurs: au «flic» belge et français correspondent le «madero» espagnol ou encore le «zsaru» hongrois. Les «europoliciers» savent pourtant que leur légitimité repose sur les relations de confiance qu'ils peuvent établir avec la population. A Strasbourg, ils ont donc affirmé leur volonté de placer la police «*au service de la loi et de la société, et non à celui des gouvernements*». Des grands principes auxquels la charte du policier européen vient de donner un contenu concret. Son préambule affirme notamment que «*la police n'est pas un pouvoir, mais un service public qui garantit et protège le libre exercice des droits des citoyens*».

Les syndicats policiers de quinze pays (1) se sont ainsi donné un catalogue commun de droits et de devoirs, dans une Europe des polices dont la carte syndicale reste très contrastée. La France et l'Espagne restent dotées de «*polices militaires*» — la Gendarmerie nationale et

la *Guardia civil* — qui sont la bête noire du CESP, parce que leur personnel, placé sous l'autorité du ministre de la défense, n'a pas le droit de se syndiquer. Aussi les gendarmes bruxellois se sont-ils félicités, à Strasbourg, que la gendarmerie belge ait été «*démilitarisée*» en janvier 1992.

La charte pose aussi le principe d'un «recentrage» des missions de police autour de la lutte contre la délinquance et la criminalité. Il s'agit, en clair, des missions relevant de l'information politique, économique et sociale du gouvernement.

L'effondrement du bloc soviétique a donné un regain de vigueur au CESP. Les policiers de Bulgarie, de Hongrie, de Pologne et de Tchécoslovaquie ont eu vite fait de venir frapper à sa porte. Ces syndicalistes d'Europe de l'Est se montrent avides de principes déontologiques. Dans des pays de l'Est sans tradition syndicale, les organisations policières doivent batailler pour être reconnues par les pouvoirs publics. Les huit mille adhérents du syndicat tchécoslovaque se plaignent ainsi de ne pas être perçus comme interlocuteurs officiels, faute d'atteindre le seuil représentatif légal (il lui faudrait regrouper plus de 40 % du total des effectifs policiers). «*Nous avons pourtant bien des raisons de protester contre les missions*

confiées aux forces de l'ordre », insistent les syndicalistes praguais, citant des abus de pouvoir quand, à la mi-octobre, des forces de sécurité ont matraqué et embarqué des journalistes «couvrant» une manifestation.

Indépendance politique

Les syndicalistes d'Europe orientale réclament une «*indépendance*» maximale vis-à-vis du pouvoir gouvernemental et des partis. Au point que leurs homologues occidentaux doivent déployer de gros efforts de pédagogie pour les convaincre d'accepter le pluralisme syndical, y compris au profit d'organisations proches des communistes. La charte du CESP demande d'ailleurs que «*l'épuration*» des forces de police des ex-pays de l'Est ne prenne plus un caractère «*collectif*», mais qu'elle repose sur des enquêtes individuelles ouvrant aux intéressés des droits à la défense.

(Le Monde, 10 nov. 1992)

(1) Allemagne, Belgique, Bulgarie, Chypre, Espagne, France, Grèce, Hollande, Hongrie, Italie, Irlande, Pologne, Portugal, Suisse, Tchécoslovaquie.

- Association mondiale des médecins -

Le docteur Hans Sewering, soixante-seize ans, a annoncé le 23 janvier 1993 qu'il renonçait à la présidence de l'Association mondiale des médecins. Il avait été mis en cause par le Congrès juif mondial qui lui reproche son passé nazi (Le Monde du 21 janvier). M. Hans Sewering, qui avait été pressenti pour prendre au mois d'octobre prochain la tête de cette association regroupant les organisations représentatives du corps médical de cinquante-huit pays, a justifié sa décision en affirmant qu'il voulait «*éviter de voir la polémique dé-*

clenchée à son sujet porter tort à l'organisation».

