

**ADVANCING
DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION
CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE**

**Selections from the
XII World Conference of the World Futures Studies Federation
(WFSF)**

**BARCELONA
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FORWARD

I am pleased to present some of the texts from the Barcelona World Conference which took place from 16 to 21 September 1991. The selection was made by a committee made up of B. Van Steenberghe, R. Nakarada, F. Martí and J. Dator and we regret not being able to include for reasons of space the other addresses that were presented.

Some months after the Conference the interest in the chosen theme has been confirmed. Democracy is still in many parts of the world a project for the future. It is not the only possible future but it is the most desirable. The problem lies in the conditions for genuine participation. The world is changing and will continue to change in the coming decades. We need to be able to visualize today what factors condition and will condition citizens participation in the structures of constituted powers, the evolution of these structures and the convenience of not reducing the problem of participation to a practice affecting only individual people and forgetting the importance of collective subjects. The present European political effervescence shows how important it is to be able to visualize an international order that takes into account cultural and national identities. One of the most important challenges for the future is that of making the diversity of peoples, religions and cultural universes compatible with an effective shared responsibility before global problems. The recent United Nations conference held in Rio de Janeiro on Environ-

ment and Development showed perfectly which are the urgent global problems we shall have to solve during the twenty first century.

I hope these papers will contribute to an advancement of reflection on the growth of participation and democracy. It is curious to note that the technologically advanced countries have not come up with any significant innovations in the development of democracy. Both the rich or dominant countries and the poor or dominated countries have yet to find ways of renovating formulas established in the West during the nineteenth century that have not evolved in time with scientific and economic changes.

The professionals of futures studies who want to make a rigorous study of the outlooks for the future must continue to reflect on participation. Interactions between present and future must be better studied with the aim of clarifying the viabilities of societies that want democracy but that will not achieve it without seriously analysing the factors that have shaped the existing democracies and the new opportunities arising for participation. At the same time the scientists as truly cultured people—that is, reasonable and courageous—have to show themselves to be in favour of democratic values and of the ethical conscience that will lead historical evolution towards true progress, participation and solidarity.

Fèlix Martí
President Centre Català de Prospectiva

PARTICIPATING WITH THE UNIVERSE

Opening remarks for the XII World Conference

I always try to use the themes of our World Conferences to guide my thoughts, actions, teaching and research in the period prior to their convening. So advancing democracy and participation has been very much on my mind for the last sixteen months and in many different ways.

I am sure it has been in the forefront of your concerns as well of every person in this room. Indeed the topic of our Conference has been a focal point of world attention in the period since the XIth World Conference in Budapest was adjourned. Seldom has democracy and participation advanced and receded and advanced again with such rapidity as it has during the months we were preparing for this Conference. Even a review of the call for contributions which appeared in the front of the several announcements for the Barcelona conference altered between the euphoria following the fall of the Wall, the despair during the Gulf War, the caution and confusion following it, and then the fear which gripped the world during the coup d'état in Moscow, recently which turned out to be not a coup d'état but rather just a two day coup.

So what's next? What will transpire this week while we are trying to focus on the future of democracy and participation once again?

Like many other members of the Federation who have been deeply influenced by visions of self governance from the 1960s or of the Greens or others more recently, I have for years struggled with what democracy means in my work place, classroom and family. The issue has always seemed to be one of maintaining a delicate and fluid balance between freedom and order or between autocratic interference and irresponsibility.

I imagine you can get a good argument going among my friends, colleagues and family as to which I more generally am, autocratic or irresponsible. As near as

I can figure it out, I am both simultaneously and to all people. Being putatively male, arguably white, and certainly of advancing ages does not make it any easier for me.

But there I go again, as though participation and democracy in the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies or the Alternative Futures Option of the Department of Political Science of the University of Hawaii or in the various tentacles of my extended family were MY problem instead of those whom I so exquisitely harass and oppress.

It is also the case as Clem Bezold, Tom Mandel and other consulting futurists among us, told us all in Budapest last time that the best futures work always involves the client and consultant co-evolving a vision for the future. While many clients seek merely to buy a preferred future from a futures consulting firm, Clem Tom and the rest pointed out that the only good future is one you envision and struggle towards by and for yourself together with all of the other selves who are expected to inhabit it. If the firm is to march towards a brave new world then everyone doing the marching had also better be in on the envisioning.

Now many of you recall that I have had a special interest in what Ted Becker and Christa Slaton call quantum politics. Along with many of you, I have been struck by the severely limited application of positivistic science to the study of the future, the creation or evaluation of good governance or of anything else for that matter. I find the notion of an objective observer passively observing an objective real world to be of very limited utility.

Instead, I find the perspective of quantum physics to be more appealing, specifically that perspective which reveals that

1. Things are not what they seem. If we restrict our understanding of the world to only that narrow band

which our human senses perceive we will have only a shallow and misleading notion of the structures and process of the world

2 For example it is misleading to conceive of the world as being composed of discrete units which are knit together into say systems There are rather quanta and fields

3 While immediate cause effect determinism and rational decision making both have roles in our lives those roles are not primary in human affairs Rather probability randomness uncertainty and complementarity are normal

4 Moreover there is no balance of nature which must be preserved Such balances as may be observed are actually very short lived phenomena Non equilibrium and symmetry breaking are to be expected indeed to be preferred Holding on to old ways is the grip of death

5 Living systems differ in important ways from non living ones and human systems may have important differences from other living ones One important difference is almost certainly human consciousness Thus at the meso level we might say consciousness uber alles That seems to be one of the most important messages of the concepts of indeterminism and complementarity namely no observer no world Different observer different world Images of the world are reality There is no objective or real world separate from each consciousness images of it

If this is so then altered states of consciousness may be necessary to have an altered consciousness of the state I conclude therefore that we should accept no crackpot realism [about politics or anything else]

[Above from my Quantum Theory and Political Design in Rolf Homann et al CHANGING LIFESTYLES AS INDICATORS OF NEW AND CULTURAL VALUES Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute 1983 p 55 57]

In other words we live in a participative universe and the universe of each of us differs significantly from that of every other person and all other life There is no world except that which is interactively and participatively created by each of us

So the old question Does a tree which falls unobserved in the forest make a sound? is wrong from the start If it is unobserved the tree not only does not make a sound but the tree and its fall and the forest itself does not exist or at least exists with no more certainty than does Schroedinger's cat in the box whose life death and very existence remains uncertain until the box is opened and its interior observed

So reality happens when we look at it and how reality happens depends on how we look at it as Danah Zohar puts it in her recent book THE QUANTUM SELF [William Morrow 1990] At the moment of observation some dialogue between the quantum wave function and the observer be this human or machine evokes and thus gives concrete form to one of the many possible realities inherent in that wave function Zohar says

Yogi Berra said you can observe an awful lot by merely looking But it turns out that is the only way you can observe anything at all Until you or someone looks at it there is no there there

So I believe it is time that we try to move beyond ideas of democratic politics which are based on obsolete or at least super heroic assumptions of rationality objectivity ideology or interest and develop a cybernetic politics based on quantum assumptions

We should that is move beyond democracy to participation beyond the delusion of each citizen controlling the system to the illusion of each individual participating in a self controlling system A government of by and for the people assumes much more than anyone can attain and leads inevitably to disillusion apathy and fascism

Now I know this may sound cynical if not irresponsible at a time when so many people all over the world are in the throes of ecstasy over their apparent liberation and freedom whether individual or national and the possibility of for the first time achieving democratic or at least representative forms of government

But I regret to say that I believe this ecstasy will be very short lived Every so called democracy I know anything about soon becomes some kind of a plutocracy at best a government of by and for the few and privileged I am absolutely certain that as long as we act as though the present forms of representative government whether parliamentary or presidential and whether in Europe North America Asia or anywhere else in the world are in any way satisfactory much less final forms of democracy then we are partners either to a dangerous illusion or to a purposeful deception

We can if we want view present forms of representative government as improvements over earlier or even some recent forms and perhaps even as progressive evolutionary steps forward In this light we can support and celebrate movements towards representative government wherever in the world they might have been recently achieved

But it is very important that we ourselves understand

world to do so than Catalonia historically at present and futuristically considered

My personal regards to Albert Oliva and Jordi Serra with whom Eleonora Masini Kidetoshi Kato and myself along with many others once dreamed the dream which has come true here today And to Josep Perena in whose memory this meeting must be dedicated I am certain he is somehow participating in his usual quiet way in all we say and do

Jim Dator

and that we help others understand that true participation and democracy lies ahead perhaps in a quantum cybernetic understanding of the world perhaps elsewhere in other ideas developed I hope at this conference

My very deep and everlasting thanks to Fèlix Martí and to all the members of the local organizing committee for bringing us here to discuss this potent topic There could be no more appropriate spot in all the

CHAPTER I

**FORMS, PROCESSES, AND CONCERNS ABOUT THE FUTURE
OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION**

CHRISTOPHER B JONES
**ECO-DEMOCRACY SYNTHESIZING FEMINISM,
ECOLOGY, AND PARTICIPATORY ORGANIZATIONS
(OR "DEMOCRACY AS IF THE PLANET MATTERED ")**

INTRODUCTION

The historical trend of the last few hundred years in much of the world has been toward greater participation by greater numbers of people in political life. Citizenship for example has been expanded in many countries to include non landowners slaves and women. However we are still a long way from true universal participation in local national and global political decision making. Democracy while a much touted word today in the West has much to be desired. Representative democracy is seen by some critics as an empty institution which has been used to co-opt working class people peasants women indigenous people and the global environment.

Historical Chronology

Democracy must be seen in its historical context. Democracy is a word of Western origins deriving from the Greek *demokratia* from *demo* the people and *kratein* to rule. There are many kinds of democracy however. On one hand there is what is called grassroots participatory or strong democracy and then on the other hand there is representative democracy the version of democracy which is the focus of all the fuss in Western mass media and governmental discourse.

Democracy of the representative type comes out of the political philosophy of liberalism and in fact the philosophy of liberalism and representative democracy are virtually synonymous. The democratic rule of the people was on one hand a participatory response to feudalism and on the other hand established a set of conditions for the emergence of a new kind of political elite. Thus both liberalism and democracy are closely associated with the emergence of modern capitalism in England and decline of English

mercantilism. Two centuries later liberalism took hold particularly well in at least one former British colony and became the dominant political philosophy throughout most of the West over the following century. In many of these countries liberal capitalism flourished and populations and economies grew. So did citizenship.

As in the Greek polis the first citizens of the new democracies of the late 1700s and early 1800s were men. At first only landowners were allowed to vote and to participate in public life. Then this franchise was expanded to men who were not landowners. The abolition of slavery throughout much of the world in the 19th Century was followed by the extension of citizenship to former slaves and indigenous peoples. After the turn of the century women in most countries were also given the right to vote and to participate in public life.

Women's Suffrage

While the 18th and 19th Century debate over slavery raised some valuable political questions about living beings as property and what it means to be human it was the women's suffrage movement which set into motion some fundamental questions about political participation and patriarchal culture. While the suffrage movement was superficially about the right to vote many other issues crept into the discourse about women's rights basic human rights issues (as with the abolitionist movement) economic debates (socialism anarchism women's work) and radical cultural criticism of the male dominant culture of the West and much of the rest of the world.

Civil Rights

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States is

representative of a related human rights discourse whose concern is institutional and cultural racism. While it reflects behaviors and attitudes in multi-cultural societies it is no less an issue for racially homogeneous societies in their relations with others. In the U.S. at least it raised basic economic and human rights issues to the fore once again. It raised questions (in the mainstream culture) about the nature of second class citizenship, about basic economic rights about the importance (and contradictions) of voting and political participation. The Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. also set the stage for a second women's rights struggle called the Women's Liberation Movement, the anti-war movement (Vietnam War) and the environmental movement. The civil rights struggles in the U.S. sent ripples across the international cultural pond, reflections in student movements, minority rights struggles and other broad social movements.

Liberation Theology

Liberation theology and Third World liberation struggles of the 1960s, 70s and 80s while less visible in the emergent new world order remain a strong historical force for global change.

While there are only a small handful of colonial territories without a large degree of autonomy and sovereignty (e.g. New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Palau) there are plenty of post-colonial problems in the New World and Pacific region as well as other parts of the world. Liberation philosophy holds a radical critique of the economic and political status quo (specifically in Latin America). This critique however is easily expanded to include many other parts of the world whose development is ordered by the global capitalist world economy and led by a national elite at the expense of the workers, peasants and the land itself. While this critique has been carefully integrated into a religious interpretation based on the Christian New Testament, it is reflected in contemporary global struggles for indigenous rights, social justice and peace movements.

Environmental Movement

While each of the preceding movements helped to widen the participation and inclusion of certain groups previously excluded from the political process or from political discourse, the last historical trend, the environmental movement, is expanding the discourse to include parts of nature other than humans. The environmental movement has raised basic issues about the rights of all living (and some non-living) things. While endangered species of plants and animals have not gained the right yet to vote or to participate in the political process, they have gained some advocates and legal protection. The environmental rights

discourse has even entertained the notion that parts of nature should have legal standing in human courts.

The environmental movement has clearly become a new driving force in development and expansion of the discourse on participation and democracy. At the same time, the level of analysis is shifting as well to include regional and global perspectives. As the level of analysis shifts, we will increasingly ask questions about the nature of global citizenship and participation. Shouldn't all humans be included as citizens? Shouldn't we reconsider the basic assumptions of economics, work and play? Shouldn't the other parts of nature have legal rights and means of participating in decisions about their future?

PRESENT AND FUTURE MOVEMENTS

While social movements appear on the surface to have widened participation, the actual control people have over their own lives seems to be declining economically, culturally and politically. Despite the gains of broad social movements, there is still a long way to go to include peripheral peoples and the powerless in meaningful, truly democratic (participatory) processes. The contemporary movements discussed in this section however continue the historical process which seeks to widen definitions of citizenship and responsibility for decision making at all levels (i.e. levels of analysis, self, family, community, national, regional, global). Those social movements which are likely to have a profound impact on our conceptions of citizenship and democracy include radical feminism, indigenous peoples, economic democracy, cultural rights, greens, animal rights and deep ecology movements.

Radical Feminism

As mentioned previously, the women's suffrage movement raised fundamental questions about the legitimacy of male-dominated Western society. This movement began in the mid-1800s, was given a burst of energy in the 1960s in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. Women in industrialized countries had not only gained considerable economic power but even more fundamentally had gained control over a prime biological force: the fertilization and birth process. Women's increased control over their own bodies represents nothing short of a political revolution, albeit a rather personal one. This control is still unavailable to many of the world's women, but represents an almost evolutionary shift in gender relations.

The emerging politics of women is both overt and subtle. It is women in positions of leadership and decision making and it is the personal, is political, a

redefinition of the meaning of political expression and participation where male political structures are ignored as much as possible in favor of women's cultural and economic organizations. Even more subtle but perhaps even more basic is a shift from patriarchal religion to nature spirituality. This shift from male privileged institutions to woman-oriented processes has the makings of a transformation of the underlying worldview which lies at the foundation of Western civilization. This implies the emergence of a view which sees the interrelationship of women with nature as a positive relationship (not necessarily benign either but where the nature/male force is both destructive and creative).

Indigenous Peoples

It is hard to generalize about indigenous cultures and peoples given the wide range of Westernization, degree of conversion to patriarchal religions, and industrialization.

Generally however, indigenous people have been converted to outside religions, decimated by foreign diseases, exploited economically, bombarded with Western consumer culture, and sucked into the global capitalist world economy. Increasingly, local indigenous cultures are fighting back with non-violent spiritual, cultural, and political revivals and some even more militant struggles.

Regionalism and devolution (the decentralization of culture control) are powerful political changes in the West parallel to values and goals of many indigenous groups. The struggle for sovereignty in Croatia, New Caledonia, Hawaii, Catalonia, and scores of other regions around the world are testimony to the strength of the political move toward greater local cultural and tribal autonomy. This is closely linked with a growing movement focused on preserving local cultures from the onslaught of a global monoculture. This movement is comprised of a variety of forces attempting to preserve existing cultures, rejuvenate dying or dead cultures, and create altogether new and original personal cultures. This cultural rights movement seems likely to gain momentum in the face of an increasingly shrinking global village.

Economic Democracy

Democracy, at least representative democracy, never meant any kind of economic democracy, but rather the survival of the fittest in the economic marketplace. The Socialist movement and then Marxism took the view that wealth should be shared and not concentrated in a few powerful hands. State socialism has not succeeded in spreading the wealth of the few nor in making a more humane social order. That is perhaps not surprising given the pressure of opera-

ting in a global economic system which is capitalist and competitive and given the underlying patriarchal and industrial philosophy upon which state socialism was based.

In some ways, the persistent pressure by groups in liberal capitalist countries has been more successful at equalizing wealth in those countries than their more radical counterparts in the socialist world. While that assertion is debatable, it is true that more and more people question the inequities of income, wealth, power in their own community of nations. If we are expected to exercise our political choices by voting between two or more people to represent us, why can't we also vote our preferences on how money is spent and by whom? If we do not support warfare for example, why should we be forced (i.e. taxed) to spend money on armaments?

Green Movement

The last major social trend driving a redefinition of democracy and public participation is the broader green movement, which includes mainstream environmental groups, green movement and party organizations, and radical ecology groups such as animal rights movement and the deep ecology movement.

Many of the adherents to these groups would agree that the Earth herself and many of her parts should have equal representation and that plant and animal species or eco systems have basic rights to exist and rights to redress if they are damaged or disturbed.

There are now scores of non-profit organizations, some of them international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) associated with the UN and other global organizations, which concern themselves with the preservation of marine and terrestrial endangered species (e.g. Greenpeace, Natural Resources Defense Council). Many of the early mainstream environmental groups arose due to the feeling among their supporters that representative democracy was NOT representing the interests of those who love the outdoors nor the wilderness flora or fauna themselves. These lobbying groups have been followed by second and third waves of environmentally oriented organizations.

Now there is a growing radical environmental movement represented by groups such as Sea Shepherd and Earth First! who see government agencies and commercial interest as the enemy of nature and wilderness. For radical environmentalists, other parts of nature have intrinsic value in and of themselves and thus have almost as much right to exist as do we humans. To protect this value which they perceive in

plants animals and even non living things they will act directly This direct action includes using their bodies as shields removing survey markers destroying earth moving equipment and tree spiking

The Green movement and parties strive to be a synthesis of non violence ecological wisdom social justice and personal responsibility values Green parties have established themselves throughout Europe and are now emerging in other countries This is the first political movement since the Socialist International to emerge as a locally based international political party

SYNTHESIS

Any major shift in the basic form of democracy will require a dramatic and fundamental change in the basic assumptions and structures of the current global political economy As long as democracy serves the interests of less than the totality of humanity there will not be strong democracy As long as global corporate profits are made from the unsustainable exploitation of animals forests and oceans there will be no equity between humans and the natural world

Critical Theory

Critical theory emerges from a number of different philosophical traditions humanism Marxism neo marxism and radical feminism Most argue with the basic underlying assumptions of modern civilizations competition capitalism militarism and a number of other dimensions which most people take for granted The point for the purpose of this discussion is that most of the social movements above share in common a critical perspective on modern society and an imbedded alternative model or models for how society should be structured So while most of these social movements have a goal of deconstructing modern industrial culture they also have a plan for a better future

Grassroots Democracy

The world wide press for greater democracy and public participation which combined with the continued widening of participation for greater numbers of people is perhaps an inexorable force This force may lead to even higher expectations and frustrations if participation stops at representative democracy I would argue for a blending and synthesis of forces of social change which would bring about greater participation This would include fostering greater local public participation and grassroots (strong) democracy encouraging community based economics empowering global regional and other non governmental organizations setting limits

on the power of multinational corporations (MNCs) and encouraging communities to envision and create alternative futures while embodying strong democracy and expanded public participation in all levels of planning and decision making

Grassroots democracy (in the U S) is modeled on the town meetings of New England where political decisions were made by all citizens after deliberation and discussion of the issues It has been argued that representative democracy is required once the polity grows much larger than the size of a small village or town While that may have once been true our technology now makes it possible even feasible for all adults to physically participate in electronic voting and to otherwise engage in processes which could extend democratic forms of decision making beyond representation

Public Participation

Another trend is the involvement of citizens in decision making in development and other planning projects While official public participation has a decidedly representative taint it is increasingly found as a requirement for new government programs which have an impact on the general public Developers are increasingly using community participation (as well as public relations) as a means of diffusing public opposition to development projects This means of public participation has the potential to be expanded and extended to ever wider areas of public concern technological developments infrastructure projects large private and public construction projects and regional and international development organizations and projects

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

Strong democracy may emerge as a goal for peoples once they realize that representative democracy is only a fraction of the power they can personally exercise in the decision making process Changing social norms culture environments and technologies are likely to shape the course of growth or the lack of growth toward strong participatory democracy What are some of the possible futures for democracy and participation? Let's look at four alternative futures for 2050

Continued Growth

The Continued Growth image of the future is an extrapolation of today's status quo for democracy and public participation In 2050 most of the world's governments are liberal democratic systems well integrated into the world economy Their governments are representative parliamentary or two party systems Industrial (technological) growth is still the

central aim of economic development for most countries

The citizenry is for the most part alienated and distant from the political processes which govern their lives National governments are highly centralized and public input is minimal Consumer choices are highly manipulated by television advertising and people are entertained by television rather than informed about fundamental questions Television is the great mediator in political decision making which people take part in passively Game shows and television lotteries are the equivalent of public circuses of the 2050s

Rights have been further extended to some groups such as women in the most extreme patriarchal cultures but have not gone much further Humans are the only creatures which have legal or political rights The environment is still the subject of human control and dominance Children and other peripheralized human groups (ie mentally ill convicted felons) are still not given the full rights and privileges of citizenship

Collapse

In a total societal collapse there are two likely models for decision making One is the consensual agreement and decision making done by small cooperative bands of humans The second rule by the big man is perhaps more likely in the aftermath of widespread environmental catastrophe economic collapse or global war Survival is the primary value so that aggression and dominance may be privileged as leadership traits and acquiescence the best survival strategy for citizens Women children and lesser lifeforms have few rights at all

High Technology Transformation

The High Tech civilization of 2050 has turned public decision making and participation on its head Production of material goods is totally automated and economic decision making is almost entirely controlled by artificial intelligence Humans can have anything they want tailor made by machines or produced by automated factories

Political decision making is accomplished through computer based electronic virtual reality networks Individuals are linked via brain biocomputers to a vast global network of political exchanges and decision making nodes and matrixes Participation in local regional and global matters is a continual daily process Composite computer based pseudo personalities are allowed to serve as surrogates for personal political decision making subject to daily review and revocation by the primary personality

Key leadership roles are rotated by random to individuals all across the globe so nearly everyone gets to be U N Secretary General a president governor or legislator for one week in their life People so choosing to lead are intelligence augmented with memory and knowledge drugs brain skill supplements and extra remote leader knowledge to carry out their duties

Children are no longer second class citizens and soon after birth are allowed to be as politically involved as any adult Artificial intelligence systems are delegated the legal and political responsibility to speak for and make decisions on behalf of other non sentient planetary lifeforms

Deep Green Transformation

The Green future is an image of a much less materialistic world It is also a world less densely populated by humans and one given over to large areas of wilderness It is a world either recovering from a great civilizational dislocation or disease or a future much further into the future than some 60 years

In this post patriarchal vision humans are equal partners with other animal species and other parts of the natural world Humans are no longer dominant but act as caretakers and stewards of the lands they make use of This future is closest to the definition of strong democracy where participation and decision making are primarily local and regional Decisions are no longer made just by individuals but are made by families and community groups after consensus is reached Elders are more likely to be consulted for their wisdom about personal social and political matters

CONCLUSION

Democracy is a philosophy which generally is intended on political rule by the people the majority the citizenship The prevalent institutional form of democracy representative democracy has been a dynamic institution which has included greater numbers and types of people It will continue to change The definition and structure of democracy is also likely to change given the trends in expanding rights for women peripheralized people and parts of the environment The future of democracy will depend partly on whether we are truly allowed to have a say in its realization or whether its direction is controlled by the global ruling elite (starkly illustrated in R Buckminster Fuller's last book Grunch of Giants) But in large measure the choice is up to us

BART VAN STEENBERGEN

CITIZENSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Ecological Citizenship as the Next Stage in a Process

The concept of civil society and in its wake citizenship has gained momentum over the last years so it is appropriate that this conference devotes a workshop to these topics in particular since they are often linked with the overall topics of this conference democracy and participation

In this paper I shall explore the different faces of the civil society as they became visible over the last years in different regions of Europe since the renewed discussion on the civil society is primarily a European affair

Secondly I shall explore a somewhat forgotten dimension of the civil society namely the planetary ecological citizen

For futurists it is interesting that the renewed interest in citizenship and civil society is not only for analytical reasons it is certainly true that in some instances the concept of a civil society replaced the welfare state society and that in England the concept of class was substituted by citizenship as the main analytical tool to describe present day society More important however is that these new concepts also have a critical undertone The present preoccupation with the condition of citizenship affirms a sense of crisis and uncertainty but the same preoccupation also conveys signs of a constructive response to the new realities In other words they have a certain appeal value they show a society that should be strived for as is in particular the case in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe or that should be defended which came forward rather strongly in the discussions in England In continental Western Europe these concepts are primarily used as a framework to explore forthcoming challenges and problems

It is because of these critical and future oriented

dimensions of these concepts that the discussions around citizenship and civil society have gained a general popularity in the wider arenas of the public debate The debates on the notion of a civil society are not limited to the realm of social and political scientists Moreover it sometimes looks as if the strengthening of the civil society is seen as the solution for the main problems modern societies are facing today or to formulate in a more modest way that this concept provides the most appropriate framework for the debate on the future of modern society It is true indeed that a great many of the burning problems of present day society can be discussed and even solved within that context However if we look at these debates in the different European regions there is one remarkable lacuna There is general agreement that the problematic of the environmental deterioration is still high on the agenda for the nineties but the connection with citizenship and civil society is hardly ever made I want to explore here what it means to be citizen of the planet Earth Important questions here are to what extent the classical notions of citizenship and in particular those of a social citizenship as developed by T H Marshall are in conflict with this new notion of a global green citizen and to what extent the notion of the civil society can be reconciled with the need for a sustainable society

The recent discussions on citizenship and civil society

Most remarkable about the reemergence of the discussions on citizenship and civil society is that these are taking place in more or less the same period in different parts of Europe under quite different circumstances They seem to reflect the mood of the time and of the time to come However the different regions of Europe are facing completely different problems and they are in different phases of their development

The situation in Southern Europe where a number of countries are in a transition process from authoritarian rule to a modern democracy is quite distinct from the situation in the welfare states of Western Europe and the struggle of the former communist countries of Central/Eastern Europe is incompatible with the internal conflicts in a country like England

Nevertheless in all these cases the notions of civil society of citizenship are used as a banner for political and societal renewal

It seems that under different circumstances different aspects of these concepts are emphasized but this does not necessarily mean that there is no common denominator and that we deal here with a sort of container concept Both citizenship and civil society have very distinct features by which they can be distinguished from other societal concepts

We shall start with an analysis of different aspects of these concepts on the basis of the discussions in three European regions Britain Central/Eastern Europe and (continental) Western Europe

Is something rotten in the state of Britain?

