

PARTNERS FOR A CONTRACT WITH A GENERATION WORKING TOGETHER FOR SURVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Opening Our Eyes

Opening the super powers would accept mutual visits unannounced, of their military instalments, in order to verify asserted destruction of nuclear or chemical weapons, and negotiation on parallel reduction of other weapons including conventional ones, would have been considered an eccentric.

Only five years ago, who would have taken seriously anyone forecasting that a country of Eastern Europe would soon put into office a non-communist Prime Minister with the Communist Party's consent?

Who would have believed, only five years ago, that just before an Afro-European meeting, on the African soil, the notoriously strong armed regime of the inviting country, would set free all its political prisoners, raising the enthusiasm of participants for human rights?

Who would have accepted, only five years ago, the prediction of a referendum enabling the Chileans to disavow their dictator or a "condemnation" of Apartheid by a South African Prime Minister just before elections reserved to white people?

Who, only five years ago, would have accredited the idea that all the indus-

trialized countries would compel refrigeration and aerosol industry to discontinue the manufacture of the least expensive and most convenient product in this area just to protect the stratosphere?

During 1989, these events reputed impossible happened, running counter to many well established interests, often reinforced by armed protection.

Every time, men and women, even entire generations, have paid with years of their life, and sometimes with their life, the gap between the cry of reason and the coming of political decision.

These victories, combining ideals and pragmatism, are victories and the mind — the spirit of peace, tolerance, democracy, human rights and solidarity — over the challenge of massive weapon race, discriminations and all sorts of totalitarisms, imbecile bureaucracies and selfishness. Every time, the disturbing voices of prophets and dissidents have been able to move the heart and the reason of militants and citizens: an opinion has been revealed to itself and has developed because its claims responded to deep aspirations.

But spirit is not enough: every time, it has been necessary for it to take shape, so that intuitions and the clear-sighted-

ness of some acquire sufficient strength through the instruments and concrete means of the political: laws, budget, institutions.

Almost always, things seem to refuse to occur until they get urged on by the specters — the specter of economical collapse, of ecological catastrophe, of civil or foreign warfare — at least compelling governments to realize the urgency of a new priority. Would national interest be the wage of fear? Too often, the time of institutional action comes dangerously too late.

In another field, twenty years ago, some eminent and prophetic voices — from Rene DUMONT's to Margaret MEAD's, even before the Stockholm Conference on Environment in 1972 — claimed the measures today acknowledged and justified by the Bruntland Commission report "Our Future". It is only recently that governments have put their heads together and begun working to rescue and rehabilitate when possible our environment. Meanwhile, desertification has reached gigantic proportions in Africa, pollution has come to a danger point in the big cities of the five continents, and the CFC gases — the dangers of which were brought to light in the sixties' — have largely contributed to damaging the ozone stratum; the growing emission of carbonic gas, a consequence of our use of fossil energy, brings us closer each year to a point where increase of temperature of the planet's climate will be unavoidable, whatever be done to correct this.

How long are we going to wait for new signs and new fissures to open our eyes, to realize that non-development in the Third World is the texture on which are woven the major challenges of the end of this century that mankind is already confronted with? For the first time, they threaten us in our very existence and survival: the ecological challenge the demographic and urban challenge the sanitary and social challenge are masks of the cultural and economic challenges. But can we think in terms of threats while extermination of millions of human lives, wiped out by violence and wait and see policies, is already under way?

2. Four Challenges

As already mentioned above, the dete-

rioration of our environment is no longer a national issue for industrialized countries: the ecological cost of underdevelopment and poverty in the Third World countries combines with the cost of our consumption in wealthy countries, creating a situation calling for viable solutions, at the level of each existing ecosystem, as well as on the planetary ecosystem level. On top of that, threats of climate alterations make it impossible to consider for the Third World countries of tomorrow a kind of development built on extravagant consumption of fossil energy resources, as is the case today of the wealthy countries. Also, this constraint is also imperative for industrialized countries.

The demographic and urban challenge also changes the picture of problems which have to be solved drastically, compelling responsible people to invent radically new conceptions and anticipate a level of expenditures unknown until today. We are now certain — it is inevitable in any case other than selfdestruction — that today's world population of a little more than 5 billion inhabitants will increase to 8 to 10 billion in 2025. In the developing countries alone, the urban population will exceed 3 billion inhabitants, three times what it is today. In the year 2000, 17 of the 25 megalopolis whose population will exceed 10 million will be in the Third World. From now to 2010, it will be necessary to create 700 million jobs in these regions, which is more than the present total number of jobs in the whole industrialized world. During the next ten years, maintaining the already inadequate level of services, will call for a 65% increase in investments. While in the Third World countries, six hundred million people live in slums, without electricity, sewage systems, or access to drinking water, it is impossible not to be aware that these urban problems of food, accommodations, water and drainage, schools, that have taken on overwhelming proportions, are the yeast for terrorisms, the excuse for any kind of aggression the example of the Medellin Cartel is only a beginning — and as such have become internal problems of our own societies.