Le Congrès juif mondial avait appelé au boycottage du docteur Sewering, accusé d'avoir appartenu dans sa jeunesse à une organisation de cavaliers SS, et d'avoir participé à la mort par euthanasie d'une jeune tuberculeuse de quatorze ans en 1943. Le docteur Sewering s'est toujours défendu de cette dernière accusation.

L'Association médicale mondiale groupe les associations les plus représentatives de la profession médi-

cale de cinquante-huit pays. A ce titre, cette association souligne être l'émanation de près de 3,5 millions de médecins à travers le monde. Recréée en 1946, l'Association médicale mondiale a pour objectif la définition de règles éthiques de la profession médicale à l'échelon international. Elle annonce, notamment, être à l'origine de la Déclaration d'Helsinki concernant l'expérimentation sur l'homme ou encore de celle de Tokyo sur la torture.

(Le Monde, 21 et 26 janv. 93)

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

On constate que gouvernemental et non gouvernemental, public et privé, sont de plus en plus inextricablement liés. Un exemple en est encore donné par l'octroi par les autorités belges du statut d'« association internationale » à l'European Public Telecommunication Network Operator's Association ETNO. La composition de l'Association est ainsi définie dans les statuts :

(Art. 6). « Peuvent être membres de l'association les opérateurs de réseaux publics européens de télécommunications, fournisseurs de réseaux publics fixes de télécommunication nationaux et/ou internationaux, auxquels des droits ou obligations spécifiques ou exclusifs ont été accordés, là où ils existent, afin qu'ils puissent fournir des réseaux publics fixes de télécommunications ou des services de base; peuvent également être membres de l'association des sociétés holding regroupant de tels opérateurs ou des associations représentant un ou plusieurs de ces opérateurs. Tous les membres devront être établis dans des pays situés sur le territoire de l'Europe. »

L'Association a pour objet: «en vue d'un fonctionnement optimal des réseaux et services publics européens de télécommunications, et en particulier dans l'intérêt des usagers :

(i) l'élaboration et la défense vis-à-vis des tiers, et spécialement vis-à-vis des institutions des Communautés européennes et d'autres organisations européennes, lorsque cela s'avère réalisable et utile, de positions communes, et

(ii) la coopération entre ses membres et la coordination de leurs activités afin d'assurer le développement harmonieux des réseaux publics fixes de télécommunications et des services de base, dans le plein respect du droit des Communautés européennes. »

Le conseil d'administration a comme président Luc Perrouin (France Telecom) et 8 membres représentant les entreprises de télécommunications espagnole, suisse, italienne, hollandaise, suédoise, portugaise, allemande et britannique.

Le président du Conseil administratif est belge: Michel Gony (RTT Belgium).

Le siège est établi : Bd Bisschoffsheim 29, 1000 Bruxelles.

(Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*,
17 septembre 1992)

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L'UNESCO a créé, le 11 décembre 1992, avec le concours de l'ONU, la Commission mondiale de la culture et du développement. Des personnalités de grand renom en ont été nommées membres par le Directeur général de l'UNESCO, M. Federico Mayor, en collaboration avec le Secrétaire général de l'ONU, M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, et le Président de la Commission, M. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

L'objectif de cette Commission est d'approfondir les liens entre culture et développement et de préparer un rapport mondial sur cette question, qui n'a encore jamais fait l'objet d'un examen global à l'échelon mondial. La Commission fera des recommandations destinées à éclairer les politiques dans ces domaines.