Our investigation starts with Britain It was there that a few years ago the recent discussions on citizenship began discussions which have led to a stream of publications on this subject Most of these publications start with expressing some surprise that this concept has made such a strong comeback In his book Citizenship David Held writes For more than two decades citizenship could scarcely have been described as a central issue on the political agenda In fact the concept seemed rather out of date In their introduction to The Frontiers of Citizenship the editors Ursula Vogel and Michael Morén start with a similar observation In this last decade we have witnessed a remarkable revival of the idea of citizenship In research citizenship seems to have overtaken class market and even democracy as the strategic concept of political science No less striking is the general popularity that the concept enjoys in the wider areas of public debate and the way that it has attracted attention from virtually all parts of the political spectrum

It is in particular in this public debate that I am interested in here

For England the main explanation of this revival may be found in the experience of almost one decade of Thatcherism Much more than in any other Western European country where (with the possible exception of Sweden) the welfare state was also under fire in the eighties Thatcherism has led to a rigorous dismantling of that type of society

In his famous essay Citizenship and Social Class T H Marshall identified three domains of citizenship rights civil political and social The struggle for civil rights was in his opinion primarily one of the eighteenth century the battle for political rights as that of the nineteenth century and the movement for social and economic rights on which the modern welfare state is built as one of the twentieth century

I am mentioning these domains and phases because one might expect that in the recent discussion on citizenship all attention would be devoted to (the defense of) the third type of citizenship rights the social and economic ones because they look most threatened by Thatcherism Well this is true to a certain extent but probably more interesting is the revival of the debate on civil and political rights a debate one might expect to be passé in a modern democratic society

This renewed emphasis on these civil and political rights has led to a sort of new alliance between the liberals and the socialists against the Tories

The most important expression of this has been the project of Charter 88 launched from the New Statesman exactly three hundred years after the so called Glorious Revolution

The main purpose of this Charter 88 is a new constitutional settlement because as the document says A process is underway which endangers many of the freedoms we have had p 207 After a long list of examples to illustrate this the document continues A traditional British belief in the benign nature of the country's institutions encouraged an unsystematic perception of these grave matters each becomes an issue considered in isolation from the rest Being unwritten the constitution also encourages a piecemeal approach to politics an approach that gives little protection against a determined authoritarian state

Thatcherism is attacked here not so much because of its undermining of the social rights of citizens but because of its authoritarian character which violates basic civil and political rights and a new and preferably written constitution would be the best guarantee against such a development This charter should not only be seen as a common ground for both socialists and liberals to attack Thatcherism but it also reflects a change in the agenda of the left itself It is liberty rather than equality that socialists now turn to with enthusiasm with personal freedom given greater prominence in most left agendas including Labour's own Looking to the Future than the redistribution of wealth In the meantime Mrs Thatcher has disappeared from the political arena but this does not necessarily mean that Thatcherism has gone Most impor

tant for us is to notify that the struggle for citizenship rights is a permanent one and that it is naive to believe that there can be no setbacks Marshall's division into phases and types of citizenship rights at least suggests that once a certain level has been reached that level is safeguarded The tendencies towards a more authoritarian state in Britain which is traditionally considered the champion of democracy civil society and civic culture show that we do not deal here with linear progress

Citizenship and civil society in Central/Eastern Europe

The building of a civil society is one of the most debated topics in Central/Eastern Europe and as one can expect the precise meaning of that concept is not very clear

Kolakowski has indicated that this concept of the civil society is used in at least three ways Firstly it is sometimes used to indicate a civilized society as distinguished from the assumed natural condition of society in the sense of Rousseau

Secondly and more important for our purpose is the civil society as distinguished and independent from the state By it is meant the totality of the individual cooperative and group interests including the formation of all spontaneous relations between people Thirdly by civil society is meant the community of citizens who have a feeling for the republicanism who have developed a certain civic spirit a feeling of responsibility for the common cause

Typical for Communism as for all totalitarian systems is that this realm of the civil society has been eroded to a great extent since Communism does not and cannot tolerate an independent public realm i.e. a realm which is outside the control of the state

During the eighties in Central/Eastern Europe the emphasis was primarily on the defense of society against the overwhelming political and economic structures of the state

In particular in Poland and Hungary something of a second economy and society was developed a shadow society in which elements of citizenship and the civil society were developed These developments had the character of a protest against the official society After 1989 the situation has changed considerably The development of a civil society is now an official goal of the new system

It seems to me that this new project the building of a civil society raises a number of problems questions and dilemmas The first one deals with the discrepancy between the broad and neutral interpretation

of the concept of civil society (as the totality of organizations institutions etc in between the realm of the private life of the individual the family and the informal group on the one hand and the state on the other) and the notion of a civil society as being not only autonomous but also democratic and based on a community of real citizens To some extent the first interpretation comes near to what can be described as society tout court while the adjective civil is pretty broad and vague so that under that banner all sorts of societal (here in the sense of non or even anti state) developments and actions could be placed We stick to the idea that a civil society is a very specific type of society which has certain specific characteristics which go beyond the notion of independence from the state but emphasize values and features like civic responsibility autonomy participation democratic relations universalism etc

Let me mention a few of the problems and challenges of this project of the building of a civil society

In the first place a new relationship between the state and (civil) society has to be developed I discovered a strong tendency in Central/Eastern Europe to opt for a full swing i.e. for a replacement of a totalitarian state with a command economy by a minimal state like the nineteenth century might watch state with a fully free market economy In that sense I found it astonishing to meet so many young intellectuals who were more interested in the economy and society of the USA as model to strive for than in the social market economy of the Western European welfare states

A second problem deals with the question of nationalism The relationship between citizenship and national identity is a complicated one Originally these concepts were somewhat oppositional For the Romans natio unlike civitas referred to peoples and tribes who were not yet organized in political associations So in this classic usage nations are communities of people of the same descent who are integrated geographically in the form of settlements or neighbourhoods and culturally by their common language customs and traditions but who are not yet politically integrated in the form of the state organization

However as Habermas has pointed out in his article on citizenship and national identity since the middle of the 18th century the differences in meaning between Nation and Staatsvolk that is to say national and politically organized people have gradually been disappearing and nationalism even founded a collective identity that played a functional role for the implementation of the citizenship that arose in the French revolution In spite of this historical merging of citizenship and nationalism which coincided with the

emergence of the nation state citizenship was never conceptually tied to national identity In the present situation in Central/Eastern Europe it is obvious that these two are not going harmoniously together On the contrary it seems that those who strive for a civil society based on citizenship and participation are in strong opposition to those whose primary interest is to promote feeling of national pride and identity

A third problem or challenge in this context is whether these young democracies are able to survive the hardships of economic decline For this it is necessary to develop what Almond and Verba have called a civic culture One can install a democratic political system in a country but if this system is not supported by the population i.e. if there is no attitude or value system which defends this democratic system it may not survive in bad times Such a supportive civic culture is based on features like a relatively high level of civic competence of political cognition on mutual trust and civic cooperation on tolerance participation and involvement

It is an interesting assignment for social scientists to do empirical research to detect whether or better to what extent the countries of Central/Eastern Europe can be called civic cultures On the basis of the first empirical studies in this area there is reason to worry but on the other hand a civic culture is not a static phenomenon and it may well be that such a type of culture will be developed in due time

What we do see in many countries of Central/Eastern Europe is that this new vacuum of the not yet existing civil society is filled up by non democratic organizations and/or by institutions which lack any feeling of civic spirit

Moreover we do see that outside forces may use the opportunity to jump into this vacuum

Let me give an example of that In the eye of the Vatican the Communist regimes have created a spiritual desert in Central/Eastern Europe and this new situation creates an ideal opportunity a kairós as the pope John Paul II has called it to build a christian society in (at least some of) the countries there and especially in Poland and even Hungary is meant in that context

In itself it makes sense to emphasize that the transition does not only refer to economics and politics and that it is good that changes in values morals and ethics are put on the agenda It is however doubtful whether an outside force should play a crucial role in this process and it is even more problematic when the Catholic church in Rome is taking the initiative in this respect Such a filling up of the new moral and ethical vacuum by an outside institution may violate the

notion of an autonomous self-reliant democratic civil society

There is another outside threat to the development of a civil society which has to do with the notion of civic virtue and responsibility

We deal here with the tense relationship between the civil society and the market Although in some languages like German and Dutch the same word is used to indicate the citizen and the bourgeois which shows that there are at least some similarities the English and French language are much more clear by making that distinction a burgher or bourgeois is not necessarily a citizen and the main tension has to do with the mentioned notion of civic responsibility A good citizen is supposed to be active in public life he experiences a certain engagement for the community and he is supposedly willing to devote time and energy to improve that community An entrepreneur (as an economic citizen) may have a similar attitude but not necessarily In the recent history of capitalism we do see times and societies when entrepreneurs played an important role for the common good but there have been other times when this was not or less the case In particular the United States has a tradition of foundations for the public benefit fully subsidized by private companies Well-known in this respect are the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations Naturally this is not pure altruism since taxes make this system financially attractive but on the other hand the classical American companies like to be known as public well-doers In Western Europe this phenomenon is not absent but as a whole somewhat less developed

Now the question is what will happen in Central Europe in this respect Will the transition towards a market economy give rise to the development of socially conscious companies? Nobody can foresee what will happen but there are some dark clouds in this respect if we assume that in Central/Eastern Europe the new market economy will be copied from the West and there are good reasons to believe that

In the West the eighties can be characterized as casino capitalism to use the phrase of Ralf Dahrendorf It is based on the adage of the French Prime Minister in the middle of the former century François Guizot who coined the phrase *enrichissez vous messieurs* get rich quick and if you can't get a loan borrow! It is true that this capitalism on credit has produced a period of seven years of unrivalled growth in the OECD countries but it is also clear that this mentality promoted by Reaganism and Thatcherism will not favor the development of a socially conscious form of capitalism

There is another development in the West which

points in the same direction or at least has similar effects I am referring here to the emergence of the so called new entrepreneur He is young dynamic innovative adventurous etc and working in high tech industry Most typical however is probably that he hates large scale enterprises and prefers to found his own company or work in a small scale firm with little bureaucracy and hierarchy which gives him much freedom to use his creative energy

I do think that Silicon Valley which in essence is a network of basically small computer firms should be seen as the ideal type of this new kind of enterprise and of the new entrepreneur In their wonderful book *Silicon Valley fever* growth of high technology culture Rogers and Larsen give a great picture of this new phenomenon Although it is tempting to go deeper into this we shall limit ourselves here to the question of the civic concern of the Silicon Valley entrepreneur The San Jose News probably had the most illuminating statement in this respect by saying *To all outward appearances Silicon Valley corporations inhabit the 21st century with the sleekest offices the smartest computers and the slickest managerial talent But when it comes to supporting charities or the arts the attitude is more what one would expect to find in the executive suite of Ebenezer Scrooge Enterprises Ltd* (p 179)

(I do hope and assume that the reader is familiar with this character in Dickens famous Christmas carol)

Rogers and Larsen add to that Silicon Valley individuals express an almost complete lack of concern for social civic or charitable activities (p 181)

They explain this by the get rich quick mentality of the nouveau riche Corporate giving and community involvement require a certain maturity that comes only with age

So in short the combination of Reaganism and Thatcherism on the macrolevel and the new entrepreneur on the microlevel may promote a type of market economy in Central/Eastern Europe in which the concern for civic affairs is maldeveloped

The debate on citizenship in Western Europe

The emerging debate on civil society and citizenship in (continental) Western Europe focuses on the question of the social rights of citizens The other two types of rights the civil and the political ones (to use again the three categories of T H Marshall) seem to be less at stake and in that sense the discussion differs from the one in England

It seems to me that the three great questions here are the relationship between rights and entitlements

on the one hand and duties and obligations on the other in and exclusion and the question of admission to citizenship

These questions and problems are related to each other but for analytical reasons will be discussed separately

Traditionally citizenship has been built on a balance between certain civil political and social rights of citizens and their obligation to contribute to the functioning and well-being of the community How such a balance will look like may differ over time and it seems to me that during the eighties a shift took place in most western welfare states in the sense that according to the new mood of the time the welfare state has put too much weight on the rights of citizens and especially on their social rights and has taken too little account of the other side of the duties

More concretely this has become visible in the recent shift from welfare to workfare

Traditionally the welfare state was based on the right to income This was meant as a compensation when the individual was threatened in his (material) existence by circumstances he was not to be blamed for like illness unemployment etc The seventies showed a tendency towards expansion of this right even to the extent to make this right to income a basic human right independent from someone's contribution to the labour market There was much discussion on the meaning of work and on the expansion of this concept beyond the realm of the paid job and moreover there were serious proposals for a guaranteed and unconditional basic income for everyone

These ideas and proposals disappeared from the agenda in the eighties the notion of a relaxed society not to talk about a leisure society vanished almost completely and great emphasis was put on the rehabilitation of paid work as something which is good for you

In our context it is important to note that one of the arguments for this rehabilitation is that an increased level of labor participation is an important condition for societal participation integration and for that matter good citizenship Living on welfare or some other form of guaranteed income would isolate people from society and especially since a number of the traditional integrating forces like the church and the family are eroding it is good to stress again the integrating function of a paid job in that respect

The implications of this shift in the field of social policy are that there will be less emphasis on income transfer in the form of sickness or unemployment benefits etc and more on training programmes and

other measures to make the individual more competitive on the labour market

For our discussion on citizenship it is important that this shift also implies more emphasis on obligations since welfare not only means the right to work but also the duty of the individual to accept an offered job at the cost of losing one's social benefits

In some countries like Sweden a rather humane type of welfare system is existing but in other countries and notably the USA and England the welfare regime is a tough one. However even in its humane form the notion of welfare raises some fundamental questions on the nature of citizenship. Dahrendorf among others has emphasized (in my opinion rightly so) that citizenship is a non-economic concept: it defines people's standing independent of their contribution to the economic process which means that the elements are thus unconditional and for that reason one should oppose to the idea of welfare since it links welfare rights to people's readiness to work. In that way rights are dissolved into marketable commodities they are offered for sale. As a good liberal Dahrendorf is less afraid of the invisible hand of the market which according to him can be benevolent but the real danger is the visible hand of the rulers who tell people what to do when. In short from welfare to forced labour is only a small step (Paper conference quality of Citizenship p 6)

This may be a rather extreme point of view but it illustrates the potential danger of such a shift from citizenship rights to duties

Secondly the recent discussions on citizenship deal with the question of inclusion and exclusion in ancient Athens where it all started only free men were considered citizens. Women, slaves and foreigners were excluded from that status.

In general terms we can say that over the centuries a process of increasing inclusion took place in the sense that more and more groups and categories were accepted as citizens.

In recent years however new forms of exclusion are emerging in particular with regard to social citizenship. I am referring here to the growing underclass in most OECD countries. These are people who have lost regular and guaranteed access to markets especially the labour market to the political community and to the networks of legitimate social relations.

In short they are social outcasts despite the fact that in a welfare state society their basic material needs generally are guaranteed. Following William Julius Wilson I am using here this concept of the underclass although it is not a class in the Marxian sense

ie it is not a group or category which can make a fist and force society to change things which will improve their position because this underclass is economically not needed and politically harmless. However the acceptance of such an underclass poses questions on the moral integrity of our civil society. Here the notion of an inclusive citizenship could be used to deal with this problem in a way which is in agreement with the basic principles of a civil society.

The third great question deals with the admission to citizenship in particular with regard to new comers.

This may become one of the burning problems of the nineties with the opening of the borders after 1992 and the expected growing stream of migrants and refugees especially from Eastern Europe.

We may face here an increasing tension between citizenship and national identity. Citizenship is inherently inclusive a realm without borders and with global citizenship as the final aim. National identity has a much more exclusive character and its maintenance against the increasing internationalization is becoming an important political force. So the debate is between the primacy of citizenship which implies a very liberal and unconditional admission policy and the protection of the national identity which may lead to more strict requirements for admission like the willingness of the new comers to adapt to the existing culture by knowing the language e.g.

What conclusions can be drawn from the preceding paragraphs?

At first sight the debates and problems with regard to citizenship and civil society look very different in the three regions of Europe we discussed. In Britain the emphasis is on the defense of the civil and political rights against an authoritarian state. In Central and Eastern Europe the focus is on the project of the civil society as independent from the state and in Continental Western Europe the discussion is concentrated around the topics citizenship and paid work exclusion and the growing underclass admission to citizenship.

It seems to me however that there are at least two issues which are relevant in all three regions.

The first one deals with the difficult relationship between the civil society and the state. The civil society is not only threatened by a totalitarian or authoritarian state but also by the 'benevolent' welfare state. Over the last decades active citizens participation has also been eroded in Western European welfare states for there too the state has taken over and thus frustrated many citizens organizations and initiatives.

It reminds me of what the German author Hans Magnus Enzensberger has written about Sweden seen by many as the prototype of an ideal welfare state. It is a benevolent state a good shepherd as Enzensberger calls it but he adds. The state exercises a form of white terror which frightens me. It is a patriarchal utopia and the citizens seem to be willing to submit themselves to this benevolent state. Enzensberger probably exaggerates but it fits here that in this type of society the colonization of the lifeworld by the system (to use the terminology of Habermas) has been realized to a considerable extent.

So in short the struggle for a self-reliant and active citizen in the context of a civil society of autonomous social institutions and organizations is not only taking place in Central/Eastern Europe but in the Western European Welfare states as well.

The second topic which is relevant for all regions deals with the relationship between citizenship and the market. Here the notion of civic responsibility is especially at stake. Casino capitalism and a new entrepreneurial attitude seem to undermine these civic virtues and these tendencies may spread over Central and Eastern Europe.

Citizenship and nature

From the preceding paragraphs it has become clear that the concepts of citizenship and civil society give us a fruitful framework for understanding the great problems and challenges of modern society. However there is one set of burning issues which so far have remained outside the focus of citizenship. I am referring to the global ecological problematique which still is a threat to the survival of (human) life on our planet.

In my opinion it makes sense to incorporate this problematique into the debate on what citizenship and civil society means at the end of the twentieth century.

I want to start this investigation by asking why the ecological problems so far have been left out of the debate on citizenship.

The easiest way to answer that is by saying that we deal here with a relatively new problem which still has to find its way to the citizenship discussion. That may be part of the story but I do think there is more to it in the sense that there may be some resistance against incorporating this problematique because we may deal here with conflicting values systems.

A citizen in its classical form is a dynamic and active person a doer. As the Germans would

call him. He is autonomous a conqueror who likes to overcome challenges but who hates to be restricted by (absolute) boundaries in its ideal form he has developed a civic spirit a feeling of responsibility for the community but that civic spirit so far has limited itself to his fellow citizens. Nature has been outside the focus almost a *quantité négligeable*. A citizen sees his relationship towards nature as one of dominance which means that he sees himself above and even outside nature. This is the classical position for which Descartes and even more Bacon have laid the philosophical foundations. In recent years this citizen suddenly has been confronted with nature he cannot ignore it any longer and the new emerging ecological problems have given rise to a number of values which at first sight are in opposition to the ones we associate with citizens. According to some we are witnessing the emergence of a new ecological paradigm which emphasizes that the biophysical environment poses strong restraints on human affairs. The ecological paradigm has a somewhat Calvinistic flavour in the sense that man is seen as a sinner and salvation lies in frugality and restraint which is not voluntary but imposed upon him by the environment.

Also the action orientation of the citizen supposedly is challenged by the ecological paradigm. This comes forward in the recent book of the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk *Eurotaoism* in which he makes a plea for the opposite of an action inspired program. According to Sloterdijk much would be won already if we would slow down our urge to act and to recognize that often nothing should be done. This looks somewhat like a plea for a passive contemplative attitude of (post) modern man which does not seem to fit into the self-image of the citizen.

Does this imply that if we talk about an ecological or green citizen we deal with a contradiction in terms and for matter with a sort of split personality?

I do think that this is not necessarily the case. I think it is possible to develop the notion of an ecological citizen but it is also true that this requires some modifications of the classical concept of citizenship.

It should be stressed here that the concept of citizenship is a dynamic one and it has been changing and developing over time.

So our question is how can we expand and modify the notion of citizenship in such a way that it encompasses the ecological dimension.

The first thing that has to be done is to explore the frontiers of citizenship since these frontiers are not static but dynamic. In this context we can distinguish three types of frontiers which seem to be most relevant: the temporal, the social and the territorial ones.

Important is that none of these frontiers can be treated as settled

When we talk about the rights of citizens the question is whether we mean by that the people who are already born (leaving out for a moment the question of children as citizens) or whether we should include generations not yet living

In all discussions on ecological problems it is emphasized that we deal here with long term problems and that the present environmental policies may have irreversible and even catastrophic consequences for the kinds of claims that future generations might be able to make on public policy. The rights of the not yet born on a liveable earth was probably the most important motive for the Brundtland commission to make such a strong plea for radical environmental measures and also the call for stewardship by the World Council of Churches is based on the notion of the preservation of the Creation as much as possible for the next generations

The second type of frontiers is sometimes called social although the term is not really appropriate here

The question here is who or what subjects are citizens. We mentioned already that in classical times many human beings were excluded from this status like women slaves foreigners etc. With ups and downs the general trend in (European) history has been one of increasing inclusion. Moreover there were debates on what citizenship rights children and mentally handicapped might have. In the words of Brian Turner, Citizenship is not simply about class and capitalism but also involves debates about the social rights of women children the elderly and even animals

For us the last category is of particular importance. Here a sudden jump is made from human beings to non human creatures. This is an important step for us till recently the whole discussion on citizenship and citizenship rights was limited to human beings

Once this frontier has been passed the question emerges how far we should go into this new realm of non humans since if animals why not other parts of the natural creation as in arguments of recent American environmentalists that physical objects rivers mountains ought to have legally enforceable rights akin to those of human persons

It is interesting that here still it is spoken of physical objects whereas these radical environmentalists often look at them as subjects (brother tree)

This implies an important change in the perception of

the world away from an anthropocentric perspective to an ecological world view

The third type of frontier which is at stake can be called territorial. Traditionally citizenship was bound to the nation state but it also has been emphasized that citizenship is a universal category which implies a global citizen as the ultimate goal. The growing internationalization or better mondialisation in recent decades has given momentum to the notion of a global citizen

However as Richard Falk has pointed out we are dealing with the emergence of different and sometimes oppositional types of global citizens like the global businessman who is part of what Wallerstein has described as the world capitalist order and the world federalist who favours a world government or a similar type of global political system to give only two examples

For us the global environmentalist is important which I shall call earth citizen for it is the awareness of the planet Earth as a totality which is crucial here. Sloterdijk has used the term birth forgetfulness in that context. Western man behaves as if he has produced himself together with his world as the ultimate self made man. However he should become more aware of his own birth which he does not owe to his own efforts but to those of his mother who carried him for nine months in the same way modern man has forgotten that he has been carried by the Earth and a renewed awareness of that should create a different attitude in the sense that this new Earth citizen will be distinguished from the emerging planetary citizen who experiences himself as master of the universe

These three forms of expansion of citizenship give us a framework for the contours of the new ecological citizen we have in mind. However these expansions also influence the character of citizenship in the sense that a new quality is added to it

In order to clarify that new quality I shall use the notion of man as participant. Citizenship is often defined as full participation of the individual in the community so this notion of the participant certainly is not alien to the concept of citizenship

When I develop the idea of man as participant in nature I refer to someone who participates in an event which transcends him and at the same time encompasses him. The event is bigger than he is and the show would go on even if man would be absent. Be it in a different way

One can compare it with entering a theatre play a man may participate in the play which is performed

each other. It is true that often the image is created of ecological man as being passive non interfering concentrated on preservation etc. Sustainability a key concept for ecological man is often associated not only with the opposite of economic growth but even with the opposite of development and the often used notion of conservation has a very conservative connotation. By emphasizing the notion of man as participant in nature as an actor in a play we have tried to avoid this image of passivity

The ecological challenge can give a new impulse to the notion of citizenship by expanding civic virtues to the realm of the planet as a whole. The new Earth citizen is an active participant who is aware that he is born out of the earth which implies that his goals are embedded in an encompassing context for which the term co evolution can be used

He is welcome to play a role i.e. he does not have to remain a spectator or an outsider but the role he plays has to fit into the play and also has to fit him. Man as the actor should not dominate the play but neither efface himself since he can play a creative and important role in it

In this perspective man participates in a universe with which he is deeply united. He is a subject with his own identity and gifted with rationality and self consciousness

There is no doubt that this perspective of man as a participant differs from the notion of man as citizen as indicated in the beginning of this paragraph

This implies that an ecological citizen is unlike the classical citizen but in my opinion it is exaggerated to think that these two are in complete opposition to

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DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION IN EVERYDAY LIFE THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND THEIR POSSIBLE FUTURE IMPACT

1 Democracy and Women

Democracy and participation are generally considered and discussed as principles of social life in terms of laws and institutions created in order to protect democracy. Somewhat less attention seems to be paid to what is actually behind democracy to how it is built day by day in everyday life.

The forefathers of the American Constitution or those responsible for drawing up the Declaration of Human Rights probably based their thinking mainly on the human being vis à vis other human beings or the institutions representing them. This was and still is fundamental. Indeed, democracy and participation need to be constantly declared. After more than two hundred years the concept of *liberté égalité fraternité* of the French Revolution is still far from being universally recognized.

