

Transnational Associations

The review of the Union of International Associations



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Recherche scientifique
et demande sociale

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Associations transnationales

La revue de l'Union des associations internationales

Associations transnationales

Transnational Associations is a unique bilingual journal whose aim is to deal with major current problems within the perspective of international nongovernmental organizations. It is intended to provide a forum for authoritative information and independent reflection on the increasing role played by these organizations in the international system, and on its philosophical, political, economic or cultural implications.

The approach is intrinsically interdisciplinary, and calls for both specialist expertise and practitioner experience in transnational association matters. *Transnational Associations* provides background information about the actions and achievements of international associations, and insight into their interrelations with intergovernmental organizations. It covets a wide range of topics, among which social organization, humanitarian law, scientific cooperation, language and culture, economic development, to cite just a few.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UIA, clarifies general awareness concerning the association phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, informs associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of common interest to them. Contributors to the journal review include association officers, research workers and specialists of association questions who engage only themselves.

Founded in Brussels in 1907 as the Central Office of International Associations, the UIA became a federation under the present name in 1910 at the 1st World Congress of International Associations. Activities were closely associated with the Institut international de bibliographie, which later became the International Federation for Documentation. Its work contributed to the creation of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor of UNESCO). During the 1920s, the UIA created an International University, the first of its kind.

The UIA has consultative relations with UNESCO, UN/ECOSOC, and ILO. It collaborates with FAO, the Council of Europe, UNITAR, and the Commonwealth Science Council.

Associations transnationales est la seule revue traitant des grands problèmes contemporains dans la perspective des organisations internationales non gouvernementales. Elle se propose d'apporter des éléments d'information provenant des sources les plus autorisées, propres à susciter une réflexion indépendante sur l'affirmation du rôle joué par ces acteurs dans le système international et sur les aspects philosophiques, politiques, sociaux et culturels de cette évolution.

La visée adoptée est essentiellement interdisciplinaire et fait appel au savoir comme à la pratique des spécialistes du champ d'action des associations transnationales. Les documents, articles et études publiés par Associations transnationales traitent également des liens établis entre celles-ci et les organisations intergouvernementales. Les domaines couverts s'étendent aux problèmes de société, au droit humanitaire, à la coopération scientifique, aux questions linguistiques et culturelles, au développement économique ou à tout phénomène affectant la vie de ces associations.

Le programme de la revue, conformément aux buts de L'UIA, vise à éclairer l'opinion sur la signification de la dimension associative des relations internationales, notamment en informant les associations au sujet des questions qui relèvent de leurs domaines on affectent leurs intérêts communs. Les textes des auteurs publiés par la revue (dirigeants d'associations, chercheurs et spécialistes des questions associatives) n'engagent que leur opinion.

L'UIA a été créée officiellement en 1910 à Bruxelles au cours du premier congrès mondial des associations internationales. Ses fondateurs, le Sénateur Henri La Fontaine, prix Nobel de la Paix 1913 et Paul Otlet, Secrétaire général de l'Institut international de bibliographie, avaient mis sur pied en 1907 l'«Office central des institutions internationales» auquel l'UIA succéda sous la forme de fédération. En 1914, elle regroupait 230 organisations, soit un peu plus de la moitié de celles qui existaient à l'époque, L'UIA devait incarner, dans l'esprit de ses fondateurs, les aspirations internationalistes et les idéaux de paix qui animaient les associations et qui allaient aboutir en 1920 à la création de la Société des Nations.

L'UIA a obtenu le statut consultatif auprès de l'ECOSOC, de l'UNESCO et de l'OIT. Elle collabore avec l'UNITAR, la FAO et le Conseil de l'Europe. Elle entretient des relations générales et ponctuelles avec les organisations régionales.

La recherche scientifique et la demande sociale
par Gérard Valenduc et Patricia Vendramin
Page 298

The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU):
relations and reflections
by F.W.G. Baker
Page 306

The Way: an ecological world view
by Edward Goldsmith
Page 313

Roles for NGOs in reducing or preventing violence
by Elise Boulding
Page 317

NGOs, governments and the United Nations:
building partnerships
by Ismail Razali
Page 328

The NGO-UN partnership: some questions *urbi et orbi*
by Cyril Ritchie
Page 332

Association News
Vie associative
Page 335

Index 1997
Page 346

Transnational Associations *Associations transnationales*

La recherche scientifique et la demande sociale
par Gérard Valenduc et Patricia Vendramin
Page 298

The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU):
relations and reflections
by F.W.G. Baker
Page 306

The Way: an ecological world view
by Edward Goldsmith
Page 313

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Page 317

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Page 328

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by Cyril Ritchie
Page 332

Association News
Vie associative
Page 335

Index 1997
Page 346

Transnational Associations *Associations transnationales*



L'UAI esc de nouveau en deuil. Quelques années après le décès de l'Ambassadeur Robert FENAUX, nous venons d'apprendre celui de Georges Patrick SPEECKAERT, qui fut son prédécesseur dans les fonctions de Secrétaire général de notre Organisation.

Bien qu'il ait quitté son poste au début des années 70, G. P. SPEECKAERT n'avait abondonné ni la foi dans sa mission de l'UAI ni ses efforts pour contribuer à son succès. D'une parfaite courtoisie, mais aussi d'une rigueur exemplaire dans ses analyses, l'homme qui vient de disparaître était resté dans la mouvance de l'UAI, discret mais toujours efficace. Ses conseils avisés étaient toujours écoutés avec attention et souvent suivis d'effets. Entre autres titres que lui doit la reconnaissance du mouvement associatif international figure la Convention adoptée en 1986 par le Conseil de l'Europe, dont il aura été l'un des artisans, et qui confère enfin aux OING oeuvrant sur le territoire d'un des pays membres, un em bryon de "statut" international.

G. P. Speeckaert a été initiateur et animateur de nombreuses publications de l'UAI, dont la plupart constituent des "premières" dans le

domaine de l'étude des relations internationales. Citons par exemple : *La bibliographie sélective sur l'organisation internationale*, la série "Documents pour servir à l'étude des relations internationales non gouvernementales", la série "La science des congrès internationaux", la revue *Associations internationales* parue sans interruption depuis 1949. Nous retiendrons tout particulièrement le chapitre consacré à l'histoire de l'UAI paru dans *L'Union des Associations Internationales 1910-1970 - Passé, présent, avenir*.

On trouve également la signature de G. P. Speeckaert parmi les auteurs de la brochure sur *La nouvelle société ouverte* publiée par l'UAI en 1973, à l'issue d'un Séminaire tenu à Milan. A l'époque où la terminologie était encore floue, il avait plaidé en faveur du qualificatif "transnational", qui devait être adopté, un peu plus tard, par le titre de notre Revue.

Je n'oublierai pas de mentionner l'ouvrage qu'il a publié sous le titre *La vie internationale en Belgique* (UAI, 1973) et surtout *Le premier siècle de la coopération internationale : l'apport de la Belgique 1915-1914* (UAI, 1980). On y trouve un bilan exhaustif de toutes les activités internationales dont le siège ou les manifestations sont abritées par la collective belge. Sans douce,

exemple est-il privilégié, du fait de l'exiguïté du territoire et de la tradition d'accueil qui a toujours prévalu en Belgique. Mais l'inventaire a le mérite de renverser les termes habituels du problème et de montrer la dose d'internationalité de plus en plus forte qui est enclose à l'intérieur des frontières d'un Etat réputé, comme tous les autres, "souverain". A ce titre, l'ouvrage est prémonitoire et reste un modèle qui pourrait inspirer beaucoup d'autres monographies "nationales" à l'heure de la mondialisation.

C'est donc un pionnier qui vient de nous quitter. Ceux qui sont encore sur le chantier ne Georges Patrick Speeckaert nous quitte

Le 12 octobre dernier s'est éteint, dans sa maison à Malesves (Brabant wallon), un grand pionnier belge de la coopération internationale. C'est au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale que G. P. Speeckaert fut chargé de remettre en activité l'Union des associations internationales (UAI), fondée en 1910. Tout était à refaire à ce moment, car les liens tissés par-dessus les frontières avant la guerre avaient été anéantis par celle-ci. Qui en 1950 connaissait la signification du sigle ONG ?

G. P. Speeckaert a non seulement redonné objectifs, vie et projets à l'UAI, mais est également à l'origine de nombreuses institutions et réalisations bien vivantes aujourd'hui : la Fédération des associations internationales établies en Belgique (FAIB), l'Association internationale des interprètes de conférences (AIIC), l'Association internationale des traducteurs de conférences, l'Association internationale des palais de congrès, l'Association internationale des organisateurs professionnels de con-

doivent jamais oublier la contribution de ceux qui ont su faire preuve, souvent à contre-courant des idées reçues, d'audace et d'imagination. C'est à cette génération de fondateurs qu'appartenait G. P. SPEECKAERT. Tous ceux qui ont eu la chance de l'approcher savent ce qu'ils lui doivent et mesurent la perçe qu'ils viennent d'éprouver. Que les autres l'inscrivent dans leur mémoire et apprennent à s'inspirer de son exemple.

Marcel MERLE

Président de l'UAI

grès (IAPCO)... pour n'en citer que quelques-unes. Il avait très tôt pressenti l'impact économique des congrès internationaux : entre 1959 et 1975 il a organisé six rencontres entre organisateurs de conférences et fournisseurs de services intitulées "congrès des congrès". La dernière de celle-ci s'est tenue à Kyoto. Documentaliste inlassable, il avait adhéré avec enthousiasme aux idéaux des fondateurs de l'UAI, Paul Otlet et Henri La Fontaine.

Il faut enfin rappeler le long combat de G. P. Speeckaert pour doter Bruxelles d'une Maison des associations internationales. Il avait obtenu en 1957 l'accord du gouvernement belge pour la réalisation de cette Maison au Mont des Arts, terrain finalement cédé aux Communautés européennes. C'est en 1982 qu'il vit enfin ses vœux concrétisés par la création d'une fondation d'utilité publique à laquelle l'Etat accorda un immeuble comportant à la fois salles de conférences et étages de bureaux. Inaugurée par le Roi en 1983, la Maison des associations internationales est encore aujourd'hui le centre actif de rencontres et d'activités internationales.

par Gerard Valenduc * et Patricia Vendramin *

C'est une petite révolution qui est proposée par la Commission européenne : la demande sociale aurait le pas sur tout, même sur les orientations de la recherche fondamentale. C'est en ces termes qu'un journaliste de *La Recherche* commentait tout récemment les débats autour de la préparation du cinquième programme cadre de recherche et développement (R&D) de l'Union européenne, en attribuant à la commissaire Edith Cresson la responsabilité de ce nouveau leitmotiv : la demande sociale¹. Certes, ce commentaire est assez caricatural ; il révèle surtout les inquiétudes des chercheurs face à certains effets de mode qui traversent les politiques de R&D de la Commission européenne. Mais il reste vrai que le thème de la demande sociale prend une importance croissante dans la préparation et la conception des programmes de recherche – pour peu que l'on ne confonde pas « demande de la société » et « demande du marché ».

La problématique des rapports entre la recherche scientifique et la demande sociale n'est pas neuve. Les objectifs de la recherche scientifique et les besoins de la société ont toujours été perçus comme deux univers différents, entre lesquels la communication est aussi difficile qu'indispensable. Il faut donc jeter des ponts, construire des interfaces. Cette problématique a déjà été étudiée par de nombreux auteurs, notamment aux Pays-Bas, en Allemagne, en France et en Belgique. Elle a cependant considérablement évolué au cours des dernières années.

L'objectif de cet article est d'élucider la notion de demande sociale, d'analyser son évolution récente et de formuler quelques propositions pour renforcer les interfaces entre la recherche et la société. Il se base pour l'essentiel sur une étude publiée l'an dernier dans le cadre du programme européen «*Interfaces for Innovation*» (anciennement VALUE), précisément à propos de cette question des interfaces entre les besoins de la société et les programmes de recherche².

question du rôle de la science dans la société a mis en évidence un décalage, sinon un fossé, entre les priorités des institutions scientifiques et les besoins exprimés dans la société. Après que le fossé ait été maintes fois décrit, cartographié, balisé, s'est posée la question de la construction des ponts : comment faire communiquer les institutions de recherche et les groupes de la société ? Comment faire en sorte que cette communication ne soit pas à sens unique ? A quelles conditions la communication peut-elle devenir interaction ?

Le paradoxe de la « demande sociale latente »

Dans ce contexte, beaucoup d'analyses ont été construites sur une notion implicite de «*demande sociale latente*» de la société civile en matière de recherche. L'hypothèse couramment admise était que les groupes sociaux et les individus étaient porteurs de nombreux problèmes et questions d'ordre scientifique et technique, qui manifestaient le décalage entre le savoir académique et le savoir requis dans l'action. Ces questions se rapportaient essentiellement à des besoins liés à l'amélioration du cadre de vie et de travail. La science était potentiellement capable de répondre à cette demande sociale, mais ses structures institutionnelles constituaient un facteur de blocage.

Cette approche des rapports entre la science et la demande sociale, qui a été prédominante au cours des années 80³, peut être schématisée comme ceci :

- il existe une « demande sociale latente » vis-à-vis de la science et de la technologie, qui ne demande qu'à s'exprimer si elle trouve des structures d'accueil adéquates ;
- symétriquement, il existe des scientifiques qui sont prêts à sortir de leur tour d'ivoire pour y répondre, pour peu qu'ils soient devenus conscients de l'intérêt social de leurs recherches ;
- l'interface entre la recherche et la société est donc pensée en termes de lieux de rencontre et de procédures de médiation.

Cette approche s'est longtemps appuyée sur l'expérience des «boutiques de sciences» qui avaient été créées dans les 12 universités hollandaises entre 1977 et 1980. Ces boutiques de sciences étaient conçues comme des centres de

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(1) Felkete A., «*La demande sociale aux commandes*», dans *La Recherche*, n°301, septembre 1997, p. 14.
(2) Valenduc G., Vendramin P., *Construire un pont entre les besoins de la société et les programmes de recherche*, Rapport pour le programme *Interfaces for Innovation* (DG XIII), Fondation Travail-Université, Namur, 1996.

(3) Voici une sélection de quelques études de synthèse, qui portent sur la période des années '80 :
Block-Kunzler G., Graf D., *Wissenschaft von unten: Zwischenbilanz und Perspektiven der Wissenschaftsladens Bewegung*, Verlag Akademische Schriften, Frankfurt, 1993.
Buitelaar W., Kanters H. Smits R., *De toegankelijkheid van kennis voor werkers*, STB/TNO, Apeldoorn, Nederland, 1987.
Pennings F., Weerdenburg J., *Een deurtje in de toren, een jaar wetenschapswinkels*, Bureau Studium Generale, Rijk-universiteit Utrecht, 1988.
Zaal R., Leydesdorff L., *The Amsterdam science shop and*

research: the effects often years of dealing with non-academic questions, in *Science and Public Policy*, vol. 14 n° 6, Surrey, December 1987.

Transnational Associations, 6/1997, 298-305.

Qu'est ce que la demande sociale ?

Au cours de la décennie 70, la remise en

services, destinés à faciliter l'accès aux connaissances, à l'expertise ou aux ressources scientifiques, à travers un travail de médiation entre des demandeurs et des chercheurs. Elles ont alimenté de nombreuses réflexions sur les rapports entre science et société non seulement aux Pays-Bas, mais aussi en Allemagne, en Belgique et en France, trouvant écho dans certains programmes publics comme les «Assises de la Recherche» en France (1982-83) et le programme fédéral d'humanisation du travail en Allemagne (1984-87).

Cependant, dans la pratique, la transposition du «modèle hollandais» dans d'autres contextes n'a jamais été couronnée de succès. Notre hypothèse est qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un échec lié à des facteurs culturels, mais bien d'une conception erronée de la «demande sociale latente».

Au fil des années '80, le travail des diverses structures d'interface ouvertes à la demande sociale s'est considérablement professionnalisé. Les tâches de conseil, de recherche et de formation ont pris le pas sur les tâches de réponse aux demandes. Des études plus récentes confirment cette tendance⁴ qui s'est manifestée de façon différente d'un pays à l'autre.

Aux Pays-Bas et en Allemagne, la plupart des interfaces de type «boutique», basées sur le présupposé de l'expression d'une demande sociale latente, se sont transformés en centres de recherche et de conseil thématiques. Ils offrent — le mot mérite d'être souligné — un éventail de services de conseil, de recherche et de transferts de connaissances dans des domaines d'intérêt social : travail, santé, environnement, urbanisme, etc. Le cas sur la plus ancienne boutique de sciences hollandaise (*Chemiewinkel Amsterdam*) est significatif: en 1991, cette institution a changé sa dénomination en «Centre de recherche et de conseil sur la chimie, le travail et l'environnement».

Le cas de la France est assez particulier. Les projets issus des Assises de la Recherche ont tous évolué vers la prestation de services de vulgarisation et de documentation, sous la forme de centres de culture scientifique et technique. Dans l'interface entre recherche et société, ils ont donc abandonné le sens «société —> recherche» au profit du sens «recherche —>

société». En règle générale, il est d'ailleurs rare que ces deux fonctions de communication soient assurées avec le même succès par une même institution.

Dans d'autres pays, comme la Belgique, l'Italie, l'Espagne, l'Autriche, ni la logique de la «demande sociale latente» ni les projets de boutiques de sciences n'ont joué un rôle déterminant. Par contre, ces pays comptent de nombreuses institutions de recherche et de conseil qui ont été créées dans l'objectif explicite de jeter un pont entre l'université et la société. Ces institutions ont renforcé leur autonomie par rapport aux aléas de la demande sociale et ont mis l'accent sur la construction d'une capacité de recherche thématique, susceptible d'être mise au service de groupes sociaux.

Plutôt que de demande sociale, il conviendrait de parler aujourd'hui de «problématiques de recherche qui intéressent certains groupes sociaux». Mais l'expression «demande sociale» a l'avantage qu'elle passe bien — pour peu qu'on l'assortisse des nuances nécessaires.

Un besoin d'expression de la «société civile»

La Commission européenne a mis en œuvre, dès le début du troisième programme cadre de R&D, un imposant dispositif d'interfaces entre la recherche et l'industrie: centres relais VALUE, programmes de diffusion des connaissances et de transfert de technologie, assistance spécifique à l'innovation pour les PME, etc. Plus récemment (1993), ces initiatives ont été complétées par un programme en faveur des «interfaces entre la recherche et la société».

La reconnaissance explicite du rôle de la société dans la conception, la réalisation et la valorisation des programmes de recherche tient à deux évolutions récentes.

D'une part, l'implication des «utilisateurs» dans les processus de recherche et d'innovation est une préoccupation qui est aujourd'hui reconnue non seulement dans les sciences humaines, où le concept de recherche-action est déjà ancien, mais aussi dans les sciences naturelles et la technologie. Au niveau européen, le besoin d'impliquer les utilisateurs dans les stratégies d'innovation technologique est un des résultats du troisième programme

(4) Valenduc G., Vendramin P., *Boutiques de sciences, centres de conseil, des interfaces entre la recherche et la société*. Collection EMERIT, Fondation Travail-Université, Namur, 1993.
Canini G., Leys M., *De toegang tot expertise en kennisprobleem*. Services Fédéraux des Affaires Scientifiques, Techniques et Culturelles, Bruxelles, 1994.

cadre, dans le quatrième programme cadre, l'implication des utilisateurs est même devenue un mot clé dans des programmes thématiques tels que la télématique, les transports, la recherche socio-économique finalisée. Et dans le cinquième programme cadre, la notion de demande sociale est introduite de manière explicite. Ce constat doit être nuancé, car l'examen des projets financés par ces programmes montre qu'il subsiste manifestement un décalage entre les intentions et la réalité.

D'autre part, la complexité et l'incertitude liées aux changements scientifiques et techniques entraînent un besoin croissant d'étudier l'acceptation sociale de ces changements, et donc de mieux tenir compte des attentes de la société. Ceci révèle une demande de « participation » de la société civile dans les orientations de la recherche, dans les usages des connaissances scientifiques et techniques et dans les stratégies d'innovation. Des études de synthèse ont récemment été effectuées au sujet de l'implication des consommateurs⁵ ou de l'implication des travailleurs⁶ dans l'innovation technologique.

Par ailleurs, certaines évolutions générales au sein de la société jouent en faveur d'une meilleure participation de celle-ci dans les orientations et les usages de la recherche. Il existe, dans la société civile, de plus en plus de groupes sociaux qui sont capables de s'exprimer, de manière précise et crédible, sur des questions de recherche et de technologie. De plus, comme le niveau de formation et de compétence des individus et des groupes s'accroît, la société civile n'exprime plus seulement une demande vis-à-vis du système de R&D. Des groupes sociaux sont capables d'exprimer aussi une offre de connaissances, de conseil, voire de méthodes de travail, encore peu reconnue par les institutions scientifiques. On pourrait donc parler aussi d'une « offre sociale latente ».

Du pilotage par l'amont au pilotage par l'aval

Parmi les tendances lourdes qui caractérisent l'évolution récente du système européen de R&D, il en est une qui exerce une influence importante sur la question de la demande sociale. Il s'agit de l'évolution d'une politique de recherche « pilotée par l'amont » (par l'offre

technologique) vers une politique de recherche « pilotée par l'aval », c'est-à-dire guidée par les problèmes à résoudre, par les besoins de l'économie et de la société, par les usages des technologies⁷. Dans cette dernière optique, ce sont les problèmes à résoudre et les besoins à satisfaire qui deviennent les moteurs de la recherche et de l'innovation, plutôt que la quête de la performance technologique ou de l'excellence scientifique.

La logique du pilotage par l'amont est fortement mise en cause aujourd'hui, car de nombreuses études sur la diffusion des innovations technologiques ont révélé l'existence de technologies en quête d'usages, de solutions sans problème ou plus simplement de techniques sans marché. La responsabilité de ce dysfonctionnement du système de R&D est couramment imputée au manque de communication entre la recherche et ses utilisateurs.