Outre son président, la Commission compte cinq membres d'honneur, douze membres et un secrétaire exécutif. Les membres d'honneur feront bénéficier la Commission de leurs conseils et de leur expertise et pourront participer, s'ils le souhaitent, à ses travaux. Les membres d'honneur sont les suivants:

- S.A.R. le Prince Talal Ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saoud, Président du Programme du Golfe arabe pour les Organisations de développement des Nations Unies (AGFUND), ancien Ministre de l'économie et des finances et ancien Ministre des communications de l'Arabie Saoudite
- Mme Aung San Suu Kyi, Prix Nobel de la Paix 1991, Prix international Simon Bolivar 1992 de l'UNESCO, fondatrice au Myanmar (ex-Birmanie) de la Ligue nationale pour la démocratie, assignée à résidence depuis 1989
- M. Claude Lévi-Strauss, anthropologue et écrivain, membre de l'Académie française
- M. Ilya Prigogine, Prix Nobel de Chimie 1977, scientifique et philosophe belge, membre de l'Académie royale de Belgique
- M. Derek Walcott, Prix Nobel de

Littérature 1992, poète et dramaturge caraïbe né à Sainte-Lucie.

Parmi les membres ordinaires de la Commission, citons Mme Lourdes Arizpe Schlosser, anthropologue mexicaine, Présidente de l'Union internationale des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques.

Cette Commission indépendante, dont les membres siègent à titre personnel, fera appel aux meilleurs experts et recueillera, à l'occasion d'auditions publiques et de consultations régionales, l'avis et le témoignage d'éminentes personnalités, de créateurs, de décideurs, d'intellectuels et de spécialistes des questions culturelles et des problèmes de développement.

MM. Mayor et Pérez de Cuéllar ont fait observer qu'après l'échec de nombre de stratégies et de projets de développement, la nécessité d'un autre développement, humain, durable et solidaire est à présent largement reconnue. A l'heure où s'impose un réexamen en profondeur des conceptions et des approches du développement, la Commission est chargée d'une mission essentielle: éclairer le rôle, à tous égards crucial, que jouent les facteurs culturels dans la conception du devenir de chaque société comme dans le bien-être individuel et collectif. La Commission, a ajouté M. Mayor, prolongera ainsi les efforts de la communauté internationale pour promouvoir dans toutes ses dimensions un autre développement, qui seul peut fonder une paix authentique.

Dans le cadre de cette mission d'ensemble, a indiqué M. Pérez de Cuéllar, la Commission arrêtera elle-même son mandat et son programme de travail. Le Rapport de la Commission, qui devrait être orienté vers l'action, sera examiné fin 1995 par la Conférence générale de l'UNESCO et l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies. Il sera largement diffusé auprès des décideurs, des communautés intellectuelles et professionnelles et du public sous la forme d'un ouvrage qui paraîtra dans différentes langues. La réunion inaugurale de la Commission aura lieu au cours du premier trimestre de 1993.

Quatre pays — Allemagne, Norvège, Pays-Bas et Suisse — se sont à ce jour engagés à financer ses tra-

vaux pour un montant d'environ 1,5 million de dollars, soit plus d'un quart de son budget estimatif global.
(Unesco presse, 18 décembre 1992)

L'Institut multilatéral de Vienne, qui aura pour tâche de former les fonctionnaires des anciennes économies planifiées à divers aspects de la gestion administrative et économique, s'est officiellement ouvert à Vienne le 5 octobre 1992.

L'Institut est un exemple unique d'assistance concertée puisqu'il est parrainé à la fois par le FMI, la Banque des règlements internationaux (BRI), la Commission des Communautés européennes, la Banque européenne pour la reconstruction et le développement (BERD), la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement (BIRD) et l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE), et qu'il bénéficie de surcroît d'une aide généreuse du gouvernement autrichien, de la Banque nationale d'Autriche et de plusieurs autres pays.

Les cours porteront aussi bien sur l'économie générale que sur les banques centrales et les banques commerciales, la privatisation des entreprises d'Etat, les politiques budgétaire et monétaire, le financement et la gestion des entreprises publiques et privées, la politique de la concurrence et la réglementation des monopoles et des services publics, le contrôle des banques, l'établissement des statistiques économiques et financières, la politique de l'emploi et la conception et la mise en œuvre de la politique sociale.