Surprisingly enough, the private everyday life of many of the great upholders of such noble principles reveals a failure to live according to them. The purpose of this paper is certainly not to go into any detail on such discrepancies. I might just cite a few phrases from a letter that Abigail Smith wrote to her husband John Adams, the second President of the United States and the mother of America's sixth President. The letter is part of a set of letters written in 1776 when John Adams was attending the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and was hard at work with Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and others drafting one of the greatest documents on human liberty, the Declaration of Independence. The letters are more than eloquent as to the state of women's rights at the time!

During her husband's prolonged absences, Abigail Adams took care of the family and the family farm, coping single-handedly with the many problems of a

period of war. Some of her letters make very interesting reading.

7 May 1776 (To John Adams)

I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies for whilst you are proclaiming peace and good will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken, and notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power not only to free ourselves but to subdue our masters and without violence throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet. Charming by accepting by submitting away yet we have our humor most when we obey (1)

During the same period but later (July 1849) we do though find reference for example in the Seneca Falls Declaration to the need for consideration of the social, civil and religious rights of women.

Of course much has changed since then. In this paper I would like to dwell not so much on the official recognition of women's rights as on the far less visible and less acknowledged contribution that women have made in their everyday lives to the building of a democratic attitude within their families and immediate community. My argument is that over and beyond declarations and laws of course fundamental it is the behaviour of people in their daily life, their mentality that creates a democracy that is truly operative.

According to Elise Boulding (2) women's influence in building this democratic spirit is particularly strong in three spaces which I would call the hidden spaces. The first is the space of the family (however we wish to define it) which is essentially the primary living unit

in which physical and spiritual support and nurturing are given. In almost all cultures the children remain under the influence of the mother up until the age of seven. (In many Islamic countries the boys only up to the age of three). According to most developmental psychologists this is the period in which the greatest impact is made on the personality. Hence women have the greatest influence precisely when the citizens of the future are being moulded and formed.

The second hidden space is the informal economy which continues to employ a high percentage of women workers. The women in developing countries produce food and clothing to sell at the local market or in the streets (see Irene Tinker's studies). The women in the industrialized countries work part time in various sectors of the informal economy. The figures for part time work for the EEC countries show a high incidence of female participation: 22% in Belgium, 42% in Denmark, 30% in West Germany, 23% in France and 45% in Great Britain. This means that in Great Britain almost half the women work part time. This does not take into account the number of women in the black market who work in the home or the number of women employed in domestic work.

Again this second space is one in which everyday behaviour is moulded. Naturally it can be democratic or not.

The third hidden space in which the influence of women is particularly high is in Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (3). According to Elise Boulding the concept of the existence of a women's culture as such is one of the most important discoveries made by feminists: sociologists, historians and anthropologists. It is a culture nurtured mainly in the private spaces of society since the public spaces have been largely denied to women. This third space is one which verges on the public sphere. NGOs are associations of citizens, solidarity groups are all born in response to the needs of people whether at the local, national or international level. Research shows that they are increasing all over the world. Being non profit in some countries they are referred to as voluntary associations.

At the international level although associations composed of private citizens have existed for about a century they have been increasing very rapidly in recent years. According to the 1985-86 Yearbook of International Organizations there are 18 000 international NGOs and around 2 000 intergovernmental organizations thus making a total of 20 000 international organizations. Important features of such organizations are that they extend beyond national boundaries, are born from a concern for human interests and are voluntary. They are usually future oriented in the sense that they have some form of vision.

In the context of this paper it is important to stress that women play a central role in many such NGOs. As Elise Boulding puts it: 'NGOs women work valiantly with small budgets dealing with large problems'. Their resources do not lie in their fiscal budgets but in the quality of the women they attract to their work and the alliances they can create across class, race, ethnic and national boundaries. They in a way represent a beachhead on a new continent, the continent of transnationalism (4).

Although the purpose and the scope of such organizations obviously differs in general they can be said to represent a beachhead to use Elise Boulding's term by this meaning a space of trial and experiment for the building of a new world.

In a sense NGOs can be considered an extension of the family involving as they do a small group sharing common interests and commitment extending beyond boundaries to larger groups. Not everyone may agree with their objectives but it must be acknowledged that within these groups personal interests are not used to create structures in the same way as they often are in political parties, trade unions and many national organizations.

In recent years NGOs have proliferated particularly in relation to development issues and the relations between industrialized and developing countries. A high percentage of women are involved in these international NGOs which have been successful in avoiding becoming profit producing unlike many of the national organizations in which there is a high male involvement. This has emerged clearly from surveys conducted on NGOs in my country and I believe that it may be so in other European countries.

2 Democracy in the Family: The Contradictions Emerging from Fieldwork Conducted in a Number of Developing Countries

On the basis of the research conducted on behalf of the United Nations University (5) in eight developing countries I would like to report some interesting results that I believe are relevant to democracy and participation in everyday life.

An interesting example of women's capacity to live democracy is that of the migrant women of Dakar who found themselves forced to live with their families in what was fast becoming a shantytown after migrating from their small village to the city. In a situation of crisis the women of the community decided that their two main priorities were water and a school for the children. They managed to get water by their persistent pestering which in the end forced the municipality to provide them with it. In order to achieve

Project to build a dam (The Taboo Dam) to bring electricity to Abidjan. Although the dam was successful in bringing electricity it created numerous problems for the inhabitants of the area. Because of the flooding of large territories many villages had to be abandoned and rebuilt elsewhere. This transformed the ethnic groupings and the structure of the villages in terms of the division of labour. Instead of working on cocoa plantations the villagers did fishing or temporary work in Abidjan. The women were left much more on their own and had to cope with situations without men.

They went about reorganizing their lives in a way similar to that of the Dakar women. The tribes played an important role with the older women organizing the other women. Together they decided what they wanted from the government in terms of where and how their houses should be rebuilt in relation to changed needs. What could not be rebuilt was the socio-religious life of the villages totally disrupted by the radical change. The different tribes were no longer able to live according to their own distinct rituals and had to live together. The women proved best equipped to mediate in this disruptive process.

There are several dramatic examples of women's involvement in situations of crisis and need: the women in Japan after the Hiroshima tragedy, the women of Warsaw during the Second World War, the women of Mexico City after the earthquake.

The research conducted in Kenya provides an even more disturbing example of women's ability to live democratically and create solidarity groups in a situation of extreme exploitation. The research centered on women working on tea and coffee plantations. Anyone who works on women's and development issues knows that a high percentage of the workers on the large plantations are women and the supervisors usually men.

A number of factors might explain this situation of exploitation: women are better at tea picking because their fingers are more nimble, women are more willing to accept long hours, black market wages, etc. The Kenya women spend all their working lives in the Rift Valley from the age of around 13-14 to the end of their working life at around 45. Once they are no longer needed on the plantations they are usually sent back to their village or tribe, no richer than when they left and with what the head researcher in Kenya described as the permanent mark of the plantation.

These women are tied to the plantation because their children have to have food and possibly education. The men tend to leave the plantation after a few years either to work in town or to move to larger cities. (Nairobi has the highest percentage of slums of any

ve their second priority they divided their tasks some went into domestic service in the town to earn the money needed to pay a teacher, others actually built the school with their own hands.

This is an example of the democratic way for women to determine the priority of needs and of their capacity to participate in order to meet the needs of their community. It is a demonstration of a particular aspect of participation more related to present needs, namely solidarity.

Peru Mujer is another interesting example of participation leading to solidarity in answering the needs of the community. This is the Peruvian Association of Women, a solidarity group working in the shantytown around Lima. Again we see that tasks are distributed among the women of the group, some of the women go into town to sell home-made goods while others stay home to look after the children (schools and especially kindergartens being non-existent), a group of women is assigned the task of looking after the elderly and others still sell in the markets.

The division of labour goes far beyond any theoretical description of democracy or constitutional support. It stems from a need to survive and the capacity to give priority to identify what is most important for the next generation. This seems to be a characteristic of women's participation in social life whatever the form of organization, the capacity to judge rapidly what is necessary, modifying in real life what may have taken decades or even centuries to become institutionalized.

In reality constitutional democracy is the same thing as this distribution of tasks by the women of Dakar and Lima. It derives from the acknowledgment of a common need in real life which gives rise to a process leading to the acknowledgment of equality and not vice versa.

Women contribute to the building of a democratic participatory and solidarity moved society through a common recognition of needs. In a sense this is precisely the opposite to what occurred in the feminist movement in the West. Here the starting point was the demand that women's rights be recognized, leading to the identification of common needs and solidaries. I do not mention this example to undermine in any way the importance and indeed historical achievement of Western feminism. I wish simply to show that various routes can be followed to achieve similar goals.

Other examples of women's concrete contribution to democracy emerge from the UNU research conducted in Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya. The former shows the effects of an important World Bank Development

city in the world 90% of its population lives in slums) The women stay behind with the children often had from different men Reciprocal solidarity is the only way for these women to survive When they are ill as is often the case when they give birth when they are old the other women look after them The plantation management does virtually nothing

Here again we have an example of democracy no difference of religion tribe or finances practised in everyday life with very little rhetoric

Two final examples of everyday democracy come from the UNU/HGA research conducted in Sri Lanka and China The Sri Lankan villages were analyzed to identify what changes were taking place in economic and social terms and the role that women and the family had in such changes The women belonged to villages with a high incidence of female migration to the Middle East prior to the Gulf War When abroad they sent everything they earned back home to pay for their children's education In general the children were left with the women of the extended family who stayed at home Once again a democratic division of labour in relation either to age or to working capacities but certainly based on democratic decisions according to needs and solidarity

In China the solidarity among women of different generations emerged from research conducted on women of three different generations chosen in relation to age and fertility during major historical events the Land Reform the Cultural Revolution and the more recent reforms (1952 1979 and 1986)

Undoubtedly there were differences in education participation in labour and family size between the women of the three generations However age at marriage and choice of partners still seem to depend very much on tradition The women all reject the so-called feudal family and gear their lives and work towards the betterment of their children's lives Through a gradual acquisition of self-determination and understanding of their rights they have come to share a number of features overcoming age-old traditions and forming important solidarities as in the well-known All China Women's Federation

Conclusions

The first argument of the theory I am presenting in this paper though on the basis of data that is incomplete which has its value coming as it does directly from fieldwork experience is that the time has come for everyday democracy participation and solidarity The time is ripe for a democratic mentality and behaviour which is more profound and whose effects are more long term than any declaration constitutional law procedures or rhetoric Although obviously formal structures and institutions are important and necessary they are no longer sufficient either for the present or the future Unless democratic citizens are developed there cannot be any democracy Such citizens are constructed in every day life

My second argument is that women have been acquiring this very difficult mentality and behaviour over the years and could usefully contribute this particular capacity which this far has not been visible to the creation of a better society in which a change of mentality and behaviour in everyday life is a primary need

Notes

- (1) Abigail Adams Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail During the Revolution in Feminism The Essential Historical Writings Ed Miriam Schein Vintage Books New York 1972
- (2) Elise Boulding Building a Global Civic Culture Teacher's College Columbia University New York and London 1988
- (3) Elise Boulding The Underside of History Westview Press Boulder Colorado 1976
- (4) Elise Boulding Ibid 780
- (5) Eleonora Masini and Susan Stratigos House holds Women and Change United Nations University Press 1991

SOHAIL INAYATULLAH

GOVERNANCE, REPRESENTATION AND TYPES OF POWER

From Montesquieu to P R Sarkar (1)

Eschewing traditional perspectives on governance often characterized by instructions to the king on how to properly rule this essay focuses on modern and postmodern theories of structure and representation Borrowing from Montesquieu and Sarkar we develop an alternative but modern structural design of governance In addition we articulate postmodern positions that make representation itself problematic To do this we traverse alternative epistemological perspectives beginning with the very Western Montesquieu and concluding with the very Eastern Sarkar

Montesquieu's lasting contribution to political theory is the division of governmental power into three arenas executive judicial and legislative a clever combination of the classic typology of rule of the one the few and the many This division combined the ancient categories of monarchy aristocracy and democracy the idea of a mixed constitution Within the framework Montesquieu developed the theory of checks and balances and the doctrine of the separation of different functions of government both of which later found their form in the Federalist theory of the American constitution (Madison 1788) Prior to that these three types of power were vested in the person of the King The King made and interpreted the laws executed policy and resolved disputes

The reduction of the power of the king was gradual In Western history the Magna Carta decentralized some of his royal power allowing its sharing to other aristocrats that is from the King as despot to the King in Council In despotism there were no intermediate subordinate and dependant powers while in monarchy (the king in council) there were (Madison 1788) With Montesquieu the king became King in Parliament His power was reduced and a republic was defined

In Eastern history much earlier it was the Lucchivis of Vaeshali in India over 2500 years ago that developed

a written constitution and abolished the monarchy The representatives of the peoples were known as Lucchavis and they formed an executive body known as Mahallochavis through elections (Sarkar 35 1988) While these were important developments in previous millennia the question remains what are appropriate forms of governance for the next

THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION

Among others James Dator has argued that representative democracy is no longer a useful design as social and technological conditions are far removed from its (in the West) 17th and 18th century beginnings Culture was more homogenous then travelling far distances to a central place was also more difficult thus it was sensible to have a legislature that represented or mirrored the actions of its constituents However with many nations having become multicultural modern societies representation in the sense of reflecting the will of the people has become increasingly problematic There is even a move in the US to make courts more sensitive to the cultural traditions of new migrant groups so that legal codes more accurately represent their own historical cultural codes instead of only representing the cultural code of the dominant Anglo-Saxon group

Insofar as electronic technologies have reduced physical distances Dator argues for direct electronic democracy direct voting on issues This is the re-emergence of classic townhall or village participatory democracy where all those in the area spoke and expressed themselves (2) It is an attempt to rethink the classic category of the rule of the many by reminding us that embedded in the many are untold individuated ones

Rejecting the Newtonian model of a linear clockwork

(checks and balances) model of reality and borrowing from the indeterminacy principles of Quantum physics this view argues that governance and laws should be fluid rapidly changing and not fixed on any particular structure. Among the concrete proposals that emerge from this view is that legislators should be selected by random sampling and there should be direct voting on policy issues. Also judicial decision making should be based on outcomes and the absolute rights of individuals (instead of the more fixed community sense of identity) (Dator 1974 Toffler 1981)

A central aspect of this political design is the need for voter education on policy issues. There needs to be a way to present somehow information in a disinterested way. Ted Becker in his experiments called Televote presents viewers with a range of policy choice (Becker 1976). Once pre-educated on the alternative policies in front of them they can then choose their preferred futures.

But is disinterest possible? Is it possible to present neutral information or is power everywhere as poststructural writers argue (Shapiro 1988)? Can one speak from a place that is outside of culture and power? Insofar as reality is given to us through various forms namely language culture and historical structure disinterest appears difficult. The real is mediated to us through various structures the political from this epistemological perspective never loses sight of us even as we make knowledge claims for objectivity.

For Montesquieu these postmodern issues were not a problem. He staying within the Platonic/Aristotelian discourse of the various types of political power suggests checks and balance the combining of political types to neutralize the centralization of power. Dator conversely suggests that structures and types of power are in themselves unrepresentative epistemological intrusions rather the unit of political participation should be the individual thus direct electronic democracy with citizens themselves educating each other through various forms of decentralized electronic computer communications systems individuals should thus represent themselves and their political views. There is no need to resort to a legislator.

Still the problem of representation does not go away. Even in electronic democracy the policy issues are still shaped by the information presenters and action on legislative choices must still be interpreted and executed by other branches or individuals all who claim to represent individuals and society. Moreover individualized democracy makes an epistemological representation privileging the individual at the expense of structure class or gender.

But representation is not only a modern problem it is a historical problem. According to political theorist Peter Manicas

There is a sense in which all regimes are representative they claim to act for and usually to act in the interests of the people which they rule. In saying that the idea of representative government is a modern invention this is not accordingly the sense intended. More interesting and pertinent is the idea that regimes are the agent of or stand for those they rule. This idea is completely foreign to ancient political thought. Greek oligarchies were rule by the few and democracies were rule by the demos. In neither instance could it or was it said that rulers were the agents of or acted for anything or anybody. Indeed the very shift in language from ruler to governor and government betrays the shift to which I am pointing (Manicas 15 1988)

POWER AS ECONOMICS

Alternatively Yugoslavian thinker Mihailo Markovic avoiding these epistemological adventures and staying within classical modern socialist thought argues that since we define ourselves primarily as producers and it is economic exchange relations that move history and give us culture and ideas we need to develop a structural system of representation (in the sense of standing for) based on types of economic units. There should be a House or a body of government that represents cooperatives another to represent individual producers and then perhaps another one to represent the consumers. Representation should be based on actual forms of economic power to be of any use in allowing and creating political expression.

But is the economic the only source of political power? That is if governance and representation must deal with power and must find ways to tame power to allow the use of power as enabler and creator of programs and plans but not the abuser of the polity then perhaps we need to think of alternative notions of power.

FOUR TYPES OF POWER (AND A FIFTH)

The late P R Sarkar here is important. Writing from an alternative cultural and historical perspective Sarkar attempts to develop a political theory that has both structure (historical patterns that frame the real) and agency (the role of individuals) and agency (the role of individuals) and superagency (the role of divine intervention). Important for us in this discussion is the level of structure. For Sarkar there are four types of power (3) the economic the coercive/protective the normative/ideological and the chaotic/disruptive. Sarkar

derives these from the classical Indian social system of varna but reinterprets them not as biological caste categories but as psychological class structure episteme or paradigm. The first is exercised by business associations the second by the military the third by intellectuals and priests and the fourth by workers and peasants. This structure has historically developed as there are only four ways of dealing with the environment either by being dominated by it by dominating it through the body dominating it through the mind or dominating it through the environment itself (transforming the environment into a commodity). Using Vico type constructs these four types of power are related to four ages in history the age of the workers the age of the warriors the age of intellectuals and the age of capitalists. At the end of the capitalist era there is a workers revolution or evolution which then leads to a centralization of military power and the next age of warriors.

Each age has its own contradictions and by denying the other forms of power each era naturally leads to the next era.

For Sarkar each form of power is also a way of knowing the world. While Montesquieu made the jump from types of government to types of society thinking of societies as a whole and their interconnections instead of merely politics as in the traditional sense (Manicas 85 1989) Sarkar goes a step further and includes ways of knowing the world or borrowing from Foucault the episteme. However this way of knowing or collective psychology crystallizes in a ruling class history is seen as the history of these forms of power and classes. As the cycle of power turns each particular way of knowing takes its turn in becoming dominant. Previous forms of power remain but in a recessive form or in a ceremonialized form (royalty in modern democracies for example). His hope is to develop a new force a fifth power a new type of power that allows these powers to rule and thus create new institutions that do not exploit the other classes and forms of power.

Like classical thinkers and theories of governance each of these forms has a perverse side vidya (good or introversion) and avidya (bad or extroversion) but unlike Aristotle Sarkar does not develop political categories for them. For Aristotle the perversion of monarchy was tyranny of aristocracy oligarchy and of polity democracy. For classical Chinese political philosopher Ssu ma Chien there were no categories for politics but for leaders. The leader was either tyrannical or was wise. Indeed history was characterized by rhythmic cycles of a dynasty led by the sage king and then overtime degenerating into leadership by the tyrant. For Ssu ma Chien the problem of the appropriate mix of types of power was resolved by the ideal of the intellectual king but not intellectual as

mere philosopher (this was only one necessary ingredient) but as sage particularly as Taoist sage. Thus it was the sage king that brought on the new dynasty (Watson 1957) Sarkar's leadership type sadvipras is perhaps closer to the classical Chinese formulation however the ideal leader must have characteristics of all the types of powers worker (service) warrior (protection) intellectual (theory generation) and capitalist (in the form of entrepreneurial spirit). But as with Ssu ma Chien's articulation he must be essentially spiritual that is in touch with the deeper patterns of history society and consciousness.

But in terms of the structure of power itself Gaetano Mosca's articulations come closest to Sarkar. However Sarkar does not as Mosca has argued in The Ruling Class envision a system of balanced powers through judicial and legal institutions. For Mosca if one social force becomes dominant there is tyranny. But fortunately there are checks.

Military power is checked and balanced by money or religion or money perhaps checked and balanced by taxation imposed by land or an obstreperous religious hierarchy checked and balanced now by superstitious sects which group up within itself now by coalitions of external forces of enlightenment (Mosca XX 1939).

But for Sarkar from the macrolevel in the long duree one varna is dominant and the others are subvented. In addition for Sarkar in agreement with Mosca social forces not categories of government are the key in understanding history.

For Sarkar given that these forms of power are historically and evolutionarily developed they are for all practical purposes natural they cannot be eliminated or collectively transcended. The task for Sarkar is to transform this historical social cycle laborer warrior intellectual capitalist laborer into a social spiral thus allowing power to enable progressive forms of economy culture and polity.

But instead of following the modern approach of developing an alternative governmental structure (checks and balances by branch or function) to mitigate the exploitive forms of these powers Sarkar takes the traditional approach and resorts to human agency. His task is to develop leadership that has the characteristics of all four powers (economic martial labor and intellectual) but is guided by the ethical and the spiritual sadvipras or benevolent intellectuals. This is done through spiritual practices through gaining experience in all four types of powers through working with the oppressed and marginalized and through understanding the mechanisms of historical change.

Resorting to the moral discourse Sarkar writes People will recognize sadvipras by their conduct their devotion to service their dutifulness and their moral integrity (Sarkar 157 1981) Similarities between Sarkar's sadvipras and Antonio Gramsci's organic intellectuals should also be obvious Gramsci thought that the more advanced intellectuals would take on a large number of indispensable ideological cultural projects subverting the illusions of conventional ideologies introducing and disseminating critical views of social reality presenting an alternative vision of the future (Boggs 1984 222 223)

But to this notion of the organic intellectual Sarkar adds a spiritual dimension as defined by a commitment to universalism (beyond ego family nation and race) neohumanism (respect and rights for plants animals and humans) and an epistemological position in which the universe is believed to have many layers the crudest of which is the material the most profound of which is pure unexpressed Consciousness

Leadership becomes defined not in the traditional Greek sense but in the traditional Indian sense that of the Yogi Through spiritual practices the yogi remains outside the vortex of material power He or she can fast can live in poverty and has conquered fear Neither king nor venture capitalist can seduce him or her While in the West self reflection produces the enlightened philosopher king for the yogi the self is beyond mere intellectual reflection it is knowable through direct intuitive experience through samadhi But Sarkar adds social responsibility to the task of the yogi and thus moves near the positions of Sri Aurobindo and Mohandas Gandhi For Aurobindo reinterpreting Hegel the spirit expressed itself not only in individuals but associations as well particularly the decolonizing nations individuals could express this spirit in the nation building process For Gandhi too it was the spirit as expressed in a new type of leadership that was central to recreating the future Both added an activist dimension to the classical role of the yogi

For Sarkar the yogi must work to create a society where basic needs and distributive justice are met so that all have the possibility of self enlightenment Individual enlightenment exists in the context of societal development The yogi suddenly appears as the postmodern revolutionary rethinking reality monitoring the cycles of power and serving the oppressed The yogi for Sarkar is neither institutionalized priest nor fringe shaman (4)

But Sarkar does not only focus on the moral dimension he also articulates the mechanisms of his alternative leadership in the context of the structure of governance Thus when a form of power (economic

power for example) as exhibited in a particular governmental structure (capitalism and representative democracy) becomes overly centralized sadvipras would create or engage in activity that would lead to a revolution (or evolution as appropriate) a decentralization of power and a coming in of the next stage of the cycle

Is this spiritual and social engineering? Perhaps But in this engineering a space for an alternative theory of politics and leadership is made possible unbound by national politics and inclusive of evolutionary structures of power Sensitive to the history of social engineering (that is in the accumulation of power in the guise of representation) Sarkar does not centralize the power and political locations of sadvipras Their focus of power is people Their power is populist based on the person not on the institution Thus representation moves away from acting for particular individuals as defined by national sovereignty and moves to acting for the interests of a general and universal humanity But while Sarkar rejects nation states and opts for a world federation of self-reliant economic units it is at the local level that power is expressed and exercised

But where specifically does Sarkar locate this sadvipra leadership Charles Paprocki in his interpretation of Sarkar's theory writes that they would in effect be a shadow government or social boards in Sarkar's language

The social boards should be composed of members who are engaged in social welfare activities like education the arts the sciences social services and community projects These people already enjoy popular confidence because they are continually providing social services and fighting bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption in society By virtue of their social service and universal values the social boards will form a dispersed nucleus throughout society and form a check against government corruption and manipulation of the people Should any government go against the needs of the people the social boards will organize the people and change the government (Paprocki 9 1991)

Another interpreter Avadhuta Vedaprajnananda says it like this social boards will parallel and balance the normal branches of government They will be elected on various levels from village to global will play a watchdog function on the political structure as well as maintain close contact with the public without a strong body of moral people constitutional reforms (will not be successful) (Vedaprajnananda 7 1991)

Sarkar desires to strengthen neither business nor government but community populist associations

Government and business will always over time be served by those who have their own self-interest first and the interest of the collective second He desires to further strengthen private civil society at the expense of governmental power It is the deepening of democracy at the level of daily life

In an introduction to a special issue of the journal Alternatives on democracy Yoshikazu Sakamoto argues that the democratization of civil society is one of four dimensions of the deepening of democracy Democracy in everyday life in civil society implies a constant questioning of and resistance to the formation of [unequal] power relations Herein lies the crucial role to be played by the citizens social movement It is the agent which democratizes not only the state and civil society respectively it is also the agent which democratizes the linkage between the two (Sakamoto 121 1991)

This democratization has two levels the micro level exhibited by the many social service agencies and the macro level by the antisystemic social movements who are fighting for liberty fraternity and equality (Wallerstein 1984) and who can provide a check to self-interested political power But for Sarkar mere democratization of formal political institutions (a multiparty system holding of elections for example) does not necessarily lead to a better society

One cannot expect this moral force from a government power functioning within a democratic structure We must expect it from the non-political side The government be it fascist imperialist republican dictatorial bureaucratic or democratic is sure to become tyrannical if there is no moral force to check the capricious activities of the leaders of the party in power (Sarkar 153 1981)

However Sarkar does seek to increase accountability in government by increasing the power of the audit branch making it as much as possible independent of the other three branches In addition he recommends that politicians should be legally liable for their election promises Citizens should be allowed to sue if various elections promises are not kept Sarkar also criticizes suffrage based on age He would limit suffrage through an electoral college with admission gained from passing various tests on literacy and education While this might seem highly contentious from a Western perspective in which various ethnic groups have historically peripheralized others through limiting their right to vote speaking from the Indian context in which votes are bought and sold or in which individuals are pressured through coercive forces (the landlords and their administrative and police links) it is less so Participation in economic and cultural developments becomes more important than electing governmental leaders It is in this economic

arena where Sarkar calls for universal voting (economic democracy) in the form of worker managed and run cooperatives Income distribution and the full participation of the marginalized is far more important than electoral politics Indeed for Sarkar democracy can only be successful in the context of a spiritual socialism Moreover participation must be globalized the framework for democracy should not be the nation state but the planetary community

In contrast are enlightenment democratic efforts where the notion of leader as having access to special knowledge or access to deeper layers of consciousness is forsaken for the safety of pervasive democracy for a state organized by checks and balances of the separation of powers for humans while occasional good are essentially sinful evil But in Sarkar's cosmology humans are constituted by vidya and avidya Through spiritual practices and laws the latter can be controlled Moreover evil is merely false or low consciousness not a living force as in the Western tradition Moreover the leader occupies a particularly privileged space in Indian cosmology (as well as East Asian) Central are vertical relations with respect for authority in its various forms guru and prince (but not merchant) Sarkar's theoretical move is to assert that while checks and balances are necessary it is leadership that represents not a particular class but the interests of the collective that is critical for a future political design

But for Yoshikazu Sakamoto democracy must be continuously deepened specifically in four areas in formal political institutions in economic institutions in civil society and global politics for Sarkar the last three are far more important than the first However most debate centers on the first Indeed to not focus on the first leads to political marginalization One is suddenly removed from the Western heritage the linear march of democracy from Greece to the United States (5) But this is not Sarkar's heritage Speaking from a third world perspective and its tradition (thus his assertion that democracy first began in India with the Lucchivis) other issues are far more important than the narrowly defined political qua government and elections

However Sarkar leaves unanswered the classic question of who will watch over the keepers of the good (6) a question that liberal democracy does attempt to resolve (albeit for Sarkar unsuccessfully since democracies merely reinforce the capitalist class and structure) Even in Sarkar's terms what is there to prevent this new revolutionary class from being influenced by avidya and joining the particular power structure of the time thus making the transition to the new structure the new era even more difficult While he criticizes the checks and balances of demo

cracy (indeed calling democracy group governed polity) as well as other forms of governance (dictatorship and oligarchy) he does not articulate the problems with his alternative model of politics he leaves his theory of leadership as the solution to the problem of politics. Of course insofar as this type of leadership is based not on official governmental (state power) or corporate power (exchange power) but on community and personal power the possibilities of abuse are less. As they are not part of the official discourse their legitimacy is stronger and paradoxically for the very same reason it is more fleeting. Sarkar is somewhat sensitive to these types of criticisms as at the macro level Sarkar writes that his preferred polity is never one person rule but a council a board of sadvipras

Sarkar thus desires to increase accountability among politicians modify political democracy enhance civil society (the progressive intellectuals) and reduce the power of government (the intellectual sector) and business (the economic sector). But most important he attempts to articulate a new form of leadership that would supplant the present notion of political leadership. This model of leadership has two foci. The first is foresight an understanding of the mechanisms of social change the laws of society. The second is compassionate service to all the transcendence of individual ego to the social good. Foresight and service lead to social political and economic action. The sadvipra does not passively reflect on the mysteries of the universe and the laws of social change he or she is ready to use organized force intellectual economic military and mass to create revolution or evolution. Moral and spiritual leadership now find a new focus transcending single focus albeit progressive revolutions such as apartheid colonialism or economic exploitation. The entire structure of modernity individualism nationalism materialism communism and capitalism are called into question.