La logique du pilotage par l'aval vise à pallier ces dysfonctionnements. Elle n'est pas vraiment neuve dans certains domaines de la recherche. Ainsi, elle est présente depuis longtemps dans la recherche en sciences humaines et sociales, en santé et sécurité au travail, dans certains domaines de la recherche appliquée, dans la recherche environnementale — les technologies propres, les énergies alternatives. Par contre, il s'agit d'une tendance réellement neuve dans les domaines liés aux grandes filières technologiques — technologies de l'information et de la communication, biotechnologies — ou dans domaines naguère considérés comme relevant exclusivement de la recherche fondamentale — changement climatique, étude de la biosphère.

Ce changement de logique dans le système de R&D est incontestablement favorable à un rapprochement entre la recherche et les besoins de la société. Alors que, il y a quinze ans, la création de centres de conseil ou de boutiques de sciences allait résolument à contre-courant, aujourd'hui les interfaces entre recherche et société sont dans l'air du temps.

Un besoin de « discriminations positives »

Une des limites du pilotage par l'aval est l'ambiguïté maintenue autour de la notion d'utilisateur. La notion de besoin des utilisateurs

(5) Fonk G., *Een constructieve rol van de consument in technologie ontwikkeling*, SWOKA, Den Haag, 1994.

(6) Institute Arbeit und Technik, *Public schemes promoting the active involvement of employees in innovation*, Proceedings of the SPRINT conference, Luxembourg, Dec. 1994.

(7) Perriault J., *La logique d'usage: analyse à rebours de l'innovation*, dans *La Recherche*, n° 218, Paris, février 1990.

Woolgar S., *Rethinking the dissemination of science and technology*, in the Proceedings of the VALUE Interface 94 Conference, European Commission, Luxembourg, 1995.

C'est pour nous nous intéressons au flux d'information «société—» recherche», alors que la question de l'interface recherche / société est souvent envisagée dans le sens inverse: «recherche —» société». Il s'agit alors de la diffusion des connaissances, la vulgarisation, la promotion de la culture scientifique, la sensibilisation. Ces activités de diffusion et de valorisation des connaissances sont souvent mieux établies et mieux structurées. Pour renforcer l'aspect «bidirectionnel» des interfaces recherche / société, nous pensons que le développement de la «voie de retour» est une tâche nécessaire.

Aussi bien au niveau européen que dans les différents pays membres, il existe aujourd'hui un quasi consensus autour du fait qu'il faille, dans une certaine mesure, des «discriminations positives» à l'égard des groupes sociaux ou des régions qui ne font pas partie des acteurs dominants de la R&D.

Par «discriminations positives», nous entendons des programmes ou des mesures qui visent à renforcer la contribution spécifique de certains acteurs considérés comme défavorisés - c'est-à-dire victimes d'inégalités ou de discriminations négatives. Ainsi, certains programmes spécifiques de la Commission européenne visent à renforcer le potentiel scientifique de certaines régions d'Europe. D'autres programmes spécifiques s'attachent à soutenir, à l'intérieur du monde industriel, l'effort de recherche et d'innovation des PME/PMI. Enfin, des initiatives de la Commission, certes plus modestes que les deux précédentes, ont également été prises pour favoriser la coopération entre recherche et syndicats.

Les discriminations positives dans la recherche ne sont pas une chose acquise, même si le «Rapport européen sur les indicateurs scientifiques et technologiques» les considère comme un instrument privilégié pour mettre la recherche au service de la cohésion européenne⁸.

L'objet de cet article est de s'intéresser aux acteurs sociaux et aux groupements d'intérêt qui ne font pas partie du «noyau dur» des politiques de recherche, constitué des grandes entreprises et des grandes institutions. L'enjeu est de montrer pourquoi et comment la «société civile» peut exprimer des demandes vis-à-vis du monde de la recherche, et de déterminer quelles sont les formes de relais les plus adéquates pour que ces attentes soient prises en compte dans les politiques de recherche.

C'est pour nous nous intéressons au flux d'information «société—» recherche», alors que la question de l'interface recherche / société est souvent envisagée dans le sens inverse: «recherche —» société». Il s'agit alors de la diffusion des connaissances, la vulgarisation, la promotion de la culture scientifique, la sensibilisation. Ces activités de diffusion et de valorisation des connaissances sont souvent mieux établies et mieux structurées. Pour renforcer l'aspect «bidirectionnel» des interfaces recherche / société, nous pensons que le développement de la «voie de retour» est une tâche nécessaire.

2. Une nouvelle dialectique de l'offre et de la demande

Les groupements, associations, groupes sociaux, bref les représentants de la société, dans leurs domaines d'activité propres, expriment des besoins qui s'adressent aux scientifiques, sollicitent des expertises, posent des questions aux chercheurs. Chacun de ces représentants opère dans des domaines spécifiques : l'aménagement du territoire, la santé au travail, les conditions de travail, la protection de l'environnement, le travail et l'environnement, etc.

Les demandes adressées aux scientifiques ne renvoient pas forcément ni directement à la recherche scientifique proprement dite ; seules certaines d'entre elles relèvent des activités des chercheurs. L'étude comparative que nous avons menée pour le programme *interfaces for Innovation* permet de distinguer trois sortes de demandes: des demandes de vulgarisation, des demandes d'expertise et des demandes de recherche proprement dite.

Vulgarisation, expertise, recherche : des demandes différenciées

Une bonne partie des demandes des groupes sociaux adressées aux scientifiques sont des demandes de vulgarisation scientifique, de diffusion de connaissances dans un langage et une forme accessibles et utilisables par les membres et représentants de ces groupes.

(8) Commission Européenne, *Rapport européen 1994 sur les indicateurs scientifiques et technologiques*, Bruxelles, 1995; partie III: diversité, convergence et cohésion européennes.

tion ciblée provient du fait que la communication des scientifiques est généralement conçue pour s'adresser à des pairs et entraîner des gratifications en terme de carrière scientifique. Le langage des chercheurs et leurs canaux de diffusion sont pour une bonne part étrangers aux non scientifiques. Or beaucoup de thématiques de recherche portent sur des sujets d'intérêt direct pour la société en général ou certains groupes en particulier. Pour qu'une telle communication s'installe, il faut créer de part et d'autres les conditions d'une motivation spécifique.

La demande d'*expertise* se distingue de la vulgarisation en ce sens qu'elle concerne non pas la diffusion d'une connaissance, mais bien l'application d'un savoir et d'une compétence à une situation particulière, que ce soit dans le domaine technique, juridique, médical ou autre. L'expertise requière un autre type de communication, liée à l'échange d'informations précises, relatives à l'analyse d'un problème concret et à la formulation d'un diagnostic ou de conseils.

Finalement, seule une petite partie des demandes des groupes sociaux sont adressées à la recherche proprement dite, au sens où elles nécessitent d'élaborer des connaissances scientifiques ou de mettre au point des méthodes qui ne sont pas disponibles telles quelles.

Dans ce cas, quels sont les critères à prendre en compte pour identifier ces thématiques de recherche potentielles à l'intérieur des multiples échanges entre groupes sociaux et chercheurs ? Notre analyse suggère de considérer comme des problématiques de recherche potentielles, les problèmes qui présentent un caractère *pointu*, *original* ou *récurrent*.

Le caractère *pointu* d'un problème soulevé par un groupe social réside dans le fait d'avoir identifié une question bien ciblée sur le plan scientifique et ancrée dans une situation sociale urgente, qui constitue elle-même une partie du problème. De telles questions peuvent faire de bons projets de recherche interdisciplinaire ou de recherche action ... à condition de pouvoir en faire reconnaître la pertinence au sein des institutions ou des programmes existants. Un exemple typique : les recherches épidémiologiques sur les troubles liés à l'environnement

autour des sites polluants (décharges, zones industrielles).

Le caractère *original* d'un problème soulevé par un groupe social provient du fait que ce groupe formule une question de recherche en des termes différents de ceux auxquels les scientifiques avaient intuitivement pensé, tout simplement parce que l'intuition des uns et des autres n'est pas la même. Ce type de problème fournit des sujets de recherche originaux à l'intérieur de domaines existants, comme par exemple les études sur l'ergonomie, la mobilité, l'utilisation rationnelle de l'énergie.

Le caractère *récurrent* d'un problème soulevé par un groupe social met le doigt sur les lacunes ou les défauts de la recherche existante, ou encore sur des zones d'ombre dans la connaissance scientifique. Certaines questions sont adressées aux scientifiques depuis de nombreuses années, sans que la recherche n'ait fait de progrès significatifs pour y répondre. Elles sont révélatrices du fait que les priorités de la recherche ne recouvrent pas bien les priorités de la société. Face à ces problèmes récurrents, la «demande sociale» indique donc un besoin de réorientation des priorités ou des moyens de la recherche. Des exemples simples de tels problèmes récurrents sont les risques liés aux produits cancérigènes, ou encore le potentiel d'utilisation de l'énergie solaire.

D'une question sociale à une problématique de recherche

Nous distinguons trois cas de figure qui schématisent les divers chemins empruntés pour traduire des besoins émanant de groupes sociaux en problématiques de recherche.

Dans le premier cas de figure, caractérisé par une *logique de l'offre*, les problématiques de recherche émanent non pas des groupes sociaux, mais bien des «interfaces structurées» elles-mêmes, c'est-à-dire d'institutions qui ont précisément pour rôle la médiation entre le monde scientifique et les groupes sociaux. Ces institutions peuvent être soit des fondations d'intérêt public, soit des associations sans but lucratif, soit des centres de recherche créés conjointement par deux ou plusieurs partenaires (autorités locales, syndicats, groupes de citoyens, chambres de commerce, etc.).

Quelques exemples ? L'Académie de Technology Assessment du Baden-Württemberg, le centre Ambiente e Lavoro à Milan, la Chemie-winkel à Amsterdam, la Stichting Technologie-Vlaanderen à Bruxelles, ainsi que notre propre institution, la Fondation Travail-Université.

Ces « interfaces structurées » sont rarement des « généralistes » de la recherche. Le plus souvent, elles tirent leur crédibilité d'une expertise dans des domaines de recherche spécifiques (la santé au travail, l'innovation et l'organisation du travail, l'environnement et l'emploi, l'aménagement du territoire, etc.). Leurs programmes d'activités sont fondés sur une expérience de travail avec certains groupes cibles, sur une détection précoce des demandes, qui sont ensuite reformulées pour rencontrer les exigences des programmes de R&D existants. Les groupes cibles (travailleurs de l'un ou l'autre secteur, associations de consommateurs, habitants d'un quartier, riverains d'une usine ou d'une décharge, associations d'environnementalistes, etc.) sont souvent associés d'une manière ou d'une autre au développement et au suivi des projets, ou encore à la formulation de questions particulières.

Le deuxième cas de figure est caractérisé par la *logique du brain-storming*. Contrairement au précédent, ce cas de figure n'est pas lié à un type particulier d'institution. Il concerne les réseaux et les groupes de travail qui organisent des discussions, des séminaires, des forums autour d'un problème, d'une question précise portée par un ou des publics concernés. Il peut s'agir d'initiatives ponctuelles, dont la durée de vie est liée au problème posé, ou de réseaux plus stables, qui s'avèrent capables d'inscrire leurs activités dans le long terme.

Dans ce cas, la finalité du « groupe de travail » n'est pas la recherche. Cependant, au fil des discussions, le groupe peut en venir à élaborer un ou des projets qui concernent la recherche. Il cherche alors des alliances, monte son projet et en accompagne la réalisation. C'est le cas du Forum Technik und Gesellschaft à Bâle, du Work Environment Action-group of Workers and Academics au Danemark, du département «Automation und Arbeitsgestaltung» du syndicat autrichien des employés ou du département «Ecologia y Medioambiente» du syndicat espagnol CC.OO.

Cette logique s'apparente dans une certaine mesure à une logique de la demande, puisque ce sont des chercheurs qui se voient confier les demandes identifiées par le groupe de travail, pour qui la recherche proprement dite reste une activité secondaire par rapport à sa mission première.

Dans le troisième cas de figure, c'est un concours de circonstances, un événement particulier qui génère des questions dans une population : un accident écologique, un projet controversé d'aménagement du territoire, un débat politique local ou régional. Parmi les questions soulevées, certaines peuvent relever d'activités de recherche. Le rapport entre recherche et demande sociale se construit alors selon une *logique de l'événement*. De telles circonstances peuvent aussi générer des structures qui ont une stabilité à plus long terme, car elles sont capables « d'entretenir l'événement », en organisant de manière continue des débats publics sur des enjeux scientifiques et techniques. C'est le cas du Forum Soziale Technikgestaltung à Stuttgart. Dans ce cas, la logique de l'événement conduit à rechercher une plus grande diversité de formes d'intervention vis-à-vis de l'opinion publique: rédiger un mémorandum, éditer un bulletin d'informations, organiser des cycles de conférences, se doter d'un réseau de collaborateurs privilégiés dans les institutions de recherche.

Le rôle clé de la médiation

Notre analyse souligne l'importance d'une qualification particulière des experts et des chercheurs pour traduire en questions scientifiques les besoins exprimés par des groupes sociaux, ainsi que pour identifier celles qui se révéleront être des questions plus fondamentales qui s'adressent à la recherche.

Le travail de médiation recouvre essentiellement trois fonctions:

- l'organisation d'un *dialogue constructif* entre les groupes sociaux « demandeurs » et leurs interlocuteurs dans les institutions de recherche;
- la *formulation* de l'objet de la demande dans des termes qui sont reconnus à la fois par l'institution scientifique et le groupe social, puis le *choix de la démarche scientifique* à adopter: analyse bibliographique, enquête, étude

de cas, simulation, interprétation critique de données expérimentales, recherche empirique, recherche théorique, etc.

- le suivi des relations entre les différents interlocuteurs, la valorisation des résultats aussi bien dans les milieux scientifiques que dans l'action sociale.

Il n'y a pas de «one best way» pour traiter les demandes exprimées par des groupes sociaux. Le constat principal de notre étude est qu'il faut une bonne adéquation entre les instruments (institutions, méthodes) et les thèmes à traiter. Ainsi, des structures d'interface stables sont adéquates pour traiter des thèmes récurrents, la formule des forums convient bien pour développer des thèmes émergents, les groupes de travail sont efficaces pour des thèmes à débroussailler. De plus, le choix du «relais» le plus efficace dépend beaucoup des contingences locales ou nationales, car celles-ci déterminent à la fois le contexte culturel et le contexte politique de la formulation des demandes.

3. Quelques recommandations

Metre en commun les expériences de «traduction»

L'identification de besoins émanant des groupes sociaux et la formulation de ces besoins en problématiques de recherche potentielles peuvent être favorisées par le développement d'échanges entre experts appartenant à des «interfaces structurées».

Les experts concernés ici sont ceux qui ont une expérience de travail avec des groupes sociaux, qui connaissent les questions, les demandes d'expertise ou de recherche exprimées par ces groupes. Les scientifiques qui travaillent dans les interfaces structurées développent des capacités et des compétences spécifiques, qui combinent approche académique et approche sociale. Ces scientifiques peuvent confronter leur expérience de collaboration concrète sur des questions particulières dans leur aire d'activité, avec l'expérience de collègues travaillant ailleurs sur des thèmes proches. Cette «mise en commun des expertises» améliore la capacité de formuler des problématiques de recherche à partir d'un travail

particulier avec des groupes sociaux. De plus, elle contribue à créer une sorte de «communauté scientifique des interfaces», qui pourrait être renforcée par des activités au niveau international, par exemple :

- la mise sur pied de réseaux thématiques, dans le cadre de programmes européens,
- des publications communes, à caractère international,
- des séminaires de travail,
- des échanges multilatéraux de résultats et de méthodes.

Un critère de réussite de cette mise en commun des expertises est la spécialisation thématique des experts qui se rencontrent. En effet, l'expérience au niveau national comme européen montre que les réseaux, les publications ou les événements présentant un haut niveau de qualité et d'efficacité sont caractérisés par des centres d'intérêt relativement délimités et précis. Le critère de succès de tels échanges est l'identification d'un «niveau optimal de spécialisation thématique» pour ces réseaux, publications ou événements.

Développer la capacité de médiation

La capacité de médiation doit être développée comme une capacité scientifique en tant que telle. Elle consiste en une aptitude à détecter, parmi les demandes de groupes sociaux, les problématiques de recherche, émergentes ou récurrentes, susceptibles de trouver des réponses dans des travaux de recherche. Des moyens concrets pour développer cette capacité de médiation peuvent être :

- la mise en valeur, dans la formation des chercheurs, des compétences et des méthodes requises pour mener une recherche action;
- l'intégration des tâches de vulgarisation et de communication dans le contenu du travail des scientifiques, notamment dans les universités et centres publics de recherche; la valorisation de ces tâches dans la carrière scientifique;
- l'intégration, dans les programmes européens d'échanges d'étudiants et de jeunes chercheurs, de volets permettant des échanges scientifiques avec des structures d'interface.

La capacité de médiation est aussi un enjeu méthodologique. Des méthodes adéquates doivent être développées pour organiser

le débat public et favoriser l'expression des attentes de la société civile. Une attention spécifique doit être accordée aux méthodes qui impliquent à la fois les groupes sociaux organisés et les groupes sociaux non organisés.

Augmenter l'intéressement des groupes sociaux sur les questions de R&D

Dans la plupart des pays européens, de même qu'au niveau des instances communautaires, des représentants de groupes sociaux organisés (syndicats, consommateurs, environnementalistes) sont amenés à siéger dans des conseils et comités dont la tâche est de remettre des avis sur les orientations de la recherche. Cependant, leur investissement sur ces questions est souvent marginal, à la fois par un manque de perception claire de l'intérêt social à

s'y investir et d'autre part parce que la recherche scientifique n'est pas un domaine d'activité dans lequel on s'engage sans un minimum de connaissance préalable. De plus, leur influence dans ces conseils consultatifs est souvent faible, ce qui ne peut que les décourager.

Une recommandation consiste donc à encourager la formation et la sensibilisation des représentants des groupes sociaux aux questions de R&D dans leur domaine d'activité spécifique.

Une autre clé de succès est que les groupes sociaux développent, dans leur propre stratégie, une conception de la recherche où celle-ci est considérée à la fois comme une solution potentielle à des problèmes concrets dans leur domaine d'activité, et également comme un enjeu en soi par rapport aux objectifs de ces groupes.

The International Council of Scientific Unions : relations and reflections Former Executive Secretary of ICSU.

by F.W.G. Baker*

* A text which formed the background for this article was presented at a meeting in the University of Göteborg in October 1993 and published in *Internationalism and Science*, Taylor & Graham London 1996.

(1) B. Schroeder-Gedehus gives a dispassionate review of the situation and of the principal actors and their roles in *Les Scientifiques et la Paix*, Montreal, 1978.

(2) A representative of the USA Academy of Sciences proposed at the first General Assembly that the list enumerating countries that were allowed to adhere to the IRC be removed. The IRC rejected the proposal. (The list of countries was composed of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, South Africa, U.K., U.S.A. The provisional Executive

first General Assembly that the invitation to join be extended to Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Monaco, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. The Assembly omitted Finland and added to the list Argentina, Chile, China, Mexico and Siam. The list was further extended in 1922 to include Egypt, Morocco and Peru and in 1925 to Finland, Latvia, Tunisia and Uruguay. The Extraordinary Assembly of 1926 decided to invite Austria, Bulgaria, Germany and Hungary. Indochina was invited in 1928 and Cuba, the Dutch Indies and India in 1930 and the Vatican in 1931.) At the opening of the final General Assembly of the IRC 40 National Organizations adhered : all those invited with the exception of Italy, which had temporarily withdrawn (at the 4th General Assembly of the IRC the Italian delegate said that the election of V.

The development of ICSU can be divided into five main phases :

- i) 1898-1931;
- ii) 1931-1945;
- iii) 1945-1957;
- iv) 1957-1963;
- v) 1963-1997.

I. 1898-1931

The first phase in the development of the International Research Council (IRC) and then of ICSU involved the creation in 1898 of the International Association of Academies, a mainly German initiative that first brought together a cartel of German Academies and later other European and American Academies. Then in 1918 the International Research Council (IRC) was created by the Allied countries, deliberately excluding Germany and the Central Powers; an exclusion which was not supported wholeheartedly by the Academies of some of the countries that had remained neutral during the 1914-18 war. The exclusion was both political and emotional. Some of the participants in the creation and development of the IRC had suffered considerable personal losses because of the German invasion and several years were to elapse before stable conditions returned¹.

The first, constitutive General Assembly of the International Research Council in 1919 included in the Statutes a list² (that had been prepared at the Conference of Allied and associated countries in London in 1918) of 16 countries

- 9 in Europe,
- 2 in North America,
- 2 in Oceania,
- 1 in Africa,
- 1 in Asia and
- 1 in Latin America

that were allowed to join the IRC and the Unions connected with it. During the course of the Assembly³ a resolution was adopted inviting 13 countries (8 in Europe, 3 in Latin America and 2 in Asia) and a special resolution inviting Russian scientists to collaborate in the work

of the IRC : in 1922 three other countries (2 in Africa and one in Latin America) were invited. At the first General Assembly there were representatives of a number of International Scientific Unions but only three Unions were formally accepted - those for Astronomy (IAU), Geodesy and Geophysics (IUGG) and Pure and Applied Chemistry (IUPAC). Scientific Radio (URSI) was accepted in 1921, Pure and Applied Physics (IUPAP) in 1922 and Biological Sciences (IUBS) and Geography (IGU) in 1923-

The first attempts to create an organization to which scientists from all nations could adhere was made at the 2nd General Assembly in 1922 when the Swedish Academy, supported by the Academy in Switzerland, suggested, but did not insist, that the IRC be open to scientists from all countries: no such suggestion was accepted.