Priorité sera donnée, pour l'admission à l'Institut multilatéral de Vienne, aux fonctionnaires et aux responsables d'entreprises privées dont l'activité est en rapport avec les cours choisis.

L'Institut accueillera environ 1.600 participants chaque année. La majorité des cours seront donnés en anglais, mais quelques-uns seront offerts dans les langues officielles de l'organisation qui en aura la charge et beaucoup seront interprétés en russe. Enfin, il s'agira de cours intensifs qui devront être suivis à plein temps.

(FMI Bulletin, 16 novembre 92)

The heads of state from the five Asian countries of the former Soviet Union announced that they intend to create a Union of Central Asian people, news from Tashkent Jan 5, 1993 said.

The five leaders had become concerned at the lack of effective action by the Commonwealth of Independent States which replaced the Soviet Union one year ago and their decision was seen as representing a step away from the CIS.

The Presidents involved are: Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan, Saparmurat Niazov of Turkmenistan, Askar Akayev of Kirghizistan, together with the president of the Tajik parliament, Ali Rahmonov.

Their first decision was that they should meet regularly and that their next summit session would be held in April in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan,

(The Muslim World, 22 Jan 1993)

Un centre de recherche sur les problèmes des ressources en eau en Amérique latine et aux Caraïbes sera ouvert à Panama City par l'UNESCO, suite à un accord signé le 13 novembre 1992 à Paris.

Baptisé CATHALAC - Centre del Agua del Trópico Húmedo de América Latina y el Caribe — le nouveau centre sera placé sous les auspices du Programme hydrologique international (PHI) de l'Organisation, en vue de promouvoir la recherche en matière d'hydrologie dans les zones tropicales humides de la région.

Il se consacrera non seulement à la recherche dans le domaine de l'hydrologie, mais permettra également à tous les pays des zones tropicales humides d'Amérique latine et des Caraïbes d'échanger des informations; il aidera par ailleurs les planificateurs et les décideurs à faire des choix judicieux pour la gestion des ressources en eau.

Le CATHALAC invitera les chercheurs de la région et d'ailleurs à passer quelques mois à faire de la recherche, organisera des ateliers et des séminaires, publiera et diffusera des documents, encouragera le transfert de technologie et proposera des stages de formation. Il aura également pour fonction de coordonner des études régionales conjointes.

L'idée selon laquelle les zones tro-

picales humides doivent être particulièrement attentives à la gestion de l'eau peut sembler contradictoire mais, en dépit de leur qualificatif, ces zones sont nullement à l'abri d'une telle pénurie. Elles sont susceptibles de recevoir chaque année des pluies abondantes, mais il arrive que ces pluies tombent pendant une courte période, suivie par des mois de canicule où il ne pleut pratiquement pas, tandis que les rivières baissent ou s'assèchent.

L'extrême variabilité climatique des régions tropicales humides rend la situation difficile à prévoir et à comprendre. Par exemple, le phénomène du Nino qui se manifeste certaines années, détraque le temps et la courbe des précipitations dans toute l'Amérique latine.

La déforestation est un autre facteur qui modifie les ressources en eau. Les forêts recyclent une grande partie de l'eau de pluie recueillie dans chaque région et sont essentielles pour pouvoir la retenir. Si l'on défriche la forêt, l'eau se met à ruisseler et s'évapore plus vite. Cela entraîne des crues saisonnières, des vagues de sécheresse et des coulées de boue, voire même une baisse des précipitations dans les régions voisines. Les forêts tropicales d'Amérique centrale ont déjà été amputées de 38 pour cent au cours des 30 dernières années, et le défrichement continue.