USING TYPES OF POWER TO DEVELOP GOVERNMENTAL DESIGN

Sarkar also places his model of governance in the larger context of his typology of history and power. During times of economic power there should be limited democracy during times of martial rule there should be a council of leaders. In terms of historical forms Sarkar finds that when there is worker rule (prehistory and revolutionary times) the political system is anarchy during warrior rule (empires and kingdoms as well as modern military states) there are monarchies and during intellectual rule (the great religions and the bureaucracy) there are republics and during capitalist rule there is mass democracy.

While Sarkar is useful to us on his unique cultural terms in that we gain insight into an alternative non

Western perspective of history and democracy our effort here is not only comparison. Our effort is to borrow from Sarkar and ask the following: Why not attempt political design that includes these four types of power and ways of knowing the world why not go beyond classifications of the one the few and the many. If these four types of power represent universal interests why not find ways in which they can be exercised for and against each other? Why not develop appropriate designs that have embedded in them this classic four fold structure of power? Perhaps there should be along with legislative executive and judicial four houses? Or more simply perhaps the legislative (the historical house of nobles) should be broken down into four houses instead of the present one house or two house parliamentary or presidential system.

The first house could be inclusive of capitalists and cooperatives and other economic forms. The second inclusive of the military and the police. The third of intellectuals in the form of technocrats academics and priests (government university and church/temple). The fourth inclusive of workers and peasants. In this design the political becomes formally shared by the four. Thus instead of dividing the polity into rule of the one the few and the many we inject these types of power into the third the many as represented through the legislative. This way not only are the classic divisions of power combined but in addition Sarkar's types of power which tell us about the type of power (normative coercive remunerative or mass) find entrance into the polity. At present the intellectuals reside in the universities and the temples (and in various anti systemic social movements) they are rarely represented in government except as consultants through think tanks. Workers are represented through trade unions such as they are. The capitalists and the military have a great deal of representation either directly through members of parliament or through Congressmen and women (in the presidential system) in third world countries politicians come from this class (landlords/military) and in first world countries they emerge from the rich. Each type of power attempts to control and manage the executive judicial and legislative.

In the modern world the strategy to gain control of the ideas and forces that govern constructions of the real have largely been accomplished through the crystallization of power into groups of representation that is through the political party. And if we look at the range of political parties we see that they somehow attempt to represent these different types of powers (conservatives as economic and military power green as people and earth power communist as martial and people power fundamentalist groups as normative power) however parties mask their interest and have managed to consolidate power such that alternative

forms of power have no way of emerging (the US system is the classic model of this problem wherein the two party structure forces each party to move to the center to maximize the chances of winning)

Could a four house system representing these types of powers work better? Or are there better ways to represent these power structures in the political in governance perhaps one type of power should only be vested in the executive another in the legislative and another in the judicial. The capitalists during their era could be the executives the intellectuals the lawmakers and the workers the judges and the military/police could supervise the whole effort. In different historical periods this division of the four powers in the three branches of government could change with workers as lawmakers intellectuals as executives thus historical rotation by structure of power.

While the design above is preliminary the task in front of us more than the actual design itself is the need to develop alternative designs of governance that reflect these types of power and go beyond classical typologies and solely Western or modern designs. Of course if we should avoid this structural analysis (class and power) and stay at the level of the individual and assert that no one can represent another (mirror their ideas or act for them) then direct electronic democracy or the direct village democracy appears to be best answer to the present political system. Certainly political parties and government based only on legislative executive and judicial seem far from satisfactory in solving the pressing social problems that first and third world societies are beset with. Perhaps we can attempt to borrow from both developing systems that include electronic democracy moral leadership and structures of power.

CONCLUSION

While the above governmental designs may be novel they are not Sarkar's (7). Sarkar himself does not relate varna to governmental structure as the previous design attempts to (types of power to branches of government). His goal is to create a fifth form of power that shadows these other four. Whether this type of political and spiritual leadership and power is possible disinterested in a particular class but not in social transformation for the good of all classes is another question!

Certainly from the perspective of proponents of liberal democracy Sarkar unnecessarily brings back the spiritual a category the European enlightenment did its best to remove. But in India there was no enlightenment signifying the end of the Medieval rather there has been a continuous focus on the transformation of the self on its perfection. It is only recently with

Aurobindo Gandhi and Sarkar that the social implications of self enlightenment have become central. Politics has moved quickly from the village to the nation to a universal humanity.

From the postmodern perspective the entire project would be denied from the outset as there is no vantage point from which consciousness is transparent. The real is mediated through language through culture and thus politics. There is no point from which the truth of history can be made especially accessible indeed the search for totalizing universals is part of the problem part of logocentric history of a history based on the modern abstraction of man (8).

From the traditional liberal view Marxism and Sarkar and Prout are too similar. Sarkar's sadvipras and the entire scheme of structure of power reduce the power of the individual and mobility of capital. State power in a variety of forms is strengthened.

From the related view of the electronic democrats Sarkar's moves and the structural design presented earlier are entirely unnecessary for dramatic developments in technology will make representation unnecessary since face to face community and thus democracy at all levels will soon be possible. Power will have no place to hide as we will all continuously face it. Spiritual leadership and structures of power will become but a discourse of the past, problems that have been rendered technologically obsolete. But for Sarkar even as technology resolves some dilemmas it creates new problems new relations of structure and power for technology is embedded in the social

But seen in a more favorable light Sarkar's strength is the way in which he balances the particular and the universal the political and the spiritual. In some ways Sarkar is conservative (restricting franchise until political consciousness and education can increase) liberal (accepting the functional separation of powers and favoring the presidential system of government) modern (encouraging new forms of technology) moralistic (finding politicians and their self interest to be the cause of social ills) progressive (looking toward the social movements for leadership) democratic (favoring elections and attempting to enhance civil society) idealistic (hoping for intellectuals willing to change themselves morally and spiritually for the good of the collective) as well as radical (designing an alternative form of governance through his social boards).

Starting with Montesquieu and concluding with Sarkar the intent of this essay has been to take seriously historical structures of power and to move these structures from the background of discussions on political design to the foreground. While Sarkar's theory of social change and power has been central

to this task as significant is Montesquieu's theory of the balance of governmental power as well as post-modern theories which make representation itself problematic

Notes

1 Sarkar is important to us in that perhaps more than any other Indian thinker in this century he has contributed to developing an alternative non-Western theory of politics, economics, culture, and consciousness. He is also well known as a composer, linguist, and mystic. More important, Sarkar is exemplary in that he has initiated social movements throughout the planet. Various nations and regions have begun experimenting with Proutist economic and social philosophies. Thus we have theory and practice.

Sarkar was imprisoned for seven years by the Indra Gandhi government and was released when she was voted out of office. He passed away on October 21, 1991. M. Gandhi comes close but was not as comprehensive or global. Worn down by the politics of partition, he could not develop the links between local and global structures.

Sarkar's intent is not merely theory building but the creation of a new discourse. See for example, Sohail Inayatullah, *Rethinking Science*, P. R. Sarkar's Reconstruction of Science and Society, IFDA Dossier 81 (April/June 1991) and Ravi Batra, *The Downfall of Capitalism and Communism*, London: MacMillan, 1978. Second edition by Venus Books, Dallas, Texas, 1990.

2 For the most recent effort, see Howard Rheingold, *Electronic Democracy*, *Whole Earth Review* (Summer 1991). Rheingold seeks to help citizens gain access to information technologies so as to regain communicative power previously limited to large institutions. And in classic Americanese, Rheingold quotes Dave Hughes, "Electronic citizenship means freedom of electronic expression." I think Benjamin Franklin would have been the first owner of a microcomputer. I think that the Declaration of Independence would have been written on a word processor. And I think that Tom Paine would have made Common Sense available on an electronic bulletin board. (6)

But while computer bulletin boards might enhance citizen power (as well as State power) will they influence the deeper structures of power?

3 Gaitung too has formulated a structural theory of power. He however adds a fifth dimension, the

totally marginalized who never gain power. See his *The Green Movement: A socio-historical Exploration*, *International Sociology* (Vol 1, No 1, 1986). See also Gaitung and Inayatullah (eds), *Macrohistory and Macrohistorians* (forthcoming 1992). Kenneth Boulding has developed a similar typology in his *Three Faces of Power*, London: Sage, 1988. For Boulding there are three types of power: destructive (threat), productive (exchange), and integrative (love or respect). These are related to political, military, economic, and social forces. He however does not place these categories in a theory of history.

4 Ashis Nandy in his brilliant essay, *Shamans, Savages, and the Wilderness: On the Audibility of Dissent and the Future of Civilization*, *Alternatives* (Vol 14, No 3, 1989), points us in the direction of the shaman. The shaman exists on the fringe and the margins of respectable society and respectable models of knowledge and development. The shaman is subversive but not as an expert; not one who can be co-opted by institutionalized power. For Sarkar, tantra is based on the shamanic tradition; however, Sarkar seeks to develop a new form of leadership that moves beyond both shaman and priest. There is dissent but there is also struggle within the boundaries of established society even as the *sadvipra* attempts to create new boundaries. We will have to wait to see if this dialectical progression is possible. Among others, Gandhi and Mandela provide us with hints of possible leadership models.

5 See R. B. J. Walker, *On the Spatiotemporal Conditions of Democratic Practice*, *Alternatives* (No 16, 1991). Walker examines how democracy as expressed in state sovereignty constrains our capacity to imagine the potentials of local grassroots and marginal practices. (245)

6 Avadhuta Prasadnanda argues that Sarkar does answer the classic question of who will watch over the keepers of the good. The social boards will monitor each other and any member who violates strict ethical codes will be asked to step down. That is, there will be a dynamic tension between the various *sadvipras*. However, according to Prasadnanda, other questions can be asked: whether this system has been tried successfully or whether there presently exist qualified leaders like *sadvipras*. Personal communications, August 20, 1991.

7 Charles Paprocki argues that linking Sarkar's types of power to branches of government would concretize *varna* and thus reinvent the Indian caste system. Moreover, the branches of government are not the only forms of political power. There is also the military and the audit branch. Different *varnas* will tend to concentrate in conducive political environments. In different ages, different environments will

gain more authority, and *varna* should be fluid. *varna* is meant to rethink history to show how classes and individuals have been oppressed, not to be placed in concrete political structures. Personal communication, June 6, 1991.

8 See for example, Richard Ashley, *Living on the Borderlines*, in Michael Shapiro and James Der Derian, eds, *International/Intertextual Relations*, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1989.

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JOSEP PUIG I BOIX,

LOCAL ENERGY PLANS CITIZENRY IN ACTION LOBYING FOR A SOFT ENERGY PATH

1 The Energy Question The Wrong Path

It is a fact that the industrialist energy path is unsustainable along time and is also unsustainable globally on planet Earth

1.1 Official energy forecasts were wrong

Until recently energy planners and energy managers put emphasis on energy demand forecasting. They said that energy demand will ever increase over the time. Also they made a connection between GNP and energy consumption. On Tables 1 and 2 we can see that the facts are in contradiction with this industrialist energy dogma.

To face the supposed and everincreasing demand the energy planners decided to build giant energy power plants and giant energy systems mainly based on fossil fuels and nuclear energy.

By now many nations have their energy systems overdesigned as a result that reality didn't follow the energy forecasts made by energy planners. Figure 1 shows those facts for U.S. Electric System. Figure 2 for the Spanish energy system and Figure 3 shows the projections made for nuclear capacity in Spain.

1.2 The poisoning of natural systems

One important consequence of the so called Hard Energy Path has been the ecosystems poisoning. The everincreasing Carbon emissions from the massive fossil fuel burning (Figures 4 & 5). And as a result the ever increasing atmospheric concentration of Carbon Dioxide (Figure 6).

the Sulphur and Nitrogen Oxides as a result of high sulphur fossil fuel burning and as a result of high

temperature burning devices. Both factors started a new kind of pollution: Acid Rain. By now more than 35% of European forests are damaged by acid rain. Many European countries have more than 50% of their forest area damaged (Table 3).

the introduction of radionuclides (radioactive substances) into the natural systems because of both normal and accidental operation of nuclear power plants and the associated nuclear fuel cycle. For example, the Spanish nuclear power plants (10 nuclear reactors) introduced 12440 and 14400 Ci of radioactivity into the air and into the waters (data from Consejo de Seguridad Nuclear in 1988 and 1989).

1.3 The inequality of energy use

Another consequence of the industrialist Hard Energy Path has been the deeply unequal distribution of energy use among the world nations. Figure 7 shows the disparity of energy consumption (commercialised energy) on different world areas or groups of countries. And on Figure 8 we can see that the 5% of world population consumes the 28% of world energy. Also the 14% of population consumes 54% of world commercial energy.

2 Towards energy self reliance

In contrast with this kind of response to energy question and since the early seventies some people are struggling to open a new road on the energy question. This new approach is known by Soft Energy Path since Amory B. Lovins and Vince Taylor published their books on this subject (Soft Energy Paths Toward a Durable Peace 1977 and Energy The Easy Path 1979).

As long as conventional energy planners put the question on how to expand energy supplies from

secure and affordable sources in order to meet projected homogeneous demand Lovins and Taylor suggested an alternative argument redefining the energy problem how to meet heterogeneous end use needs with a minimum of energy (and other resources) supplied in the most effective way for each task

They offered a vision of a future world that relied on improved energy efficiency and renewable energy technology instead of fossil fuels and nuclear power As Valentin Borremans wrote in her Guide to Convivial Tools tools in their technical development occasionally reach thresholds which are societally critical and when a tool acquires such a critical character it inevitably affects the culture social structure and distribution of political power of the community which uses it

And energy technologies are subjected to these critical thresholds While some energy technologies lead to specialization of functions institutionalization of values and centralization of power (specially nuclear technologies and big fossil fuels technologies of bureaucracies or machines there are other energy technologies that enlarge the range of each person's competence control and initiative limited only by other individuals claims to an equal range of power and freedom

The main characteristics of Soft and Hard Energy Paths are shown on Table 4

The starting point for Soft Energy Path is that energy is a mean rather than an end Energy has value only because it can perform tasks which society deems worthwhile The homeowner is not as much interested in energy supplies as in keeping the house warm cooking food and fueling the car The Soft Energy Path outlook is concerned first with these end uses Thus the important question is not how much energy is consumed but do we have the energy to perform needed tasks and services?

The major question of Soft Energy Path is not the efficiency of the technologies or its economic feasibility The Soft Path requires deliberate choice public will and careful planning It is in direct conflict with the goals of electric utilities oil and gas companies and high energy technology corporations In short the Soft Energy Path recognises that the energy problem is basically political

3 Energy action at a local level

During the present century we have been the witnesses of how the local communities lost control over many aspects of everyday life Only a few decades

ago communities had the responsibility to produce energy locally and to supply local residents Local communities resigned the energy responsibility in favour of big energy corporations and utilities And all that in the name of progress

But after decades of big energy developments and the resulting environmental problems citizens begin to become aware of their energy responsibility

All around the world last years we have seen concerned groups of citizens forcing the reconsideration of big energy projects and in many cases stopping macroenergy projects

Also critical scientists with their whistle blowing attitude and publications provided citizens with the core arguments to oppose ecologically disrupting energy projects

In many cases also the courts of justice pronounced sentences against great energy projects

But the citizen's opposition to the hard energy projects has not been the only main characteristic of public participation This opposition went in a parallel way with soft energy proposals at the local level and with the introduction of soft energy technologies in the daily life despite the resistance and passivity of energy officials Local residents have begun to modify the personal energy patterns changing the ways how they use the energy and trying to recover the power over energy

4 Community Soft Energy Planning

The Soft and Hard visions of the energy questions have divergent responses in three main questions

How much energy must we consume?
Which kind of technology must we use?
Who must control the energy systems?

The Soft Energy Path answers these questions in the following way

Reducing wasteful energy practices decreasing energy consumption improving energy efficiency implementing efficient energy systems decreasing carbon dioxide emissions and sulphur and nitrogen emissions

using small and/or community scale technologies making it possible to collect transform and use solar energy both directly or indirectly providing people with the knowledge skills and wisdom necessary to make solar technologies a practical and useful way to produce energy

decentralizing energy systems using local and renewable energy sources owned by the community who is managing and using them making feasible the local democratic control preventing that energy will be monopolized by elitist groups

The theoretical roots of the Soft Energy Path philosophy lie in biology in the notion of carrying capacity A natural ecosystem will support only a certain size of plant and animal populations over an extended period of time The available solar energy and water the fertility of soil the climate and many other natural factors impose a limit on how much life can be supported by the ecosystem As long as it stays within its carrying capacity an ecosystem can sustain that level of life indefinitely A Community Soft Energy Plan at the local level recognizes an area's carrying capacity Its ultimate intention is to modify human energy consumption so that it's sustained entirely on the incoming renewable energy and thus can be supported over the time

Although the Community Soft Energy Plan is based on a biological model it has other dimensions which are equally important A Soft Energy Plan is designed to be equitable The benefits of a Soft Energy Plan are to be distributed fairly and so must the costs A Soft Energy Plan is democratic both in its origins and formulation and in its execution and further development (in opposition to the Hard Energy Plans that are essentially incompatible with democratic decision making because of the complexity and nature of large scale centralized hard energy technologies necessitate control by technological elites Also the hazards arising from a nuclear power economy will necessarily precipitate conflict between civil liberties and the government's responsibility to insure safety) A Soft Energy Plan fosters economic improvement stability and diversity And finally a Soft Energy Plan enhances local self reliance and contributes to political and economic decentralization

The objective of a Local Community Soft Energy Plan is to minimize consumption of non renewable energy sources and to substitute renewable energy wherever possible

The first step in doing a Community Soft Energy Plan is to identify the flows of energy through the local place and analyze how this energy is used

A Local Community Soft Energy Plan can analyze three types of energy

* The first type is non renewable (or capital) energy It includes fossil and nuclear fuels (petroleum natural gas coal and uranium) It is extracted from the ground The Earth has a limited supply of non renewable energy which once exhausted cannot be

replaced it is gone forever It is imported mainly from capital energy producers and arrives to the end users after being conducted by pipelines/gasoducts giant ships etc The vast majority of local communities are capital energy importers

* The second type is renewable (or income) energy It comes mainly from the sun directly (solar energy) or indirectly (wind water biomass) It comes also from the outer space (tidal) and from the Earth crust (geothermal) Renewable energy sources are never depleted although some like forests require ecologically sound management to remain renewable At the local level there are many renewable energy sources available At some places the incoming renewable energy resource greatly exceeds energy consumption Some local places are richer in renewables than others The renewable supply is also somewhat erratic (there are variations along the day and the seasons) Although the disparities in the renewable resource base imposes some limitations for the most part these restrictions can be dealt with either technologically or through intelligent planning Unlike non renewables renewable energies can be the base for an economic system which can be sustained indefinitely

* The third type of energy is indirect energy It consists of energy which is embodied in manufactured goods The concept of indirect energy provides a way to account for energy transfers between local communities

The methodology to make a Community Soft Energy Plan is based on a four step procedure

* First you estimate how much energy is consumed annually in your local community and how this energy is apportioned between the primary sectors (residential commercial transportation industrial) and the subsectors (space heating water heating lighting cooking refrigeration manufacturing agriculture construction mining)

* Secondly present energy consumption is projected to the year 2025 taking into account population and economic growth This is the Hard Path scenario for the local community because it assumes that energy will be used just as inefficiently in the year 2025 as it is now Also it will produce huge amount of pollutants The year 2025 projection also functions as the base from which conservation savings are calculated in the Soft Energy Path scenario

* Thirdly the amount of energy which could be saved from the year 2025 base through very aggressive conservation is estimated As well as the amount of pollutants not introduced in the natural systems Each of the end uses is analyzed to see how much eff

ciency can be improved and how quickly these improvements can become widely used

* Finally the renewable energy resources within the local community are assessed and their potential to supply energy to each of the subsectors is estimated. Thus working from the year 2025 projection you cut down the energy needs as much as possible through conservation and then try to fill the remainder using renewable energy resources. Before ending it is possible to estimate the amount of pollutants displaced by renewables (Tables 5)

4.1 Steps to make a Local Community Soft Energy Plan

Here we try to summarize the basic steps needed to make a reality of a Local Community Soft Energy Plan

To create a Working Group (it would have the requisite desire and some skills to complete the Soft Energy Plan and should be somewhat representative of the people and interest groups in the local community)

To implement the Plan by designing policies and strategies (conservation shall be given top priority consumption of non renewable energy resources shall be minimized development of renewable energy resources shall be made so that they are cost

effective impact on local energy consumption environmental safety and positive social benefit costs and benefits shall be equitably distributed conservation and renewable energy development should be integrated with other policies and programs within the local community and should be carried out within a broad program of truly democratic decision making and humanistic decentralist economic development over the long run human developments within the local community should adapt to the energy and environmental carrying capacity)

To initiate projects (the local community will move along the Soft Energy Path as hardware projects will be undertaken and completed homes weatherized solar water heaters installed wind generators brought on line municipal waste recovered) Every hardware project must have three key elements a) a group which will benefit from the project b) a project executor and c) a source of financing

These are only basic steps Other recommended suggestion can be every person in the working group must have its specific responsibility contact critical scientists helping to build energy scenarios the obstacles between completing the plan and getting it accepted must be removed by educational tasks and political lobbying

Finally only suggest the use of computer modelling trying to choose the best scenario from all the possibilities for the local community

Table 1 Per capita energy consumption (Tec 1984) in the first 25 countries and per capita national income (USD 1985)

Rank	Country	Consumption tec	Per capita income USD	Income rank
1	Virgin Islands	31.6	7 780	26
2	Qatar	22.0	9 600	15
3	Cook Islands	16.1	1 200	107
4	Oman	13.5	6 700	5
5	Bahrain	13.2	7 500	29
6	Netherlands Antilles	12.6	5 000	51
7	Luxembourg	11.2	11 960	8
8	Brunei	11.1	13 600	6
9	Guam	10.2	5 000	51
10	Canada	9.8	11 778	10
11	U.S.A.	9.6	14 565	2
12	United Arab Emirates	7.7	16 100	1
13	G.D.R.	7.6	5 400	49
14	Norway	7.4	7 000	34
15	American Samoa	7.2	4 700	56
16	Kuwait	6.7	13 980	4
17	Singapore	6.6	6 100	40
18	Norway	6.6	11 784	9
19	Czechoslovakia	6.2	6 000	42
20	U.S.S.R.	6.0	4 200	59
21	Netherlands	5.9	7 710	27
22	Faoes	5.7	10 400	11
23	Fed. Rep. of Germany	5.6	8 950	22
24	Iceland	5.1	9 118	21
25	Finlandia	5.0	9 211	19
	Spain	2.2	3 880	63
	World	1.9	2 38	

Source: The Economist

Table 2 Per capita energy consumption (Tec 1984) and per capita national income (USD 1985) in Europe