The sanitary and social challenge, long considered marginal because not relevant in our societies, begins to penetrate

the Northern countries. AIDS is one of the most striking examples. It is a certainty that AIDS will not be eradicated if not in all countries with no exception. Do we realize the gigantic effort of development necessary in the Third World countries only for prevention campaigns, which require means of communication, efficient administration and elimination of illiteracy? In a world where 1.2 billion people have no access whatever to drinking water, which will number one billion illiterates in 2000?

The economic challenge is as overwhelming as the above mentioned ones. It is neither new nor attractive — for more than 30 years, governments, international organizations and agencies, cooperation agencies, banks, firms, associations for development and research, have been exploring the notion of development and struggling to bring it to life.

During the 80's, private investment of capital and brainpower was concentrated on the OECD countries and South-East Asia attractive because of high quality labour — putting an end to relative expansion during the 70's in most of the developing countries. Frantic competition on the world market of raw materials — often aggravated by international banks for development — has made a cut on the poor countries' exportable resources and prices, locking them in the vicious circle of internal and external debt. Little by little, world economy has been left in the sole hands of the market, and become a device for the survival of the strongest and most resourceful, firms, individuals or countries. In Africa, income per capita decreased at a rate of 2.5% a year during the 80's. In South America, it raised to the level observed 15 years ago. The height of absurdity is reached when institutions that are supposed to regulate world economy, or promote the economy of developing countries, bluntly and resolutely favour disorganization of solidarities and traditional channels.

Simultaneously, multinational firms and intergovernmental technocracies become more and more powerful in the political field to the detriment of states, and 700 million consumers absorb 85% of the world market.

A two geared economy has insidiously — insidiously because states refuse to admit the fact — replaced North/South cleavage (ignored by capital when it was its interest) and separated production, business, investment and urban wage earners, solvent and wasteful consumers, from dismantled peasantry, unemployment, cultural void, juvenile delinquency, refugees, humiliated and non self reliant groups of all kinds. It is this hopeless, materially and spiritually miserable Fourth World that leads to the streets, face with armed forces, those who have nothing to loose. Individual or collective, public or private, blood-soaked or ordinary violence has its rank in establishment when money and despair unite and can buy governments. Generalized hostage taking of people, consciences, and also of services and essential resources, is becoming the rule: air, species, soil and water fertility, are overexploited to pay interest on omnivorous debt to commercial banks.

Hardly recovering from the second world war's mass graves and shuddering through the cold war, we are now confronted with a situation in which newly promoted fundamental values — money, power, prestige — are in grasping distance only of the happy few, provoking frustrations and aggression among the majority, extremist reactions and regressions, extreme distress in an increasing number of areas.

How short-sighted we are: we have gotten as used to the acceleration of worldwide events as our ancestors were used to the sequence of the seasons; as accustomed to faraway tragedies, as if they were nothing more than part of a daily television show. We are bent on believing in the sagacity of people in charge, elected for reasons that are from what is really at stake, and counting on the blessings of technical progress reputed as salutary and inexhaustible.

Blindness of the affluent in the North and in the South leads us to refuse to see the major challenges — spurred on by underdevelopment — accumulate threats and perils to mankind. It is, from today on, mandatory upon us to cry out that nations can no longer allow themselves to put aside interior or external solidarity. 3.5 to 3.6% of western industrialized countries gross national

product: that is the level, unchanged in the last ten years, of public aid, as registered by the OECD Aid For Development Committee. Meantime, there is mention of close to one billion victims of "absolute poverty"..... In the least advanced countries, in Africa, South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, starvation, malnutrition, sanitary deficiencies still cause each day the death of about 40,000 children.

3. Citizens Cry Out to Their Governments

Eight years ago, on the 24th of June 1981, this scandal brought on public reaction of 53 Nobel Prize Winners (since joined by some 60 more of their colleagues) whose manifesto was supported by many of the most eminent political and religious authorities in the world. It called for a political mobilization measures on all levels, including ordinary citizen, to lay down laws outlining the necessary measures for saving hundreds of millions of human beings threatened by exclusion and underdevelopment. Such is the origin of the campaign "Survival and Development", which has already given rise to several citizen and parliamentary initiatives in Europe and led to bills voted in Belgian (1983) and Italy (1985).