At the 3rd General Assembly in 1925 several resolutions were put forward to remove the restrictions on membership : I) the Academies in the Netherlands and Denmark suggested that the restrictive list of nations that could adhere to the IRC be removed from the Statutes; II) Sweden, supported by Switzerland, proposed that the Statutes be modified in order to make possible the admission of scientists from all nations; III) Australia suggested that the limitations on membership should be reconsidered; iv) the representative of the Royal Society of London transmitted two resolutions adopted by the Royal Society that: I) the Statutes "should be modified so that the Central Powers may become eligible for admission" and II) this be done at the earliest possible moment; and V) the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry transmitted the wish of the recently held Conference on Chemistry that all countries that adhere to the League of Nations should be allowed to join the Scientific Unions. The Academies in the Netherlands and Denmark also proposed that the Unions should be allowed the freedom to accept national members from nations that did not adhere to IRC, and that the resolution on this subject adopted in 1922 be rescinded. These proposals lacked the majorities necessary for adoption but resulted in an Extraordinary General Assembly in 1926. This Assembly received

Transnational Associations,
6/1997, 306-312.

Volterra as a member of the Executive Committee would be illegal because he represented neither Italy or a

Union - Volterra was duly elected), and Austria and Germany. The special invitation to scientists from Russia to participate, adopted at the 1st General Assembly, is not referred to again either in the reports of the General Assemblies, or in the reports of the General Secretary or of the Executive Committee and is not included in the list of countries invited that are listed in the footnotes to the Statutes of the IRC published after the 2nd General Assembly. (The USSR began to adhere to ICSU in 1955, but had been active in the preparations for the IGY without applying for ICSU membership. It is not unusual for scientists in countries that are not members of ICSU to participate in the work of the Scientific and Special Committees.)

(3) The Conference in London in 1918 in addition to the selection of countries that should be invited to adhere to the IRC decided that as circumstances permit the conventions relative to International Scientific Associations should be denounced, in conformity with their Statutes and Rules, by the competent groups of nations at war with the Central Powers

(4) This criticism of ICSU being only an "administrative" body was to occur regularly until ICSU began to create Special and Scientific Committees in 1952, and especially SCOR, SCAR, and COSPAR in the late '50s. Not long after there were comments from scientists in the Unions that ICSU was trying to take over the Science. The pendulum seems to be swinging back: the "new" ICSU, which is expected to be modified «en more at the Extraordinary Assembly in 1998, has several Committees related to the problems of scientists or to areas of science or

proposals of national adherents in the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, US and UK that the Council should be open to scientists of all nations. The Assembly decided unanimously to delete the restriction on membership from the Statutes and also decided to invite Austria, Bulgaria, Germany and Hungary to join the Council. The emotions began to decrease; the politics too and were kept to a minimum until the late 1950s and 1960s.

The phase of restrictions on membership formally terminated in 1931 with the Fifth General Assembly of the IRC and the First General Assembly of ICSU - which were held jointly: it would be many years, however, before ICSU began to represent science in a truly international sense. The first General Assembly of ICSU adopted Statutes which allowed any country to adhere - through a national academy, a national research council, other institutions or groups of similar national institutions or failing these through the government. (The Statutes stated that a "country" includes Dominions, diplomatic protectorates as well as territories having an independent scientific activity.) The first objective of ICSU was to coordinate international activities in the different branches of science and their applications.

During this phase in the development many subjects came to the fore, particularly various aspects of Astronomy, the publication *Année Biologique*, documentation, standards, patents and other problems related to international communication, including an international auxiliary language.

II. 1931-1945

The creation of ICSU in 1931 and the removal of restrictions on national membership did not lead to a rapid increase in such members. The increase in the number of national adherents to some of the Unions, particularly in the earth sciences and astronomy, was more rapid than to ICSU. There seem to have been two main reasons for this : first that in times when money was short it was considered to be more effective scientifically to adhere to a Union than to ICSU which was "above all an

administrative organization" ⁴; second, several of the Unions had been unable to extend their national membership because of the condition imposed by the IRC that only countries that adhered to the Council could adhere to a Union ⁵ : when this restriction was removed the membership of some Unions increased more rapidly than that of ICSU.

The active part of the second phase was restricted to the period 1931-1939, during which cooperation with the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) of the League of Nations began to develop ⁶ and an agreement was accepted in 1937 by the 3rd General Assembly of ICSU which inter alia established the idea of permanent contacts, with the President of ICSU having the right to participate in plenary meetings of the ICIC and a representative of the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation (IOIC) having the right to attend meetings of the ICSU Executive Committee.

The increasing general concern about the role of science in society ⁷ led the third General Assembly in 1937 to create a Committee on Science and Social Relations (CSSR) to study the question of the social responsibilities of science and of scientific workers. The terms of reference were :

"The Committee, at suitable intervals, should prepare a survey of the most important results obtained and the directions of progress that are opening and of points of view brought forward in the physical, chemical and biological sciences, with reference to :

- i) their interconnection and the development of the scientific picture of the world in general;
- ii) the practical application of scientific results in the life of the community;

The work of the committee is limited to strictly scientific activity."

Unfortunately the work of the Committee was stopped by the outbreak of war and it was not until 1946 that the Committee made its first report to ICSU. Foremost place in the report was given to the problem of nuclear energy but in the resolution adopted the 4th General Assembly expressed its awareness "that nuclear energy is not unique among scientific

regions, such as those on Freedom in the Conduct of Science, Responsibility and Ethics in Science, International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications.

(5) Prior to the admission in 1993 by the 24th General Assembly of 10 new National Members and 2 new National Associates, two of the Earth-science Unions had more members than ICSU; two still do. The extent to which some of the National Members are active in ICSU affairs is difficult to judge; this is even more so with National Associates.

(6) The first contacts between the ICIC and the scientific community in the IRC in 1924 were with a representative of the International Mathematical

Union transmitted, with its support, the proposal to the Executive Committee of the IRC: the 3rd General Assembly established a Committee to study the question. (Could it be that

considered by the ICIC as more in need of intellectual cooperation or more of an intellectual pursuit than Science?).

(7) The social relations of science movement began to express itself in the early 1930s mainly through more radical groups of scientists, in part as a result of the development of National Socialism. In 1934, Julian Huxley, later to become the

Unesco, published "Scientific Research and Social Needs".

(8) D. La Cour suggested that the distribution of observing stations had been so great that the Year should have been called the World-wide Year. It seems probable that Sydney Chapman had this suggestion in mind when he proposed that the third International Polar Year be called the International Geophysical Year.

(9) Although ICSU recom-

mands, such as those on advances in the possible effects for good or ill. Biological and biochemical warfare, for example, were not applied during the late conflict, but their potential menace may be as great as that of the atomic bomb; equally, the discoveries on which they depend could bring the greatest benefits to mankind". The resolution expressed the conviction that "international security and welfare will be impossible if in any country for the future military security is allowed to dominate scientific discovery or to prevent the frank discussion and open publication of scientific results". The Assembly, in the name of the men of science of the nations represented, acknowledged the duty on the part of scientific workers:

- a) to maintain a spirit of frankness, honesty, integrity and cooperation and to work for international standing;
- b) to promote the development of science in the way most beneficial to mankind and to exert their influence as far as possible to prevent its misuse;
- c) to serve the community not only by their specialized work but by assisting so far as they are able in the education of the public in the purposes and achievements of science."

Up to the present there have been many discussions in ICSU on how these duties could be more fully accepted by the scientific community.

The major international scientific programme during this second period was the Second International Polar Year (IPY) (1932-33). The second IPY, although it was held during a period of global economic crisis, was a great success with stations throughout the world participating in a carefully coordinated study of the Earth's geophysical environment. It was then the most extensive global study, coordinated by a small group of international scientists, funded mainly by the governments of the 44 participating countries. ICSU as such, apart from a presentation⁸ by D. la Cour (President of the International Commission for the IPY) to the 2nd General Assembly of ICSU, left the responsibilities for international scientific cooperation in polar research and its financing⁹ to the International Unions of Geodesy and

Geophysics (IUGG) and of Scientific Radio (URSI). (Some of the people active in the second IPY were responsible for launching 25 years later the Third IPY, for example, Sydney Chapman, became the President of the Special Committee set up by ICSU to organize the 3rd Year and Vigo Laursen who was the Executive Officer of the IPY 2 Liquidating Commission became IGY Reporter for Geomagnetism.)

III. 1945-1957

The third phase began with a meeting of the Executive Board in London in December 1945 at which a letter was received from the Preparatory Commission of Unesco consulting with ICSU "on methods of collaboration to strengthen the programmes of both bodies in the area of their common concern". This led to the adoption of an agreement between ICSU and Unesco in 1946 that had as one of its consequences the award of an annual subvention to ICSU which in the first year, 1947, represented more than 85% of ICSU's total income. This subvention allowed ICSU to expand the number of Joint Commissions, covering areas of inter-disciplinary activities, to assist financially the Unions, and to appoint an ICSU-Unesco Liaison Officer, who acted initially as an assistant to the Secretary General and later as Administrative Secretary.

At the Executive Committee meeting in July 1946 ICSU received a letter from the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation denouncing the convention with ICSU on account of the end of the organization as part of the League of Nations. In the ICSU-Unesco agreement Unesco, as the UN Specialized Agency with a particular brief for natural and exact sciences, replaced the IOIC. It is interesting to record that the representative of the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation at the 4th General Assembly became the first ICSU-Unesco Liaison Officer, and later resigned to become the Unesco Regional Officer for Latin America. This began a series of exchanges whereby former ICSU representatives took up positions for Unesco and vice versa. (Although it is pure speculation one

ask if there was not, at the time of the discussions on the introduction of Science into the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (Unesco), a deliberate action on the part of some scientists to have an intergovernmental body with a scientific brief so that it would be possible to achieve a maximum benefit for science using politics when more effective and apolitical methods when these were more useful... and, insofar as possible, to leave politics to the political scientists.)

As indicated above the first report of the Committee on Science and its Social Relations to ICSU in 1946 led to a resolution of the 4th General Assembly. The second report, according to the proceedings of the 5th General Assembly, "was received too late for circulation to adhering organizations for examination and discussion prior to the General Assembly... A certain number of criticisms and comments have been received from some organizations and full support from others... The resolutions proposed in the Appendix were not submitted to the General Assembly".

This report included i) a Statement on the Fundamental Character of Science, ii) a Charter for Scientists and in) a Statement on the Dangers arising from Unbalanced Applications of the Powers given by Science. It asked the General Assembly to give serious attention to these statements. The report also introduced the idea that some aspects of Science and Social Relations infringe areas covered by the Social Sciences. It seems possible that this was the origin of the agreement made later between ICSU and the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (CIPSH) for the joint sponsorship of the CSSR. At the 6th General Assembly in 1952, ICSU agreed to withdraw from joint sponsorship with the CIPSH of the CSSR: the Committee then became inactive.

During this phase six new International Scientific Unions were accepted: Biochemistry, Crystallography (IUCr), History and Philosophy of Science, Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, Mathematics and Physiological Sciences. Five Joint Commissions - Ionosphere, Radiometeorology, Solar and Terrestrial Relationships Spectroscopy and Applied Radioactivity were established in the period 1948-1956.

IV. 1957-1963

The 6th General Assembly also initiated a new phase in ICSU with the ratification¹⁰ of a Special Committee for a 3rd International Polar Year (IPY) - to link the interested Unions and the special National Committees "with the World Meteorological Organization coopted". The 3rd IPY developed into the highly successful International Geophysical Year (IGY), from 1 July 1957 to 31 December 1958, which was extended through 1959 by a period of International Geophysical Cooperation, (One of the few things that marred the IGY was the withdrawal of the National Committee of the People's Republic of China just before the Year began. In the report of the 6th General Assembly of ICSU the National Member for China was listed as the Academia Sinica, Peking; the change later to the Academia Sinica, Formosa was not referred to a General Assembly and seems to have become effective when the Academia Sinica, Formosa paid the outstanding national dues.) The Special Committee for the IGY became the model on which a series of other Special and Scientific Committees, such as those on Antarctic, Oceanic and Space Research, on Problems of the Environment and on the Geosphere-Biosphere Programme developed. Although the International Scientific Unions and the National Members participated in the work of these Committees they are creations of ICSU and, because of duplication of activities and of sources of finance, sometimes caused friction between ICSU and the Unions. The friction was sometimes aggravated because one or more scientists wore both an ICSU and a Union 'hat' but usually showed a greater fidelity to ICSU than to the Union.

The creation of Unesco and of the other Specialized Agencies of the UNO with scientific interests and activities extended the number of external partners with which ICSU had to cooperate. During this fourth phase other International Councils, to a large extent patterned on ICSU, were created under the aegis of Unesco. A Council of these Councils was created but never functioned effectively. (A more recent attempt to bring together some of the major NGOs with relations with Unesco has

mended that funds should be made available to ensure that the maximum benefits could be obtained from the scientific work carried out it made no financial contribution itself.

(10) The original proposal was submitted to ICSU by the Mixed Commission on the Ionosphere following its meeting in Brussels in July

not been particularly successful).

This fourth phase also saw the development of a new type of cooperation between ICSU and UN Specialized Agencies in relation to the joint development of an international programme. The first was with Unesco for the International Indian Ocean Expedition (IIOE) to study what was then the least well-known of the Oceans. The initial proposal for such an expedition was put forward in 1957 by ICSU's Special Committee on Oceanic Research (SCOR) which developed the scientific programme : in 1960 Unesco agreed to cosponsor the programme. It soon became evident that the Expedition would involve important national decisions and large governmental resources and in 1962 the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of Unesco and SCOR agreed that the formal responsibility and authority for the coordination of the IIOE should be given to the IOC. In a somewhat similar way the International Association of Hydrological Sciences in 1962 put forward and began to develop an International Hydrological Programme: as this grew in extent and global coverage it became obvious that it too would need to be organized by an intergovernmental body and it was accepted as a programme of Unesco. The situation was to change still further (see below) in 1967 when ICSU and the World Meteorological Organization made a joint agreement for the Global Atmospheric Research Programme. (At the discussions on the agreement at the Executive Committee meeting in Rome in October 1967 strong opposition to the agreement was voiced by some members, not against the scientific merits of the programme but because the agreement committed ICSU to making a large financial contribution for an undefined period of time. These misgivings were to prove justified when ICSU had difficulties in honouring its financial commitment after a grant from the Ford Foundation had been used up).

V. 1963-1997

The current phase of development of ICSU has been marked by a number of factors.

The first was a change in the structure of ICSU adopted at the Extraordinary General Assembly held at the Headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna in October 1963. The Bureau and Executive Board were replaced by the Officers and an Executive Committee, which in addition to the Officers and a representative of each of the Unions (now 13 with the admission of Geological Sciences /IUGS/ in 1961) included 10 representatives of the National Members ¹¹. The Assembly also created a category of National Associates. Such Associates pay no dues and have no voting rights. (This creation was an endeavour to extend the number of national organizations adhering to ICSU, particularly from developing countries. It was also in part a reaction to criticism from the Executive Board of Unesco, which had on a number of occasions commented on the limited national membership of the International, non-governmental, Councils, including ICSU, to which Unesco gave large subventions. ICSU later created a category of National Observer into which were placed automatically all National Members that had failed to respond to requests to pay their annual dues). The Ordinary General Assembly, in spite of the prior statutory selection of candidates from Canada and Australia for the posts of President and Secretary General respectively, decided to waive the Statutes and elected a scientist from the U.K. and one from Czechoslovakia in their stead.

One of the most important events scientifically in this phase is the development of a series of programmes of global, often multi-disciplinary, studies that began in 1952 with the IGY and in this last period with the International Biological Programme (IBP) (1964-74) and then the International Years of the Quiet Sun (IQSY) (1964-65) for each of which a Committee was established to develop and to overview the programme and the publication of results. The success of the IGY and the need for continuing cooperation in a number of interdisciplinary fields led ICSU to create permanent Scientific Committees for subjects that included initially Oceanic Research, Antarctic Research, Space Research, Solar-Terrestrial Physics and more recently Problems of the

(11) Provision was made for increasing the number of representatives of the National Members by one for each increase of two in the International Scientific Union Members.

environment and for the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme. The global impact of the work of these Committees is obvious, but two specific examples will be given : i) the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) has become the scientific consultant of the Intergovernmental Antarctic Treaty; ii) the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE), which has worked closely with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) since its inception, was responsible for an international multidisciplinary study to appraise the state of knowledge of the possible environmental consequences of nuclear war. The two-volume report, on the Physical and Atmospheric Effects and on the Ecological and Agricultural Effects, had a major political effect and influenced the thinking and actions of a number of governments.

Many of these programmes have been and are carried out with the cooperation and support of United Nations and other intergovernmental bodies such as FAO, Unesco, UNEP, WMO, etc.

As indicated above a new development began with the launching of programmes jointly sponsored by ICSU and a UN specialized agency, such as the ICSU-Unesco Joint Project to Study the Feasibility of a "World Information System (UNISIST) and the joint ICSU-World Meteorological Organization (WMO) Global Atmospheric Research Programme (GARP) and later the World Climate Research Programme (WCRP). This has brought ICSU into greater and greater contact with and, to a certain extent, dependence on intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and on national government organizations, particularly for funding and other resources for such scientific studies. Although ICSU ceased to participate formally in the UNISIST programme, once the study had been completed and Unesco launched its General Programme of Information (PGI). ICSU continues to cooperate with Unesco on some of the scientific aspects of the PGI and of other international scientific programmes. In the last decade ICSU has become increasingly involved with intergovernmental organizations, especially IOC, UNEP, Unesco and

WMO, in open-ended programmes of global monitoring, such as the Global Climate, Ocean and Terrestrial Observing Systems, which require long-term commitments of resources and which until the 1970s tended to be limited to intergovernmental organizations with large-budgets backed by governmental commitments.

Another factor, politics, became sufficiently evident during this last period that the Secretary General of ICSU in his report to the 15 General Assembly in 1974 drew attention to the "clear increase in political pressures brought to bear upon ICSU by Intergovernmental Organizations". These pressures mainly concerned the adherence to ICSU of : i) Taiwan (using the name "The Republic of China") after the Peoples Republic of China had been admitted to the UNO and particularly Unesco; and ii) of the Republic of South Africa and, to a lesser extent, the seemingly elitist character of ICSU because only about 50% of the 62 national adhering organizations in 1974 were from developing countries. Some pressures had also been applied by National Members within ICSU because of the essentially Western European staffing of the Secretariat. At the beginning of 1997 the national participation in ICSU was 95: 76 National Scientific Members; 15 National Scientific Associates and 4 National Scientific Observers.

In 1966 at the General Assembly in Bombay ICSU received a report of the Working Group on Relations with Developing Countries that had been established in 1963. The Assembly decided to set up a Special Committee for the encouragement of Science and Technology in Developing Countries (COSTED) with a responsibility to help extend scientific competence in the Third World. The developing countries, especially within the IGOs, began to have an increasing influence on ICSU and at the 15th General Assembly in 1966, for the first time, a scientist from a developing country (India) was elected one of the principal Officers of the Council. Since then there have been two other scientists from developing countries elected as principal Officers: a scientist from Ghana has served first as Treasurer and then as President and an Indian as President. Since the

creation of ICSU in 1931 the principal Officers have come from 17 countries: Belgium 4; Canada 2; Czechoslovakia 1; Denmark 1; France 4; Germany 1; Ghana 1; Hungary 1; India 2; Ireland 1; Italy 1; Netherlands 3; Sweden 4; Switzerland 3; U.K. 7; U.S.A. 8; U.S.S.R. 1. Some of the Officers have held two posit Unions as Officers and sometimes for several periods of office - the maximum, so far, being for five and part of a period as replacement.

This phase of ICSU's development has brought with it a growth in the number of International Scientific Unions -now 25- and of Scientific Associates (28) and also an increased concern for problems of scientists, such as responsibility and ethics in science, freedom in the conduct of science, capacity building, public understanding of science, data and dissemination of scientific information, etc.

Concluding remarks

As indicated above the growth of ICSU can be divided into a number of phases. Until the creation of the post of ICSU-Unesco Liaison Officer in 1947 with an office in Paris the administration was done, as indicated by one former Officer, "by a Cambridge Professor writing with a fountain pen in carpet slippers". Following the transfer of the Secretariat to London in late 1953 the staff was initially two with an external bookkeeper. In 1962, at the time of the move from The Hague to Rome, the Secretariat consisted of five members. When the Secretariat was established in Paris in 1972 there were still only five staff members, although three people had been on secondment during the period in Rome from the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. The staff now con-

sists of 11 people. The number of staff in the ICSU Secretariat is not really indicative of what might be called "ICSU" staff for with the creation of Special and Scientific Committees each Committee developed its own Secretariat. For example, in 1958 at its maximum the staff of the IGY Secretariat consisted of six people - more than ICSU: currently the staff of the central Secretariat for the Scientific Committee for; the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme and of the IGBP Core Projects is greater than that of the ICSU Secretariat in Paris.

Two key developments in ICSU have been: i) the creation of Unesco in 1946 and initially the payment of a Unesco subvention which enabled ICSU and the International Scientific Unions to build up rapidly their programmes in the post-war period ; ii) the launching of the International Geophysical Year in 1957 which brought with it an increased awareness of the need for coordinated studies of the global environment and of the importance of working closer with the United Nations system.

From its small beginnings in 1931 ICSU has become not only a transnational association but an association of transnational associations, some of which have more national members than ICSU itself. It has also become of sufficient importance in the global network hierarchy that it participates in some Inter-Agency meetings with its representatives having the same status as those of UN Specialized Agencies. An Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly of ICSU is to be held in Vienna in April 1998 to consider proposals for changes in ICSU's objectives, governance structure, priorities, policies, etc ¹². We must await the outcome of this Assembly in order to know better how ICSU may begin to evolve in the 21st Century.

(12) It is interesting to note that the Extraordinary Assembly, due to take place in 1998, will consider the question of a change of name. That suggested, not for the first time, is International Council of Science. It will be interesting to see how "Science" is defined and whether it is intended that the Science of ICSU will expand to include the Sciences of some of the other Councils, for example, Humanistic, Medical, Social and other Sciences.

by Edward Goldsmith

The following document is the introduction chapter of *The Way: an Ecological World View*¹ a revised and enlarged edition of the book, first published in 1992. *The Way* provides a radical critique of the world view of modernism, which pervades modern science from physics to biology and ecology and even more so the social sciences. The underlying principles of the view proposed in this work are all-embracing, and apply to both the natural order and the human societies that it encompasses. They consequently promote a sustainable social behaviour pattern consistent with real (biological, social, ecological and spiritual) needs.