Rank	Country	Consumption tec	Per capita income USD	Income rank
1	Luxembourg	11.2	11 960	2
2	G.D.R.	7.6	5 400	15
3	Norway	6.6	11 784	3
4	Czechoslovakia	6.2	6 000	14
5	U.S.S.R.	6.0	4 200	16
6	Netherlands	5.9	7 710	10
7	Fed. Rep. of Germany	5.6	8 950	8
8	Bulgaria	5.5	3 200	19
9	Iceland	5.1	9 118	7
10	Finland	5.0	9 211	6
11	Belgium	4.9	7 408	12
12	U.K.	4.8	7 156	13
13	Sweden	4.7	10 315	4
14	Romania	4.6	2 687	22
15	Denmark	4.5	9 709	5
16	Poland	4.5	1 900	23
17	Austria	4.0	7 631	11
18	France	3.9	8 126	9
19	Hungary	3.8	1 722	26
20	Switzerland	3.7	13 720	1
21	Ireland	3.2	4 090	17
22	Yugoslavia	2.5	1 850	24
23	Spain	2.2	3 880	18
24	Greece	2.2	2 971	21
25	Cyprus	1.9	3 186	20
26	Portugal	1.3	1 820	25
27	Albania	1.3	860	28
28	Turkey	0.9	960	27

Source: The Economist

Figure 1 Summer Peak Electric Demand 1965-84 And Projections Made from 1974 to 1983

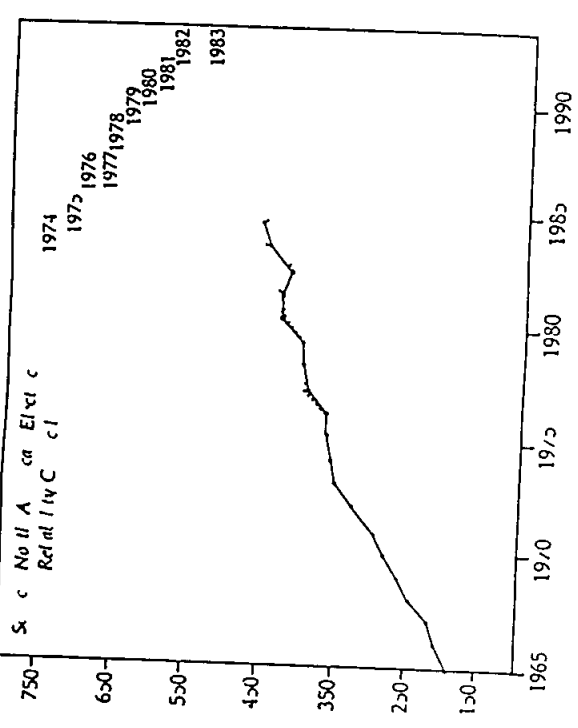


Figure 2 Primary Energy Consumption

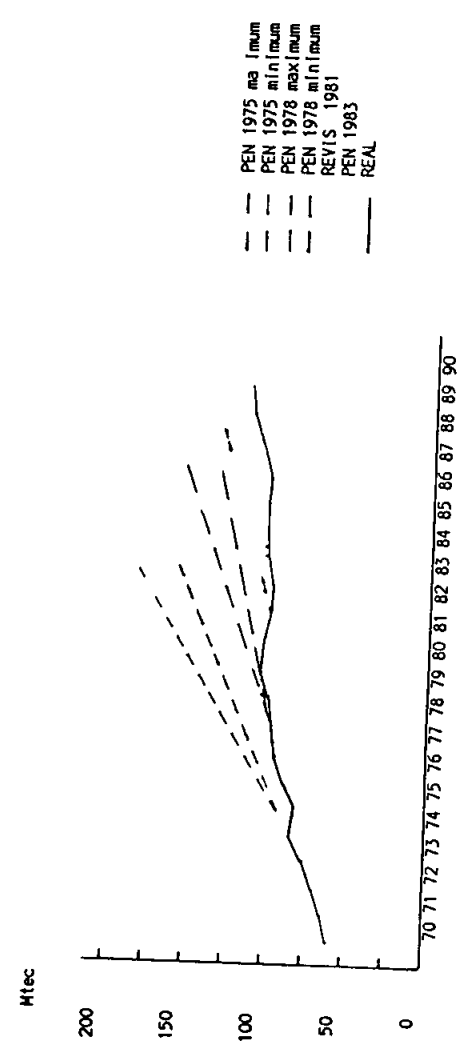


Figure 3 Projection of the North Spine Plant

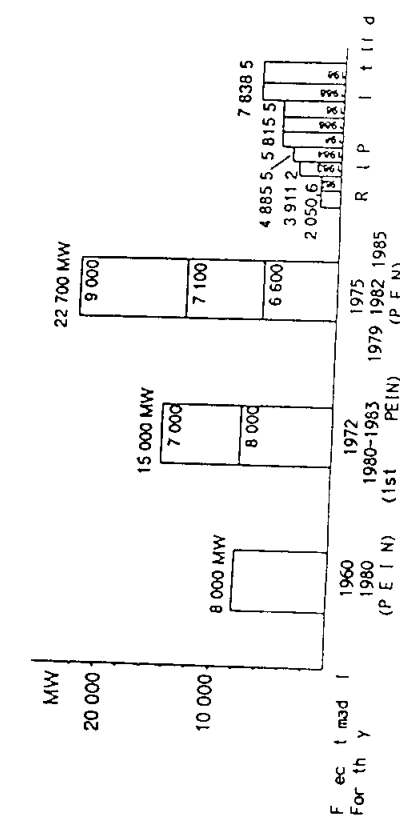


Figure 4 World Carbon Emissions from Fossil Fuels 1950-87

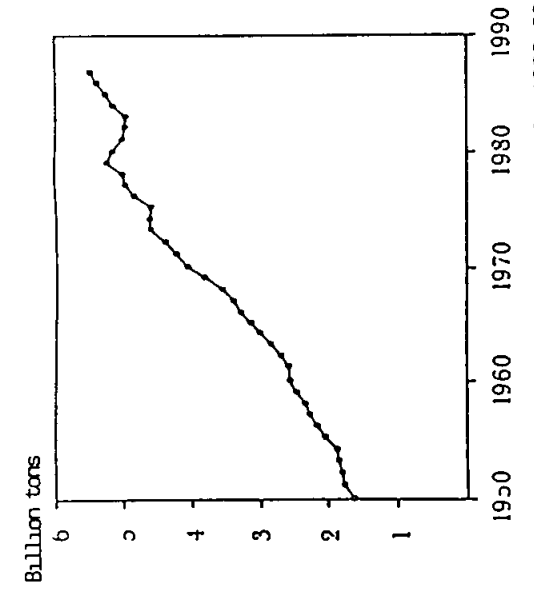


Figure 5 Carbon Emissions from Fossil Fuels 1950-89

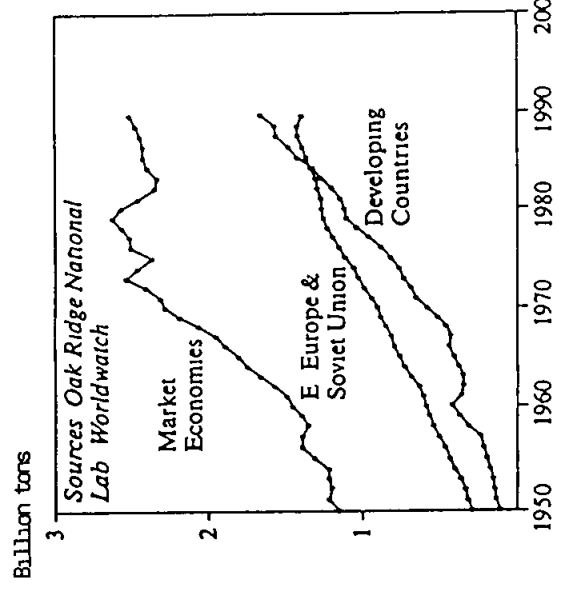


Figure 6 Observed Global Average Temperatures 1880-1987 with Projections to 2040

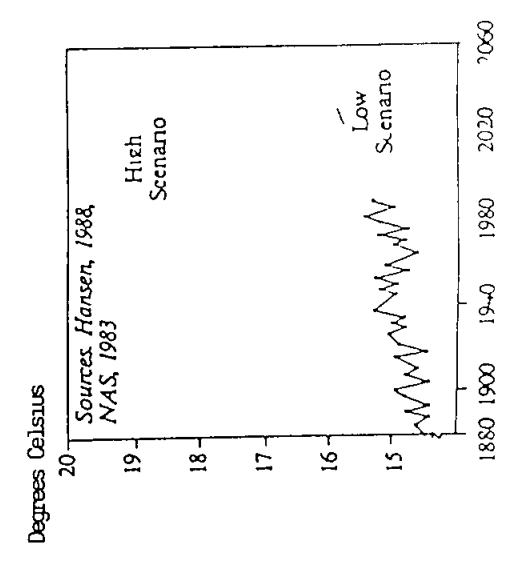
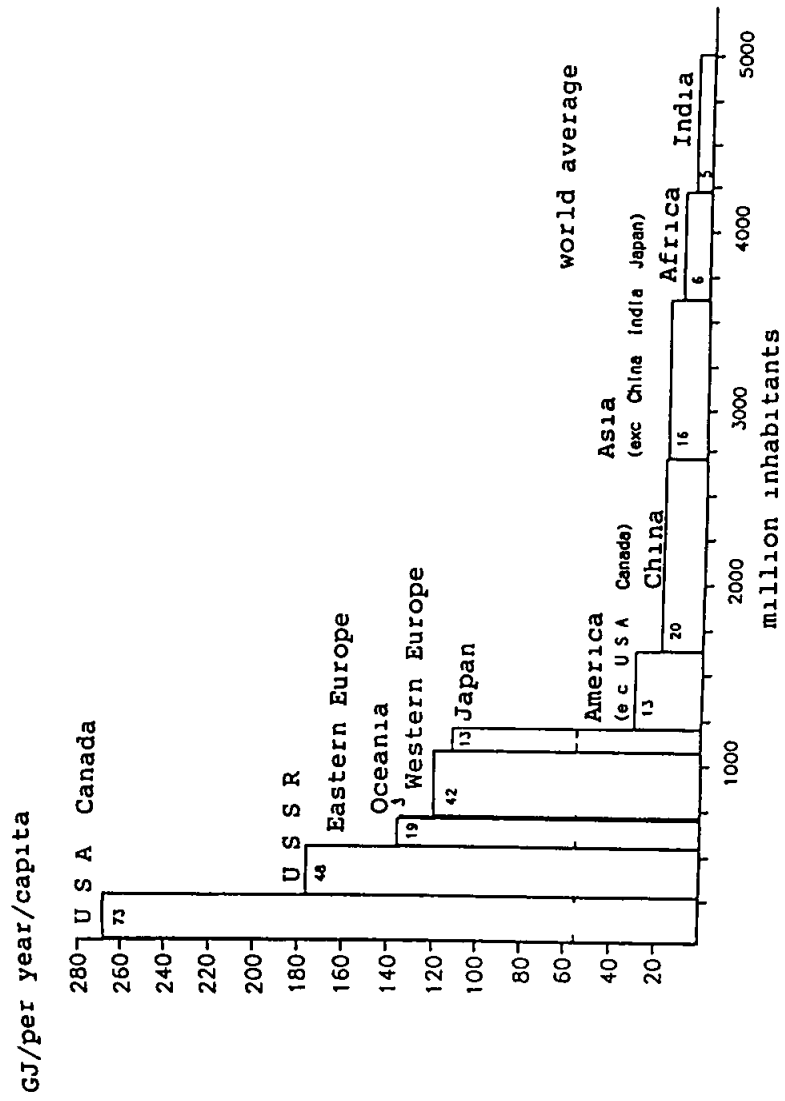
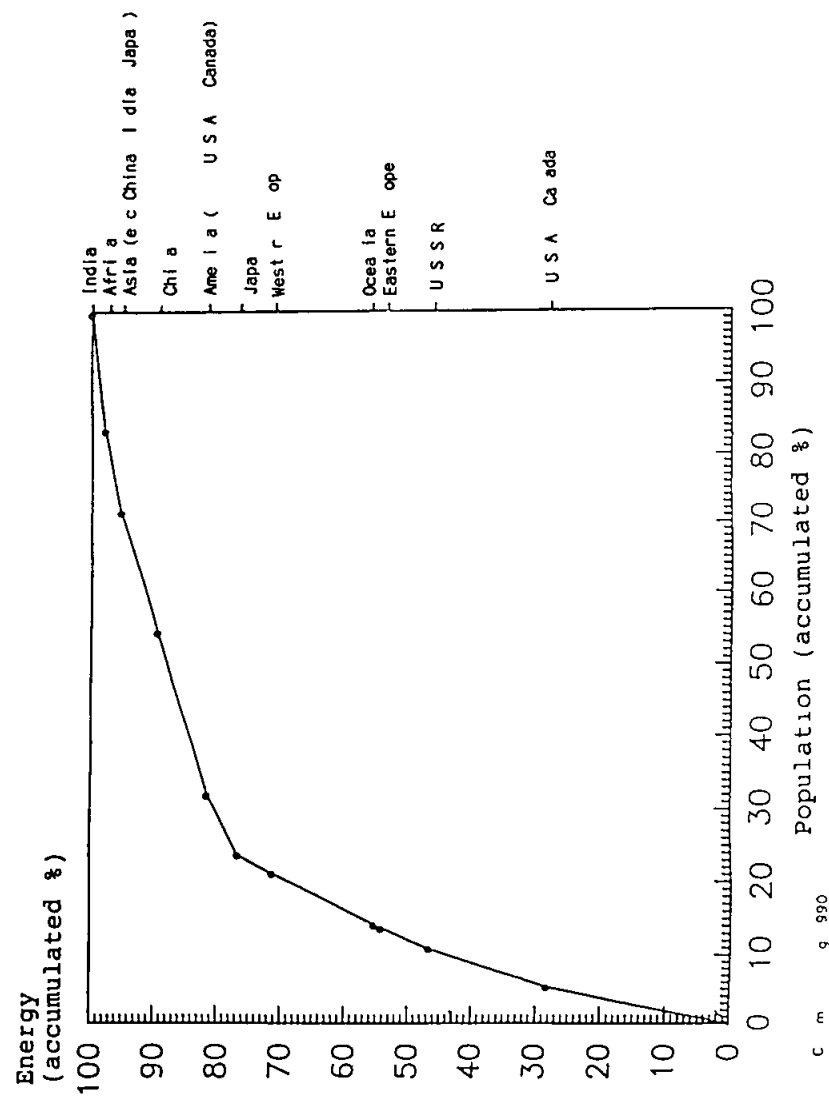


Figure 7 Energy Consumption by Geographical Area



C m P 9 1990

Figure 8



C m 9 990

Table 3 Estimated Forest Damage in Europe 1988

Country or Area	Total Forest Area	Estimated Damaged Area	Share of Total
Czechoslovakia	4,578	3,250	71
Czechia	2,034	1,302	64
USSR	2,200	1,408	64
East Germany	1,795	933	52
West Germany	7,360	3,827	52
Turkey	150	77	51
Norway	5,925	2,963	50
Denmark	466	228	49
Poland	8,654	4,240	49
Netherlands	311	149	48
Belgium	115	53	46
East Germany	2,955	1,300	44
Belgium	3,627	1,560	43
Switzerland	1,186	510	43
Luxembourg	88	37	42
Finland	20,059	7,823	39
Sweden	23,700	9,243	39
Belgium	248	87	35
Yugoslavia	4,889	1,564	32
Spain	11,792	3,656	31
Ireland	334	100	30
Austria	3,754	1,089	29
France	14,440	3,321	23
Germany	1,637	360	22
Italy	1,810	380	21
Portugal	307	61	20
Other	3,060	122	4
TOTAL	140,956	49,647	35

Table 3 Estimated Forest Damage in Europe 1988

Country or Area: Czechoslovakia, Czechia, USSR, East Germany, West Germany, Turkey, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Netherlands, Belgium, East Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Finland, Sweden, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Spain, Ireland, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Other, TOTAL

Total Forest Area: 4,578, 2,034, 2,200, 1,795, 7,360, 150, 5,925, 466, 8,654, 311, 115, 2,955, 3,627, 1,186, 88, 20,059, 23,700, 248, 4,889, 11,792, 334, 3,754, 14,440, 1,637, 1,810, 307, 3,060, 140,956

Estimated Damaged Area: 3,250, 1,302, 1,408, 933, 3,827, 77, 2,963, 228, 4,240, 149, 53, 1,300, 1,560, 510, 37, 7,823, 9,243, 360, 380, 61, 122, 49,647

Share of Total: 71, 64, 64, 52, 52, 51, 50, 49, 49, 48, 46, 44, 43, 43, 42, 39, 39, 35, 32, 31, 30, 29, 23, 22, 21, 20, 4, 35

CHAPTER II

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND REGIONS

1 Meridian Corporation Energy Systems Emissions and Material Requirements Prepared for the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Renewable Energy US Department of Energy Washington DC February 1989 pp 25-29

2 Carbon Dioxide data adapted by the Council for Renewable Energy Education from Dr Robert L San Martin Deputy Assistant Secretary for Renewable Energy Environmental Emissions from Energy Technology Systems The Total Fuel Cycle US Department of Energy Washington DC Spng 1989 p 5 Other emissions data from Assistant Secretary for Environment Safety and Health Energy Technologies and the Environment Information Handbook Office of Environmental Analysis US Department of Energy October 1988 pp 333-334

Table prepared by the Council for Renewable Energy Education Phone 703/522 5305

With Biomass Fuel Regrowth Program TSP Total Suspended Particulates NA Not Applicable TR Trace Elements

Note The total fuel cycle includes resource/fuel extraction facility construction and plant operation

Energy Source	CO ₂	NO _x	SO _x	TSP	CO	HC	Nuclear Waste	Total
CONVENTIONAL COAL	1058 191	2 986	2 971	1 626	0 267	0 102	NA	1 066 143
FLUIDIZED BED COAL	1057 090	1 551	2 968	1 624	0 267	0 102	NA	1 063 602
NATURAL GAS IGCC	823 993	0 251	0 336	1 176	NA	NA	NA	825 756
NUCLEAR	8 590	0 034	0 029	0 003	0 018	0 001	3 641	12 316
PHOTOVOLTAIC	5 890	0 008	0 023	0 017	0 003	0 002	NA	5 943
BIOMASS ²	0*	0 614	0 154	0 512	11 361	0 768	NA	13 409
GEOTHERMAL	56 8	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR	NA	56 8
WIND	7 4	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR	NA	7 4
SOLAR THERMAL	3 6	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR	NA	3 6
HYDROPOWER	6 55	TR	TR	TR	TR	TR	NA	6 55

Table 5 EMISSIONS OF POLLUTANTS FROM ELECTRIC POWER GENERATION THE TOTAL FUEL CYCLE! (Tons per Gigawatt Hour)

GODWIN SOGOLO

THE FUTURES OF DEMOCRACY & PARTICIPATION IN EVERYDAY LIFE THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

The widespread political changes in Eastern Europe particularly the more recent upheavals in the Soviet Union are manifestations of the inherent conflict between democracy defined in terms of free political participation and authoritarianism marked by the absence of free choice. African nations are also part of this wave of political changes with the upsurge of pro-democracy movements in countries such as Zaïre, Cameroon, Togo, Niger, Republic Congo, Brazzaville, Madagascar, Ivory Coast etc. In other parts of Africa where the pro-democratic tempo is less dramatic it has taken the subtle but open form of aversion to military dictatorship or a rejection of the one party system in preference for multi party democracy. Such are for instance Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique and other African nations.

Almost without exception contemporary African political systems have become extremely dictatorial in style. The explanation for this vogue however varies from one analyst to another. Some political scientists claim for instance that the current style of political administration in Africa is rooted in the people's traditional political systems which were dictatorial while others argue that it was inspired as a necessary consequence of the colonial experience that swept through the continent.

The historical facts of precolonial African political systems do not generate as much controversy as the interpretation given to the facts. Which is not to say there is total agreement about the forms of political administration that existed in Africa before the continent was exposed to outside influences. In spite however of the variations in viewpoints it seems there is a great deal of common grounds on what Africans believed about the origins and nature of the state, the authority of the ruler, the rights of the individuals and the relationship between the state and the citizen. What remains controversial is the

connection between that past and contemporary political development.

Until recently there was no coherent body of political thought that described the pattern of administration in traditional African societies. It is beyond doubt however that the systems of political organization that existed were theocratic, which is to say that religion provided the explanation for the origin of the state and the justification of the authority of the ruler. Religion also served as the measure through which Africans identified the limits of the ruler's power, the rights of the citizens as well as standards by which behaviour was judged, crime identified and punishment apportioned.

Religion apart, one other important factor in the political world view of traditional Africans was the role of kinship in social organization. This is by no means an African peculiarity. Kinship bond has in fact long been identified everywhere as the chief character of primitive societies as distinct from civilized ones. H. S. Maine emphasizes the point

All ancient societies regard themselves as having proceeded from one original stock and even laboured under an incapacity for comprehending any reason except this for holding together in political union. The history of political ideas begins in fact with the assumption that kinship in blood is the sole possible ground of community in political functions. (1)

Although Maine thinks that kinship has lost its significance in modern socio-political systems, the fact is that this social feature remains a central element in the political formations of contemporary African societies. In other words, African political thought still rests predominantly on an organic conception of a socio-political order based on the natural formation of kinship. This conception is strengthened by the va-

rious myths of creation that continue to serve the primordial function of communal identities

There is hardly an African community without its own myth of creation. And although such myths are about how the world came to be what it is, they embody the people's beliefs about the structure of society and patterns of social relations. The Yoruba people of Southern Nigeria for instance have a myth of origin which Basil Davidson describes as follows

When God decided to make a homeland for mankind, he sent down from Heaven a powerful spirit to create the Earth. This archangel Orishanla managed the work in four days, appointing the fifth for worship and rest. Having created the Earth, God began to people it with mankind, beginning with Yoruba. The first men and women were born at Ife. Orishanla shared the work of ordering the Earth with other spirits. Prominent among these was Oduwa (who) became the first King of Ife. From Ife his children went out to become the kings and queens of other sections of Yoruba (2)

Of course, the Yoruba people do not understand this myth to be a historical reality. Yet it has great significance in terms of social relationship, the exercise of authority and the people's perception of political obligation.

The importance of these historical antecedents, whether myth or reality, is that they define the people's conception of the nature of the state and their relationship to it. Femi Ogburn believes, for instance, that in Africa, common descent is the underlying force and the justification for all social existence, and therefore that the idea of the state with its impersonal institutions and primary emphasis on geographical continuity did not exist in traditional African political imagination (3). And he thinks that this primordial sense of attachment has not been significantly affected by political modernization.

Modern democracy is anchored on the crucial issue of the legitimization of power. And this is where African myths of descent, particularly in their supernatural flavour, have always played a significant role. The belief was and is still strongly held in most African societies that rulers derive their mandate from some divine sources from which society also emerged. Part of this belief is that the succession to leadership role is also legitimized by the myth of descent and those forces which the group identifies as the source of its origin. The situation is vividly presented by K. Oberg when he says that among the Ankole of Western Uganda, the position of the Mugabe (King) was exalted, his authority supreme, his leadership all embracing. His high status sanctioned in the first place by his descent from Rubinda, the original

creator of the Abarinda dynasty, and in the second place by his possession of the symbol of kinship (4)

In addition to the myths of descent, the exercise of political power in Africa was also grounded in the consensus of the people whose force and authority were believed to be behind the actions of the rulers. In other words, power was derived from the people and held in trust for them. The complex network of beliefs that gave legitimacy to the authority of the rulers was held together by the religion of the community. Note that the situation is similar in many respects to the political philosophy of medieval Europe, as evident from the works of St. Augustine. St. Thomas Aquinas and other thinkers of that era who tried to defend the superior rights of the Church against all secular theories of power.

As it was in the Europe of medieval times, African political systems tended towards totalitarianism. In some cases, African monarchs wielded absolute undiluted powers. Such, for instance, were the powers vested on the Mugabe (King) of the Akole.

Physical, magical and religious powers were vested in the king's person. The legal status gave him the highest political authority. Appointments to office were ultimately in his hand, as were the decision for war or peace. He had the right to punish individuals by death, exile, beating, torture and cursing. The Mugabe was strictly speaking above the law. No man could take legal action against him for there was no authority higher than the Mugabe before which he could be accused, tried and sentenced (5).

The case of the Akole seems to lend support to the position of historians who claim that African traditional political systems were autocratic and authoritarian. V. G. Simiyu argues for this position on two main grounds (6). First, according to Simiyu, African political structures were so geared to gerontocracy that recruitment into the leadership class was exclusive to members of the royalty and participation limited to the immediate members of the ruling aristocracy. Second, the rules of procedure were such as to strengthen the authoritarian tendencies of despotic leaders rather than serve as a check against their excesses. Simiyu thus rejects the view that traditional African systems were a model of democracy. Nor does he accept the claim to egalitarianism which Julius Nyerere attributes to these societies.

Simiyu's point is valid, but not entirely. Insofar as political recruitment and participation were concerned, traditional African systems were hardly democratic. But the claim that there were no checks against the excesses of African rulers has no historical support. Powerful though African monarchs were, their

powers were circumscribed by the customs and usages of their kingdoms. The kings were expected to work within a structure characterized by inhibitions and social control. In fact, the social system prescribed elaborate and explicit rules of behaviour and a king had to forfeit the right to rule if his conduct fell below expectation.

Besides several African societies did not operate a centralized political system. Several cultures were segmented and in such societies power was collectively shared and administered by many operating within a council of elders. And although the judicial, political and ecclesiastical powers of the society might be vested in such a council, the tendency towards tyranny was forestalled by the representativeness and pluralism of its members. That is why N. Sithole believes that some African political systems operated on the principle of popular choice and why he calls it bad history and bad civics to say that Africans never had democracy until the coming of the white man to Africa (7).

There is abundant anthropological evidence to support the claim that where the threat of tyranny existed or where a ruler abused his power and authority, the people had the residual right to remove him. In other words, a king's right to rule was questioned by the people the moment he appeared to have desecrated his position of honour. As Fortes and Evans-Pritchard put it, 'An African ruler is not to his people merely a person who can enforce his will on them. He is the axis of their political relations, the symbol of their unity and exclusiveness and the embodiment of their essential values' (8). Any ruler therefore who failed as the custodian of the communal values was expected to abdicate, go on exile or even commit suicide. On the part of the citizens, the obligation to conform was automatic once the ruler's conduct was beyond question. That way, a balance was struck between leadership and followership in keeping with the norms of the community, thereby promoting the common good.