In the wake of these initiatives, men and women all over the European Community and in several other nearby countries have become aware of the risks and the dangers in the area of this major challenge, that the long-term is already under way, in the North and in the South, and that not a minute can be lost.

But, given the enormous change in direction necessary, what are the answers? None, to speak frankly, if the action to be pursued is that of a few hundred, or even a few thousand people, however convinced, active, generous and united they might be.

But who, in today's world, would ever think of laying the foundations of a building with no more tools than a pickaxe or a spade instead of applying to someone with a digger?

We are placed beside state power. The problem concerns our societies, closely affects our present and future, concerns our essential values; as such, it devolves on states to mobilize human, institu-

tional, diplomatic, financial..... in short, the necessary political means: only these can respond with efficiency proportional to the risks.

The intentions of survival and development's promoters are neither barren criticism of public aid under way, or battling against it — which would be ridiculous — they are to launch a vital political debate that will penetrate society and institutions: excluding partisan affiliations but remembering that political party competition is essentially based on the project they put forth; excluding any particular commercial or mass media interests, but remembering that in democratic societies, messages cannot be delivered without using massmedia (and sometimes without organizing mass-media vehiculed events); excluding any exclusive ties with one or another non governmental organization, but remembering to cherish all the veins, knowledge and human experience they shelter.

The facts mentioned in this introduction point out that it is up to an entire generation of citizens — all those at working age today — to transmit the message as soon as possible. It will, in any case, have to be heard by governments, early enough or too late. The message's strength will depend on its encountering intimate experience and expectations of a whole generation in Europe, over and beyond national frontiers.

4. Not Just a New Fad, a New Approach to Development

What is this message?

We are not suggesting new techniques for more efficient cooperation for development, nor new institutions — or, if any, only to a slight extent. The 30 year long list of yearly discoveries of new "keys" supposed to guarantee development is unending.....

- import substitution,
- massive education (schools),
- increase in investments,
- profitable farming and research leading to it,
- transportation structures and opening isolated areas,
- industrialization leading to exportation, "industry-producing industry",
- birth control,
- target planning,

- "the green revolution",
- aiming at 0.7% of developed countries' GNP for aid (there is still a lot of talk of, and not much reality),
- functional literacy campaigns,
- self-focused development,
- accent on education in rural areas,
- investments requiring intensive labour,
- meeting of basic needs,
- international agreement concerning staples,
- the "New International Economic Order",
- women's participation in development,
- resorting to NGO's,
- combining profitable farming with growing for family needs,
- micro-projects,
- cooperation and integration on the regional levels,
- structural adjustments and its "humanized" version,
- discussions on policies,
- non-subsidized price and exchange rates,
- management techniques,
- respect of environment for "sustainable" development,
- and so on (with no mention of recent tendencies towards withdrawal and afro-pessimism).....

All of these discoveries contain their part of truth and efficiency, and also their limits.

The promoters of "Survival and Development", who come from a wide range of professional experiences and personal commitments, suggest a new approach that would — at last take the word "Cooperate" seriously, and associate it with a level of means without which cooperation is no more than purchasing a clear conscience. We believe, through experience, that the key factor to any achievement — even the most material kind — is the population it concerns. Success or failure depends on them "cooperating" or not with what has been suggested.

In almost every field, experience has led to evidence that the qualitative aspect is of the utmost importance in social psychology, in account for success or failure of economical or social projects: a given group of human beings feeling concerned by and responsible for what must and can be done. History has

shown that recruits, hard labour, or even fanatics to a cause are not effective in the long run, and that nothing can be done properly without an atmosphere of mutual confidence among instigators of undertakings and those supposed to "benefit" by them.

A different approach can be adopted: and approach using the populations' potential of energy and creativity on the condition they express, through the representatives they choose for themselves, their feeling of responsibility and concern for their survival and development. In each case, patterns for this democratic participation will have to be invented.

In the field of development today — whether in farming, dwellings, credit, health or environment — practitioners and technicians who take stand from experience state the absolute necessity of the participative approach, to a point where documents edited by institutions or following intergovernmental meetings begin to suggest that its social and cultural implications are such that economical and technical effectiveness depend on it. Each month, practice is gaining ground on the preaching: new bilateral or multilateral programs are set up — following the NGO's example — on grass root level, entrusting the populations with essential tasks.