Dans bien des cas, les villes des zones tropicales humides d'Amérique latine se développent sur des sites inappropriés, tels que les versants de collines sujets à des glissements de terrain à Caracas, Guatemala City, La Paz et Rio de Janeiro ou les terres inondables de Bogota, Guayaquil, Sao Paulo et Recife. Les logements construits sur les collines rendent aussi les villes plus vulnérables en cas de cyclone ou d'ouragan; quand un énorme volume d'eau se déverse des collines, les tuyaux d'écoulement ne suffisent pas à tout absorber.

Ces problèmes hydrologiques propres aux régions tropicales humides sont connus, mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour bien les comprendre et les atténuer. Les avantages d'un échange de connaissances entre les pays des zones tropicales humides expliquent la raison pour laquelle on a créé le CATHALAC.

(Unesco presse, 22 novembre 1992)

La Commission des Communautés européennes a proposé la création d'une Agence européenne pour la sécurité et la santé au travail.

Les organisations des employeurs et des travailleurs, conscientes des dangers que pourraient entraîner des conditions divergentes de santé et de sécurité, non seulement pour la santé et la sécurité, mais également pour l'environnement des affaires et le marché du travail, ont insisté auprès de la Commission sur la nécessité de s'assurer que les directives soient mises en œuvre correctement, pleinement et équitablement. Elles ont également demandé des conseils appropriés et qu'une assistance adéquate soit fournie aux entreprises et organisations concernées, en vue de les aider à remplir les obligations imposées par les directives communautaires.

C'est en vue de répondre à ces demandes et tout en gardant le contrôle de l'application du droit communautaire, que la Commission mettrait en place une Agence pour la sécurité et la santé au travail qui apporterait son appui aux divers programmes relatifs au milieu de travail, et qui assurerait l'assistance et la coordination techniques et scientifiques ainsi que des prestations dans le domaine de la formation.

Pour ce faire, elle s'appuiera sur l'existence et l'expérience de la Fondation européenne pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail (Fondation de Dublin).

L'Agence aurait pour fonction principale de fournir à la Commission un accès direct à l'information et aux expertises, notamment en matière de sécurité et de santé dans le milieu de travail, et d'assister la Commission lors de la mise en œuvre de ses programmes d'action successifs. Elle devrait, en tant que pôle d'excellence, devenir le point focal communautaire pour les aspects scientifiques et techniques de la santé et de la sécurité sur le lieu de travail non seulement pour la Commission mais également pour tous les milieux intéressés. Elle devrait également assister la Commission dans ses contacts internationaux dans ce domaine.

(Bulletin du Comité économique et social 2, 1992)

Le Comité exécutif de la Fédération internationale des journalistes,

qui s'est réuni à Bruxelles en novembre 1992, a pris l'engagement de renforcer son organisation régionale. Il envisage d'adopter de nouveaux statuts pour son Groupe européen et marque son accord sur le principe de la création d'une organisation régionale en Asie. La FIJ a aussi l'intention d'ouvrir un bureau régional à Kuala Lumpur en Malaisie, en juillet 1993. Ces décisions sont prises à un moment où les affiliations à la FIJ sont de plus en plus nombreuses. En effet, ce Comité exécutif a encore admis deux nouveaux membres — l'Association des journalistes de Fiji et le Syndicat de la presse de Gambie — ainsi que quatre nouveaux membres associés, ce qui porte le total à 87 affiliés nationaux répartis dans 69 pays et représentant environ 300.000 membres à travers le monde. Le statut de membre associé a été accordé au Syndicat libre et démocratique des journalistes de Mongolie, au Syndicat des professionnels de la communication du Tchad, à l'Association des journalistes croates et à la Fepac CC.OO d'Espagne.

(En ligne directe, Déc.-Jan. 92/93)

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The establishment of a textile council of Islamic countries was approved at the Executive Committee and tenth general assembly meeting of the Islamic Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchange (ICCICE) held at Teheran.

According to an announcement of the Islamic Chamber in Karachi, the meeting held in Iran from November 17 to 19n 1992, also approved formation of a body for reconciliation and arbitration of trade disputes among Islamic countries and charting of a year-long programme for holding seminars and training sessions for all member countries to promote business activities.