Such were the ideals of the African political heritage. But as in any society, there were abuses, violation of rights, ruthlessness and in some cases unimaginable atrocities. The question as to whether the systems were or were not democratic is a fruitless exercise best left in the hands of academic historians. My impression, however, is that the past of African politics was far more decent than what exists today. However, let us now turn to the important issue of how that past was transformed into the present and where the direction to which the future points.

Colonialism has come to be accepted as the dividing line between the African past and present. For Africa, the colonial experience was, as Peter Ekeh aptly

characterises it, an epoch comparable in the profound changes it brought to the industrial revolution in England and the French revolution.

In addition to the disparate activities of the colonizers and the colonized, and in addition to the colonial situation, colonialism may be considered as a social movement of epochal dimensions whose enduring significance beyond the life span of the colonial situation lies in the social formations developed from the volcanic sized social changes provoked into existence by the confrontations, contradictions and incompatibilities in the colonial situation (9).

Among the profound changes which Ekeh has in mind are (i) the transformed indigenous social structures such as the village community, chieftancy and kinship; (ii) migrated social structures which include the institutions of modern state apparatus like legislatures, law courts, bureaucracy, universities, political parties and the military; all imported wholesale from the metropolitan countries; and (iii) emergent social structures which were neither indigenous nor migrant but merged to meet societal needs of the new colonial environment, e.g. tribalism and ethnicity. Colonialism came therefore with new and artificial state structures that were strange to diverse and sometimes incompatible groups of people. Plus that, it thrust Africa into the world capitalist system dominated by metropolitan forces that operate under harsh individualism, a new world in which Africans were ill-equipped to compete. And as a result, the continent is now enmeshed in a predicament marked by underdevelopment, fragile state structure and the crisis of legitimacy.

Africa's special predicament today is the dual search for development with one hand and democracy with the other. By development, I mean increased capacity of individuals and collectivities to cope with internal and external demands and by democracy, I mean mass participation in the process of decision making. The dilemma is that the chances of getting the two at the same time are very much limited. And this is a fact that ought to have been obvious to African leaders since the attainment of independence. The logic of the relation between development and democracy is not exactly the chicken and egg sort. It is most unlikely for democracy to precede development, at best the two may proceed hand in hand.

The mistake by African nationalists soon after independence was that they were overzealous in propaganda commitment to Western type democracy and patterns of development. And because they set the expectations so high for the people, disillusionment did not take long to come. The leaders might have had noble intentions, but they were self-deceived in operating with certain ideals of the good life. And it did

not take long before the stark realities faced them
 A great deal of the problems were internal. Development is a gradual process which thrives only under certain conditions one of which is social harmony the other discipline. The foundation for these two conditions were shaky at the departure of the colonial powers. Plus that political independence in Africa was weighed down by continued economic dependency on erstwhile colonial masters whose influence was still much around.

After a few years of grace the economic fortunes of independent African went on the downward turn. As Mugenyi describes the situation as it was a few years in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration of 1967

When the political music played progress fell rapidly behind objectives. Production declined rapidly. Services collapsed. Infrastructure suffered. Incomes tumbled. Taxes increased. Supplies fluctuated or vanished. The cost of living jumped. Bureaucratic bottlenecks multiplied. Efficiency nose dived. Foreign debt mounted. Self reliance wobbled badly. Disillusionment set in. The country simply found its overall performance suffering multiple failures. And mark this the political music played on (10)

It is difficult to think of a better painting of the predicament of African nations the very invitation to international financial predators IMF World Bank and Western Clubs to devour whatever is left.

Politically the evidence is all too glaring. No only do post colonial African nations have a poor endurance record in civilian politics there has been increasing involvement of the military who now surplanted political authority with ease. The result is a gradual erosion of liberties retrogression into authoritarianism and its attendant denial of the masses of the people a say in matters that affect their destiny. And the situation has been aggravated by the economic vulnerability of African states. In fact Africa's economic predicament is both the cause as well as the result of upsurge of political authoritarianism in the continent.

The response by African leaders and statesmen has been to adopt political gimmicks flagging the same commitment to development and democracy. The difference is that rhetorics alone are no longer capable of calming increasing mass disenchantment caused by the widening gap between promise and fulfillment. Instead they started to resort to totalitarianism repressive tactics and violation of human rights the very antithesis of the democratic principles they proclaim. With military coups and the involvement of soldiers in politics the rudiments of political structure that existed have been uprooted and civilian politics

fractured. As Mugenyi aptly puts it. The African continent quickly got accustomed to government by acquiescence as the distrust of democracy got consummated in less than a decade. (11) Of equal outrage and with greater dishonesty is the attempt by some African leaders to rationalize the one party system of government on the excuse that there were no formal oppositions in traditional African political systems. Such leaders should be persuaded to accept the fact that all attempts to apply authoritarian measures in bringing development to their nations have failed. Their economic problems will be better managed through mass participation and willing instead of coerced sacrifice by the masses of the people.

Democracy in any of its variants seems no longer to exist in Africa. The issue of participation does not therefore arise at any rate not until the results of the results of the recent wave of democratic movements sweeping across the entire world. The future however looks bright for the obvious reason that freedom is an integral part of man and therefore must necessarily survive authoritarianism.

With Africa my optimism is even greater. Most African leaders cannot afford to ignore the call for democratic reforms. To do so is to risk internal social unrest which can easily be engineered by powerful Western nations. This is not to insinuate that the activities of predemocratic movements and national conferences in certain African countries are masterminded by those foreign nations. That may well be the case. Already some Western nations and financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank have started to insist on democratic reforms as a precondition for granting aid to certain needy economies. And there are many such countries in Africa most of which happen to be operating dictatorial regimes. Western nations need to be more sympathetic to the economic plight of these nations by applying nobler methods instead of coercive economic pressures.

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- (10) Meddi Mugenyi 'Development First Democracy Second' A Comment on Minimalist Democracy in W O Oyugi and A Gitonga (eds) op cit p 151

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SAMUEL DECALO

DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA TOWARDS THE 21ST CENTURY

The dramatic changes in East Europe have had profound repercussions throughout the globe. As Bates notes, not since the mid 19th century have so many popular uprisings toppled rulers and filled the boulevards with crowds affirming freedom and self governance. (1) Least expected, possibly pro democracy pressures coalesced in Africa where it cannot be said that democracy has failed because in most countries it has never been tried. (2) Taking observers by surprise, who had assumed that with a few exceptions the limits of democratic development in the world may well have been reached. (3) If at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall 38 of sub-Saharan Africa's 45 states were governed by one-party systems 18 months later military rule was in retreat. All the People's Republics were dismantled and competitive multiparty elections, a free press and judiciary were back in vogue as civilian groups reclaimed long lost political thrones and the process of democratization was methodically changing the political map of the continent.

The Collapse of the Authoritarian State

Malevolent dictatorships apart, (4) political choice had been constrained on assumptions that multipartism leads to a system of institutionalized tribal and ethnic quinquennial warfare euphemistically known as elections [which] contributes an open invitation to anarchy and disunity. (5) Formal opposition groups were seen as unnecessary in developing polities with primary goals of nation building and economic development. In Malawi this has even been justified on theological grounds: there is no opposition in Heaven. God himself does not want opposition; that is why we chased Satan away. Why should Kamuzu [President Banda] have opposition? (6) And even if development oriented authoritarian systems ensue, the basis would be laid for future generations that can then partake of democracy's forbidden fruits. Even after the trauma in East Europe a few continued

arguing about the irrelevance to Africa of Opposition since the circumstances which made us rally behind the one party system have not changed. Our situation today is in no way similar to the one in Europe. (7) Kaunda even suggested that what we have been doing ever since our hard won independence in East Europe and the Soviet Union are starting to do only now. (8)

Without delving into the controversy surrounding one party democracy, suggested correlations between one party rule, consensual governance and economic growth are empirically negated in Africa. (9) In 1991 Nyerere, who several years previously stunned Africa by declaring Socialism was Dead in Tanzania, equally shocked his countrymen by asking them not to be dogmatic and think that a single party is God's wish, especially one not close to the people stagnating, losing vitality and therefore needing competition to re-invigorate it. (10) Others had harsher words for single party rule, seen as having degenerated into a form of oligarchic patrimonialism that was even unknown in pre-colonial Africa. (11) Contribution to the absence of democracy has not axiomatically globally meant economic decline, but in Africa there has been neither democracy nor economic growth, rather both authoritarian government and economic decay.

One cannot exaggerate the psychological effect in Africa of the trial and execution of Ceausescu since Africans could see that their own countries departures from democratic standards closely parallel defects exposed in Eastern Europe. (13) Events in Eastern Europe were thus a catalyst for the democratic convulsion in a continent more than ripe for upheaval. For apart from political and moral decay, Africa was economically bankrupt. African national debts puny compared to Latin America's carry repayment loads much more onerous, reaching 2000% for Gambia and the continent's total debt amounts to its entire

annual GDP and 370% of total export earnings (14) Africa is also not just the poorest continent but the only one backsliding advances eroded by high birth rates and economic mismanagement Marginalized Africa was not suffering from a temporary crisis but from a lasting inability to make itself part of the world economy and to hold onto its share of the market there let alone increase its share (15) The World Bank has estimated that within 25 years the continent will need twice current amounts of foodstuffs hospitals schools and personnel merely to maintain existing standards (16)

By 1990 most African populations were also larger (up to 300%) with greater needs more urban less traditional with heightened expectations containing higher percentages of educated youth more aware of democratic options hurting from inflation and recession and seething at authoritarian regimes with little legitimacy intent on ruling forever Civic and ecological pressure groups had also sprung up monitoring violations for overseas bodies in short the Africa of 1990 was far different from that of 1960 Such legitimacy voids and changed societal conditions assured that no state can count itself safe from a wind of change once it starts to blow (17) The call for democracy in Africa was thus not just for a political birthright but for a basic revision of the charter of the State to be underpinned by political liberalism democracy accountability At the same time powerful external pressures stemming from the changed international picture meshed with internal vectors for change assuring the pro democracy movement success

The collapse of Marxism created a unipolar world eliminated the Cold War and devalued the global worth of Africa African states were transformed from Cold War pawns into international cluter Even France jealously guarding former colonies against foreign encroachments relaxed her bear hug This disengagement took place against a background of disinvestment from Africa of private capital that in 1988 reached an annual net outflow of \$824 million Private capitalists dismayed by Africa's economic slide and attracted by opportunities in East Europe and post 1992 EEC were only thinking of packing their bags and quitting Africa Black Africa no longer interests economic circles Deprived of means of blackmailing Paris its leaders have a smaller and smaller margin for manoeuvre (18)

States militarily dependent upon the Soviet Union collapsed first as their patron withdrew its support With military solutions to internal conflicts no longer feasible (Angola Mozambique Ethiopia) such states commenced conciliatory overtures (In Ethiopia this was impossible due to the generalized nature of

the conflict) Other Afro Marxist states followed suit some reluctantly (Congo) others driven by fiscal bankruptcy (Benin) for as the Chairman of Zambia's Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) put it if the originators of Socialism have rejected it as inappropriate who were African imitators to become its main proponents? (19)

At the same time came international pressures for better governance (an end to corruption) more democratization (civic and human rights) and market economies The President of the World Bank blunted noted his fear that many of Africa's leaders have been more concerned about retaining power than about the long term development interest of their people (20) even as IMF lashed out at the vast amounts of foreign aid being transformed into an outward flood of capital and the buying of big apartments in nice European countries (21) This frustration of international donors received a boost from Paris that also began imposing aid conditionalities

For long President Mitterrand had been seeking to severe residual Gaullist commitments to oppressive African kleptomaniac client states France's eroding stake in Africa (22) provided the backdrop for a new line from Paris Early in 1990 a senior official suggested a total disengagement from Africa that was exporting to Europe \$1.8 billion CFAF in bank notes stuffed in suitcases and diplomatic bags proving that the personal fortunes of Africa's elites outside the continent were greater than the debts of the countries in question (23) Progressively France conveyed its new policy political conditionalities with levels of aid dictated by the pace of reforms More ominously France renounced earlier interpretations of mutual defence treaties that had led France to sustain through force of arms African regimes threatened by local insurrection (24) And at the June 1990 Francophonie summit meeting at La Baule France reiterated the need to associate the relevant population more closely with the construction of their political social and economic future (25)

Two leaders Houphouet Boigny and Bongo saw the handwriting on the wall and commenced liberalization another Kerekou in insolvent Marxist Benin was already being bulldozed to implement reform But Mitterrand's right to prescribe reforms was rejected by others as neo colonialism Some were subsequently to discover their feet of clay without French stabilizing aid Hissene Habre for example viewed himself immune to pressure from Paris being a bulwark against Libyan designs on a Chad French troops had twice militarily defended (26) Habre's unwillingness to democratize sealed his fate French troops in Chad did not budge from their bases as Habre's former Chief of Staff Idriss Deby swept across the Sudanese border with his troops to chase

Habre into exile pledging prompt competitive elections Other leaders holding out against democratic pressures got the message and the democracy bandwagon entered into high gear

Paradoxically French initial demands for reform were minimalist Paris did not counsel what soon was to become the norm National Conferences leading to constitutional revisions and full fledged multiparty systems the catchwords [were] governance and democratization rather than democracy or multi partyism less corruption more financial accountability better human rights observance and freer judiciary and media rather than completely open multiparty systems for which most Africanists think Africa is not yet suited or equipped (27) The first country to democratize Marxist Benin received counsel against multipartyism and for a one party system offering candidate choice at constituency level But the democratic flood gates could not be closed and France's model was at that very moment being rejected by mass demonstrations in Abidjan demanding full freedom of political association

If change came to Francophone Africa due to pressure from Paris and to Marxist Africa as the result of the eclipse of Marxism other states while studiously avoiding comparisons slowly reached the inescapable conclusion that the parallels between what has transpired in Eastern Europe and the mounting pressures for change on the continent are becoming increasingly difficult to ignore (28) yielding to populist demands for a return to square one the multipartyism of the immediate pre and post independence era Some tried to hold out complaining they could not implement destabilizing structural Adjustment Programs without strong regimes an argument sustained by some scholars who perceive the need in the Third World for developmental dictators (29) But hard nosed World Bank/IMF reassessments of the long term value and utility of SAPs in the absence of political pre condition undermined this argument The path breaking conclusions of the World Bank about Africa's prospects of sustained growth sees the continent having no chance of attaining economic development unless it first moves squarely into modalities of governance that include political accountability participatory politics and a free market economy

Specifically underlying the litany of Africa's problems is a crisis of governance history suggests that political legitimacy and consensus are a precondition for sustainable development (30) The World Bank Report posits a causal relationship between democracy and sustained growth claiming it is no mere chance that Botswana and Mauritius Africa's top two economic performers are the only ones with true multiparty systems while other countries also

with high agrarian growth rates Kenya Côte d'Ivoire and Malawi similarly manifest higher levels of political accountability than those with depressed growth scores Even radicals agree there is a definite correlation between the lack of democracy in African politics and deterioration in socio economic conditions (31) As Nigerian Claude Ake notes the persistence of underdevelopment is related to lack of democracy in Africa democracy is not just a con summatory value but also an instrumentalist one (32) Democracy is needed because it provides a politically enabling atmosphere for economic development

In 1991 the USAID explicitly endorsed that there is growing evidence that open societies that value individual rights respect the rule of the law and have open accountable governments provide better opportunities for sustained economic development than do closed systems which stifle individual initiative In March US foreign aid guidelines were spelled out in Congress foreign aid to individual countries will take into account their progress towards establishing democracy on an equal footing with progress towards economic reforms and the establishment of a market oriented economy (33) consistent with linkages postulated by some scholars between democracy a free market economy and development Lindblom best puts it Only within market oriented systems does political democracy arise Not all market oriented systems are democratic but every democratic system is also a market oriented system Apparently for reasons that are not wholly understood political democracy has been unable to exist except when coupled with the market An extraordinary proposition it has so far held without exception (34)

Redemocratization and its Constraints

Redemocratization is in its middle stages in Africa today Only a handful of countries (e.g. Benin Cape Verde Côte d'Ivoire Gabon) have completed structural reorganization civilianization (in the case of military regimes) and held competitive elections Most are only commencing on the road of reform some (Congo Ghana Niger Zambia Cameroon) with visible reluctance In some African autocrats are either haggling with pro democracy movements (Sierra Leone Zaire) or flatly resisting pressures (C.A.R. Equatorial Guinea Malawi) Still several future patterns can clearly be discerned as well as the some of the basic constraints on the new democracies in Africa

First there is no doubt the pro democracy pressure is continental (indeed global) and will only spare those few existing democracies i.e. Botswana Gambia Mauritius Namibia Senegal Oppressive states

(Equatorial Guinea, Zaïre) or those whose departure from democratic standards closely parallel defects exposed in Eastern Europe. The supremacy of the party over the government, the vanguard party concept, politicisation of the public service and security services, monopoly of party power in perpetuity, subordination of mass organisations (such as trade unions, women's and youth groups, the media etc.) to party control, the cult of personality, abuses of power including corruption, permanent states of emergency (35) are being rejected in toto together with their leadership hierarchies. Military regimes have also fared poorly (Benin, Chad, Ethiopia, Mali) and are likely to continue doing so in the future as they are swamped by the forces of democracy they are forced to release.

On the other hand, those civilian leaders who grasped the import and promptly came to terms with the new rules of the game (by creating new political space) have been able to survive the trauma at times spreading at the same pace in every country. Additional African leaders can avoid political eclipse if they compromise early. Bongo and Houphouët-Boigny in Gabon and Côte d'Ivoire respectively offer examples of how relaxing one's grip on the political reins can assure continuity in office with enhanced status whereas twelve months ago their political futures were to a great extent in doubt.

Properly assessing pressures for change and reacting accordingly has allowed African leaders to ride the democracy tiger and tame it. They have been able to project the image of leading the process of reform, distancing themselves from the abuses of their own ancient regimes. Avoiding more threatening later demands through flexibility when political opposition is still disorganised and political reform still a dream, such leaders are able to dictate the pace of reform and its ground rules, maintaining their central role in the new democratic order being born. The latter has usually been a bicephalous executive accountable to a more powerful National Assembly with incumbent Presidents withdrawing to an above politics Presidency.

If democratization continues to its logical conclusion in the continent, what is its significance and prospects of survival? What will have been attained and with continued external pressure can to some extent be sustained? Is Africa's political rebirth a return to square one, decolonization but from domestic hegemonic rulers. Given the humiliating aid conditionalities this second independence is in effect a recolonization by global donors, now firmly in the saddle in a unipolar world with only one source of development capital. Still, countries completing the process will have hammered out most via National Conferences a new democratic charter for the African State.

a dispensation to govern providing political space expanded modes of representation and participation for all, accountability of executives, strengthened legislatures, commitments to liberal market economies, respect for civic and human rights, a free press and judiciary (36).

Such attainments are of monumental import but also carry negative repercussions. For the not-by-democracy-alone argument is not without validity, few economic pay-offs are in the offing for most African states since in substance nothing has changed with political democratization and little is likely to do so in the near term. As one observer put it with respect to Zambia, neither democracy nor Kaunda's ouster in Lusaka will solve a single problem, indeed in the short run things are likely to get worse (37).

The economic benefits of democratization are minimal because any economic development arising from politically enabling atmospheres, a contentious question itself, will only accrue in the distant future while African states are in economic collapse now. Most have few economic potentials of any significance (many literally none) that could attract foreign capital, which is why entrepreneurs did not flock into them in the past irrespective of ideology or level of democracy! And contemporary conditionalities do not dangle prospects of increased aid but continuation of existing levels within the context of widespread donor fatigue with the inability of any African state to pull itself up by its bootstraps. As a former US Assistant Secretary of State put it, most secretaries of state have just wanted to keep African issues off their desks. The idea of putting big money into African economic development remains anathema (38).

But democratization has opened powerful floodgates swamping states with scores of political parties, most narrow ethnic and personal and thousands of power aspirants (39). Ethnic voting, inter-ethnic frictions and political intimidation have spilled into the life of the new democracies as if lengthy one-party interregnums never took place. In Nigeria, even before the transition to civilian rule ends the flaws of a soon-to-come civilian regime are already visible. Periodic bouts of cleansing by military rule have not affected Nigeria's penchant for the worst forms of unstable democracy, endless rivalries [that] help explain the general aversion to multi-party systems across much of Africa (40).

Voting patterns in Africa's elections have been on predictable ethnic lines, underscoring the continued relevance of sub-nationalism three decades after statehood. Politicized ethnicity remains the most vibrant force in Africa's syncretic, marginal, non-national states (as it remains in the Europe of today), a reminder

that politics in the new democracies will for the foreseeable future reflect all the deleterious and divisive effects of this tug of war. The destabilizing potentials of ethnic politics combined with persevering economic decay against backgrounds of psychologically heightened expectations attending democratization produces explosive results. Multiparty elections do transform expressions of principle to discussions of rules (41) but greater give and take is required which conditions of scarcity and zero-sum mentalities will likely prevent. Jackson and Rosberg remind us that in many countries the problem of establishing democracy is secondary to the problem of establishing order, stability and civility [since] in more than a few countries this basic foundation is still lacking (42).

The collapse of authoritarian rule has evoked feelings that the future is open and that ideals and decisions count as much as interests and structures (43) but the experience of other regions in transition from authoritarianism suggests significant economic advances are not inevitable. Scholars question Lindblom's axiom about a democracy development correlation or the World Bank's linkage of low State roles in the economy and better governance, arguing that within the context of weak states only a bureaucratic-authoritarian state can contain fissiparous tensions and lead to a free market economy (44). Even as born-again radicals find they can jettison Lenin without violence to Marxism, arguing that Africa cannot have bourgeois democracy so long as there is no proper bourgeoisie (45).

Finally, on praxiological grounds, some observers now doubt the wisdom of linking aid to a Western style democracy that Africa may not be ready for (46). Arguing that surgically precise conditionalities might have been better, stressing respect for human rights or linking aid to specific reforms, e.g. dismantling of deficitary state sectors, cutting bloated civil services, strict accounting for development aid etc., leaving intact chastened policy circumscribed semi-authoritarian regimes (weeded of obnoxious hybrids) necessary to keep a lid on societal frustrations as they implement unpopular policies necessary to bring an economic turnaround.

Such disconcerting second thoughts have emerged with the realization that despite redemocratization leaders in Africa face identical destabilizing pressures: their non-democratic brethren (often themselves) used to face Botswana and their pre-1990 antecedents for example, have been confronted by volatile student strikes over identical bread and butter issues, decrepit campuses, poor libraries, instructors and food, late payment of stipends etc., both the authoritarian Habre and the democratic Deby faced

mass urban strikes in Ndjamena for little has changed in the economic domain.

Nor is the new capital flowing into Côte d'Ivoire despite the country's democratization. Indeed, the outflow of capital is at its severest in Abidjan where private business has been leaving the country for years and there is a pattern of net disinvestment (47). Insolvent despite austerity measures by a technocrat cabinet by 1991, Africa's former economic miracle was considering defaulting on its debt. Despite his new executive Premier Houphouët-Boigny still calls the shots. Existing belt-tightening has not ameliorated the fiscal crisis and more drastic policies would be politically suicidal. They would involve slashing the 130,000 strong civil service and its salaries, privatizing the last parastatals and further trimming producer prices whose depressed level has already brought a decline in agrarian production and a 75% drop in farmers' income. Telling is the fact that even such last-ditch economic squeezes, if embarked upon would still be petty compared to Abidjan's debt payments that in 1991 equalled fully 100% of Côte d'Ivoire's anticipated State revenues.

Such factors constrain democracy in Africa by making it more difficult of attainment but they are also set within a mechanistic conception of democracy which is after all a political system sustained by democratic values. These are not necessarily absent in Africa but are found at subnational levels where kinmen are sacred while neighbours may be historic enemies. Even where a sense of nationhood begins to spread, societal scarcity cannot but produce zero-sum mentalities and modalities of interaction which by definition are non-democratic and this apart from the intermittent percolation to power of individuals with aberrant personalities eroding whatever democracy may exist. A heritage of authoritarian colonial and post-independence rule and a context of scarcity and difficulty to sustain. Hence the poignant conclusion that it would be unrealistic to think that such countries can suddenly reverse course and institutionalize stable democratic government simply by changing leaders, constitutions and/or public mentalities. If progress is made toward developing democratic government, it is likely to be gradual, messy, fitful and slow with many imperfections along the way (48).