The spirit of the participative approach has not yet gotten all the attention it deserves from, among others, "international experts", and their administrations.

It was all the more difficult for them to discover as the implements they use do not take into consideration a certain number of aspects of human action:

- deep-rooted attachment to one's soil,
- desire to learn,
- passion to create,
- joy of knowledge,
- pleasure in expressing opinion,
- proudness of acknowledgement,
- feeling of solidarity,
- satisfaction in participation,
- joy of sharing,

which must be taken into consideration at the same time as respect for social structure and traditional values.

In short, the cultural (or "spiritual") dimension of human activity is highly motivating — however its being systematically ignored. There can be found the call for more honest information, more democracy in decision taking, more sharing of obligations, more responsibilities, more control on the carrying out of promises.

There can be found — in each nation in its own specific way claim for respect for rights of the human being. For want of this respect, the dictator (tyrant, junta, party) reigns over a nation with no spirit. And if such is the case, confidence among the representatives of foreign support and the population is impossible: the alien — to the village, the ethnic — is then regarded as representing a mistrusted regime, especially if he is sent by this regime, or collaborates with it, which is a distinctive characteristic of inter-governmental cooperation.

Chinese students, Argentina, Poland, Algerian youth, East Germany have cancelled the taboo on human rights issues. Cries for democracy are heard in many places where they were formally muzzled.

5. Mobilizing

Enormous quantities of energy will be available for development if they are made confident. This fact is of the greatest importance in the poorest regions or countries, whose populations are the chief concern of 'Survival and Development' promoters.

Change for development is above all expected by the men and women that make up these populations: farmers, fishermen, breeders..... These many actors of development need as many partners. If the entire population of a zone, region or country must be put into motion, support from the most competent and motivated elements of the cooperating country's population is necessary, alongside generally recognized as excelling public or non governmental, national or international institutions and agencies, according to the tasks to be accomplished and to the agreement on procedures.

Given the range of needs and change involved, calling for an integrated approach and intricate engineering, it is obvious that success depends on brin-

ging together a certain number of necessary conditions:

(a) each operation should be carried out on a sufficiently large scale so as to reach a "break even point" guaranteeing that the region will not slip back to its previous situation;

(b) In the case of countries having not yet reached 0.7% for aid to development, important new public resources must be mobilized by law, and preferably be identifiable through a survival and development fund provided yearly. Leaving aside the subject of the necessary change in the general area of aid as it exists today, these new financial means are additional to the actions already under way. The level considered is one thousandth of developed countries' resources (NGP). Hopefully, the present and future East-West disarmament situation will be an important source of finances. Disarmament for survival is a necessity not only for the Soviet Union, but for all nations as well at a time when developing countries alone spend 200 billion \$ a year on defense.

(c) The programs financed by a Survival and Development Fund, however generously endowed, over and beyond hopes of local success and impact on development, will reach full efficiency only if the actors of this cooperation are lastingly transformed — it must be admitted that, globally, their performances have been disappointing in the last 30 years:

- The populations concerned, by being given taste for independent organization for economical, or social purposes, helping them to take charge of their answers to the above mentioned challenges progressively: health, urbanization, environment, social injustice;

- Local and national authorities, by showing them that "liberated" mobilization is effective and can be so without being to their detriment, can rehabilitate their duty to accompany development and political regulation;

- Foreign partners, particularly agencies responsible for coordinating foreign support. In spite of, or because of, their tested experience, these organizations might discover that supplement of "soul" the participative approach

gives is worth the inconveniences it implies. Beyond projects linked to the schedule of conditions for use of Survival and Development Funds, it is the way put to practice that should be profoundly and lastingly transformed. Their discoveries should then enrich their action in other areas: their approach, often technocratic or economy biased, could then integrate the socio-cultural desiderata of the populations concerned by their programs and called on to outline them;

NGO's involved should be able to surpass ignorance-conflict-take over problematic in their relationship with North and South Governments, and frequently assimilating efficiency and "micro" dimension. They will have direct influence on use of important public funds. Their Participation in these operations will put them, the multiplicity of their techniques and their ideologies, shoulder to shoulder.