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Modern man is rapidly destroying the natural world on which he depends for his survival. Everywhere on our planet, the picture is the same. Forests are being cut down, wetlands drained, coral reefs grubbed up, agricultural lands eroded, salinized, decertified, or simply paved over. Pollution is now generalized — our groundwater, streams, rivers, estuaries, seas and oceans, the air we breathe, the food we eat, are all affected. Just about every living creature on earth now contains in its body traces of agricultural and industrial chemicals - many of which are known or suspected carcinogens and mutagens. As a result of our activities, it is probable that hundreds of species are being made extinct every day, with only a fraction of these being known to science. The earth's magnetic field is being changed, with no one knows what possible consequences. The ozone layer that protects humans and other living things from ultra-violet radiation is being rapidly depleted; and our very climate is being so transformed and destabilized that within the next forty years we will probably experience climatic conditions in which no human has ever lived before.

By destroying the natural world in this way we are making our planet progressively less habitable. If current trends persist, in no more than a few decades it may cease to be capable of supporting complex forms of life. This may sound far-fetched: unfortunately, it is only too realistic. My colleagues and I have documented the trends and the likely outcome ad nauseam in *The Ecologist* over the last twenty-three years.

Why, we might ask, are we doing this? The answer is that our society is committed to economic development or progress — a process which by its very nature must systematically increase the impact of our economic activities on an environment ever less capable of sustaining it, and ever more deeply degraded by it. An idea of the gross mismatch between the impact of human activities and the environment's capacity to sustain them is provided by the fact that we now co-opt for our own use and for our various economic activities, fully forty per cent of the biosphere's terrestrial net primary production (NPP). What is more, if economic activities continue to expand at the present rate, within no more than a few decades we would be co-opting one hundred per cent of NPP - which, of course, is not remotely conceivable.

All this is of little if any concern to our political leaders. They continue to go about their normal business as if the problem did not exist. Thus, though 170 scientists sitting on the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), set up by the United Nations, have warned them that carbon dioxide emissions must be reduced by sixty to eighty per cent immediately in order to stabilize climate, the British government has just undertaken the largest road-building programme in the country's history and talks happily of doubling the number of cars on the roads by the end of the century. The last American administration openly admitted that, whatever the climatic consequences, it planned to go on increasing carbon dioxide emissions into the foreseeable

(1) Themis Book, 1996.

Industrialists are, if anything, even less concerned. The oil industry has been very active in lobbying governments to prevent them from taking any measures that, in the interests of reducing CO₂ emissions, might lead to a reduction in oil consumption with a consequent dip in sales. In general, the main constraint on governmental action to tackle the serious environmental problems that face us are the lobbying campaigns of powerful industrial groups intent on defending their petty short-term interests, come what may.

More surprising, however, has been the almost total indifference with which the scientific world has viewed this critical problem. Its acknowledged role is to provide governments and society at large with knowledge that serves the public interest and maximizes the general welfare. But how can it achieve this task if it systematically ignores the fatal process that is rendering our planet ever less habitable and, if unchecked, must inevitably lead to the extinction of our species along with countless others? Our scientists bring to mind those Australian Aborigines, who, when they first sighted Captain Cook's impressive ship sailing up the Australian coast north of Botany Bay went about their normal activities as if this strange monster were simply not there. Perhaps they hoped - consciously or unconsciously - that by ignoring it to the point of not recognizing its very existence they might induce this aberration to go away and leave them alone.

The parallel is more than superficial. In both cases a life-threatening challenge is systematically ignored because its occurrence is irreconcilable with the prevailing world-view which would be totally discredited were the challenge shown to be real. The American anthropologist A.F.C. Wallace shows convincingly that tribal peoples will go to any lengths to preserve their "cognitive structure or maze-way" as he refers to it. A scientist will go to equal lengths to do so - as Thomas Kühn, Michael Polanyi, Günther Stent and other enlightened philosophers of science have shown.

The world-view which today's scientists share with everybody else in our society, I refer to in this book as the world-view of modernism,

which is faithfully reflected in the paradigm of economics and the paradigm of science. One of the two most fundamental tenets of the world-view of modernism and its academic paradigms is that all benefits, and therefore our welfare and real wealth, are derived from the man-made-world - the product of science, technology and industry and of the economic development that these make possible. The inestimable benefits provided by the normal functioning of the ecosystem - such as a favourable and stable climate, fertile soil and fresh water, without which life on this planet would not be possible - are totally ignored and assigned no value of any kind.

The second fundamental tenet of the world-view of modernism follows quite logically from the first: it is that to maximize all benefits, and hence our welfare and our wealth, we must maximize economic development or progress. To question the efficacy of this fatal process, or to suggest that it might not be entirely beneficial, is to blaspheme against the holy writ of what is in effect the religion of the modern world. For mainstream scientists, as well as for the development industry, it is blasphemous to suggest, as is unquestionably the case, that the modernization of agriculture in the Third World is the main cause of malnutrition and famine in those countries; or that modern medicine has failed to prevent an increase in the global incidence of just about every disease with the exception of smallpox. Nor will any believer accept that the terrible social and environmental destruction we are witnessing today is the inevitable product of this sacred process. Instead, it will be imputed to deficiencies or difficulties in its implementation - government interference, corruption among local officials, freak economic or climatic conditions that are unlikely to recur, or good old human fallibility.

In this way, the world-view of modernism and its specialized paradigms prevent us from understanding our relationship with the world we live in and adapting to it so as to maximize our welfare and our real wealth. Instead, they serve primarily to rationalize economic development or progress - the very behaviour that is leading to the destruction of the natural world with consequences for all to see: poverty, malnutrition and general human misery.

How, one might ask, is it possible for our objective scientists to behave in so unobjective a manner? The answer is that science is not objective - a fact that has been well established by Michael Polanyi, Thomas Kühn and other philosophers of science. One reason why scientists accept the paradigm of science and hence the world-view of modernism is that these rationalize the policies that have given rise to the modern world in which they, and indeed all of us, have been brought up. It is very difficult for people to avoid regarding the world they live in — the only one they have ever known — as the normal condition of human life on this planet. Just as an abandoned child who sleeps in the sewers of Rio de Janeiro and lives off petty crime and prostitution regards his or her lot as totally normal, so scientists regard it as normal that our rivers have been transformed into sewers, that our drinking water is contaminated with human excrement, pesticide residues, nitrates, radionuclides and heavy metals, that our agricultural land is eroding faster than soil can possibly form by natural processes, that our natural forests are being systematically replaced with ecologically vulnerable and soil-destroying monocultures of fast-growing exotics, that our cities are increasingly ugly, chaotic and polluted - and that our children spend most of their spare time watching violent and sadistic films on television. All this, and much else that is totally aberrant and destructive, most mainstream scientists will take to be normal.

This general human tendency to regard the only world we know as normal is reflected in just about all the disciplines that are taught in our schools and universities. Thus the modern discipline of economics is based on the assumption that the destructive economic system that is operative today is normal; the discipline of sociology on the assumption that our modern atomized and crime-ridden society is normal; our political science on the assumption that the elected dictatorships that govern modern nation states are normal; and our agricultural science on the assumption that large-scale, mechanized, chemical-based agriculture (which rapidly transforms arable land into desert) is normal. It simply does not occur to many acad-

emics that what they take to be normal is highly atypical of humanity's total experience on this planet - necessarily short-lived, and totally aberrant. They are like biologists who have only seen cancerous tissue and understandably mistake it for a healthy organism, failing to distinguish between pathology and physiology.

Another reason why our scientific community still accepts the paradigm of science is that, though it paints the most misleading picture of reality, it is nevertheless a totally coherent and self-consistent whole. This must be so, for scientific theories are not adopted by mainstream science because they have been proved to be true by experimentation in controlled laboratory conditions, or even as a result of simulation on a mathematical model, but because, above all, they happen to fit in particularly well with the paradigm of science. At the same time, the very disciplines which these theories constitute are only judged to be scientific and hence worthy of being taught in our schools and universities if they conform to this reductionistic and mechanistic paradigm inspired by Newtonian physics — and this in spite of the fact that Newtonian physics is supposed to have been disposed of by quantum theory.

In the last sixty years, the behaviourists made psychology conform to the paradigm of science. The neo-Darwinists and, even more so, the sociobiologists did the same for biology. Modern sociology has also become mechanistic and reductionistic, and the development of the new ecology in the 1940s and 1950s has created a Newtonian ecology. In this way all academic knowledge has been forced, Procrustean-like, into the paradigm of science, stretched or shrunk to fit an atomized and mechanistic vision of the world in which people are no more than machines and their needs purely material and technological — precisely those that the state and the industrial system are capable of satisfying. At the same time, any social and ecological problem that might arise is interpreted in such a way as to appear amenable to a technological solution, the only one that our modern industrial society can provide. It is all very neat and very logical but it is a pure figment of the scientist's imagination.

Another reason why our scientists are

still wedded to the paradigm of science is that it is a homeostatic system. It is capable of perpetuating itself, however wide the gap may be between the world it depicts and the world as it really is. For if knowledge is only accepted to the extent that it fits the paradigm, any knowledge that does not fit, however true and important it might be, is by the same token ruthlessly rejected. This disposes of all theories based on the assumption that the world is orderly and purposive rather than random; organized rather than atomized; co-operative rather than purely competitive; dynamic, creative and intelligent rather than passive and robot-like; self-regulating rather than managed by some external agent; tending to maintain its stability or homeostasis rather than geared to perpetual change in an undefined direction: in other words, all theories based on the assumption that the world is alive rather than dead and machine-like.

In terms of this false paradigm we can never correctly interpret the problems that threaten our survival, nor can the world-view of modernism accommodate the policies needed to bring to an end the destruction of the planet and to develop a sustainable and fulfilling way of life. We thus require a new world-view that will satisfy these requirements.

I have tried to state clearly the basic principles underlying an ecological world-view. These principles are all closely interrelated, forming an all-embracing and self-consistent model of our relationship with the world in which we live. It was always clear to me that the inspiration must come from the world-view of vernacular societies, in particular from the chthonic world-view of the earliest period when people everywhere really knew how to live in harmony with the natural world. I have often been criticized on this score. However, it has always seemed to me presumptuous to postulate what must be a world-view of an ideal society for which there is no precedent in the

biological, social and ecological viability has never been demonstrated. If Karl Marx made that mistake, so too do today's adepts of economic development or progress, who seek to create a man-made technological world without asking themselves whether we are capable of adapting to it or whether the ecosphere is capable of sustaining it for more than a few decades.

What has struck me more recently is that the main features of the world-view of early vernacular societies were everywhere basically the same. They emphasized two fundamental principles that necessarily underlie an ecological world-view. The first is that the living world or ecosphere is the basic source of all benefits and hence of all wealth, but will only dispense these benefits to us if we preserve its critical order. From this fundamental first principle follows the second, which is that the overriding goal of this behaviour pattern of an ecological society must be to preserve the critical order of the natural world or of the cosmos.

A cursory study of the world-view of vernacular and, in particular, chthonic peoples, shows that many societies actually had a word for such a behaviour pattern: the *R'ta* of the Hindus in Vedic times; the *Asha* of the Avestas; the *Maat* of the ancient Egyptians; the *Dharma*, another Hindu concept later taken up by the Buddhists; and the ancient Chinese *Tao*. These terms can often refer to the critical order of the cosmos, but they are generally used to denote that path or Way that must be taken in order to preserve its critical order. If many other societies do not have a specific term for it, the concept of the Way is nevertheless built into their world view. Explicit or implicit adherence to the Way is critical. It is only by following it that a society can subordinate all political and economic considerations to the overriding imperative of maintaining the critical order of the cosmos.

by *Elise Boulding* *

To be more effective in the long slow process of reducing and preventing violence around the world, we need to develop far more complex mental maps of that world, since so much violence is internal to states, or pills across state borders with only random involvement of central governments. The term "international system" is a poor descriptor of the global reality of numerous types of actors on the global scene. For starters, we need a sense of the planet itself, of *gaia*, beginning with her molten core and working outwards through the surrounding layers of geosphere, hydrosphere biosphere, atmosphere and sociosphere, each of which interacts continuously with every other. Within the sociosphere itself there are many actors: six billion people in their one billion households living in their "10,000 societies" spread every which way across the borders of the 185 states of what is officially known as the international system. Then there are the 20,000 transnational NGOs — peoples' organizations—similarly spread across state boundaries, 2,000 IGOs and the UN system and its agencies with which they cooperate, not to forget the transnational global corporations, richer and more powerful than many member states of the UN, and their shadow, the global network of crime syndicates. Perhaps most important of all, there are many thousands of GROs, grassroots organizations (sometimes called CBOs, community-based organizations) representing the creative self-help capacities of peoples in every region, on every continent.

As we are all aware, a crucial development of the twentieth century has been the rise of the NGOs— the global civil society that transcends national boundaries in its concern for human wellbeing. Representing the whole range of social, scientific and cultural knowledge of our times, and the bearers of values that transcend nationalism, NGOs are able to penetrate into problem areas in ways that governments and the UN cannot. Their greatest value is seen as providing nonviolent problem-solving skills in situations where military force can only exacerbate, not reduce, the destructiveness of local and regional struggles. Since NGOs first developed in the One-Third World of the

West, they are often poorly informed about the great diversity of lifeways, values and traditional knowledge of the Two-thirds World, to the extent that they have sometimes hindered rather than helped in problem situations, and thereby engendered understandable resentment. Fortunately, there is a new level of consciousness about this problem in the West. It is being increasingly recognized that the challenge facing all NGOs is to enter into a more self-aware learning mode so that their work becomes one of partnership and mutual learning in whatever situation they enter.

There is also a new level of consciousness about the close relationship between intergroup violence and war on the one hand, and the stress on the carrying capacity of the planet created by the continued growth in numbers of humans, the unsustainable lifestyle of the consumer culture, and the mining of the earth's resources by industrial civilization and its agents, global corporations. The problem goes far beyond needing more effective diplomacy. We need to identify the whole range of relevant NGOs that can offer not only the needed skills of working with many different kinds of conflicts, but also the skills of addressing the threats to human security from environmental destruction, maldevelopment, and large-scale violation of the human rights of women, men and children.

While a number of NGOs are already at work around the world on a variety of tasks related to peacebuilding, many are already overstrained and hardly ready for the expansion of their work needed as the additional factor of climate change raises sea levels and reduces the landmass available for agriculture and human habitation. Substantial increases in population movements due to disappeared or further degraded landmass, and the violence that accompanies new population crowding, lies ahead. The UN is already overstretched and many states are reducing levels of bilateral and multilateral aid. Regional IGOs— OAU, OSC E, OAS, AS EAN— are stepping in as best they can but most have very limited resources. In short, the NGO capacity is badly needed. This means that a process of recruitment and mobilization of NGOs well beyond those already involved in a hands-on way needs to take place.

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Furthermore, both the "old hands" and the new NGOs need to begin a planning process for new levels of involvement. This will mean developing an Orientation Program for NGOs that will help each individual NGO understand the whole system within which it will be working, and learn how to network with other parts of that system - NGO, GRO, IGO and the UN itself. Pluralistic ignorance within and between each of these sets of communities is rampant. It will also mean identifying existing data bases and developing new ones that can link and inform bodies working on similar problems. The already popular internet must move from being interest-group focussed to a more operational mode for sharing on-the-ground strategies and knowledge resources between widely dispersed NGO teams in the field.

Last but not least, ways must be found to upgrade the peacebuilding skills of each NGO. Building on initiatives which to some extent already exist, three strategies are suggested to help this process along: (1) develop a core short course on how the system could work if those NGOs focussed on peacebuilding, the environment, development and human rights, were interlinked with each other and the IGO-UN system. (2) Develop a major initiative on intercultural skills for NGOs, to include: "learning how to learn" from locals and the development of new standards for "elicitive professionalism" to enable outside specialists to build on local know-how. This elicitive professionalism should also include a basic understanding of a range of ways to deal with conflict. (3) The further development of specific UN-NGO linkage systems, not only with each relevant UN agency, but with the UN peacekeeping forces, so that NGOs can provide personnel for UN unarmed civilian peace, development and environmental reconstruction teams to work closely with peacekeeping forces. The UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the UN Volunteers already play an important role here, but linkage systems need to be expanded.

I would emphasize here that peace-building activities of NGOs abroad should be grounded in previous experience of working with conflict situations in their own society. This is where peace-building concept should

first be developed. Once that competence has been established at home, an organization has begun to build up the kind of skills its workers will need abroad.

An urgent preliminary task is the development of as complete as possible a list of NGOs concerned with one of more aspects of the peace-environment-development problématique but who do not currently have field operations. This will be important in the process of mobilizing more NGOs for this kind of work. In what follows I will discuss different categories of NGOs already involved in peace-related activity, as exemplars of what is already being done or could be done.

NGOs directly related to peace-building and conflict resolution.

1. Peace Research and Peace Studies programs: The International Peace Research Association (now housed at COPRI, University of Copenhagen) and its 5 regional affiliates in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin and North America is a network of research institutes and teaching programs on each continent. It needs encouragement to give greater emphasis to practitioner roles in peacebuilding, and the dynamics of peacebuilding processes, in addition to the excellent systems-analytic work and general peace education for classroom and community it already does. Only a few university peace studies programs offer practitioner courses and apprenticeship experience in conflict situations. There is no one master list of all research and teaching programs around the world, but IPRA, working with its affiliates, could produce such a Directory.

2. Scientists focussed on peace and disarmament: There is an important category of scientists who do not think of themselves as peace researchers but who are concerned about the dangers of weapons technology and arms races. These scientists feel that a more appropriate use of scientific capabilities is to control weapons production and develop peaceful technologies that will advance human wellbeing. Pugwash is the oldest of the NGOs that focus on arms con-

control and disarmament, and the International Council of Scientific Unions played an important role in alerting the world to the danger of nuclear war, and "nuclear winter". Ongoing activities of scientists have produced a new International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Peace. The International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms and the International Association of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War have long been active on the war prevention scene. Non-Offensive Defense, taking a somewhat different tactic, represents a network of security specialists who recommend abolition of offensive weaponry and changing the character of defense to one with a stronger component of civilian participation and skilled use of nonviolent strategies. All of these NGOs, together with others such as the long-standing Economists Against the Arms Race (ECAAR) and the New Center for Economic Conversion in Bonn, Germany, are sources for the knowledge base needed by peace activist NGOs that work for nuclear disarmament and general disarmament at the level of policy-making.

In the past there has not been much communication between the scientific community concerned with arms control and disarmament, and the social science scholars of the peace research community. However reports from the recent Pugwash Conference in Norway indicate that there is now more interest on the part of Pugwash scientists in conflict prevention, and in a more wholistic approach to security that includes taking account of environmental factors and the role of civil society. This may lead to more dialogue with peace researchers.

3. *Professional NGOs* focussed on practitioner skills of conflict resolution, mediation, reconciliation: this field is so new that professional associations exist primarily as national organizations. Efforts to create an international network of global peace services began several years ago in Sweden, and those efforts are still in process, but a firm network does not yet exist. ACCESS in Washington DC recently conducted an international survey of research, training and practitioner bodies on all continents, and that information is now available on internet. It will also be available in book form

shortly. Since the field is steadily growing, that information will need constant updating.

The International Peace Academy has played a special role in strengthening conflict resolution skills within the networks of the international diplomatic community. International Alert works hard to maintain a practitioner network for the countries in which it is active. Most existing networks however have been created by individual institutions to connect the countries in which they have peacebuilding programs. The Life and Peace Institute of Sweden probably has one of the best networks of its kind for the regions in which it has established partnerships. Partners for Change is a network of conflict resolvers in Eastern Europe, and Search for Common Ground has chapters on several continents. Examples from the U.S. include the Institute for Peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University, which has partnership relationships with the Nairobi Peace Center in Africa and several Centers in Latin America, and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy which works with partnering groups in Cyprus, India and Pakistan, Tanzania, Liberia, Kenya and Ethiopia. There are many other such institutes in Europe and North America, also a few in Latin America and Asia, each with their own networks. The fact that there is no inclusive network of practitioner peace services groups around the world creates a challenge that must be responded to in the near future.

4. *Peacebuilding Training Centers*: These centers are gradually becoming better known, partly because there is such a demand for them in the peace studies community. The Austrian Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Burg Schlaining, the Department of Peace Studies of Bradford University and the Woodbrook Responding to Conflict Program of Birmingham, England, the Conflict Transformation Program at Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, Virginia, USA - are only a few of a growing number of such centers that provide actual practitioner training. In addition, NGOs like Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams and SIPAZ for Latin America provide periodic training for new recruits to their peace teams. There is a

need for an active international network of centers and training opportunities so there can be a better match between the needs in the field and what is being provided.

5. Bodies maintaining data bases on *international and internal conflicts*'. Every peace research institute maintains some kind of data base, and some of these can be accessed by E-mail, but there is no comprehensive systematic listing of the types of conflict data bases and bibliographies of regional historical analyses of conflicts that are maintained by different research units. It would be useful if the Swedish International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which has one of the oldest and most substantial data bases on conflict, would convene a consultation to establish an interactive international data base system that could be used by the UN and peacebuilding groups. Much peacebuilding work is done in the absence of relevant information about the parties to the conflicts in question.

6. *Peace Teams/Peace Services*: An important development of recent decades has been the creation of NGOs to maintain peace teams on the Gandhian model of the Shanti Sena, Peace Brigades International being the pioneer. At present there are at least a dozen NGOs, some secular, some faith-based, which train and support men and women for long-term nonviolent service in conflict areas, always on the basis of partnership with local peace groups. In addition, faith-based organizations such as the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the World Council of Churches and Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish and Hindu peace and reconciliation fellowships are among the many bodies that support local training and peace team work around the world. Of great importance is the development of organizations and institutions within war-torn countries to develop, train and coordinate their own peacebuilding capacities locally. An outstanding example here is the Centro de Estudios Internacionales in Managua, which has developed a national network of Peace Promoters composed of former Sandinista and Contra soldiers to deal nonviolently with conflicts over land and the many basic socio-economic problems linked to poverty, as well as to help eliminate the violence of armed

conflicts. The Centro provides a much-needed model for other countries with similar problems — but first others must know about it.