The Textile Council of Islamic countries which will become a specialised organ of the Islamic Chamber, will coordinate the efforts of member states in attaining close co-operation in the field of textile industry and work for maximum utilisation of their resources and potentials in this sector.

(The Muslim World, 5 Dec 1992)

L'Annexe au Moniteur Belge du 3

décembre 1992 publie les statuts du Forum des Migrant(e)s des Communautés européennes. Le Forum jouera le rôle d'organe consultatif des populations migrantes auprès des institutions des Communautés européennes. Les statuts énumèrent une série de conditions pour être « membre effectif » du Forum et il est intéressant de les citer in-extenso ci-après :

« Peuvent être membres effectifs du Forum, les organisations non gouvernementales nationales et transnationales de migrant(e)s originaires d'Etats non communautaires (Etats-tiers) agissant pour la promotion des intérêts des migrant(e)s et des réfugié(e)s par une action principale et continue dans un ou plusieurs des domaines suivants :

- la participation sociale et politique en vue de la coexistence harmonieuse et de l'élimination des discriminations;
- l'accueil, l'assistance sociale, juridique et sanitaire et la protection sociale aux migrant(e)s ou aux réfugié(e)s;
- l'aide au logement, à l'information, à l'éducation, à l'emploi et à la formation, à la promotion de la vie culturelle et récréative et au respect des différentes religions;
- améliorer le statut social, économique et juridique des femmes migrantes.

Pour faire partie du Forum en tant que membre effectif les organisations doivent en outre remplir les conditions suivantes :

- avoir une personnalité juridique et agir dans le respect des règles démocratiques et des libertés fondamentales;
- avoir un fonctionnement interne démocratique;
- avoir une existence concrétisée par une activité continue dans un ou plusieurs des domaines cités à l'article 4.1.;
- ne pas faire partie d'un parti politique ou d'un syndicat ni dépendre organiquement d'un culte religieux;
- regrouper au moins cinq associations créées par des migrant(e)s, ou être une association à vocation nationale, ou une plateforme mixte représentant les ressortissants des pays tiers, conformément aux règles définies par le règlement intérieur.

Les statuts prévoient en outre une catégorie de membres associés et

une catégorie de membres observateurs. Le Conseil d'administration est élu au sein de l'Assemblée générale en fonction d'un quota par continent d'origine ou nation d'origine selon la répartition suivante: 12 représentantes élus sur la base des contingents d'origine ou nations d'origine, soit: 2 Africains noirs, 2 Asiatiques, 1 Européen de l'Est, 2 Africains du Nord, 2 Turcs, 1 sans Etat, 1 Caribéen, 1 Latino-américain, 1 Européen communautaire, 1 représentante élue sur la base des organisations des femmes membres du Forum. Ce quota est revu tous les quatre ans en fonction de l'évolution des flux migratoires et des tendances démographiques. Le président est Tara Mukherjee (Britannique); les vice-présidents Thomas Omoro (Français) et AM Menebhi (Marocain); la secrétaire générale Dr Ataman Aksöck (Turque); le trésorier Kamel Jendoubi (Français). Le siège du Forum est établi: rue de Trèves 33, B-1040 Bruxelles.

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Un **Centre** de coordination des ONG sur l'ajustement structurel (NGO Center for Action on Structural Adjustment) s'est ouvert à Washington à l'initiative du DGAP et du Third World Network. Celui-ci se propose de collecter l'information, surtout l'information de base, afin de la rendre accessible aux organisations développant des alternatives.

Son adresse : NGO CASA, c/o The Development GAP, 1400 I Street, NW, Suite 520, Washington, DC 20005, U.S.A.

(GRESEA Echos, Sept 1992)

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L'Annexe au *Moniteur Belge* du 17 septembre 1992 publie les statuts de la Fondation Pegase, Association européenne pour la culture, enregistrée comme association internationale selon la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919.