6. A Contract with a Generation

Mobilized in this new approach, new human resources in the North and in the South — backed up by governments but showing respect to individuals and paying attention to their needs and choices put forth by groups, especially by poorest ones should be able to federate their efforts effectively in a contractual architecture, that can be trebly qualified as a **CONTRACT** with a generation:

- It concerns virtually all the working age members of a generation in the North and in the South capable of real human and technical competences to the benefit of a partnership with the populations in the most vulnerable regions;
- Its project is to generate these populations' initiatives, organization, productive activities and income;
- It implies that sufficient long term attention be paid to solutions to medium or long term problems, so that the youngest and first to benefit by the plan in turn be able to take charge of their and their children's future in far better conditions, counting on the sole economical resources of their region.

7. Functioning Outline of a_ "Contract with a Generation"

The contract aims at initiating poor populations' development on scale of the large vulnerable zones in Africa, Asia or Latin America, detected, in particular, by high infant mortality rates. A framework agreement, the principals of which are contained in the present document, between Northern and Southern States involved, is to be sought for each of these zones. This agreement will cover a great number of specific contracts between supply and demand of financing and competencies. It will favour the local level, but will also have concern for demand from intermediate levels in as much they reinforce the development of basic communities. These communities' situation also depends on macro-economic problems that will continue being handled through national and international institutions that have the capacity to tackle them, also it may mean setting up new procedures of negotiations with them.

The suppliers of financing and competence, from the North and also from the South, will be the States, United Nations multilateral organizations, the EEC, bilateral cooperation institutions, representative institutions of townships, regions NGO's, firms, technicians, research The same sources are to be found in the South with serious deficiencies on the local and intermediate levels.

Active response to local demand will require fulfilling four conditions:

- the existence or potential emergence or organized demand, the germ of local development procedures embracing the economical, social, cultural needs of the populations concerned, and calling on their capacity to analyze situations and come through with their own answers;
- resorting to organized support possibly chosen by invitation to tender, responsible for coordinating the national and foreign partners;
- the agreement will have long term financing, through a specific Survival and Development Fund, supplied each year with an additional 0.1% of the committed developed countries' GNP (additional in the case the

developed countries' contribution to public aid to development has not yet reached the internationally accepted objective of 0.7% of GNP) reached within a three year period of time;

- guarantee of periodical and integrated evaluation, the methods of which will have been agreed upon by the partners prior to getting any project under way.

For each large zone concerned, management of replies to demand, checking fulfillment of the conditions, the necessary stimulation, communication, follow up and financial control will be assumed by a high level authority (if possible with a pluri- or supra-national status) who will lean on one (or several) respected collegiate institution(s).

This authority will have to disregard self centeredness in the various disciplines, administrative machinery or other kinds of apparatus, purely sector-based preoccupations and habits, and get into action, in a given area, the complementary elements necessary to sustainable development, graft them to what already exists or is already under way. It will take care that all the pieces of the puzzle are on the board and connect. If, thanks to necessary consulting, something appears to be missing (it only too often happens today that awareness of a missing piece of the puzzle arises after operations are over), the Survival and Development program should be able to compensate for this shortcoming: a road, a bridge, suggestion for national price policy, re-organization of management of a service, massive veterinary training....

It will be to organized support's advantage to involve populations in the North, in one way or another, for instance through township or regional institutions, thus offering, if necessary, additional support to local collectivities in the South. In the North as in the South, the partners should show very pragmatic determination, being careful to use national human resources as much as possible.

Special attention will be paid to setting up and use of local sources of financing.

Partnership and follow up with any given area will be guaranteed, on a renewable basis, for at least 5 years.

(Cont. from page 15)

8. A Chance for Europe

To begin with, this contract with a generation is proposed to Europe: States, aid institutions, NGO's and citizens. Europe is perhaps more fit than others to communicate intimately with the poorest in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and help them get back on their feet in spite of all the difficulties they face. Political will alone, through Europe's economical, diplomatic and legal means, can strive towards reversing recent tendencies — as the environmental area — to supplant

“rules and regulations” with the “law of the jungle”: Europeans do not all feel at home in this situation, and the industrialized world — it would perhaps be better to say computerized — cuts itself off from the real world, in a relationship of mutual distrust.

We must beware: many interests are already organizing, following East-West detente, to make it believed in the North that the real dangers now come from the South. This would only become true in the case the North, forgetting the cruel lessons of the past, was unable to meet the challenge of underdevelopment with a new project, prompted not only by fear.

The contract with a generation's perspectives are solidarity, mutual advantages; it is vital for the North that the South becomes a strong and dynamic partner.

The project's vocation is to belong to all of Europe. Nevertheless, it is clear that the paths these ideas will take in each country's specific context will converge but be different, in as much as their histories, geography, national dispositions, cultural traditions and political situations are different.

The objective is double: ensure survival and set up conditions for development.