It is a general problem that peace practitioners in the field often do not know of each others' work, thus missing opportunities to help each other and relevant UN and intergovernmental bodies. In 1993 I began a Peace Teams/Peace Services Newsletter in an effort to provide networking among all these groups. This Newsletter, after something of a hiatus, now continues. Edited by Yeshua Moser-Puangsuan of Nonviolence International/Asia, both on E-mail and through regular mail, it is still struggling to reach the great variety of peace service workers in the field.

A special category of peacebuilding activity officially carried out by governments but relying heavily on NGO involvement in each country where it is found, is the national peace accord process as for example carried out in South Africa. Here the role of Swedish PEMSA and supportive groups from other countries was important in giving the extra, well-trained support needed to carry out the enormous task of preparing a peaceful end to apartheid. That support continues to be needed as the Truth and Reconciliation commission carries on the process begun by the country-wide peace accord activity in the new South Africa.

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions also exist now in varying formats in Haiti, El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Ireland and Rwanda. Some of them are making a very conscious effort to learn from each other, since each faces great obstacles in achieving the reconciliation between victims and victimize« that the Commissions are established to achieve. A coalition of NGOs to support the work of these commissions and related National War Crimes Tribunals — with constant interaction among relevant bodies, could greatly advance and improve the quality of a work which is endangered by the negative reactions of disappointed participants when amnesty appears to be too easily granted.

7. *NGO-UN interface: the UN Vo/unteers*. While many of the 13,000 UN volunteers who have worked in trouble spots around the world

the 25 years since that program was established come from NGOs, they usually come by individual choice. Since the UN Volunteer program works under the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, and always needs far more volunteers than they have, peacebuilding NGOs should seriously consider establishing formal liaison with the UNV. They could be providing volunteers for UN operations in which they have special expertise, as a part of their ongoing activity. The UNV White Helmets Initiative will be discussed in the section on humanitarian NGOs.

8. *Women's Peacebuilding NGOs:* The history of women's creative peacebuilding diplomacy is a long and honorable one. In more recent decades examples include WILPF's Great Peace Journey, the Women's Peace Camps established at military bases, such as Greenham Commons in England, Seneca Falls in the US and Kita Fuji in Japan, the Women for a Meaningful Summit Group and the relatively new WEDO, the Womens Environment and Development Organization. The importance of linking environmental and development work to peacebuilding cannot be overstressed. However, it must be noted that while the series of UN Women's Conferences from Mexico City in 1975 to Beijing in 1995 is slowly creating a general awareness of the need for the knowledge, skills and competence of women in decisionmaking at every level from the family to the UN, the sheer struggle for acknowledgement and opportunities for participation in public life sometimes draws the attention of womens organizations away from specific peacebuilding work. The courageous activities of local women in the many situations of violent conflict in the Asia Pacific, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, to say nothing of inner-city conflict areas in Euro-North America, do not get the support they should from the major women's organizations of the One-Third World of the West. While it is true that the work of women NGOs in getting rape acknowledged as a war crime, and addressing the horrors of domestic violence, are major contributions to peacebuilding, equally important is support for the less dramatic day-to-day modeling of nonviolent behavior by local

mothers and teachers and community workers in the midst of factional violence in villages and cities.

9. *Youth peace NGOs:* One of the saddest produces of the widespread practise of segregation of children and youth from the rest of society in today's world, is the lack of knowledge in the adult world of the knowledge, skills and competence of children. It is true that UN events beginning with the 1979 International Year of the Child through the 1990 World Children's Summit called attention to the problems of children and youth. In fact, a survey of the 1993 Yearbook of International Organizations lists 859 children and youth NGOs. However, an examination of those NGOs in terms of the actual participation of the young, reveals the following: of children's NGOs, only 6 per cent involve children directly. In NGOs focussing on adolescence, participation increases to 21 per cent. But even in NGOs focussing on older youth, only 42 per cent are fully participatory. In other words, most of those NGOs are advocacy organizations on behalf of children and youth, and do not treat the young as partners in solving the problems of our times.

Fortunately, however, there are NGOs in which the young are the initiators, and partnering adults help facilitate their projects as needed. Rescue Mission Planet Earth is an NGO in which young people from the ages of 8 to the early twenties work together to create environmental movements in their local schools around the world. A descendant of the Peace Child NGO, a musical theater project in which children acted out their own stories in their own languages around the world, Rescue Mission makes peace with the planet as well as with its people. The Voice of Children NGO, together with a loose Coalition for Children of the Earth, empowers pre-teens and teens to initiate Days of access, opportunities for governing groups from local city councils to national parliaments to listen to the concerns of their youth about war, social and economic injustice, human rights and the environment. Such days of access now happen regularly in a number of countries in Europe, and also take place, for example, in Australia. At the 1995 World Summit of Children in San Francisco, young

delegates drafted a proposal for a UN Youth Assembly. This draft document is impressive in its design for youth participation in such an Assembly, inclusive of local to national preparatory meetings prior to the UN gathering. One of the most important things that peace movement NGOs can do is to network with the children-and-youth NGOs in a partnering relationship.

10. *Peace movement NGOs*: The major current thrust in peace movements is to work for the abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, as a step toward total disarmament. What will give this movement a sustainable vitality that will keep it from petering out as past major disarmament movements have done? How can the movement strengthen the voices for disarmament in the UN General Assembly, and in the Security Council itself? I believe that working with practitioner groups to develop working models in local communities of how serious conflicts can be handled nonviolently will bring a new dimension to movements aimed at policy change. There is a gulf between those who practise peacebuilding and those who work for policy change at the legislative level. That gap needs to be bridged, and the task is perhaps most usefully conceived in terms of creating a culture of peace out of which a more creative management of conflict within and between states can emerge.

Culture of peace approaches

What is "peace culture"? The term refers to a cluster of attributes that enables peaceable behavior to take place in a society. That cluster can be thought of as a mosaic of identities, attitudes, values, beliefs and institutional patterns that leads to creative responses in the face of conflict and difference.

1. *UNESCO program with NGOs*: Taking seriously its mandate to end war by building the institutions of peace in the minds of men and women, UNESCO has established a Culture of Peace program. This program functions in a number of countries in a creative partnership between national governments and national and local civic and professional organizations.

In pioneer projects in El Salvador, Burundi, Mozambique and Rwanda, the program works with groups formerly in conflict to build a common agenda for peace, social justice and human rights across differences. The process has involved civic leaders, school and community educators, journalists, women's groups, art, music, literature and theater groups, and a great variety of community-based organizations as well as health and human services professionals. Special attention has been given to working with soldiers and former guerrillas (including children), and with women and children victimized by war.

The UNESCO program is small in relation to need, and the war culture remains strong in rhetoric and behavior at every level of society from patriarchal domination and violence in families to increasingly violent sports cultures and media depictions of violence, to say nothing of national military pride. Here is a challenge for every NGO: to consider whether they might provide leadership in strengthening the peace culture of the societies in which they have a presence, building on the special skills and strengths of their own organization.

2. *Peace journalism*: since journalists are often the first to suffer when serious violations of human rights occur (because they try to report them), it is encouraging to see the development of "peace journalism" as a theme for various national and international media groups. This movement has its roots in the report to UNESCO of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (the *MacBride Report*), published as *Many Voices. One World*. Every NGO should re-read that report and reflect on the extent to which they are contributing to a freer flow of information in the world, to a rectification of imbalances in communication systems, and giving adequate support to embattled speakers of truth. The World Association for Christian Communication is an outstanding example of journalists working in the most difficult national and local situations to strengthen the unreported voices of peace.

3. *Zones of Peace*: the concept of a safe place for endangered humans to go, particularly in times of war and widespread social violence.

as old as human history. Both the Hebrew Bible and the Koran declared croplands and orchards, and the women and children who tended them, as protected in times of war. The Catholic Church extended this protection through the Pax Dei, to pilgrims, merchants and cattle in the twelfth century, and controlled the violence of war by forbidding soldiers to fight on certain days of the week (from Wednesday evening to Monday Prime and on Feast Days). Temples and holy places of all faiths have traditionally been sanctuaries.

Today courageous local peace groups have been able to declare and maintain, with the cooperation of guerillas and government soldiers, zones of peace in war-torn areas such as the Philippines, Central America and the Balkans. Local communities of faith have sometimes been able to do the same. Such zones are precarious and difficult to maintain, and urgently need the support of international organizations, including the physical presence of caring outsiders. Indigenous NGOs such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference seek removal of weapons and environmentally damaging activities from their territories on every continent, and need far more support than they are getting, both from the UN and NGOs.

The movement to create nuclear weapon-free zones is a significant peace movement that has linked the UN, national governments and peace NGOs in a lengthy process which has led to five regional NWFZs: The treaties of the Antarctic, the Treaty of Tlatelolco (Latin America), the Treaty of Rarotonga (the Asia-Pacific) and most recently the treaties of Bangkok (Southeast Asia) and of Pelindaba (Africa). An associated phenomenon is the fact that 23 or 24 states now have constitutions that forbid the establishment of national armies. None of these zones could have been created without intensive NGO involvement. In a grassroots aspect of the same movement, local governments may also declare their communities nuclear-free, or as zones of peace, thus joining an international network that now consists of well over 5000 cities. The declaration of violence-free zones in the midst of inner-city violence in some of the major metropolises of the Americas and Europe

is one more manifestation of this growing international movement. Because of the strong grass roots motivation for zones of peace, this approach as a strategy for cooperation between governmental and nongovernmental bodies has great potential for the future, yet is relatively unrecognized by many NGOs.

Environmental groups

While the historic Stockholm Conference on the Environment first linked the issues of environmental security and human security, on the whole the peace movement and the environmental movement developed along separate tracks. In the late 1980s the concept of an Earth Charter that would spell out how we should relate to all living things on the planet including other humans in terms of the survivability and sustainability of life itself began to give rise to a social movement for an ecology of peace.

1. *The Earth Charter*: while separate movements for peace, development, human rights, and the environment still continue, the more inclusive Earth Charter movement is now taking on a strong momentum, with the final draft of the Earth Charter Commission (co-chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev and Maurice Strong) now about to be publicly launched. The Year 2000 is the target year for adoption of the Earth Charter by the UN. Coupled with the Abolition 2000 of the nuclear abolition groups, and the millennialist hopes for a world at peace that have already been widely aroused, the year 2000 will be a challenging year for governments and peoples. If the NGOs and faith-based groups with a positive peacebuilding agenda coordinate their activities sufficiently with each other, with governments and with the UN, the outcome can be a significant step forward for the world community. Without some degree of coordination, mass hysteria could take over in some severely stressed areas, just as millennialist hysteria broke out in various places in the months leading up to the year 2000. (If there are large-scale breakdowns in computer networks because not all computers have been re-programmed to move forward to

the year 2000 instead of back to 1900, confusion will be confounded by chaos.) Creative conferencing among peacebuilding NGOs on how to make realistic use of millennialist energy is overdue.

In addition to the Earth Charter movement! the work of various environmental monitoring NGOs should be taken account of as local peacebuilding work goes forward. The International Council for Scientific Unions and the International Social Science Council both have major monitoring projects under way. Environmental institutes such as the World Watch Institute which publishes interdisciplinary research reports on serious dangers to the health of natural environments and the humans that inhabit those environments provides reports that can be used by activist environmental and peace NGOs to set priorities for their field work. An even more direct link between environmental problems and social peace is found in, for example, the University of Toronto Program on Environmental Security. This program publishes reports on direct threats to national and human security from specific environmental hazards and problematic environmental politics and practices in specific regions.

2. *Green Helmets*: the term Green Helmets has been used to describe a possible UN environmental security force as a counterpart to UN peacekeeping forces, and it has also been used to describe projects for environmentally oriented peace teams in Latin America. Possibly it exists so far only at the conceptual level. It is, however, a concept that would be very important to operationalize. The Earthstewards Network project of youth teams planting trees for peace in areas of violence around the world is a symbolic example of what might be done. Peacebuilding cannot be separated from environmental reconstruction.

NGOs could play an important role in bringing something like Green Helmets into reality, not only at the UN and state levels, but as NGO teams wherever peacebuilding work is going on. The proposal by the Manitou Foundation in Colorado, USA to train people for an international Earth Restoration Corps offers a curriculum which includes studying alternative

building and energy technologies, and sustainable agriculture and earth restoration technologies. A joint effort by the UN national governments and NGOs could develop an integrated training program that would greatly enhance peacebuilding work in war-torn areas.

Humanitarian NGOs

The concept of humanitarian aid has become increasingly central as continuing internal warfare in a number of countries has increased the number of war victims among old and young alike, and created large refugee populations with no means of local support in the places to which they have fled. The UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the High Commissioner for Refugees have been overwhelmed by the large numbers of dependent populations with no means of self-help, who need food, shelter and medical care. Finding strategies to deal with these tragedies that move beyond the survival aid that perpetuates dependency, and forward to the rebuilding of self-sufficiency and the recovery of traditional peacebuilding capacities, is of the greatest urgency. Apart from the International Red Cross/Red Crescent, which deals with the entire range of humanitarian needs, most NGOs specialize in specific types of assistance— health care or in the delivery of food or other emergency needs. Yet famine, disease and genocidal violence are intimately related in war-torn settings, and place humanitarian aid workers in great jeopardy. More thought has to be given to the kinds of NGO alliances and coalitions that can be built up so that common protection can be provided for different categories of aid workers.

The current trend of hiring armed security guards made available by professional security agencies using reassigned soldiers, to protect NGO humanitarian workers, is an understandable strategy of desperation in situations so dangerous that the only alternative strategy seems to be withdrawal of the workers themselves. However it works against the veN concept of peacebuilding by treating some elements of local populations as "the enemy".

There is no simple answer! bur violence training for special protection teams must be thoroughly explored. Since Oxfam refuses to use armed guards, that NGO might provide leadership in seeking alternative solutions.

1. *Medical aid*: NGOs like the Médecins sans Frontières have been performing heroic service in the most violent settings in Europe, Africa and Asia in recent years. The very intensity of the violence in the settings where they work shortens the life expectancy of the doctors and nurses, and the UN forces often cannot protect them. It could be argued that no medical aid team should work without an accompanying highly trained nonviolent peace team.

2. *Food aid*: since starvation and disease go hand in hand, food aid and medical aid cannot be separated, and NGOs distributing food face the same dangers as medical workers. Therefore a strategy which involves unarmed peace teams, medical and food aid workers all working together with local UN peacekeeping forces and UN agencies needs to be further refined. Very commendable efforts have already been made in this direction by the ICRC, but other NGOs have not done their part in helping the ICRC and the UN to make this a more coordinated strategy among the groups with separate specialties.

3. *Human rights and victim protection*: again, different NGOs focus on different victims; refugees from various ethnic populations, survivors of massacres, rape victims, torture victims, children generally or children forced into armed brigades. Some specialization is necessary because each group has different needs, but networking among the specialized NGOs is needed to share resources and expertise, so that one set of rescuers is not competing with another set of rescuers. Amnesty International, which works at so many different levels with different kinds of NGOs, with governments, the UN and War Crimes Tribunals, may be in the best position to further that networking.

4. *Development aid*: this is not ordinarily thought of as humanitarian aid, nor as peacebuilding! but in fact the adequate provision of all the human services from food aid to human rights protection depends on the effectiveness of NGOs in working with grassroots groups in

precisely the most disrupted and destroyed areas to recreate the conditions for rebuilding self-sufficiency. This can be done by clearing landmines so crops can be grown again, by locating seeds and tools and materials for the necessities of daily life, encouraging the using traditional knowhow for housing! assisting the start-up again of schools and community institutions and addressing the needs of the local economy. The many NGOs that do this type of work! including the ones that focus on restarting local economies such as Technoserve, Trickle Up and PACT, should be thought of as fellow-workers in peacebuilding. An example of how the lines between conflict resolution and economic development are blurring comes from former President Jimmy Carter's activity. The Carter Center, which previously focussed entirely on dispute settlement and peace diplomacy! is now committed to a project of working with 14 African countries on food production, agriculture research and infrastructure development. This is an interesting broadening of the Carter Centers definition of mission.

Another type of development to be taken account of is the new White Helmets Initiative within the UN Volunteers program; the WHI bridges the gap between humanitarian relief and reconstruction and development. With its earlier experience in 100 countries in rural development, education, health and economic reform, the UNV/WHI works with both UN aid agencies and UN Peacekeeping operations in local reconciliation initiatives and with South-South cooperative bodies in demining, creating new facilities and opportunities for refugees, the war-disabled and child soldiers. It also meets gelleral infrastructure needs in places such as Angola, Rwanda, Bolivia, Gaza, Lebanon and Nicaragua. Again, more NGOs need a direct connection to the WHI, since the need for the skills of reconstruction is enormous and calls are frequently being issued by WHI for special types of expertise.

Another kind of approach to development aid is the sister city and sister village movement, which engages locals from widely separated regions in an intercultural peacebuilding effort that will bring to an end long-standing disparities in access to resources and

recognition of cultural values. The long-run the goal of a more peaceful and just world community in the twenty-first century will have to be built village by village and city by city around the world.

The NGO-GRO-IGOUN linkage system

The focus in this presentation has been primarily on NGOs and the need for much more networking, increased communication and cooperation among NGOs in order to make the most effective use of their peacebuilding capacities. However precisely because they command skills and knowledge not otherwise available to IGOs and the UN, putting more time and energy into the process already under way of designing linkage systems between the many field operations of the UN system (including most particularly the UN peace-keeping system) and NGOs with field operations, is of the utmost importance. A more detailed analysis of how this can work in relation to trained civilian peace teams will be found in a pamphlet published by the Transnational Futures Foundation, "UN Peacekeeping and NGO Peacebuilding-Towards Partnership", by Boulding and Oberg.

Another important linkage system that has not had enough attention is the one between the major regional IGOs — OSCE, OAS, OAU and the ASEAN Regional Forum (a larger group of countries than ASEAN itself) — and NGOs. The OSCE probably has the most developed linkage system in relationship to peacebuilding activities, with an active Commission on Conflict Resolution that works with a number of NGOs including international Alert. The OAS has had a fruitful relationship with the Latin American Peace Commission, a coalition of NGOs initially headed by Juan Somavia; that relationship was instrumental in bringing about the NWFZ Treaty of Tlatelolco. The OAU is working toward a similar relationship with NGOs in Africa on peace and development issues, but the process is in very early stages. In Asia, the ASEAN Regional Forum is beginning a difficult security dia-

logue. But Australia's suggestion to establish regional peace and security centers that can strengthen conflict resolution capabilities and preventive diplomacy, with involvement of NGOs in the region, has not yet been acted on.

The NGO Committee on Disarmament has provided a consistent link over the years between the UN Center for Disarmament Affairs, UN General Assembly committees on various aspects of disarmament including UN expert committees, and those NGOs that have made the promotion of disarmament a major goal of their organization. Their continuing lobbying efforts at the UN itself and with member states ensure that periodic Special Sessions on Disarmament are held by the UN General Assembly, and help the glacially slow movement towards various arms control conventions and treaties.

Going in the other direction, the need for NGOs to develop cooperation and partnering relations with GROs in the areas where they have field operations has already been emphasized.

For linkage systems to effectively empower participants and lead to greater creativity in problem-solving, there has to be openness to new learnings from each side, in the context of free two-way flows of information. In part there is a problem of systems design, which the relatively new profession of organizational development (OD) can help with. In part there is a problem of developing new mental maps of the biosphere/ sociosphere totality, and a way of thinking of the planet as a complex living system with every part related to every other part— in short, a more profound ecological awareness. Another challenge arises from the stepped-up rhetoric about the importance of the civil society. At worst, this can lead to complacency on the part of NGOs. At best, it can lead to a greater sense of urgency, and a mobilization of efforts to a new level to meet the enormous challenges of a troubled world. What are we not doing that we could be doing?" we should all be asking. In my view NGOs need to give much more thought to increasing their levels of involvement in the very concrete work of peacebuilding in the many settings that cry out for resources, caring

and partnership. inter-NGO conferencing can help by defining problems, but cooperation in the field is what will count the most. Networking by E-mail can help, but face-to-face collaboration on the ground is essential.

In closing, I wish to express my deep appreciation for the joint initiative of the Peace

Team forum, including the Swedish UN Association, and the Swedish government in convening this conference, which may well be the beginning of the very process this paper calls for, of deeper involvement of NGOs and better networking with each other, governments and the UN in the urgent task of peacebuilding.

Building Partnerships between NGOs, governments and the United Nations *

by Ismail Razali

It has been said that the partnership between NGOs, governments and the UN has come a long way in 50 years. This is certainly true in one sense, and one would be forgiven for being surprised at the theme of this conference, "building partnerships", after so long an association. But critical review of developments in the last decade demonstrate that productive partnerships between governments and NGOs are the exception and not the norm in the UN context, and remain steeped in mutual suspicion and ignorance despite participatory rights at global conferences and ECOSOC meetings, and despite the recognition that NGOs are essential components in an age where power is being diffused from the nation state to markets, transnational organisations and civil society.

As with most organisations, building partnerships in the UN context is about a complex set of power relations. Even here in the General Assembly hall, the domain of democracy and sovereign equality among nations, such principles are neither manifest within nor between nations, and seldom factored into the inter-governmental decision-making of the UN. All this despite such principles remaining at the heart of the UN Charter.

Until recently the UN was a house of sovereign states whose normative and operational activities were determined by nation states. This is now under attack by the powerful engine of change via the telecommunications revolution. The breaking down of the states' monopoly on the collection and management of information leads to their relative decline while instantaneous access to information and the ability to use it provides non-state actors with knowledge. And to use a couple of clichés of modern times, knowledge is power and the ability to mobilise public opinion is to master the world. These developments are why governments fear NGOs, avoid having to deal with them if they can help it, or try to manage them at best. NGOs should not underestimate the limits of governments and secretariat understanding have of you. For some governments, their only experience of NGOs derives from what they would consider the annual human rights bashing at the Commission on Human

Rights. I urge you to go out and talk to them, drop your politics for a moment and make friends, dispel the myths and stereotypes as a first step.