L'association a pour objet de créer, promouvoir, diffuser et patronner toute action dans les domaines des arts de nature à susciter et à développer la perception de l'identité européenne dans tous les Etats de la CEE, contribuant à la construction européenne dans son ensemble. Elle accordera une attention particulière à la diffusion de ces objectifs auprès de

la jeunesse et à la réalisation de ceux-ci dans les régions périphériques de la Communauté européenne. Sont membres fondateurs: Rui Amara, Myriam Coen, Antonio Antera Coimbra Martins, Willy De Clercq, Fernand Herman, Ioannis Pesmazoglou. Fernand Herman et Willy De Clercq sont co-présidents du conseil d'administration. Le siège social est établi au Parlement européen, c/o F. Herman, rue Belliard 97-113, à 1040 Bruxelles.

(Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*, 17 sept. 1992)

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L'Annexe au *Moniteur Belge* du 6 août 1992 publie les statuts du Centre Européen du Volontariat, qui a pour objectif principal le regroupement des centres nationaux de volontariat en Europe. Tous les membres doivent avoir la personnalité civile. Le conseil d'administration présidé par Monique Verstraeten (Belgique) est composé de 8 personnes de 6 nationalités différentes. Le siège est établi: rue de la Concorde 51, B-1050 Bruxelles.

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L'Annexe au *Moniteur Belge* du 29 octobre 1992 publie les statuts de la Société internationale des facteurs d'orgues. Les membres actifs sont des entreprises ou des facteurs établis à leur propre compte dont l'activité principale est la construction ou l'entretien d'orgues à tuyaux ou la fabrication de pièces entrant dans ces constructions. Le président est Gaspar Glatter-Götz (Autrichien) et la secrétaire Mieke Corver-Pels (Belge). Le siège est établi: Martelarenplein 6, 3000 Leuven.

L'Annexe au *Moniteur Belge* du 19 novembre 1992 publie les statuts de l'European Plastics Pipe and Fitting Association (TEPPFA). L'association a pour objet d'« étudier et de débattre de sujets scientifiques, techniques, économiques et institutionnels d'intérêt commun à l'industrie des tubes et raccords en plastique, dans le but de promouvoir une collaboration internationale vis-à-vis des communautés européennes ». Le comité exécutif est composé des représentants de quatre associations nationales: Alle-

magne, Espagne, Royaume-Uni et Suède et quatre représentants de sociétés: Suisse, France, Pays-Bas et Belgique. Le président de TEPPFA est M. Victor Dierinckx (Belgique). Le siège est fixé: c/o EUPC, avenue de Cortenbergh 66, B-1040 Bruxelles.

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Les statuts de l'Association européenne de producteurs et distributeurs de médicaments naturels (EANM) sont publiés dans l'Annexe du *Moniteur Belge* du 26.11.1992. L'association bénéficie du régime de la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919. Quinze personnes composent son conseil d'administration: ils sont de nationalité allemande, belge, italienne, néerlandaise. Le siège est établi: av. Jean Jaurès 46, Bruxelles.

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L'European Federation of Human Sciences Institute a été fondée à Bruxelles le 16 octobre 1992. Régie par la loi belge du 27 juin 1921, la fédération groupe 11 associations et personnes de Belgique et de France. Elle a pour objet de « fédérer personnes et instituts qui ont pour but de promouvoir les sciences humaines développant la prise de conscience et l'enracinement de l'être humain dans le réel et donner accès à l'information, l'échange, à la publication de toutes leurs recherches et découvertes scientifiques ».

La présidente est Mme de Buck van Overstraeten (Belgique) et la secrétaire Mme Marie-Thérèse Meyer (France). Le siège social est établi: avenue Hélène 12, B-1080 Bruxelles. (Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*, 26.11.1992)

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Réunie du 19 au 24 janvier à La Haye, l'Organisation des peuples et des nations non représentés (UNPO), créée il y a deux ans, a accepté l'adhésion de treize nouveaux membres (1) et décidé de se doter de deux nouveaux organes.