Some countries (e.g. Botswana and Mauritius) have of course long ago independently forged their democratic path. Others with more astute leadership and with external neo-colonial bondages and aid keeping them in line are likely to surmount the obstacles posed by democracy, developing relatively stable multiparty democratic systems. But it is hard to escape the conclusion that many others in the absence of munificent benefactors and especially when current global vogues with democracy go out of style will

be seen as irrelevant and allowed to drift their own way backsliding into political strife social chaos single party and military rule

Footnotes

- (1) Robert H Bates Socio Economic Bases of Democratization in Africa Some Reflections in African Governance in the 1990s Atlanta Carter Presidential Center 1990 p 29
- (2) Robert H Jackson and Carl G Rosberg Democracy in Tropical Africa Journal of International Affairs Winter 1985 p 293
- (3) Samuel Huntington Will More Countries Become Democratic? Political Science Quarterly Summer 1984 p 218
- (4) Samuel Decalo Psychoses of Power African Personal Dictatorships Boulder Co Westview Press 1989
- (5) West Africa 26 April 1982
- (6) Malawi News (Blantyre) December 20 1964
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- (10) The New York Times January 27 1990
- (11) P Chudi Uwazunke Confronting Potential Break down in Africa the Nigerian Re Democratization Process in Critical Perspective Journal of Modern African Studies vol 28 No 1 1990 p 67
- (12) Colin Legum Africa's Search for Nationhood and Stability p 21
- (13) Douglas G Anglin Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments Journal of Modern African Studies vol 28 No 3 1990 p 448
- (14) Africa Research Bulletin Economic Series August 1990 December 1990
- (15) Jeune Afrique as cited in Africa Research Bulletin Economic Series April 1990
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- (17) Africa Winds of Change Africa Confidential March 9 1990 p 1
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- (23) Quoted in Kaye Whiteman The Gallic Paradox Africa Report January February 1991 p 19
- (24) For France's old interpretation of its military obligations see Samuel Decalo Modalities of Civil Military Stability in Africa Journal of Modern African Studies March 1990
- (25) See Africa Research Bulletin Political Series July 1990
- (26) See Samuel Decalo Regionalism Political Decay and Civil Strife in Chad Journal of Modern African Studies vol 18 No 1 1980 and M P Kelley A State in Disarray Condition of Chad's Survival Boulder Co Westview Press 1986
- (27) U S A/Africa Policy ? What Policy Africa Confidential 11 January 1991 p 3
- (28) Colleen Lowe Morna Pluralism A Luxury No More Africa Report November 1990 p 33
- (29) For some of the literature see especially Samuel Huntington Political Order in Changing Societies New Haven Yale University Press 1968 and Guillermo O'Donnell Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism Berkeley University of California Press 1973
- (30) The World Bank Sub Saharan Africa from Crisis to Sustainable Growth Washington DC The World Bank 1989 p 34
- (31) Peter Anyang Nyong'o Political Instability and Prospects for Democracy in Africa Africa Development vol 13 No 1 p 72
- (32) Claude Ake The Case for Democracy in

African Governance in the 1990s Atlanta Carter Presidential Center 1990 p 2

(33) James Butty The Democracy Carrot West Africa 22 April 1991

(34) Charles E Lindblom Politics and Markets New York Basic Books 1977 p 116 Emphasis in the original

(35) Anglin Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments p 448

(36) Not everywhere has political democracy resulted in more social space in Algeria a fundamentalist Muslim party emerged with competitive elections a party dedicated to re imposing cultural and moral chastity and purity and Arabizing society from its highly Frenchified ethos

(37) Africa Democracy gathers momentum Baltimore Sun July 22 1990

(38) U S A/Africa Policy ? What Policy p 1

(39) In Benin elections saw 1 800 candidates of twenty six political parties seeking the deastically reduced 64 seats of the National Assembly while fourteen individuals presented themselves for the Presidential election In Zaire there are already 109 political parties

(40) P Chudi Uwazunke Confronting Potential Break down the Nigerian Re Democratization Process in Critical Perspective Journal of Modern African Studies 1989 p 24

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(41) Guillermo O'Donnell & Philippe Schmitter Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies in their Transitions from Authoritarian Rule Prospects for Democracy Baltimore The Johns Hopkins University Press 1986 vol 4 p 19

(42) Jackson and Rosberg Democracy in Tropical Africa p 305

(43) Guillermo O'Donnell Philippe C Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds) Transitions from Authoritarian Rule 4 vols Baltimore The Johns Hopkins University Press 1986 vol 4 p 19

(44) Guillermo O'Donnell Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic Authoritarian State Latin American Research Review vol 13 No 1 1978

(45) Bjorn Beckman Whose Democracy ? Bourgeois versus Popular Democracy Review of African Political Economy No 45/6 1989

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(47) Cote d'Ivoire Unrest Ahead Africa Confidential 19 April 1991 p 3 See also Colleen Lowe Morna Criticizing Investment Africa Report January February 1991 p 42

(48) Larry Diamond Beyond Autocracy Prospects for Democracy in Africa in Beyond Autocracy in Africa Atlanta The Carter Center of Emory University 1989 p 24

JOHN W FORJE

ADVANCING DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE THE CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF CAMEROON

INTRODUCTION

The political landscape of the Cameroon nation now in its 30th year mark of political independence has and continues to be one of a road of struggle and construction continuity and renewal hope and uncertainty alienation and a growing quest for national integration It has been marked by both victories and failures clothed in unity and diversity or better still diversity in unity three decades of strides forward and stagnation

The historical experience gleaned from the evolution of the Cameroon nationhood in my view is of ever lasting significance for it sets a pattern for good or for worse for other countries following the path of political integration The Cameroon case is unique in the sense that it is a society once ruled by two different political overlords Britain and France and part of it further subjugated to the changing Nigerian political climate

What makes the Cameroon nation tick and continue in its experiment of blending oil and water? What are the failures and successes of these changing socio political developments? What future holds in this experiment of a non chemical reaction of a political nature? What contribution would such a process bring to democracy and participation? What are the challenges for the future?

This paper is a brief attempt of a country's experience on advancing democracy and participation challenges in the light of the growing globalisation of politics and advances in communication technology communication technology makes events in other parts of the world to be quickly brought into the bedrooms of many people in the Third World once isolated from the rest of the changing international community The

tenet of the study relates primarily to the understanding of the essence of the democratization process and its assessment within the framework of an evolving international community

An attempt is made to present the process of democratization and participation from a number of points that of dealing with nationalities and attitude towards national unity and cohesion the diversity of opinions and views clear awareness of the dangers of over bureaucratizing the state machinery the attitude to legality the role of leadership in the process of nation building and of providing and defending all the values there in

One cannot shy away from the fact that a topic broad as this and evolving within the functional framework of a complicated polity like the Cameroon society does not have its own weaknesses It is however maintained that this bird eye perspective of the changing political landscape of the country should in the final analysis stimulate critical scholarship that would enrich our knowledge and understanding of the issues involved

GEOPOLITICS

Cameroon with a population of 12 million inhabitants has a chequered political past a colonial legacy that continues to hunt and dictate the pace of socioeconomic and political changes in the society This United Nations Trust territory under British and French administration was reunified following a UN conducted plebiscite on 1st October 1961 It started by operating a federal political system where each unit maintained to a certain degree its inherited colonial

values political and administrative structures. The federal experiment was short lived following the introduction of a unitary government in 1972 that abrogated all the privileges and value beliefs of the English speaking community

Since the unholy events of 1972 the anglophone community that in 1961 opted to join with the people of the then French Cameroon have been treated as second class citizens marginalized in all aspects of political participation and in sharing the fruits of the nation

The Cameroon state is the result of an organic fusion of cultural brotherhood ethnic affiliation of fear of extermination alienation annexations and arrogance exhibited by certain elements of the Nigerian population and not least of the imposition of colonial subjugation it was born on a bitter struggle centered on the question of continuity with a devil you know but who has all the intentions of alienation and extinction or of a devil unknown but who by some mythical or biological circumstances happen to be linked together. The outcome being that the Cameroon nation of today was born of the honest determined concerted genuine initiatives of the anglophone population with the hopes of generating a new type of democracy and unity that brings to the fore the vanguard of an oppressed people and continent united to redress the ills of colonialism and the remnants of backwardness and underdevelopment

That hope seem lost because the envisaged proclaimed equality and sovereignty of the people of Cameroon their right to free self determination abrogation of all and sundry foreign domination has since turned to a nightmare for example the speech by the Mayor of the Yaounde Urban Council and member of the Central Committee of the ruling Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM) in what he termed the enemies in the house and following that of the Minister of Territorial Administration let them return to their place of origins following the launching of a new political party in Bamenda last year. The enemy image is a threat to national unity it sows the seeds of exclusion and nepotism

In a way the dialectics of democracy and dictatorship was manifested in the first documents of the Cameroon constitution but with an invisible hand of dictatorship cushioned by the operation of a federal system that gave autonomy to the State of West Cameroon

The colonial architecture of democracy and the rise of neo colonialism belie reality as the new political structure of Cameroon since 1972 represents a central irony inherent in imperialism and neo colonialism. Neo colonialism contains the seeds of its own destruction for like the splendor of an empty building

unification has etched on the hearts and souls of the people west of the Mungo causing both pain and ironically pride. Pride of belonging to a culture that values and respects human freedom dialogue and participation all parts of the virtues of true democracy

It was and continues to be painful for people West of the Mungo to observe the destruction of their genuine quest for unity with their kith and kin on the other side of the Mungo. But the quest for unification and nation building has varied and this differentiation has produced the aforementioned historical and contemporary mosaic. Thus the post independence of Cameroon is more complex and even divided into rich and poor internally many are polarized and marginalized by privileged elites and impoverished masses on the one hand and anglophones with the entire nation embattled as a result of integration and reaction. Much of the polarization and marginalization results from the legacy of colonialism. No one paints a better picture of the evolving situation than Raymond Betts who notes that no matter from what intellectual perspective it is regarded the landscape of the post unification Cameroon resembles a beach after the tide has receded. It is still strewn with much of what the Europeans had earlier floated with

The task of clearing the debris is monumental requiring shrewd political leadership sense of direction good management and organization. For many anglophones who thirsted for independence nationalism and unification went deeper encompassing confidence and pride in the accomplishment of the nation. Unification for them was a prerequisite for independence. For them reunification was real and genuine its depth was not to be questioned until after independence

Questioned because the federal constitution of 1961 that proclaimed freedom of expression of the press free education and freedom of consciences it also made it a duty to work and to defend the democratic motherhood was suddenly abrogated in 1972 leaving them defenseless enslaved and exploited. The very state for which they fought had become an oppressor of the rights and liberties of the people particularly of the liberties and fundamental rights of the English speaking sector of the society. The dialectics of democracy and political freedom had returned into dictatorship and marginalization. The regimentation of the political system of the economy culture and social life led to twists and turns in the theoretical and academic field as well

Academic and scientific analyses of the evolving situation was guided not by critical and analytical objectivity but by fear and praises. Many academic

publications began erroneously to put the equal sign between the State and Party and all of society on the one hand and between the State and its machinery departments on the other. The State was the Party and the Party the State. Party/State interests including those misconstrued were hierarchically placed above those of society class and all the more so the individual

The difficult and contradictory consolidation of the whole of the state of all the people hampered the development of awareness. Thus the restrictions on democracy following the so called peaceful revolution of 1972 and which gave birth and institution of the personality cult were related in a certain way to the inadequately developed political awareness and culture of the Francophone population and lack of democratic traditions. Those restrictions were tightened by the difficult pre independence situation the wave of terrorism and mass murder and brutality of the French colonial administration and then followed by the realities of the post unification period of the existence of federalism (the liberties and freedom enjoyed on the other side of the Mungo denied to them) throw the Francophone territory into further confusion and extreme strain on physical and mental forces which called for a drastic centralization of political party apparatus and for a broad application of the command methods of administration. The differences between the politics of assimilation and indirect rule was manifesting itself in all forms as to which system enriched the people more democratically and politically. In short one part of the country was politically prepared for independence by the colonial masters whilst the other part was not. There were and continue to be significant differences between the two English and French speaking Cameroon

CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Thirty years of the country's independence have been characterized by the following changing political developments

- 1 1961 1966 a period of functional democracy and centralization
- 2 1966 1972 the emergence of declined democracy and centralization
- 3 1972 1990 total dictatorship and centralization and
- 4 1990 to date movements towards the return to functional democracy

These changing political landscape highlight the varied forms of the elements of power and conflict in society conflicts which in a way threatened and enhanced the functional practice of democracy. The changing political climate of the country show that Cameroon and particularly the English speaking sector has revolved

through parliamentary democracy limited authoritarian rule dictatorial rule to an emerging parliamentary democracy which hopefully would restore government of the people for the people and by the people

Schematically the period 1961 1966 particularly for anglophone Cameroon was characterized by parliamentary democracy of the separation of powers between the executive the legislative and judiciary. This internal relationship of the separation of powers was reinforced by multi party politics a government and opposition based on universal suffrage non interference of the state machinery by party politics in short parliamentary regimes or the collaboration between powers. Collaboration between powers democratically enhanced the relationship between the state and the federal governments

The emergence of declined democracy and the rise to centralized regime 1966 1972 set the framework for what could be termed as confusion of powers. The alliance of all political parties into a single monolithic party structure the Cameroon National Union (CNU) with the Central or Federal government inheriting more and more of the sovereign privileges of the state governments. In short it was the beginning of a false window in decadent architecture installed on the sale of symmetry and for what was yet to come a new means of investiture of power was set in motion. The federal government and party leadership inherited extreme powers in the name of national unity and integration. Cult personality and limited franchise was the order of government and administration. Structure sovereignty no longer laid with the power i.e. the value system which underlie the state and the technical apparatus of power through an independent administrative set up ceased to exist. This were integrated under one supreme political authority answerable to no one. Cameroon thus entered the age of no public accountability

Thirdly the period 1972 1990 saw the introduction and practices of absolute centralization according to Law No72/1 of June 2 1972 which made Cameroon a unitary state with a Presidential system of government in which the President was both Head of State and Head of Government. The system of government was that of dictatorship in the name of the consolidation of national unity and total integration. In the emerged monolithic and autocratic system there was officially no struggle for power and leadership except in the guise of conflicting individual attempts to gain the favour of the prince

East Cameroon leadership sought federalism mainly to ease the transition to unitary. They recognized that any attempt to impose a unitary system at the time of unification would result in grave instability perhaps

secession in doing so they did not abandon their preference for unitary government. Ahidjo conceded to a federal system largely to end the wave of terrorism that existed in East Cameroon and to widen his political base. He needed the political backing of West Cameroon to achieve the goals of taming the hostile political climate of East Cameroon and in the general consolidation of power and authority.

Unquestionably unitary government had wide appeal among the political brokers of East Cameroon. In a positive sense unitary structures were praised for enhancing swift decision making, facilitating administration and contributing to nation building. In a negative sense such structures were regarded favourably because of their ability to avoid waste, duplication and overlapping responsibilities.

For the anglophone community, having grown up through parliamentary system of government with checks and balances since unitary government implied ultimate central superiority, it was not surprising to find some territorial nationalists resisting subordination and demanding a division of competences which guaranteed a limited but effective autonomy. It is maintained that unitary government was rushed through due to the fact federation is poorly adapted to a situation where two power centres are in conflict with one another. The West Cameroon Government under Augustine N. Jua's leadership was in constant conflict with the federal government. Jua was a strong advocate of state autonomy. His stand did not receive the favour or approval of the central administration hence his premature exit from the helm of political affairs of West Cameroon.

In his publication on Politics of Integration, Donald Rothchild (1958-7) states that the test of applicability of federalism is a climate of tolerance points up the limits of political institutional transfer. Federalism is after all a system occurring from Western liberal values. Wrenched away from an environment that accepts the unquestioned worth of political pluralism, constitutionalism, legalism and compromise, it tends to operate against an alien and inhospitable background. This alienation becomes more poignant when complicated by Third World conditions of poverty, illiteracy and ethnic separatism. In fact, political life in the developing countries run counter to the kind of environment conducive to stable federalism. Constitutionalism and legalism at the modern state level are broadly accepted means of reconciling interests in the West. However, Africans frequently look upon them with widespread indifference, seeing them as imports dangerous to their countries' modernization. Political pluralism is considered a virtue in many Western countries, but in Africa where a consensus on goals and values is often lacking, it is regarded as further threat to order and development.

Despite the numerous cases of injustice under the then leadership, there was order and discipline and at least a sense of responsibility and direction. But at what price that strict discipline? For one thing, it was administrative measures and enforcement. For another, in psychological terms, it was faith in the leader's infallibility and rightness. This tended to cultivate passivity and fear to dampen the wish to assume responsibility and to rule out debate and free collective discussions.

Since 1972, the legislature and judiciary have become captive institutions. The prince cannot be challenged any more than the regime itself. His authority is not subject to action by the citizens even though the citizens are called upon several times to renew the mandate of the legality of the supreme powers that is legislative and executive branches of government in predetermined general elections.

Many see the period 1972-1990 as one of the mixture of radical and moderate dictatorship. The actual state and legal advancement of the era of moderate dictatorship. The actual state and legal advancement of the era of moderate dictatorship/centralization is very complicated to analyse. Some provisions of the constitution and its amendments, especially those dealing with the political system and the social sphere of life, did not reflect the actual state of affairs. The programme provision concerning further development of national integration was not implemented. Many negative phenomena became widespread and since 1984, the seeds of ethnic fragmentation and hatred have taken off to full maturity. Hence, in the appointments of 49 senior Division and Divisional Officers, thirty come from the same ethnic group. Most of the General Managers of State and semi-state corporations come from the same ethnic group or have some affiliation with the ethnic group of the ruling party/leadership. Simultaneously, various parts of the Cameroon society are beginning to reassess their view of reality in light of the emerging tendency of tribal domination of the administrative and political set up and the further marginalization of citizens outside the ethnic frontiers of those who wield authority and power.

The plight of the marginalized has been worsened in view of the prevailing economic crisis as the poverty gap widens between the affluent minority and the impoverished majority. There has been a systematic and coherent strategy of alienating the English speaking community from the main stream of development. This alienation has intensified proper stocking and reassessment of thirty years of political unity and the essence of democracy in nation building, hence laying the foundation of a new critical and constructive attitude to reality and ways of overcoming oppression and of the restoration of genuine functional

democracy in the country. The suppression of the majority by the minority through the edifice of dictatorship succeeded in destroying all forms of opposition but undisguised forced and inspired the struggle for democracy through popular and justified clandestine activities clothed in non-violence. Gandhi's and Martin Luther King's doctrine.

Thus on 26 May 1990, new political thinking for democracy came into being. Public opinion in various works of life and age groups in the creative efforts of scientific research and poetic presentation shaped and strengthened the views, sentiments, fears and social expectations which have become a solid foundation for the renewal of genuine democracy and political activities now under way throughout the territory. Movements towards functional democracy returned to multi-party politics as evidence by the formation of more than twenty-one political parties. The re-institution of the office of the Prime Minister opening up for the freedom of speech etc. are just a few of the developments advancing democracy in the country.

However, the outstanding question is how the ruling party (CPDM) would be able to accommodate the wishes, sentiments and expectations of the people and to begin restructuring political and social life starting with itself and to manifest its vanguard to accept democratically the new wind of political change blowing across the nation and at a crucial stage of the history of the nation. Conversely, will the emerging political parties contain and restrain themselves to avoiding any acts of the politics of revenge and vengeance? Advancing democracy and its future in the country would be largely determined by these two positions.

Cameroon's perestroika is now a reality. The state of legalized dictatorship is fast on the decline through the process of a peaceful, justified but radical renewal. The principal task of which is the all-round democratization of the Cameroon state and social life of the people. The actions of 26 May 1990 and the return to multi-party politics signifies the movement towards pluralist democratic system which takes into account both the judicial forms of the regime and the nature of the opposing political parties within it and of its participation in the development process.

The movement back to democracy shows an evolving wide appeal that unitary government was inapplicable to the conditions and circumstances of the anglophone community because it lacked the capacity to reconcile the region's integration and participation in parliamentary government and multi-party system rather than they were forced to the monolithic and assimilative attitude and style of politics that prevailed in East Cameroon.

For the marginalized English community, federalism was a satisfactory alternative to even moderate dictatorship. For them, by dividing the powers and prerogatives of the state between two or more governments coordinating in all aspects, federalism provided a working balancing mechanism between the polar extremes of centralism and separatism. From the beginning, they saw themselves as equal participants and contributors to an evolving process. This was not the case under a unitary structure.

At this juncture in contemporary Cameroon politics, it is possible to analyse the logic behind the trends towards the extremes of unitary government and separation as well as the reaction, the suppression of fundamental human rights in some cases, away from the extremes and in the direction of various moves to bring about justified changes. It is also premature to draw anything but the most general conclusions on the nature towards open government initiated by the events of May 26, 1990. However, one thing is clear: there is no going back to the oppressive nature of a unitary government under a monolithic party structure. Even though attempts are being made by the ruling party to preserve the essence of national unity in the face of massive centrifugal pressures agitating for democracy, statements like 'enemies within the house' or 'return to where you came from' coming from highly placed ruling party executives only helps in sowing the seeds of civil disorder and factionalism. Ethnic hatred and fragmentation is at its peak creating an explosive situation with very grave consequences if not properly handled.

Unless greater trust emerges at all levels and the ruling or dominant party begins to show some restraint and acceptance of competitive forces from other quarters, the sense of community and inter-reliance intrinsic to nationhood will be lacking, making the adoption of a unitary constitutional system difficult in practice.

In other words, a practical adjustment to the dynamic interplay of forces which were thrust to the surface at the time of unification should be deployed in effecting a lasting reconciliation between general and particular interests at a time when the nature of the political process is rapidly changing throughout the world.

New formulas are necessary within the changing circumstances that can lead to a healthy easing of tensions. And for all the forces to build gradually and consensually upon an ever-increasing functional interdependence in a highly fragmented society like Cameroon.

ADVANCING DEMOCRACY CHECKS AND BALANCES

The fears and plight of the marginalized population under the provisions of the constitution amounts to nothing but a legitimate call for checks and balances all virtues in a functional democracy

By all standards and practices institutional checks are lacking in the country's constitution (Law No 762/1 of June 2 1972) As Montesquieu (1949 pp 151 152) points out when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person or in the same body of magistrates there can be no liberty Again there is no liberty if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive power

In the last 30 years there has been 12 amendments of the Cameroon constitution of which six amendments were enacted between November 1982 and April 1991 The constitution as Conac M Duverger Gonidec et al point out is the set of legal rules by which political power is established exercised and handed over it is the supreme law of the land it is a standard reference document But when such a standard reference document fails to maintain the coexistence of other institutions but the super imposition of the divine authority of the executive then the liberty and equality of individuals in possession of legal rights is in great jeopardy participation reduced giving room for conflict and confrontation between the governor and governed

John Stuart Mill in An Essay on Government (1955 p 66) draws attention to the relation between good government and popular participation subscribing to the opinion that upon the right constitution of checks all goodness of government depends And the solution to the problem of establishing checks was representative government Representative government means that man must be absolutely free to assert his beliefs free to try various approaches free to criticize debate and disagree Man must be free in the realms of ideas The essence of liberty lies in the fact that it should depend for its maintenance upon the respect it can arouse in humble men Their power to maintain it lies in their willingness to organize themselves for the maintenance We must know that our liberty or freedom has no foe more subtle than our sense of apathy and helplessness

It goes without saying that reasons of liberty means advancing democracy it is the quest for liberty that the marginalized segment of society in Cameroon crave for To inhibit that quest for freedom of speech is to inhibit the criticism of social institutions It can therefore be argued that for the past thirty years freedom liberty have been systematically inhibited for the silent majority the only opinions taken into

account are those which coincide with the will of those in authority That is why advancing democracy implies the acceptance of broader citizen participation in the business of government John Stuart (1958 p 27) states

There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty or the supreme controlling power in the last resort is vested in the entire aggregate of the Community every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty but being at least occasionally called to take actual part in the government by the personal discharge of some public function local or general

For the marginalized population the argument has been the institution of a democratic government that upholds human liberty and rights the institution of democracy was an improvement over other forms of government hence Thoreau's (1963 p 36) appeal that there will never be a really free and enlightened state until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power from which all its own power and authority are derived and treats him accordingly

JUSTIFICATION FOR POPULAR RESISTANCE

The preceding sections decry the failure of the nation state as a liberator of its people but exalt the nation state as an oppressor or the fundamental rights of its citizens This postulation on the social contract is at best viewed as a useful construct for examining the nature of political obligation in a democracy the relationship between the governor and governed On the other hand it raises the issue of the consent of the governed To a large extent it could be vigorously argued that the political situation of the country developed because the people consented to the legality of dictatorship the existence and maintenance of certain institutions or to specific individuals occupying certain institutional positions for example the President or Party Leader empowered with all prerogative rights and not accountable to any one The Cameroon society is a victim of its own making

Advancing democracy given the present situation is thus an attempt to repel and address the state of consent on the part of the population which is growing more and more enlightened and conscious of its civic rights and duties The attempt to restructure the state of anarchy and dictatorship could be seen as justified resistance towards existing state institutions But justification for resistance is interpreted by the ruling authorities as civil disobedience

Anglo madness

Even within the dying monolithic party system members of the ruling ethnic group in the zeal to grasp and keep and abuse power all negative tribal sentiments are tickled and it is now running out of proportion and containment The following statement says it all

Not unlike some minorities in other parts of the world the Anglophones of Cameroon have often been the butt of accusations designed more to put them in their place than to dissuade them from wrong doings (Ayeheh 1991 p 4)

Anglophones as Ayeheh points out are a minority a lacklustre and unenviable status that gives this troubled group a permanent seat in the world community of sufferers The Bassas Bamilekes and Hausas have been singled out by the Betis as enemies of the nation and they must be dealt with accordingly The state perpetuates the stand taken by the Betis since the state belongs to the Betis and the Betis are the state

Justified resistance through public opinion and quest for democratization in Cameroon emerges from the trend and development policy strategies enacted in this kind of power hunt no matter how ruthless as long as it brings the political wolves one step closer to attaining their objectives or it reinforces their existing power base and position

Robert Dahl (1971 p 14) states that any transformation that provides opponents of the government with greater opportunities to translate their goals into policies enforced by the state carries with it the possibility of conflict with spokesmen for the individuals groups or interests they displace in the government The May 6 1991 events backed by the stand taken by two prominent political leaders (all former Prime Ministers of West Cameroon and Vice Presidents of the Cameroon Republic) Dr John Ngu Foncha and Hon Solomon T Muna show that the greater the conflict between a government and its opponents the more costly it is for each to tolerate the other (Dahl 1971 p 15) See also Cameroon Tribune May 7 1991 expanding the position of these two leaders on the current state of political developments in the country

The opposition see the reforms towards democracy as not going far enough to hasten the return to functional democracy The ruling party see competitive political system as a threat to the erosion of their existing power base hence the use of all sorts of repressive methods to silence organized opposition in order to maintain the status quo

More democracy and open government more mass

Very often than not military hardware is deployed as solutions to pertinent political problems The state institutions deploy both physical and psychological coercion to induce citizen participation and adherence to law and order even if indirectly in actions and policies which the citizens personally consider unjust

The grounds for justified popular resistance derive from the notion that authority has and continues to limit mass participation in state institutions and machinery for policy and decision making and as such state institutions are abused or exceeded by the inappropriate deployment of political power There is the assertion and rightly too that power has been abused or misused in other words the wielder of authority is frustrating or ignoring the purpose for which the authority has been granted Secondly the misuse of authority is thus challenged on grounds of arbitrariness

Starting from the events of May 26 1990 (the killing of six innocent unarmed citizens by the forces of law during the launching of the Social Democratic Front SDF in Bamenda) to the 6th of May 1991 shooting of unarmed students at the Yaounde University the supreme power now extends its arm over the whole community tyrannizing compressing extinguishing any move towards the establishment of functional democracy within the structural complicated context of the tribal and cultural heterogeneity of Cameroon

The evolving situation as Jing Thomas Ayeheh reports in Cameroon Post (1991) is that ethnic particularities have often led to unidentical and sometimes conflicting interests which in post colonial African politics stepped in all forms of injustice and in inefficiency create an extremely tense atmosphere Such situations set tribes on a coalition course for power and have etched tribal based political parties ethnic factionalism and myth cult on the African political scene

To advance the issue further and based on recent development trends it can be concluded that these events backed by that of November 6 1982 and April 4 1984 the general concept of politics and unitary government was one rooted in the search for power not to meet the aspirations of all the citizens of a nation but to foster the interests of some groups to the detriment of others (Ayeheh 1991 p 4)

Since 1982 the government has been fanning the state of hatred ethnic fragmentation and witch hunting which has contributed to the rationale of physical and political abuses capable of setting the nation ablaze for example the classification of certain tribal groups as

Bamileke imperialism
Bassa wickedness and

participation in the process of socioeconomic transformation remain the goals of the opposition in their ardent quest for the reorganization of the country's political and administrative systems. These are the conditions for attaining a qualitatively new stage in political socioeconomic and cultural development when all shortcomings, deficiencies and unresolved problems can be acknowledged and openly and exhaustively discussed. Tolerance of other views and objective criticism is necessary as is the creation of conditions under which the expression of such a growing diversity of views, opinions and interests will be possible.