Contradictions abound of course. The first arises when governments feel that they need more capable multilateral organisations to solve the growing list of transnational problems, but at the same time fear competitors and those with transnational reach. This ambivalence is apparent in the UN, where governments mandate the organisation with new responsibilities while reasserting sovereignty's first principle, the non-interference of domestic affairs of states. This ambivalence has opened up the political space for NGOs to take up such global issues, although even in this instance, there appears to be a backlash. For instance, the success of NGOs in shaping the agenda at UNCED and pushing for a framework convention on climate change has not only made governments more wary of allowing NGOs to penetrate the official decision-making process, but spurred industry to set up their own "expert" groups to counter the lobbying efforts of environmental groups.

The conventional approach of governments to NGOs when access to UN bodies is being considered is the legal approach. This depends on the exercise of authority by states, on the consent of states as the basis of application of rules, and on the notion of some type of self-interest as the underlying reason for acceding to cooperative arrangements. The UN, as an international organization, is treated ultimately as a creature of national self-interest where national sovereignty is supreme, however and by whomever that is defined. NGOs only fit into this scheme as entities whose activities have to be regulated and to conform to the broader undertakings and strategies of states.

The need to democratize the international system was clearly recognised by NGO forum during UNCED which in "The People's Earth Declaration" stated, and I quote: "*We, the people of the world, will mobilise the forces of transnational civil society behind a widely shared agenda that bonds our many social movements in pursuit of just, sustainable and participatory human societies. In so doing we are forging our own instru-*

* Address by H.E. Mr. Ismail Razali, Ambassador of Malaysia and President of the General Assembly, at the 50th Annual UN Department of Public Information (DPI)/NGO Conference organized by the DPI on 10 September 1997.

ments and processes for redefining the nature and meaning of human progress and for transforming those institutions that no longer respond to our needs".

How far have these goals been met? It seems that NGOs with all the best intentions in the world, also fall victim to the difficulty of translating words into tangible deeds. Despite huge progress in terms of harnessing information technologies to network with other citizens groups across national boundaries, such empowerment has yet to alter the decisions of governments on crucial issues or the decision-making process in any substantial or sustained manner. While numerous NGOs scrutinize the actions of governments from their favourite single-issue perspective at the UN, precious few scrutinize the structure or actions of the Security Council, the only UN body with executive powers. And where are the voices that uphold the rule of international law on human rights issues but have failed to decry US arrears to the UN?

Even if I sound extreme, I will make the point that not too many ambassadors will readily acknowledge the expertise and contributions of NGOs. But truly, not only do NGOs deliver more development assistance than the entire UN system (excluding World Bank and IMF), but they provide development, education and health care services in areas that governments and the private sector fail or neglect to reach. Governments and the UN would benefit enormously from the new ideas that NGOs generate. Often however, the range of methods employed or the packaging used to get the message across - whether it be advocacy, direct action, protests, policy analysis, implementation, monitoring, enforcing commitments or conducting slick public relations campaigns - can overshadow the message itself. The diversity of NGO activity, methods, work and interests are its greatest strength and its greatest weakness. In building new partnerships with governments and the UN, it is essential that NGOs continue to bring priorities, to demand for procedures that give voice to groups outside government and new standards of accountability.

It would be naive to think that the outcome of all NGO efforts is necessarily positive. While the achievements are many and diverse,

some activities have backfired, prominent examples being involvement in relief efforts in recent humanitarian crises involving "ethnic cleansing". In some instances, particularly on the operational side, NGOs need to dispense with their "more action and less reflection" attitude if better partnerships are to be built into UN projects and programmes. So too should fund raising of a sensational nature with the help of Hollywood, which can undermine longer-term efforts to improve public knowledge about the complexity of issues and inform them of their choices.

A traditional criticism of NGOs held by governments lies in the nature of representation within these organisations. While it would be both impossible and undesirable to standardize criteria for NGOs, the non-transparency of how NGOs are structured and organized remains a block in the minds of most government officials, even though procedures for accreditation to ECOSOC have been performing well enough. Once again it is a problem of perception. After all, NGOs are not necessarily in themselves democratic. While some are organized along the lines of coalitions that network laterally, others are hierarchical and headed by elites, who in their style of decision-making push forward their own personal agendas rather than those of their constituents, and may hardly be different from the governments that they confront. The best of them, the ablest and most passionate often suffer from tunnel vision, judging every public act by how it affects their particular interests. A need to sustain growing budgets can compromise the independence of mind and approach.

Governments also argue that for all their strengths, NGOs remain special interests, and being without election procedures from their constituents, do not have the rights of representation that governments do. This type of argument does of course beg the question whether the governments in the UN are any more representative of democracy based on the universal principles of human rights than NGOs, if election procedures and arguments of accountability are to be the benchmarks of legitimate and popular representation. A case can also be made that representation through the election process

can lead to a situation where leadership assumes beyond bounds its mandate to think and act on behalf of its electorate.

Whether the UN is to become a winning proposition for the next century will to a large degree depend on the manner in which partnerships are constructed between NGOs, governments and the secretariat. The politics of building partnerships are enormously complex of course, fraught with fear, stereotypes, apathy, legal inhibitions and ambiguities. No player is immune from the above. It is only when such contradictions are explored from all angles that partnerships of mutual trust, cooperation and complementarity will be sustained. At the moment we haven't even got past the "back to basics" mark. For example, when we speak about the UN, do we differentiate between UN agencies, funds and programmes and inter-governmental processes? This may seem an elementary question but the sociology of cultures within the UN family are virtually unknown even to so-called insiders such as myself. And when we speak of NGOs, isn't it time we make a distinction between non-profit organisations and commercial organisations?

While the academic and incremental approach to building partnerships has certain advantages, so does tough questioning about the fundamentals. This conference would be valuable if it would start to provide some of the answers. Let me pose some of them here. Do NGOs actually see strategic value in greater involvement in inter-governmental bodies or will it compromise too much your cherished independence? Are NGOs now too diverse and unable to build coherent arrangements of participation through existing hierarchical structures such as CONGO? How are the tensions between international NGOs and grassroots NGOs reconciled? Do most governments only pay lip service to public participation and democratization for political expedience or are they really convinced of the long-term benefits in encouraging a diversity of opinion? Do the secretariat consider NGO participation in the UN as a valuable way of cooperating with multi-lateralist allies or is it a tedious matter of accreditation and finding more seats for people and upsetting age-old protocol?

Answering these questions, if answers are possible, would require the explosion of myths as a first step. Building partnerships on the other hand requires careful thought and strategic planning by all parties concerned. It seems to me that the dialogue between NGOs, governments and the UN secretariat has barely begun. Consider the irony that existing practices of NGO participation at the UN may in fact be downgraded when government delegations negotiate formal arrangements of participation. Consider also the fact that governments deem broader participation of NGOs in the work of the UN to be an urgent matter, note report of the working group on strengthening of the UN system, but the sub-group on NGOs established to consider the matter could not even agree on a mandate, despite over 30 hours of meeting time. That is the burden of consensus, necessary as it may be in most instances.

In considering this issue, while each party in the UN system will cry to determine the advantages and disadvantages of partnership on a case by case basis, simple reference to NGOs, secretariat and government as three homogenous interest groups is superficial and misleading. Even in my own Mission, one that is renowned for its openness to NGOs, there are diplomats who hold quite conservative views in contrast to my permissive ones. It is important to remember that day-to-day work is accomplished by people who have a variety of instructions, or none at all, from their governments or departments. The quality and characteristics of personal contacts can do much to help or hinder the building of effective partnerships, and in the UN context, personality can count for as much as policy or instructions.

A critical ambiguity that NGOs must decide in building partnerships is the mixture of conflict, competition and cooperation in determining how close their links with governments or UN bodies should be. Only NGOs can decide that for themselves. In the case of the UN, while there is merit in keeping the boundaries of relationship porous in the case of non-profit NGOs, the ramifications of association with profit-making or commercial NGOs and foundations is potentially serious, especially as fictitious fronts for corporate political lobbying

have mushroomed in recent years and with their money and leverage can undermine the universal norms and values of the UN, as well as the authority of governments.

The participation of NGOs in the UN context, whether on the local, national or international levels, is a healthy development and should be deepened. A deepening partnership does not necessarily mean that formal relationships should be established. In fact informal partnerships are often more effective in meeting objectives and ensuring impact than partnerships that develop around lunches and social events. The gradual emergence of a mixture of governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental voices in the debates and problem-solving fora of the UN would reflect reality

more closely than a nation-state dominated UN. This would surely strengthen the UN and equip it so that it provides the modicum of global governance so eagerly sought by peoples and governments of the world.

The proverbial bottom line for the UN, if it is to fulfill its Charter responsibilities, is enhanced transparency, accountability and participation. Under the right conditions and with patience, tolerance and farsightedness, the growth of NGOs and their increasing relevance to the operational and normative activities of the UN system, could provide the UN with the conditions and opportunities for improved transparency, accountability and participation. And also I believe added legitimacy.

The NGO-UN partnership

Some questions Urbi et Orbi

by *Cyril Ritchie**

Vis-a-vis the UN, NGOs play many roles: for example information exchange and outreach; advocacy and mobilization; proposals and initiatives including bringing new concepts and language; opening up the UN and society; setting standards and working for their implementation; sharing practical expertise; building and strengthening civil society institutions; empowering people especially women; holding governments accountable for their actions. This naturally means that NGOs must also hold themselves accountable, for ever-greater influence must go hand-in-hand with ever-greater responsibility. *Through what mechanisms should NGOs collectively adopt binding codes of conduct, guiding principles of ethics, and standards of transparency? And what "NGO Tribunal" will guarantee their effective implementation and impose penalties for breaches that damage the larger NGO community?*

Among the vital and long-standing features of NGO-UN partnership are the operational activities and service delivery in the field - the outstanding achievements between NGOs and the UNHCR or UNICEF are among the most striking and best documented. In a different register, the interaction of NGOs with the UN Commission on Human Rights has some model features illustrating the liberating potential of democracy. And most recently, in another area, the persistent advocacy role of NGOs contributed significantly to the UN General Assembly breakthrough towards the creation in 1998 of an International Criminal Court.

There are also other roles or potential roles for NGOs. For example:

- meaningful NGO participation in UN election-monitoring teams
- the UN.DHA's inter Agency Standing Committee and Inter-Agency Support Unit have given unprecedented access to particularly relevant and competent NGOs
- the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, and its preparatory process, provided for complete equality of participation and decision-making by governments, IGOs and NGOs
- HABITAT II (1996) engaged governments in a new concept of partnership between governments and multiple civil society actors.

How can NGOs "go through" these open doors and take optimal advantage of such openness, rather than spend time complaining about closed doors?

Of course the roles of NGOs vis-a-vis the UN are changing because of the influx of "new" NGOs, which are in fact mostly only "new to the UN". But this is not a matter for grief or resistance: there have been "new" NGOs entering into relationship with the UN every year since its foundation. "New" NGOs in reality reflect and confirm the constant and desirable strengthening of civil society. *How can "older" NGOs uphold the highest NGO standards and assist these "newcomers" to comprehend the UN system, to make the best use of the channels available, and to pool their experience with that of other longer-established NGOs in order to promote the common good?*

In this process one particular factor could contain a germ of dissent or even of destruction of NGO privileges or rights. It has occurred that an NGO gives its right to speak to a UN organ (the UN Commission on Human Rights provides examples) to a person who declares that he is speaking on behalf of "the authorities" of a particular population group and therefore is not speaking in the name of the NGO which enabled him to have the speaking rights. *Should their colleagues continue to protect the rights of NGOs which by such practices give an excuse to governments to withhold all speaking rights?*

Virtually every UN Office, Specialized Agency or Secretariat organ has its own NGO unit or external relations officer charged with links with NGOs. It is evident that across the system there are many varying concepts and interpretations of the nature, purposes and usefulness of NGO-UN relations. *Are these negative inconsistencies or merely expressions of healthy diversity?*

What are the pros and cons of central coordination of the NGO-UN relationships by the Secretary-General's Office?

What is needed to advance NGO relations on the regional level and with the UN Regional Commissions?

We should pay careful attention to the many examples and precedents where already there exist joint UN-NGO bodies or organs where NGOs, IGOs or governments are gen-

* President of the Federation of International Institutions in Geneva (FIIG), Member of UAI's Council.

- inely partners. Some examples are
- the ACC Sub-Committee on Nutrition
- the Committee for the Promotion and Advancement of Cooperatives (one of whose NGO members has now replaced the FAO as the permanent secretariat of the Committee)
- the UNICEF/NGO Committee on Central and Eastern Europe the PARINAC process (with UNHCR)
- the NGO Forum for Health
- the Safe Motherhood Initiative Inter-Agency Group (four UN bodies, 2 NGOs one of which currently chairs the Group).

How can NGOs spend more time and energy on "using" and expanding on the good examples of partnership rather than principally appearing to be against some current or potential practices?

The much-debated term NGO did not come into the picture until used in the UN Charter. In the 1930s the most frequently used term was private organization, but that of course now conveys overtones of connection with the business world. Meanwhile innumerable other terms have been used: voluntary agency, transnational association, social movement, community organization, citizens organization, the Third Sector, the independent sector, major group, civil society or civil society organization, non-State actor, not to mention Extra-Governmental Organization (shortened to EGO!)

Terminology perhaps might have importance only because of what it reveals and what it conceals.

Should NGOs really be bothered by the different terms and their implications? Do we need to spend our time on this issue?

Much has been said recently of the "new" levels of participation by NGOs in UN Conferences and Summits. Of course there is little really new under the sun, and there are several early examples of substantial NGO participation within UN Conferences, even if it was informally organized and largely dependent on assertive NGO initiative: examples include the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm); the 1974 World Food Conference (Rome); the 1976 HABITAT I (Vancouver); the 1981 UN Conference on Least Developed Countries (Paris).

While some of these encouraged NGO participation in the preparatory planning process, there is no doubt that this practice has grown exponentially with the many UN Conferences of the 1990s. It is true governments regularly advance statements that NGOs shall have no negotiating role in the work of the Conference and its preparatory process, but that is a stipulation more honoured in the breach than the observance. Indeed the substantive actions and contributions of NGOs in so many UN Conferences and their preparatory processes are so close to a "negotiating role" and so important to the success of the event that it is difficult to see how governments can sensibly cut themselves off from such critical intellectual and specialist input.

How do we build upon the recognition and acceptance by enlightened government delegations that serious "input" from competent and relevant NGOs can only improve government "output"?

UN Conferences and indeed some UN Commissions now almost invariably have an accompanying NGO Forum or equivalent programme, which is not only a means to influence the UN session (some are certainly very marginal to that) but gives many hundreds of NGO representatives ("new" and "old") the opportunity to interact and plan future cooperation, not only among themselves but with governments and with UN Secretariat officials.

How can we avoid that this interaction stays purely formal but rather moves steadily towards constructive partnership modes?

Through what mechanisms can we achieve, at UN Conferences but particularly also in UN Commissions, greater inter-NGO cooperation on common goals, fewer repetitious NGO interventions, and a greater NGO concentration on essentials?

NGO participation in drafting some UN (and of course above all ILO) Conventions has been remarkably strong, for example the Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species; the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the post-Rio Conventions on Desertification and on Biological Diversity. And in the statement issued by international human rights treaty bodies at the 1993 WCHR, the active

cooperation of NGOs was described as essential to enable the treaty bodies to function in an informed and effective manner.

What coordination and cooperation mechanism would enable all relevant NGOs be more involved in encouraging, promoting and monitoring the implementation of UN Conventions?

In short, how can the treasures of imagination, persistence and competence that NGOS

display in their daily activities be harnessed to create and strengthen useful NGO-UN partnerships. To better respond to regional and global issues, we need to enhance collective NGO fora, research and action. In the NGO community we should never forget that "What unites us is more important than what divides us."

Evolution of world order

Scientists, educators, leaders of social movements gathered in Toronto in June 1997 to analyze the opportunities to bring up a special brand of persons whose role in life would be of "servant leaders", persons who are willing to work seriously in the development of their own character - to be able to influence effectively people, organizations and institutions - to work toward realistic forms of tolerance among races, creeds and color and introduce solidarism in the various nations and among them.

More than a hundred persons, coming from the five continents - from Moscow, Tokyo, Warsaw, Mexico, Beijing, Washington, Abu Dabi, Singapore - agreed that we should honestly create useful cooperation at local, bioregional, national and international levels as we are one Earth-family with a shared destiny, committing ourselves to actions guided by interrelated principles :

1. Respect Earth and all life. Earth, each life form and all living beings possess intrinsic value and warrant respect independently of their utilitarian value to humanity.
2. Care for Earth, protecting and restoring the diversity, integrity and beauty of the planet ecosystems. Where there is risk of irreversible or serious damage to the environment, precautionary action must be taken to prevent harm.
3. Live sustainably, promoting and adopting modes of consumption, production and reproduction, respecting and safeguarding human rights and the regenerative capacities of Earth.
4. Establish justice and defend

without discrimination the right of all people to life, liberty and security of person within an environment adequate for human health and spiritual wellbeing. People have a right to potable water, clean air, uncontaminated soil, food security and correct, value oriented life conditions.

5. Share equitably the benefits of natural resource use and a healthy environment among the nation, between rich and poor, between males and females, between present and future generations and internalize all environmental, social and economic costs.
6. Promote social development and financial systems that create and maintain sustainable livelihood, eradicate poverty and strengthen local communities.
7. Practice non violence, recognizing that peace is the wholeness created by harmonious and balanced relationships with oneself, other persons, other life forms and Earth.
8. Strengthen processes that empower people to participate effectively in and administration in all sectors of society.
9. Reaffirm that indigenous and tribal peoples have a vital role in the care and protection of Mother Earth. They have the right of retain their spirituality knowledge, lands, territories and resources.
10. Affirm that gender equality is a prerequisite for sustainable development.
11. Secure the right to reproductive health, with special concern for women and girls.
12. Promote the participation of youth as accountable agents of

change for local, bioregional and global sustainability.

13. Advance and put to use scientific and other types of knowledge and technologies that promote sustainable living and protect the environment.
14. Ensure that people throughout their lives have opportunities to acquire the knowledge, values and practical skills needed to build sustainable communities.
15. Treat all creatures with compassion and protect them from cruelty and destruction.
16. Do not do to the environment of others what you do not want done to your environment.
17. Protect and restore places of outstanding ecological, cultural, spiritual, aesthetic and scientific significance.
18. Cultivate and act with a sense of shared responsibility for the well-being of the Earth Community. Every person, institutions and government has a duty to advance the indivisible goals of justice for the sustainability, world peace, respect and care for the larger community of life.

Embracing these values we can grow into a family of cultures that allows the potential of persons or unfold in the harmony with the Earth Community. We must preserve a strong faith in the possibilities of the human spirit and a deep sense of belonging to the universe. Our best actions will embody the integration of knowledge with compassion.

Dr George Kibedi,
Chairman, Centre for Global
Cooperation Toronto, Canada
Member of UAI's Council.

Peace-building through networking: report on a conference in Sweden

An unusual event took place in Gripsholm, Sweden, when the Peace Team Forum of the Swedish Peace Council, jointly with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, invited representatives of nearly forty international and national nongovernmental organizations and government officials from 10 countries plus the European Union and the UN, to an International Conference on Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. For three days the issues of how governments and NGOs can strengthen their respective conflict prevention and conflict transformation capacities, what forms of cooperation among NGOs and between NGOs and governments need to be developed, and what resources and structures will be needed to accomplish this, were intensively discussed in a heavily crowded program. It was a moving experience to hear about the courageous peace-building activities of local NGOs in South Africa, former Yugoslavia and Guatemala from activist speakers especially since in the case of South Africa and Guatemala we were hearing from government representatives as well as scholar-activists. The conference definitely established a new model for NGO-government interaction, but one that obviously can only be used in countries which present the right conditions for cooperation.

The term "NGO" (nongovernmental organization) was rarely used, most participants preferring the more accurately descriptive term, "people's organizations", and many valuable experiences and strategies were shared. There was a lot of emphasis on skill training, one of the great-

est needs in the peace-building field, and display tables were filled with a great variety of handbooks describing various training methods and specific case histories of conflicts. Some were published by people's organizations, some by governmental and intergovernmental agencies.

My task at the conference was to give an overview of the different roles NGOs can play in reducing or preventing violence. The three emphases of my presentation - (1) learning peace-building skills by practise in one's own country before going abroad, (2) taking a learning stance when abroad (building on John Paul Lederach's concept of elicitive conflict resolution), and partnering with locals, and (3) mobilizing NGOs, in the fields of environment, development and human rights as well as peace NGOs to work together in a multidimensional approach to peace-building - were all well received. A useful outcome of the Conference will be the report of the proceedings, including papers presented and contact information about participants, which will be published by the Peace Team Forum of the Swedish Peace Council.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the conference was the opportunity for networking, though time constraints meant that participants had to be satisfied with primarily laying the groundwork for a longer-term, more comprehensive process. The Swedish Peace Team Forum, consisting of over 30 Swedish NGOs concerned with various aspects of peace-building, represents in itself an exemplary model of networking. Its vision of the development of global peace services has led it to bring together specialists and

organizations from around the world in consultations and workshops in recent years—and now this pathbreaking conference. Its members have also trained peace teams that have worked in Africa and parts of Europe.

In addition to the Peace Team Forum, there were other important networks represented. The new European Center for Conflict Prevention began as a peace development project in the Dutch Ministry for Development and became pan-European as a result of an all-European Conference on Conflict Prevention organized by Paul van Tongeren with Development Ministry resources in February of this year. This Center will be taking the lead in connecting the new European Conflict Prevention Network founded at the February conference with networks in other regions. Paul van Tongeren's 1996 International Directory on Prevention and Management of Conflict is the most comprehensive directory of its kind, and will be continually updated; a new edition will be coming out in 1998.