Ayant pour but d'aider ses adhérents (Etats, régions, enclaves, ethnies ou minorités culturelles) « à exprimer leurs doléances et leurs besoins dans des forums légitimes » afin de réduire « la tentation de recourir à la violence pour se faire entendre », l'UNPO se présente volontiers

comme une «*ONU alternative*». Elle va créer une Cour qui instruira les plaintes en matière de droits de l'homme et d'exercice du droit à l'autodétermination, et sera mandatée pour essayer de trancher d'éventuels conflits frontaliers.

Par ailleurs, l'UNPO a décidé d'établir un Conseil légal dont le rôle sera de conseiller les membres sur les aspects juridiques du droit à l'autodétermination. Revendiquant hier pour eux-mêmes le droit à l'indépendance, certains membres font aujourd'hui face à des revendications iden-

titaires internes qui les déstabilisent et qu'ils traitent par la violence. Ainsi la Géorgie réprime par la force la sécession de l'Abkhazie, en violation de la charte de l'UNPO. Le président de l'Abkhazie a demandé au secrétaire général de l'organisation, M. Michel van Walt van Praag, d'entreprendre une médiation dans ce conflit.

(*Le Monde*, 26 janvier 1993)

(1) L'UNPO compte désormais trente-neuf membres. Les treize nouveaux admis sont: l'Association pour la pro-

motion de Batwa (Rwanda), Timor Oriental, le Congrès national Chuvash (Turcs de l'ancienne Union soviétique), Inkeri (Finnois de la région de St-Petersbourg), Congrès national Komi (ex-Union soviétique), Nation Mapuche (Incas), Mouvement pour la sauvegarde du peuple ogoni (Nigeria), Conseil national musulman du Sanjak (enclave musulmane en Serbie), Mouvement national «Udmurt Kenesh» (ex-Union soviétique), Conseil national socialiste du Nagaland (Birmanie), Stifelsen Skanelans (Suède), Conseil du Khalistan (Inde), et Etat Karenni (Birmanie).

ASSOCIATIONS TRANSNATIONALES TRANSNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Some items in recent issues : <i>Parmi les thèmes traités récemment:</i>	Numéros :	Issue number :
The recognition of the legal personality of INGOs <i>La reconnaissance de la personnalité juridique des OING</i>	5/1990, 6/1990.	3/1986, 3/1990,
Latin American Associations <i>Les associations latino-américaines</i>	3/1990.	6/1986, 6/1989.
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>	1/1990, 3/1990.	1/1988, 6/1989.
Cooperatives in today's world <i>Les coopératives dans le monde contemporain</i>	5/1990.	3/1988, 1/1990,
Voluntary work <i>Le travail volontaire</i>	4/1990, 6/1990.	2/1989, 3/1990.
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>	2/1991, 3/1992.	2/1990, 3/1990
INGOs' view of environmental problems <i>Les OING et les problèmes écologiques</i>	1/1990.	3/1989, 4/1989,
Humanitarian aid and humanitarian law <i>L'aide et le droit humanitaires</i>	4/1990, 2/1992,	2/1988, 6/1989,
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Language in a transnational perspective <i>Langage et transnationalité</i>	1/1992.	1/1991, 6/1991,
Beyond the State: Civil Society and the State <i>La société civile et l'Etat</i>		3/1991, 1/1992.
Europe and Latin America 1992 <i>Europe et l'Amérique latine 1992</i>		6/1992, 1/1993.

Forthcoming topics:

Dans les prochains numéros:

- La coopération terminologique entre organisations internationales
Terminological Cooperation between International organisations
- Civil Society and cultural plurality
Société civile et pluralisme culturel

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