Others developing national-level networks hope to cooperate closely with the European Center. Canada offers a particularly creative example of country-wide networking. Peggy Teagle, as Coordinator of the Canadian Ad Hoc Working Group on NGOs and Peace-Building, has conducted a Peace-Building Census Project by distributing a detailed 24-page questionnaire to Canadian NGOs in the fields of humanitarian assistance, development, conflict resolution, peace, human rights and democratic development, as well as to academic institutions and training centers. The analysis of the replies to this questionnaire will give the most comprehensive view

of non-governmental peace-building activities (in the broadest sense of that term) that has ever been produced in any country. It will also offer a powerful tool for developing and expanding peace-building activities in particular regions.

A different kind of model for peace-building has been developed by Quaker Helge Tempel and colleagues in Germany: Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (Forum Civilian Public Service). The Forum is an association of German peace movements and nonprofit organizations formed to create and strengthen instruments of nonviolent civilian conflict resolution. Its activities include training of volunteers and supporting their peace-building activities in Germany and elsewhere, particularly the Balkans.

Another model that might be mentioned is the Peace-Team-Peace Services Newsletter which I began several years ago as an international networking device for peace teams around the world, and which is now edited by Yeshua MoserPuangsuwan of Nonviolence International/Asia, in Bangkok, Thailand. Because there were no resources for systematic search for contacts, its mailing list is small compared to the large number of groups that actually exist out there, but it represents one more contribution to the total networking process.

The Swedish, Dutch, Canadian and German models all offer inspiration to peace scholars, practitioners, policy specialists and activists in other countries and regions. Many conference participants will return home to search out and strengthen the networks in their own countries. The two United States participants in the conference, Kevin Clements who is Director of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolución of George Mason University, and myself (now a retired free-lancer), have resolved to push for the for-

mation of a comprehensive U.S.-wide network. Such a project would in fact involve an expansion of the existing National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution, which already brings together people from diverse fields at conferences. Such a U.S. network could serve as a counterpart to the growing number of national networks and become part of the needed global network of peace services. Because of my personal involvement with the Friends Peace Team Project, which began in the United States but is becoming international, I will work to link that Quaker network with the broader U.S. network as well as with the emerging global network. (Although Quakers are a very small religious body, individual Quakers show up with surprising frequency in peace-building projects around the world.)

Every participant at the Gripsholm Conference left with a determination to broaden their organizational networks and reach out to peoples' organizations whose work is highly relevant to peace-building but who have not yet perceived this relevance. The conference helped to create a sense of urgency as officials from governments, the European Community and the UN pointed out how much they needed the varied expertise of NGOs, how limited official governmental options are in conflict situations, how much more flexibility NGOs can offer both in crisis situations and in the long-term task of creating a more peaceful world. For the global civil society of people's organizations to fulfill its potential here, the already mobilized organizations will have to reach out to the unmobilized, as well as to increase their own skills. And NGOs generally need to learn more about inter-organization cooperation, and how to resist a tendency to "claim turf!"

This whole report has been written without my mentioning

peace culture, the subject which is so central to my work these days. So let me say in closing that I think the kind of networking among peace-builders that has been described here is at the very heart of the task of strengthening peace culture around the world. And I invite all readers of this report to join that networking process. Contact information for networking is appended.

Elise Bouldin

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Networks Represented at Conference

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European Center for Conflict Prevention
Paul van Tongeren, Director
PO Box 18184; 1001 ZB Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (Forum Civilian Peace Service)
Helge Tempel, contact
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Ad Hoc Group on NGOs and Peacebuilding
Peggy Teagle, Coordinator
145 Spruce St., Suite 208, Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 6P1, Canada

Not represented at Conference:
National Conference on Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking
Linda Baron, Executive Director
% Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR)
George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22032

U.S. participants in Conference:
Kevin Clements, Director, ICAR,
George Mason U., Fairfax VA 22032

We call for: A major commitment to exploring the opportunities and implications of informa-

technology for sustainability - and to developing an understanding of the ecology of information - and the design and establishment of a participatory enabling environment within which information and communications technologies, systems and processes can facilitate a transition to sustainability and equitable development.

Implementation: The Commission on Sustainable Development - CSD - should convene a Working Group - with participation of non-governmental organizations as well as of member states - to conduct a systematic review of the opportunities and implications for sustainability of an ecologically sound approach to information, and to set in process the design of a comprehensive information and communication environment that can facilitate an integrated and coordinated treatment of information relating to the implementation of the agreements of the "Rio cluster" series of global conferences.

The Working Group should also consider how the CSD can best utilize and support the adoption of online interactive, participatory processes in its own

work - including identification of obstacles to such adoption - and how it can facilitate - and learn from - the use of such processes by member states and major groups.

The Working Group should also address, inter alia, critical sustainability issues regarding the transition from a predominantly material to a predominantly virtual economy - including opportunities in terms of the resource savings from exchanging bits instead of transporting material goods and people, as well as consideration of actual and prospective economic, cultural, social and environmental impacts of the introduction of information technology.

This should include attention to the significance of the evolving information ecosystem in terms of equitable access to information, including intellectual property rights and access to information infrastructure, and should review the implications of the rapidly increasing proportion of capital formation that is in the realm of intellectual property - with the correlate that access to information and communication infrastructure becomes a critical issue in enabling access to wealth.

Rationale: The evolution of information and communication technology - the progressive emer-

gence of an "information age" - has been dramatic in the five years since the first Earth Summit. The integrative power of information technology is increasingly clear, as is its progressively growing capacity to model and map the properties of whole systems. Meanwhile, the increasing scale and role of information and communication technology in the global economy, the rapid growth in both access and inequities in access conform that the implications of information technology extend far beyond the role envisioned in Chapter 40 of Agenda 21 as a support system for decision-makers and require comprehensive re-assessment by the CSD.

The full text of the NGO recommendations can be found on the world wide web from the "Towards earth summit two" home page at <http://www.igc.apc.org/habitat/csl97>.

For comments, questions and suggestions on the above working draft text, please contact the Information Ecology Caucus do Robert Pollard, information.Habitat: Where Information Lives, <infohabitat@igc.apc.org> and/or Penda Marcellly, Environment Liaison Centre International <pmarcellly@icconnect.co.ke>

Science in Europe: European science?

Science in Europe is developing into European science. Structures and topics are forming. Established pillars - the Commission of the European Union, the European Parliament and, last but not least, the European Science Foundation - are, for example, playing their respective roles, and finding partly new ones, in the

process of designing the new EC Framework Programme.

The interaction with interested parties is under way. The influence and weight of the participants in these hearings differ considerably. There seem to be so many voices that those who hear them will be able to choose from a great variety of opinions. The ESF

has formulated important views for science and is an established partner in the ongoing and future discussions. The European Heads of Research Councils (EuroHORCs) are legitimate science based nodes in this network, too. The European Science and Technology Assembly (ESTA) and the EuroHORCs are discussing gaps and remedies rele-

ant for European research and are going to suggest priorities for European research copies, thus reminding those holding political responsibility that science is by definition a bottom-up process and that up to now no superb-rain has been able to predict the future findings of research or their importance.

On the other hand, pressing needs like population growth, limited resources, and globalisation are forcing questions on our research system which have to be answered, lest future generations remember us as the rich and fat European losers unable to recognise and adapt to the changing parameters of global competition. To listen to the advice of science and to invest in the future by educating thoroughly our best young people are the most important contributions to the efforts to cope with the complexities of securing our path into the coming decades.

Important as the EU is for European science and research, cooperation and networking between and among European scientists thrive far beyond these channels. Bottom-up interaction is scientist-driven, motivated by specific individual interest and not necessarily by money. The most efficient interfaces between the two cultures - bottom-up (individual interest driven) and top-down (programme driven) research - are personnel exchange and workshops or conferences. By these very personal means, face to face contacts are established which in many cases form the basis for cooperation for a long time and, helped by modern communications, over great distances. Thus bridges are

being built between scientists not only in Europe but all over the world. Easy access to information and cooperation worldwide means there is no special European science. On the contrary, for many scientists it seems to be more attractive to cross the Atlantic than the Channel, the Rhine river, the Oder or the Alps. On the other hand, national science communities sciti are the most important grounds on which research thrives - or fails to thrive.

Against this background, two main thrusts have developed for science in Europe as a European Science - to tackle deficits which are felt to be common and to educate our most promising young scientists in a European culture and habitat. National deficits which are felt most are either special deficits like the inadequate transfer between some fields of German basic science and industry, or those which need remedies going beyond national means.

The European Fusion Programme is a good model for the latter field. Space research is another model for a special European research value. The Europeans will have to secure their launching capabilities and capacities for external as well as for European payloads, otherwise they will become even more dependent on American, Russian or, in the not too far future, Chinese or Japanese offers.

Communication and biotechnology are other fields for a specific European science, research and development. In cooperation with a young biotech industry and a changing pharmaceutical industry research is entering a new

stage. Time to market and utilisation were not recognised as important factors in biomedical research until a short time ago. The pressing need for securing European stakes in the worldwide competition in this field sets new rules and needs new kinds of interaction between research and development.

Whether a new European frame of mind will develop remains to be seen. We all should see it as an opportunity not as a risk. This is true, too, for interaction across borders. Building on existing foundations a common roof could complete the structure. Why should not a DFG Graduiertenkolleg or Sonderforschungsbereich cooperate more closely with scientists in Denmark, for example, in the Netherlands or in France?

The special role of the European Science Foundation is that of an integrator of European science on the one hand and an interpreter towards the political system on the other hand. Its special strength is its access to the best scientific brains in Europe and its ability to bring together the experienced and the young by means of its conference and exchange programmes. May the voice of European science be heard by scientists in Europe and by politicians and administrators to play its vital role in the harmonisation of European efforts to win the future.

Dr jur Reinhard Grunwald,
Secretary General, Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn,
(communications, April 1997)

Les partenaires sociaux ont signé, le 6 juin 1997, un accord-cadre sur le travail à temps partiel. Il a été conclu, après sept mois de négociation par l'UNICE (l'Union des confédérations de l'industrie et des employeurs d'Europe), la CES (Confédération européenne des syndicats) et le CEEP (Centre européen des entreprises à participation publique). La procédure empruntée est tout à fait originale et propre au droit européen. Elle figure dans le protocole sur la politique sociale, annexé au traité de Maastricht. Cette procédure, inspirée par les partenaires sociaux eux-mêmes, n'avait jusqu'à présent été utilisée qu'une seule fois, pour donner naissance à la directive européenne sur le congé parental.

Elle se compose de trois étapes. Tout d'abord, la Commission doit consulter les partenaires sociaux avant de présenter une proposition dans le domaine social. Ceux-ci réfléchissent à "l'orientation possible d'une action communautaire" durant six semaines. Si la Commission estime, après cette consultation, qu'une action est souhaitable, elle lance une deuxième consultation sur le contenu de la proposition envisagée. Là encore, les partenaires ont six semaines pour travailler. Puis, et c'est là l'originalité de ce processus, ils peuvent quitter leur rôle de consultants pour engager une véritable négociation. L'article 3 du protocole leur donne neuf mois pour aboutir à un accord. S'ils y parviennent, leur accord est mis en oeuvre au niveau communautaire.

Pourquoi un accord sur le temps partiel? Le manque de flexibilité dans la relation de travail handicaperait l'emploi en Europe. Cette thèse apparaissait dans les réflexions du Conseil européen d'Essen qui, en 1994, soulignait déjà la nécessité d'accélérer la croissance de l'emploi, en partici-

ulier par une "organisation plus souple du travail, qui réponde tant aux souhaits des travailleurs qu'aux exigences de la concurrence". La Commission cherche donc à favoriser la flexibilité, persuadée que des gisements d'emplois se cachent derrière ce que l'on peut qualifier, pour résumer, de travail atypique, c'est-à-dire : le travail à temps partiel, intérimaire, à durée déterminée, à domicile, etc.

Toutefois, s'il y a une certaine aspiration des salariés pour le travail à temps partiel, ces derniers restent globalement réticents à cette formule, comme l'indique Jean-Louis Walter dans le rapport qu'il a présenté au nom du Conseil économique et social. Réticence qui a de nombreuses causes : financière bien sûr, mais pas seulement. Précarité, travail de deuxième zone, discrimination dans certains pays, etc. C'est à cela qu'il fallait s'attaquer. La Commission européenne a lancé, en octobre 1995, une première consultation auprès des partenaires sociaux. Il en est résulté une déclaration pour affirmer que les salariés travaillant de façon atypique ne devaient pas faire l'objet d'une discrimination, mais au contraire bénéficier d'un traitement comparable à celui réservé aux salariés à temps plein.

Pdraig Flynn, commissaire européen chargé de l'emploi et des affaires sociales proposait alors à la Commission de lancer la deuxième phase de la consultation, avec la menace d'une décision "juridiquement contraignante" en cas d'échec des négociations. La Commission élaboreait parallèlement un Livre vert afin de développer "la prise de conscience et le

débat sur les nouveaux modes d'organisation du travail". On y lit dans l'introduction : "Parallèlement à ces diverses tendances (l'amélioration de la productivité, de la qualité et des conditions de

travail), un changement plus fondamental dans l'organisation du travail est en train de se produire avec le passage de systèmes rigides de production à un processus flexible et continu de développement organisationnel. Ce nouveau concept qui correspond à un processus de changement permanent est parfois décrit en termes "d'entreprise flexible (...)". Mais, rappellent les auteurs : "la question-clé est de trouver une juste équilibre entre la flexibilité et la sécurité".

Les partenaires sociaux choisissaient alors de quitter leur rôle de consultants pour engager une véritable négociation, comme le y autorise l'article 3 du Protocole. Sept mois plus tard, ils signaient l'accord sur le travail à temps partiel. Celui-ci se place sur le terrain de l'emploi. La première phrase de son préambule l'indique clairement : "Le présent accord-cadre est une contribution à la stratégie européenne générale pour l'emploi. (...) Il illustre la volonté des partenaires sociaux d'établir un cadre général pour l'élimination des discriminations à l'égard des travailleurs à temps partiel et de contribuer au développement des possibilités de travail à temps partiel sur une base acceptable pour les employeurs et pour les travailleurs."

Voici les principales dispositions; elles figurent aux clauses 4 et 5 : "(...) les travailleurs à temps partiel ne sont pas traités d'une manière moins favorable que les travailleurs à temps plein comparables au seul motif qu'ils travaillent à temps partiel, à moins qu'un traitement différent soit justifié par des raisons objectives." Les Etats membres s'engagent à "identifier" et à "éliminer" les obstacles au travail à temps partiel. Enfin : "le refus d'un travailleur d'être transféré d'un travail à temps plein à un travail à temps partiel, ou vice

veur, ne devrait pas en être avant que tel constituant un motif valable de licenciement (...)"

La nouvelle philosophie du droit européen en matière sociale consiste à indiquer les grands principes; A chaque Etat ensuite la responsabilité de les mettre en oeuvre en fonction de son droit interne. Pour apprécier à sa juste valeur la portée de cet accord, il faut le replacer dans son contexte.

Refondons l'Europe *

L'Europe est aujourd'hui en train de manquer son rendez-vous avec le prochain siècle. Le Traité d'Amsterdam n'est pas de nature à lui donner la colonne vertébrale et le nouveau souffle dont elle a besoin pour réussir son intégration politique, son développement social, son union monétaire et son élargissement. Si, dans les mois qui viennent, des avancées beaucoup plus substantielles ne permettent pas de combler le triple déficit démocratique, institutionnel et social dont elle souffre, l'Europe finira par se détruire elle-même dans une sorte d'implosion melle bien plus grave qu'une crise nette mettant les Etats membres devant leurs responsabilités. C'est pourquoi la ratification du Traité d'Amsterdam doit être conditionnée à la mise en oeuvre d'un véritable processus constituant associant gouvernements, parlements européens et nationaux - et le plus grand nombre possible de représentants des citoyens et des forces sociales. Ce processus doit être lancé dans les meilleurs délais, y compris dans les pays candidats à l'Union et, en tout état de cause, avant tout élargissement.

Les soussignés, dont on connaît l'attachement à l'Europe et aux combats souvent difficiles qui jalonnent sa construction depuis la dernière guerre, considèrent aujourd'hui de leur devoir de dire à

L'occupation par la Grande-Bretagne du Protocole social et donc l'intégration du Protocole dans le traité de Maastricht propulse les partenaires sociaux au premier plan. Ils ont dorénavant la possibilité de se substituer au législateur. C'est un pouvoir qu'aucun d'entre eux n'a au niveau national. S'ajoute l'inscription de la résolution sur la croissance et l'emploi dans le traité d'Amsterdam, en

leurs concitoyens, à leurs représentants et à leur gouvernement, que le Traité d'Amsterdam ne résoud rien. Le Parlement Européen et les parlements nationaux doivent le signifier avec netteté. Les avancées timides réalisées dans le domaine institutionnel ou social ne permettent pas à l'Europe d'affronter aujourd'hui le danger majeur qui la menace : l'instauration d'un modèle inédit de gouvernance non démocratique, alors que s'installe la première institution fédérale : la Banque Centrale Européenne.

Ainsi, l'Union européenne est en train de devenir le "canada dry" de la démocratie : les libertés fondamentales existent, le multipartisme est respecté, des élections sont régulièrement organisées, etc. Mais les exécutifs ne sont soumis à aucun contrôle démocratique réel lorsqu'ils décident dans les domaines communautaires, puisque le Parlement européen a un pouvoir marginal; les représentants européens sont élus sur des critères nationaux, alors qu'ils sont censés représenter les peuples d'Europe dans leur ensemble; la Commission européenne, qui historiquement porte le génie des pères fondateurs en tant que garant de l'intérêt commun, devient au niveau des commissaires une seconde chambre des Etats, et au niveau de ses fonctionnaires une structure technocratique, bouc

pendant un pacte de stabilité monétaire. Est-ce le début d'une réconciliation de l'économique et du social? Est-ce rappeler que l'in devrait être au service de l'autre si l'on veut que l'Europe ait un sens et que les peuples y adhèrent? Ces deux événements donnent à l'Europe sociale tout à la fois un poids supplémentaire et un horizon nouveau.

(Le Monde, 16 septembre 1997)

émissaire des irresponsabilités des gouvernements.

Ce risque est mondial. Il a été fortement résumé au forum de Davos par la phrase devenue célèbre de l'un de ses participants : "les gouvernements sont désormais sous le contrôle des marchés financiers". L'Europe devrait être, face à cette dangereuse dérive, l'actrice d'un processus démocratique à l'échelle de notre planète. Mais ce qui est en train de se produire revient au contraire à faire de notre Union un laboratoire de cette gouvernance non démocratique : de faux citoyens, un faux Parlement d'un côté, de vrais décideurs, mais non responsables devant les citoyens, de l'autre.

Les meilleurs projets peuvent dans ce contexte changer de nature. Tel est le cas de l'euro. Atout décisif dans la relance d'une Europe politique démocratique, outil pour promouvoir une véritable régulation financière internationale et un système monétaire mondial échappant à la loi du dollar, la monnaie unique européenne devrait constituer la voie pour sortir de l'impasse actuelle. Mais un autre scénario risque de se mettre en place : une monnaie strictement soumise à des mécanismes de décisions automatiques qui s'imposent aux autorités politiques et retreindront leur champ d'action à l'accompagnement social des

* Communiqué de la FONDA, 18, rue de Varenne 75007 Paris-Tél. : 0145 49 0658 - Fax: 0142 84 04 84

conséquences d'un laisser faire économique généralisé.

Il est temps que l'Europe se ressaisisse. L'approche économique et monétaire ne produira pas automatiquement une Europe politique démocratique et les conférences intergouvernementales ont fait la démonstration de leurs limites. La faiblesse des objectifs sociaux ne conduira pas à une Europe des peuples solidaires. Dans un tel contexte l'élargissement deviendrait un marché de dupes : les peuples qui aspirent à trouver dans l'Europe un modèle social original et une véritable démocratie se retrouveraient dans une zone de libre échange invertébrée. Il nous faut donc inverser l'ordre des priorités et inventer ce que serait une démocratie européenne de plus de quatre cent millions de personnes.

La faiblesse de la croissance constatée en Europe par rapport aux Etats-Unis tient, pour une grande part, à l'absence d'un cadre de coordination des politiques économique, monétaire et budgétaire. Ce mixage suppose un exécutif commun sous contrôle démocratique face à la Banque Centrale Européenne.

L'Europe ne pourra devenir une union de citoyens que si elle les concerne tous. L'Europe ne doit pas être synonyme pour les plus vulnérables, d'inégalité, d'insécurité pour l'avenir, de précarité ou

d'exclusion. Une Europe solidaire ne peut se fonder sur la seule compétition économique et la menace permanente de dumping fiscal ou social. Les nouvelles fondations de la paix en Europe, c'est-à-dire de la cohésion économique et sociale, seront civiques et sociales ou ne seront pas.

Nous considérons comme indispensable l'ouverture dans les meilleurs délais, et en tout cas avant tout élargissement, d'un véritable processus constituant associant gouvernements, parlements européens et nationaux, forces sociales et civiques, en vue de mettre en place l'Europe politique démocratique, capable d'affronter les défis des mutations économiques et sociales, de la montée des exclusions, et des inégalités à l'aube du XXIème siècle.

Nous appelons les citoyens de cette grande Europe et les associations qu'ils constituent à s'engager dans cette ambitieuse aventure historique.

Nous appelons nos parlements nationaux à œuvrer dans cette même direction, à refuser de cautionner toute dérive vers des formes de gouvernance non démocratiques et inefficaces.

Nous appelons citoyens, associations, parlements, gouvernements, à organiser en 1998 des Etats généraux pour une Europe civique et sociale.

Maurice Bonussayag, Actes et Paroles - Pervenche Berès, Députée européenne, La Gauche européenne - Jean-Louis Bourlanges, Mouvement Européen France - Maurice Brand, Action fédéraliste "Socialisme et liberté" - Pierre Calame, Alliance pour un monde responsable et solidaire - Jean-Pierre Cot, Député européen - Serge Depaquit, ICARE - Hugues Felleuse, Réseau Européen des Associations de lutte contre la pauvreté et l'Exclusion sociale (EAPN) - Charles Fiterman, Forum Alternatives Européennes - Jean-Baptiste de Foucauld, Rapporteur du Comité des Sages de la Commission européenne - Marie-Thérèse Hermange, Député européen - Philippe Herzog, Député européen, Confrontations - Catherine Lalumière, Député européen - Henri Ledere, Ligne des Droits de l'Homme - René Lenoir, Union Nationale Interfédérale des Organismes Privés Sanitaires et Sociaux (UNOPSS) - Frédéric Pascal, FONDA - Valérie Peugeot, Europe 99 - Jean-Pierre Spitzer, Union des Avocats européens - Bernard Süss, Député européen - Dominique Taddei, Ailes - Robert Tradem, Association française d'étude pour l'Union européenne (AFEUR) - Marie-Claude Vayssade, Députée honoraire au Parlement européen - Patrick Viveret, Transversales - Inge Vendryes, Union Internationale des Citoyens Européens (UICE)

6 novembre 1997

Stakeholder democracy *

Many Australians ardemoralised by unemployment, alienated by insensitive bureaucracies, exploited by business, depressed by environmental degeneration, powerless to take control to their lives and cynical about the interest or the ability of politicians to make things better.

Stakeholder democracy would resolve these problems by

reducing the size and power of bureaucracies in both the public and private sectors. Citizens would obtain power directly to control their lives, their neighbourhood and to look after their environment. As a stakeholder democracy involves the creation of a universal minimum income, policies of full employment could be replaced with a policy of fulfilment in employment.

The best defence

To achieve choice and diversity, we need to decentralise control of the economy. This would facilitate economic equity, efficiency and the ability to manage the information complexity of new technology. New technologies can thus be used to facilitate the development of a decentralised political economy. Decentralised communities create the best

* The author, who lives in Australia, has won overseas awards for his proposals for economic reform, expounded in several books. In 1975 he pioneered the teaching of company directors and the study of corporate governance as a founding author of *The Company Directors Course*. He has been chairman of three listed corporations, has created and/or managed a number of enterprises and controls a business manufacturing industrial gearboxes.

defence against political exploitation by foreign interests.

Decentralised control of government departments and large private enterprises would improve their performance if stakeholders who have the most knowledge and interest in their operations were involved. Operational stakeholders are individuals with some physical interaction with the organisation, such as employees, clients, suppliers or members of the host community.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission is an illustration to this in the public sector; Seventeen of its 20 commissioners are elected by its clients. In the private sector, Australian research has conformed overseas studies which show that listed corporations with employee ownership outperform those without stakeholder involvement. For example, businesses totally controlled by workers and customers around the town of Mondragon in Spain have a far lower failure rate and greater profitability than investor-owned firms.

Economic equity

Both the Australian and State stakeholder participation in the public sector. Privatisation provides an opportunity to create benchmarks of world best practice for the private sector. Australia could become a world leader and export the social technology of stakeholder democracy. However, while it could improve the performance of both public and private sector institutions, it may not improve economic equity since less than 10% of the voters own more than 90% of the means of production. This inequality is exacerbated by substantial foreign ownership. Expanding local ownership would expand the number of voters who obtained the right to control through ownership that communities can obtain the power to control the nature and degree of

exploitation of their environments, hence shareholding becomes a fundamental strategy for building sustainable societies.

Life quality

Local ownership also maximises the incomes of voters by eliminating the export of its economic values. This reduces the possibilities of resource-rich bioregions becoming cash poor and allows each community to obtain the power to decide the trade-off between income and the need to nurture its environment. It also minimises dependency, social alienation and exploitation while maximising the quality of life consistent with sustaining the environment.

Most importantly it introduces a 'Third Way' for distributing national income. This new 'plumbing' creates a general income which can replace welfare. As all citizens are consumers, they would all become stakeholders and obtain property rights to dividend income. Dividends are a direct means of distributing national income without work of welfare and taxation.

This Third Way allows the scope, size and cost of government to be substantially reduced. It also increases incentives for expanding the range and value of private investment which in turn can lead to an increase in dividends. An 'expanded ownership' strategy also provides a way to privatise the tax and welfare system!

The opportunity for reducing taxes and expanding investment should be tied to expanding stakeholder ownership of investment. Foreign investment should be attracted only on the basis that local ownership is increased over time. The ownership transfer principle is illustrated by Build Own Operate and Transfer (BOOT) projects such as the Sydney Harbour Tunnel.

No commercial investor requires ownership forever to

obtain the incentive to invest.

Commercial investments are made on the expectation of obtaining a return of and on money invested within the investor's 'time horizon' during the foreseeable future. Hence any profits after the time horizon is reached become surplus to market needs.

Resident ownership

The transfer of business ownership from investors to stakeholders after the investor's time horizon cannot, by definition, produce any disincentive to invest. Australian law in any case limits the life of patents to 16 years and so also limits the capture of surplus profits after that period. Our government does not create a level playing field for investors by allowing them to capture surplus profits from corporations after 16 years.

It is also against the interests of Australian voters to have their income and spending power reduced through the export of surplus profits to overseas investors. This now costs Australian voters billions of dollars, absorbs foreign exchange earnings, and exacerbates our overseas debt.

To minimise these costs, tax incentives are required to attract investors on the basis that ownership reverts to resident stakeholders over time. Companies should be given the choice of obtaining the rights to surplus profits by paying tax at the existing level or having their tax rate reduced, on condition that, say, 5% of the ownership was transferred each year without cost to their resident stakeholders. In this way, participating corporations would become 100% resident-owned within 20 years.

- All viable enterprises create more value than they cost and so all are self-financing. Any person can own self-financing assets provided they have access to credit during their pay-back period.

- Economic democracy is dependent upon democratising access to money and credit and adopting dynamic property rights to transfer ownership according to stakeholder relationships.

- * Political democracy is dependent upon economic democracy as this is the only way the unemployed and dependants can become independent of government transfer payments.

A win-win result is created for shareholders, corporations, the government, the economy, citizens, management and other stakeholders. Shareholders would obtain higher dividends from the reduction in tax and from profit retention. Corporations would continue and/or expand their operations through dividend re-investment into their 'offspring' Ownership Transfer Corporations (OTCs). Government revenues would increase as the tax base transferred from corporations to resident individuals with a higher tax rate.

At the same time, the distribution of income to stakeholders would reduce welfare entitlements and so the cost to government. The economy would export less surplus profits and lose less foreign exchange for all citizens. Management and employees would legiti-

mate their control with part ownership shared with customers and all other stakeholders. The surplus profits captured by stakeholders would help expand the economy with new spending and investment.

Succession of business operations, management and investment would be provided through the creation of offspring companies and the re-capitalisation of OTCs also need to be incorporated in the structure of money and the way we own property.

These features are inherent in negative interest rate money and Community Land Banks (CLBs) described in Building Sustainable Communities and a number of may other writings. CLBs would manage a contiguous precinct containing around 50,000 people and create a local government unit on which all higher levels of government would be based. No higher level of government would undertake any function which would be better carried out at a lower level.

Health, education and welfare services would be provided through the CLB which would capture and re-distribute most economic values created by the community. CLBs, rather than individuals, would pay tax and appoint the next level of government.

No unemployment

Economic and political power would trickle up, rather than down, this cascade system of governance. The control of business, social infrastructure and land would be exercised directly by their stakeholders to introduce locally owned economic democracy.

Dividends from CLBs would underwrite a universal minimum income for all residents. Unemployment would no longer be a concern as financially independent citizens competed to undertake meaningful unpaid activities.

Voluntary associations and humanitarian activities would replace many of the alienating and dysfunctional market forces and hierarchies which currently govern and intrude into our lives. Voluntary community activities would both occupy and support those without paid employment. Dividends for all citizens would allow residents to develop their personal potential and achieve fulfilment without the need for paid employment or welfare.

This is the world I would like to create for our children and their descendants.

Shann Turnbull
(*Fourth World Review* 81, 1997)

The contribution of the third sector to social, economic and political change *

For its international conference, the International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR) is visiting a city which has had a central role to play in international negotiation and conflict mediation. The conference will reflect this in devoting a plenary session to the findings of a major cross-national study on the contribution to the Third Sector to peace and conflict resolution. Although all papers focusing on Third Sector research and theory will be wel-

come, we would specifically like to encourage contributions dealing with this theme. Other key themes will be the contribution of the Third Sector to :

- sustainable development
- combating poverty and exclusion
- " human welfare
- social and political change
- the development and contribution of international Third Sector organizations

We are particularly inter-

ested in papers which offer a comparative element either across countries of between the Third Sector and the for-profit and government sectors, and in papers which develop conceptual and interpretative frameworks for analyzing both the contribution of the sector and the organizational and management issues involved. We will give particular priority to proposals for panel sessions.

Please submit double-spaced extended abstracts of up to

* Third International Conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) Université de Genève - Geneva, Switzerland - July 8-11,1998

two pages in the address below, along with the details requested on the Presenter Information Sheet. The abstract should give a working title and indicate clearly the methodology used, the relationship of the paper to existing literature on the subject and its relevance to the conference theme to be addressed. Papers will not be accepted if they have been delivered at another conference and we will be looking for evidence of relevance to an international audience. Abstracts will be evaluated on a competitive basis.

Submission deadline is October 31, 1997. Authors will be notified by mid January 1998 and invited to submit extended

abstracts for publication in the Conference Proceedings no later than May 15, 1998. We will accept abstracts in English, French and Spanish.

Researchers from all countries and disciplines are welcome. A number of scholarships and subsidies will be available for researchers from the developing world. There will be a special panel for papers prepared by post-graduate (including PhD) students and six scholarships to enable research students to attend.

Poster sessions are planned for researchers as an alternative to presenting a full research paper. Researchers will be given the opportunity to display a poster

about our research, as well as relevant materials. Participants will be able to view the posters, find out about on-going research and talk to individual researchers. An outline describing the research to be displayed should be submitted along with the completed Presenter Information Sheet by October 31, 1997.

All abstracts, presenter information sheets and poster outlines should be sent to: ISTR, The Johns Hopkins University, 551 Wyman Park Building, 3400 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-2688, USA (Phone 410-516-4678; Fax 410-516-4870). Abstracts and poster outlines will be accepted by mail and fax; we cannot accept submissions by email.

Models for tax treatment of NGOs *Activities, donors and beneficiaries* *

Objective

Many countries grant favorable tax treatment to non-governmental non-profit organisations (NGOs) whose work is beneficial to the community. However, NGOs which operate abroad in support of good causes such as the environment, disaster relief, health care, improvement of agriculture, of heritage, face serious problems connected with domestic legislation, in particular taxation.

These problems have been examined at a Round-Table organised by Europhil in 1996 in Bratislava. Participants adopted a Declaration in which they asked governments to improve tax treatment of NGOs and appealed to intergovernmental organisations to support this objective. The Declaration received positive responses from several international and European organisations.

At the Amsterdam Round-Table, Europhil will report on the reactions to the Bratislava Declaration. Participants will then be invited to discuss the next stage, which will consist of a comparative study outlining practical options for tax

treatment of NGOs, their activities, donors and beneficiaries, in national and international policy and law.

The study will build on the work carried out by the International Bureau of Fiscal Documentation and other institutions. The Round Table is open to tax lawyers, foundation and charity executives, corporate sponsors and funders and academic experts. Proceedings will be published by Kluwer Law International.

Agenda

On Sunday 8 March p.m., registration will commence at the Tulip Inn, followed by a welcoming party. On Monday 9 March a follow-up report on the Bratislava Declaration will be presented. The floor will then be open for statements reflecting the points of view of (a) tax lawyers, (2) NGO executives, (3) donors and (4) regulators. In the afternoon, after a guided visit to the IBFD, participants will discuss an outline plan for tax models in domestic law and bilateral and multilateral treaties. The evening is reserved for a social event. On Tuesday 10 March, there will be a keynote speech, after which participants will discuss and

adopt a final declaration and an agenda for further action. A closing luncheon will follow.

Hotel

A number of rooms have been retained at te nearby Tulip Inn Tropen, Linneausstraat 2 c (a division of Golden Tulip Hotels) at a preferential rate room and breakfast NLG 175 single, NLG 195 double per night. A deposit, to be paid on registration, will be credited to the hotel bill.

Registration - call for papers

The registration fee for participants and speakers is NLG 155 (or FF 560), including conference materials, two lunches and refreshments. Deadline: 7 February 1998.

Information

The Europhil Trust: Chief Trustee's Office p.o. Box 100, 67069 Sinsburg Cedex, France, tel +333 88561646, fax + 333 88561210.

Amsterdam 1997

ITM Diemen, fax +31 20600 579.

* A Round-Table Stork Museum, Oostenburgergracht 77, Amsterdam, 8 to 10 March 1998 organised by The Europhil Trust under the auspices of the International Bureau of Fiscal Documentation Conference Patrons H.E. Dr Pieter H. Kooijmans, international Court of Justice, The Hon. Justice Michael Kirby AC CMG, High Court of Australia Chairperson; s Frits Hondius, Fernando Scornik Gerstein

General rapporteurs: Paul Bater, Debra Morris.

The actors of the international system
Les acteurs du système international

Towards a normative politics of global transformation: synthesizing alternative perspectives, by Ignatius Swart, 1, 2-20.
Cosmopolitiques. Retour à la société civile, par Paul Ghils, 3, 172-175.

Prise dans la violence de la globalisation, la démocratie à l'épreuve des étrangers, par Marie-Claire Caloz-Tschopp, 4, 184-198.

Typology of international organisations
Typologie des organisations internationales

Les différents types d'organisations internationales : statistiques 1997, UAI, 4, 233.
Expanding resources on international organizations, by Chadwick Alger, 5, 269-272.

INGO/NGO/IGO Relations
Relations ONG/OING/OIG

Recent UN activities in connection with the establishment of a permanent international criminal court and the role of the Association internationale de droit pénal (AIDP) and the Istituto Superiore Internazionale di Scienze Criminali (ISISC), by Cherif Bassiouni, 1, 21-26.

NGOs and the World Bank, 1, 27-35; 2, 61.
Another role for an NGO: financing a WHO programme - Rotary International and the eradication of poliomyelitis, by Yves Beigbeder, 136-43.

The perils of partnership, 2, by Laura Mc Donald, 58-60.

Human progress through NGO cooperation and networking, by Cyril Ritchie, 5, 240-246.
The NGO-UN partnership: some questions *urbi et orbi*, by Cyril Ritchie, 6, 330-332.
NGOs, governments and the United Nations: building partnerships, by Ismail Razali, 6, 326-329.

Conflict Resolution
Résolution des conflits

Roles for NGOs in reducing or preventing violence, by Elise Boulding, 6, 315-325; 6, 322-323.

Social and Economic Development
Développement économique et social

From the shadows of the Tigers: Asia's empowering experiences in the Communication Age, by Dorothy Grace M. Guerrero, 2, 75-88.

Society and Science
Science et société

La recherche scientifique et la demande sociale, par Gérard Valenduc et Patricia Vendramin, 6 296-303.

The International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU): relations and reflections, by F.W.G. Baker, 6, 304-310.

The Way: an ecological world view, by Edward Goldsmith, 6, 311-314.

Trade Unions and Cooperatives
Syndicats et coopératives

Strategies for gender democracy. Strengthening the representation of trade union women in the European social dialogue, by Cynthia Cockburn, 3, 133-145.

Taxation of nonprofit organizations and their benefactors in Austria, by Friedrich Schwank, 3, 165-171.

L'Europe des représentants du personnel et de leurs attributions économiques

Commission européenne, Commission européenne, 3, 146-164.

L'Europe des représentants du personnel et de leurs attributions économiques. Commission européenne (II), 4, 223-232.

Education, Culture and Communication
Culture et communication

Network solutions for cultural cooperation in Europe, by Judith Staines, 2, 89-108.

Le rôle de la coopération académique internationale, par Dumitru Chitoran, 5, 247-250.

Civil Society and the State
La société civile et l'Etat

Interacting fruitfully with un-civil society, by Anthony J.N. Judge, 3, 124-132.

Cosmopolitiques. Retour à la société civile, par Paul Ghils, 3, 172-175.

NGOs facing democracy and globalization: the challenges in Latin America, by Eduardo Gudy-nas, 199-204.

Asia
Asie

From the shadows of the Tigers: Asia's empowering experiences in the Communication Age, 2, by Dorothy Grace M. Guerrero, 2, 75-88.
Asian NGO initiatives in addressing hunger and poverty, UAGOC, 205-222.

Europe

Network solutions for cultural cooperation in Europe, by Judith Staines, 2, 89-108.
Tax treatment of NGOs. Bratislava Declaration on tax treatment of NGOs/Déclaration de Bratislava sur la fiscalité des ONG/Declaración de Bratislava sobre la fiscalidad de las ONG, 2, 109-114.

L'Europe des représentants du personnel et de leurs attributions économiques
Commission européenne (I), Commission européenne, 3, 146-164.

Taxation of nonprofit organizations and their benefactors in Austria, by Friedrich Schwank, 3, 165-171.

L'Europe des représentants du personnel et de leurs attributions économiques, Commission européenne (II), 4, 223-232.

La promotion du rôle des associations et des fondations en Europe, Commission européenne, 5, 251-266.

Des réseaux pour les citoyens et leurs communautés en Europe, 5, Forum sur la société de l'information, 5, 267-268.

International Meetings
Réunions internationales

International meetings in 1996, by Ghislaine de Coninck, 5, 273-281.
Participation attendue aux congrès en 1998, UAI, 5, 282-284.

1,44-50; 2, 115-120; 3, 177-180; 4, 234-235-5, 288-291; 6, 333-345.

New International Organisations
Nouvelles organisations internationales

1,49-50; 3, 179-180; 4, 236; 5,292.

Book Reviews
Bibliographie

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Toward a More Effective UN. Research Project on a More Effective UN Options and Japan' Options, by Tatsuro Kunugi et al., PHP Research Institute, Tokyo, 1996 (3, 172-175, Paul Ghils).

Kant et la paix perpétuelle, par Jürgen Habermas, Cerf, Paris, 1997 [3, 172-175, Paul Ghils].

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Initiating National Desertification Funds, by

Heinz Grein, UNDP, Nairobi, 1996 (5, 285, Paul Ghils].

Author Index

Index des auteurs

Alger Chadwick, 5, 269-272.
ANGOC, 205-222.
Baker F.W.G., 6, 304-310.
Bassiouni Cherif, 1, 21-26.
Beigbeder Yves, 1, 36-43.
Boulding Elise, 6, 315-325; 6, 322-323.
Caloz-Tschopp Marie-Claire, 4, 184-198.
Chitoran Dumitru, 5, 247-250.
Cockburn Cynthia, 3, 133-145.
Coninck Ghislaine de, 5, 273-281.
Commission européenne, 3, 146-164;
4, 223-232; 5, 251-266.
FONDA, 6, 327-328.
Forum sur la société de l'information,
5, 267-268.
Ghils Paul, 3, 172-175.
Goldsmith Edward, 6, 311-314.
Grunwald Reinhard, 6, 324-325.
Gudynas Eduardo, 199-204.

Guerrero by Dorothy Grace M., 2, 75-í
Judge Anthony J.N., 3, 124-132.
Kibedi George, 6, 333.
Mc Donald Laura, 58-60.
Razali Ismail, 6, 326-329.
Ritchie Cyril, 5, 240-246; 6, 330-332.
Schwank Friedrich, 3, 165-171.
Staines Judith, 2, 89-108.
Swart Ignatius, 1, 2-20.
Turnbull Shann, 6, 329-330.
UAI, 4, 233; 5, 282-284.
Valenduc Gerard, 6, 296-303.
Vendramin Patricia, 6, 296-303.
World Bank, 1, 27-35; 2, 61.

Index of Page Numbers

Index de pagination

n^o1 1-56
n^o2 57-122
n^o3 123-182
n^o4 183-238
n^o5 239-294
n^o6 295-350

Some items in recent issues:

Parmi les thèmes traités récemment :

Transnational actors in the international system
Les acteurs transnationaux dans le système international

The recognition of the legal personality of INGOs
La reconnaissance de la personnalité juridique des OING

Cooperation between INGOs and IGOs
La coopération entre les OING et les OIG

Asian Associations
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Latin American Associations
Les associations latino-américaines

African Associations
Associations africaines

European Associations after Maastricht
Les associations européennes après Maastricht

Internationalism in Science
Science et transnationale

Social movements, trade unions and cooperatives
Mouvements sociaux, syndicats et coopératives

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Développement économique et social

Environmental problems
Les problèmes écologiques

Humanitarian aid and humanitarian law
L'aide et le droit humanitaires

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Chadwick Alger, Chérif Bassiouni, Mohammed Bedjaoui, Jan Berting, Maurice Bertrand, Elise Boulding, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, John Clark, Cynthia Cockburn, Jacques Delors, Thomas Dichter, Adama Dieng, Johan Galtung, Susan George, André Gorz, Group of Lisbon, Robin Guthrie, Robert Harris, Jürgen Höfner, Alexandre Kiss, Alain Labrousse, Ronnie D. Lipschutz, Marc Luyckx, Elikia M'Bokolo, Mouton Mitchnik, Edgar Morin, Basarab Nicolescu, Ignacio Ramonet, Francois Rigaux, Nigel Rodley, Wolfgang Sachs, Pierre de Senarclens, Christiane Scrivener, Vaudana Shiva, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Rajesh Tandon, Charles Taylor, Peter Waterman.

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5/1990, 3/1995.

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6/1996, 1/1997.

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4/1996.

6/1989, 3/1990,

1/1993, 4/1996.

3/1994, 4/1995,

1/1996, 2/1996.

6/1994, 1/1995,

2/1997.

6/1997.

1/1996, 5/1996,

6/1996, 3/1997.

5/1994, 4/1995,

1/1996, 4/1996.

4/1989, 1/1990,

4/1995, 2/1996.

2/1992, 4/1992,

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4/1996, 3/1997.

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