The march towards democracy is not going to be an easy one. It is now being obstructed by military actions and conservative forces. It is opposed by entrenched interests, ignorance and greed. Hence the call by the opposition on the following points to address fundamental political issues:

the holding of a national conference

the total restoration of fundamental human rights and acceptance of divergent political views, the act of disagreeing to agree

reorganization of the Yaounde University and the entire higher education curriculum

a check to capital flight

decentralization and institution of an efficient administrative structure

separation of administrative structure from party structure

return to the federal system of government

harmonization of educational curriculum and judiciary system

recognition of the country's diversity as assets to national construction and national integration

separation of powers, executive, legislative and judiciary (institutions of checks and balances)

The demands listed here point towards a new domestic order for self-determination and human rights consciousness and a new social order one that gives rise to a political ideology of individual freedom and liberty. There is now an upsurge for civil liberties and democratic rights activism and this is because the greater part of the society has been treated as discarded people.

Until the formation of the SDF, the political right

defended by the state was that of a particular ethnic group who also happened to be brokers of state power. The SDF took the risk of strongly voicing out a call for a new domestic order which is now bearing fruits. As of today, twenty-one political parties have been formed and approved by the Ministry of Territorial Administration.

In this light, the SDF as the rest of the other parties is a non-violent political grouping which believes and advocates the multi-party democratic process through which unpopular governments are changed by the wisdom of the ballot box in free and fair elections (SDF, 1991).

The stand taken by the opposition leaders is a clear procedure for advancing democracy and democratic institutions and of instituting a political figure or leader to whom the fate of the nation is entrusted. It takes on special significance. In other words, the changing tide of democracy and of its future lie on the shoulder of the leader, an authority recognized by all in a political organization. However, it is clear that the new political leadership should not like in the past be involved with the concentration and monopolization of power. Thus, the emerging new Cameroon nation shares the views of the Cameroon Bishops in their pastoral letter of 3rd June 1990 which called for among other things:

It must be restated that no social group, for example a political party, has the right to usurp the role of sole leader, since this brings about the destruction of the true subjectivity of society and of the individual citizens, as happens in every form of totalitarianism. In this situation, the individual and the people become objects in spite of all declarations to the contrary and verbal assurances.

The centralization of power is a major challenge facing the nation as Nvon O. S. Ebanja (1991, p. 10) points out:

The concentration of power in a single individual's hands has given rise to the following and other evils: The use of arms to suppress public opinion against the regime. Unwarranted arrests, detention and imprisonment of offenders. The banning of newspapers all to suppress public opinion, capital flight and other malpractices.

The political setting of the country in light of recent developments begs for a national conference, a prelude to the return to functional democracy. The struggle to adhere to power at all cost and the struggle for reformation are all part of the intense factional and institutional struggles to determine the proper bases for a functional democracy in a developing polity like Cameroon. It also poses numerous fundamental

form of regime will differ. Political and intellectual temperament of the political parties engage in this exercise for change stand up to the test of functional democracy? For one thing, Cameroon has lived through a period of so-called prolonged period of stability, a period of passive opposition to the wrong doings of government, a period of acceptance and coercion of fear and tyranny, a period characterized by waste and embezzlement of public funds without punishment, a period of intensified ethnic fragmentation and many other issues.

The various cleavages in the body politic of the country and their relation to political parties would no doubt demand changes of one kind or the other. To contain these changes and keep the political momentum high for the common good, require skilled political tactics. That common good is democracy and democracy as Robert Dahl (1956) notes, consists of two elements: a set of procedures enabling non-leaders to exercise control over leaders and a set of rules defining political liberties.

Moving from dictatorship to functional democracy imply the establishment of a new polity. Martin Lipset (1963, p. 36) in discussing the establishment of new polities states that:

The issues involved in the emergence of legitimate national authority and a sense of national unity and those which pertain to the establishment of democratic procedures are clearly separate problems. To create a stable representative decision-making process that provides a legitimate place for opposition that recognizes the rights of those without power to advocate error and the overthrow of those in office is particularly problematic in new states which must be concerned also with the sheer problems of the survival of national authority itself.

The challenges for the future in such a rapidly evolving political polity will be the ability of the system to manage its environment, particularly now that there is a strong call for a national conference to iron out differences and to redress the ills of the past thirty years or so. A call for a national conference is seen as moves to meet democratic expectations and to set the framework for support and effectiveness of a new government. There is also the fear that a national conference could only strengthen the idea of witch hunting, a people's court for attacking the current regime in power without adequately penetrating into the fundamentalities of the crucial and persistent problems involved in effecting a system change. The other issue involved is that of containment. The set of attitudes and expectations of the present opposition parties once in government to contain the attitude of those presently in government.

questions about the future, whether the present political leadership is increasingly willing to grant political rights and privileges denied to the opposition parties and the nation at large.

CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE

The changing political scene of the country as most readily presented in the past sections poses numerous problems for the role and place of democracy in a developing polity. Robert Dahl (1966, XIII) states that somewhere in the world at this moment a political group is probably engaged in the antique art of imprisoning, maiming, torturing and killing its opponents. Somewhere as you read these words a government and its opponents are no doubt trying to coerce one another by violent means. For without such question the most commonplace way for a government to deal with its opponents is to employ violence.

This statement paints the current political climate of Cameroon, a climate fast changing in the direction of renouncing violence and dictatorial forms of government but calling for the institution of functional democracy. Are the current power holders prepared for such a change without violent resistance? Are the opponents of the present regime adequately well equipped to stand the coercive mechanisms and powers of the government? Is the opposition sure it would behave otherwise and better once they too start enjoying the test of power and authority? Who at this stage can say for sure how the opposition parties would behave once they are in a position to use the strategy of coercion? Who can deny that the government of today once in position tomorrow would not deploy violence and other clandestine activities to topple the government in power?

The novelty of a peaceful cohesive opposition today may turn out to be a hostile and totalitarian government tomorrow. This together with all related issues are political questions of a larger context involving structural opposition, social cleavages, polarization, political alienation, participation, dictatorship, government systems and democratization processes in any polity. Cameroon is no exception in this wave of changing political trend.

Cameroon's complex colonial past and present complexities following the development trends outlined in earlier pages strongly begs for the return to a democratic government to eliminate the various factors inhibiting the practice of government of by and for the people. The agitation for a new constitutional structure with more than one political party competing for the authority of government is not going to be an essay exercise to dismantle 30 years of dictatorial

The third is that of coercion and conflict and how difference between the various opposing views could easily be translated into hostile attitudes and patterns of non legal retribution and manoeuvring for power

Fourthly is that of bargaining how the evolving system can possibly hatch a structure where groups any legitimately struggle to influence policy and elections resolve open political differences by offering some alternatives Thus the issue of bargaining coercion and containment argues for a functional democracy in which a government's capacity to respond effectively that is to remain in harmony with its environment and at the same time maintain some level of security and liberty for the members of the system the institutionalization of an elite political culture of containment by solution (Hopkins 1971 p 243)

The suppression of fundamental human rights lack of freedom of speech killings of innocent and unarmed students and other citizens etc in Cameroon raises questions whether the culture of containment has already moved towards that of coercion Threats on the life of SDF leader and news about the importation of a murdering squad from abroad to assassinate opposition leaders are acts that can run out of control and lead to revenge politics The situation is extremely explosive especially when arms have been distributed to students of a particular ethnic group auto defence for self defence may lead to total bloodshed

The challenge for democracy in Cameroon is how the polity can move from closed politics which seeks to contain political dissent suppress opposition parties to one of open politics of mass participation and freedom of speech and of the press How the system can manage its environment by responding promptly to the changing situation and thus increase system load by allowing it attain its objectives more rapidly Strong leadership role with a sense of direction and good management and organization capacity is necessary How the emerging situation can produce a democratic system capable of avoiding conflicts and violence but maintaining stability and consensus dialogue and initiating mass participation at all levels and in all forms These are some of the democratic expectations of the future political evolution in Cameroon

CONCLUSION

In any political system rare is the policy that enjoys unanimous support Most policies are backed by some groups opposed by others and viewed with difference by still others In the exercise of power a leader must calculate the cost to his power of a commitment to a particular programme and must

estimate the likely consequences for his other policies Even when a policy is acknowledged to be socially or nationally desirable and the leader is able to adopt it he must still make the subjective judgement of whether the policy is politically expedient and integrate increasingly complex structures of political power (Brzezinski Huntington 1963 p 260)

This article raises the basic question of who gets what when where and how and who gets left out Since the reunification of the two Cameroons on October 1 1961 significant events have taken place for good and for worse the victims of the assimilation process of unification have been and continue to be the anglophones The plight of the students at the Yaounde University says it all

The insistent call for a national conference by the population and the refusal by the ruling Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement (CPDM) to such a conference taking place to take stock of how we have fared so far in order to avoid making the same mistakes in the future (Tukov 1991 p 12) is poor political judgement on the part of governing party It further shows an ostrich like absurdity to it all it is as if the leadership were divorced from the people Otherwise how does it fail to notice that tension is reaching boiling points and could burst uncontrollably anytime if we have intelligence services are they faithfully reporting the general disgust in the population to the leadership? Or has the leadership plugged its ears counting on wielding the stick if need be? If that were the case it will soon prove as it has just done in Mali to be a gross and costly blunder

Issues of vital importance in the life of the nation like the revision of the constitution the rules and regulations to guide the functioning of political organizations the reorganization of political organizations dress plural views and a host of other problems of transition and election at all levels would constitute a tangible reason for holding a national conference

The re introduction of multi party politics is a welcome move in the long struggle for democracy But multi party politics can only ensure democracy if the rules of the game are fair and maintained It would therefore be wrong to see a transfer from the CPDM to any other party as a betrayal The new custodians of power must ensure that the system functions properly and efficiently also

In a modest way the paper has reexamined the need for introducing a democratic system of government and the obstacles that the switch from dictatorship to popular government has to overcome

Democracy is not the answer to the ills of the nation

but a means to an end it gives hope and creates room for participation Samuel Eisenstadt (1966 V) maintains that the major problem facing modernizing nations is the necessity to develop an institutional structure capable of preventing breakdown Arnold Rivkin (1968 XII) argues that the endemic political instability the widespread economic stagnation and the epidemic in military coup d'état in the decade of the sixties are direct manifestations of the African institutional gap They testify to the need for new institutions and systems of government Arside Zolberg (1966 p 42) warns that we have to look forward to periods of substantial disorder which will permeate entire regions We can expect a sort of institutionalized instability just as occurred over many decades in Latin America and he asks does Africa suffer from too much authority or from too little authority To round it Samuel Huntington (1968 p 1) carries this concern to one logical conclusion when he writes that the important political distinction among countries concerns not their form of government but the degree of government In all the concern is for the government to govern because the primary problem is not liberty but the creation of a legitimate public order and in the public interest

But perhaps what is taking place in Cameroon now is to stress the revolt against colonialism in that one of the major elements of continuity is that the resistance against colonialism did not occur simply with the birth of mass nationalism but was a characteristic of major traditional systems as well The eclipse of parliamentary system and political pluralism through the killing of the sense of self worth by various instruments of oppression and coercion in the name of national integration is back bouncing on our doors for the revitalization of functional democracy the anglophone community once enjoyed

It is no easy task but there is hope that functional democracy will in the end triumph Who is to say that will not succeed in Cameroon?

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DONALD P CHIMANIKIRE

POLITICAL RENEWAL IN AFRICA THE CASE FOR PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE (*)

INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a universal yearning. It can take many institutional forms but the central thesis is constant: the people should govern themselves and those who act in their name should be regularly accountable to the governed. In this connection it should be noted here that democracy has historically often been given several different meanings: popular government, government by elected representatives, or accountability to electors.

These ambiguities of meaning have no doubt facilitated abuse of the term democracy. They point to the broad range of conditions required for the realization of democratic aspirations: freedom of speech, conscience and association, the recognition and protection of individual and collective rights, equality before the law, and access to opportunities, competitive elections, accountability of representatives and officials to voters, constituents and members. Critical for many people is the formation of democratic organizations of workers, peasants, of communities of students and of other social groups whose policies are shaped by and whose leaders are accountable to their members.

Without these conditions and especially the latter popular or constitutional forms of government become instruments for class exploitation and abuse of power (1).

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The African people fought for independence for the purpose of abolishing the colonial system by establishing democratic institutions which would ensure their liberation, development and full participation in the

responsibilities of national life. Thirty years ago democratic government was therefore synonymous with independent government in Africa. It was associated with dreams and hopes for rapid economic and social development.

Today, after thirty years of independence, in the majority of African States the objectives of the liberation struggles have been misappropriated and the people's dreams and ambitions betrayed. Democracy has remained confined to leaders' declarations and to the imitative drawing up of constitutions that are rarely respected (2). Many people in Africa wonder when the painful experience called independence will end and many African countries warily await the return of civilian rule in unforeseen future.

POLITICAL RENEWAL

Democratization can bring renewed hope as well as new anxieties. Had the people of Africa seen a steady improvement in their living standards instead of the sharp reduction in recent years, the call for political reforms would not be so insistent and widespread throughout the continent.

It is a matter of fact that all governmental systems must undergo periodic renewal or suffer decay. Renewal in democratic systems usually occurs via elections. Some African governments permit elections within single party systems that afford some degree of renewal; there are hardly any countries in sub-Saharan Africa, however, in which full renewal has taken place through the election of new government groups or parties via the electoral process, except recently in one or two countries (3). In addition to introducing genuine electoral procedures for governmental renewal, African states need to open up the political

process which has become narrow and uninspiring with each passing year (4)

It is particularly important to remind ourselves at this stage that it was only after independence that the nationalists now enjoying state power started to convince the people that the single party system would be in their interest. To be brief, these were the arguments advanced to support the single party project:

the single party would promote National Unity

people's efforts would be directed towards nation building and not wasted on politics

since the people were generally agreed that the government was engaged itself in development party politics was not necessary

whatever differences would emerge these could be freely discussed under the single party regime as democracy and human rights would be practised (5)

But many people in Africa see the processes of political renewal that emphasize participatory governance as involving the granting of meaningful political choices to the citizens of an active rather than reactive role for the populace in political affairs. The encouragement of institutional pluralism and the fostering of self government through governmental decentralization and communal empowerment. Political renewal is also seen to be manifested through vigorous efforts to promote regional integration. In no instance has participatory governance been associated with the regional bodies that have been created in Africa. Regional integration should not remain just an affair of government ministers and state bureaucrats (6)

Faced with this type of political crisis situation it is no wonder that a group of African leaders met in Nyon in April 1986 to urge African governments to strictly observe the following six basic requirements (7)

the scrupulous respect of fundamental human rights

the guarantee of people's right to choose their government freely within the framework of a state based on the rule of law and practising a genuine separation between the legislative, judicial and executive powers

the guarantee of full and constant information to citizens about their rights and duties and the guarantee of the right to inform and to be informed

the guarantee of the freedom of expression, freedom of association and respect for the autonomy of people's organizations

the guarantee of the right of refugees and emigrants both in Africa and outside Africa as well as the provision of the constant support they need

NOT ALL HOPE LOST

The new mood in Africa is that monolithism must be broken. Pluralism must be encouraged in the world of generating ideas as well as in the realm of political organization. Thus while existing one party regimes are busy blaming advocates of democracy for importing foreign ideologies into the continent in preoccupied with explaining their positions to the people at home and abroad regarding the need for far reaching national revolutions. The struggle for democracy is thus home grown from the point of view of its advocates and foreign imposed from the point of view of the defenders of the single party regime (8)

ENCOURAGING SIGNS

In a number of countries political parties have mushroomed. At this stage it is difficult to ascertain the degree of tolerance these new advocates of democracy have for significant increases in popular autonomy and participation. Is the commitment of these parties to democracy contingent on opportunities to participate in the distribution of power and access to state resources we are bound to ask? Furthermore how strong a tie do these parties have with organized forces in civil society? It has to be underlined that an extensive process of democratization reflects and arises from the significance and maturity of internal social forces (9)

EXAMPLES (10)

ANGOLA

The government of Angola signed a peace agreement with UNITA on May 31 1991 ending a civil war that has taken over 300 000 lives over the past 16 years. Legislative elections are to be held on the basis of proportional representation. Under the revised Angolan Constitution UNITA is to be granted the right to compete as a political party.

BENIN

In Benin's March 10 1991 Presidential elections Nicephore Soglo received 36% of the vote and President Kerekou 26%. Soglo won the runoff elections on March 24 with 68% of the vote. Soglo thus becomes the third African leader elected to replace an incumbent since January 1991.

CAMEROON

On February 17 1991 President Aristides Pereira

was defeated by Antonia Mascarenhas. Monteiro Pereira thereby became the first African leader to be voted out of office in recent years.

COTE D'IVOIRE

Elections held in October 1990 resulted in President Felix Houphouët Boigny securing his 7th term of office by receiving more than 80% of the ballots. Although the opposition alleged that the government stuffed ballot boxes and counted votes from non-existent polling stations.

ETHIOPIA

Former Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam fled to Zimbabwe on May 21 1991 after it was clear that the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front would march into Addis Abeba and take over power.

GABON

Opposition leader Paul Mba Abessole continues to demand the dissolution of Gabon's National Assembly and the supervision of new elections by international monitors.

GUINEA

President Lansama Conté agreed to create a democratic political system in Guinea but the military insists he will not retire to the barracks until 1995.

MADAGASCAR

Huge demonstrations have been taking place in Madagascar against the regime of President Ratsiraka.

MALI

On April 21 1991 the new military regime in Mali appointed Soumana Sacko to supervise a transitional government. The ruling military Council led by Lt Colonel Amadou Toure has promised to heed the demands of the people for a genuine democratic transition and to hold multi-party elections by the end of the year.

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

Former political exile Miguel Trovoada was elected president on March 3. Former President Pinto da Costa withdrew from the election after the defeat of his party in the January 20 1991 legislative elections.

SOUTH AFRICA

On June 17 1991 the South African Parliament scrapped the notorious Population Registration Act of 1950 which laid the legal foundation of apartheid by classifying all South Africans by race for birth.

TANZANIA

Tanzania has established a commission to report on public opinion regarding multi-party elections. The

commission has been given one year to collect its data and recommend actions to the ruling party. Chama cha Mapinduzi and the government.

TOGO

The government of Togo bowed to demands of pro-democracy protesters on June 12 and agreed to a national conference to organize free elections and end 24 years of military dictatorship.

ZAIRE

Approximately one million people lined Lumumba Boulevard between N Djili Airport and Kinshasa on February 24 1991 to welcome home one of Mombutu's staunchest opponents Etienne Tshisekedi. Mulumba, a national leader of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS).

ZAMBIA

Frederick Chiluba, leader of Zambia's Trade Union Congress, was elected President of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in March 1991. Presidential and legislative elections are expected to be held on October 31st 1991.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Putting the people first was the theme of an international Conference held at Arusha (Tanzania) in February 1990. Sponsored jointly by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and a number of citizens' associations it brought together more than 400 participants from all over Africa as well as a few from the North. The Conference explicitly identified the lack of popular participation as the primary cause of Africa's crisis. It called up on African peoples and governments to urgently embark on a series of far-reaching changes in the structures, patterns and political context of decision making at all levels of society. The Conference adopted a Charter which had some of the following recommendations:

African Governments must adopt development strategies, approaches and programmes the content and parameters of which are in line with the interest and aspirations of the people and which incorporate rather than alienate African values and economic, social, cultural, political and environmental realities.

Since African Governments have a critical role to play in the promotion of popular participation, they have to yield space to the people because in many cases the social base of power and decision making are too narrow.

There is therefore an urgent need to broaden these to galvanize and tap the people's energy and commitment and to promote political accountability by the

State to the people

For the people to participate meaningfully in their self development their freedom to express themselves and their freedom from fear must be guaranteed. This can only be assured through the extension and protection of people's basic human rights and all governments should be urged to vigorously implement the African Charter of Human Rights, the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the ILO Convention No 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of DISCRIMINATION Against Women.

Finally it is manifestly unacceptable that development and transformation in Africa can proceed without the full participation of its people. It is manifestly unacceptable that the people and their organizations be excluded from the decision making process. It is manifestly unacceptable that popular participation be seen as anything less than the centrepiece in the struggle to achieve economic justice for all. (11)

NOTES

(*) Views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute

(1) Chimankire Donald Book Review on The One Party State and Democracy The Zimbabwe Debate Eds Ibbo Mandaza and Lloyd Sachikonye Southern Africa Political & Economic Monthly Harare Vol 4 No 11 p 49 1991

(2) A Declaration on Africa by a group of African leaders who met at the end of April 1986 near Nyon with a view to defining the nature of the African crisis which is striking the African continent and analyzing its causes and above all formulating an alternative. Ifida dossier 54 Nyon July August 1986 p 41

(3) E G Benin Cape Verde Sao Tome and Principe

(4) Joseph Richard MIMEO The Political Renewal in Sub-Saharan Africa The Challenge of the 1990s 1990

(5) Anyang Nyong'o P The African Awakening Paper delivered at the Pan African Conference on Thirty Years of Independence Results and Prospects Organized by the African Association of Political Science Windhoek Namibia, 23-25th May 1991 p 2

(6) Joseph Richard op cit

(7) Ifida dossier 54 op cit

(8) Anyang Nyong'o P op cit p 3

(9) Tadesse Zenebevorke Beyond Authoritarian Rule Africa Demos Atlanta U.S.A Vol 1 No 5 July August 1991 p 5

(10) Association of Concerned Africa Scholars Bulletin St Augustine's College Raleigh N.C. Summer 1991 No 33 pp 19 22

(11) See Ifida dossier 79 October December 1990 African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation pp 3 16

JAGANATH PATHY

INTERNAL SELF-DETERMINATION AND TRIBAL SUSTAINABLE SELF-DEVELOPMENT

I THE CONTEXT

The history of the tribes especially from the time of colonial annexation to the present day has been in essence the gruesome story of their enslavement, exploitation, expropriation and extermination. Despite all claims the post colonial context failed to generate a qualitatively humane scenario. Consequently the relationship of domination and subjugation persists in fact many additional spheres have emerged and there are greater complexities than prevailed during colonial times. The nations of development nation building and ironically human (individual) rights have been the chief contributing factors for the progressive destruction of the survival and reproduction of tribal peoples.

The superimposition of the capitalist conception of land as an object of permanent agriculture under the proprietorship of individual has consistently encroached the customary corporate rights of the tribal peoples over land and land based endowments. Private property on land as the only recognizable right and sine qua non of social development has perilled the survival of the tribal peoples. In addition the outrageous technological deterministic modernization syndrome has played havoc with the tribal societies depleted their resources destroyed their political autonomy displaced them in large numbers and devastated the ecological balance. Logging mining agribusiness massive hydroelectric schemes and mega industrial projects often with multinational collaborations have together institutionalized victimization of tribal peoples and irretrievably wrecked their survival basis all in the name of development. The individual oriented paternalistic welfare system reaching to a small fraction of the populace sought not only to coopt and assimilate the few but also geared to facilitate the articulation of capitalist interest into an essentially pre capitalist matrix.

The ambition to build a culturally homogenous political entity through elimination or absorption of other cultures onto the mainstream culture diminished the ability of the tribal peoples to reproduce themselves as socio cultural collectivities. To put the issue succinctly the emerging depressive scenario conveys the rise of significant pointers of an internal colonial situation created not simply by the ruling classes and the Indian state but is simultaneously linked to the ongoing onslaught of the predatory activities of the transnational corporations and the octopus like Bretton Woods institutional tentacles. The tribal peoples are however not leaving the atrocities and continuing ethnocide to their destiny.

II STRUGLES FOR INTERNAL SELF DETERMINATION

During the heydays of anti colonial struggles the right of self determination was strongly asserted and pursued vigorously as a fundamental human right. But curiously enough soon after independence the post colonial states are so aggressively protective of their territories that the very mention of the term self determination itself is somewhat paranoically denounced as secessionism and every tribal struggle even for cultural and administrative autonomy is repressed. But why the states feel threatened by this? After all self determination simply means recognition of the right of all people to rule themselves. It is to make decisions freely about their own conditions of life to protect and develop their own socio cultural identity and to peaceful possession of time honoured land and territorial resources without being expropriated. These are all expressions of universally acknowledged human rights (Brosted 1987 155). In other words self determination encompasses a set of combined rights to survival, enjoyment of culture and identity and protection from external attacks and exploitations.

It may be recalled that following the Second World War the application of the principle of self-determination was considered as the sine qua non of international peace as well as the pre-requisite for the implementation of all other human rights and fundamental freedoms. Thus the right to self-determination which was originally enshrined as a fundamental political principle in the United Nations Charter (1948) and subsequently was made a binding legal principle by the two UN Human Rights Conventions, i.e. ICESCR & ICCPR of 1966. The very first Article of both the conventions establish in identical wording: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." But curiously this right is said to be applicable only to the specific case of political decolonization. Obviously it found wanting with respect to the rights of thousands of internal ethnic, linguistic and religious groups within the post-colonial and pluricultural states. Significantly however, interpreting the said Article, the International Court of Justice opined in 1975 that the nomadic tribes of Western Sahara, i.e. between Morocco and Mauritania, did enjoy a right to claim full self-determination. It has hardly been pursued. Instead there is now a major dispute on what constitutes a people which alone has the right to self-determination. The restrictive application of the right to self-determination stands in contradiction to the universal principles proclaimed in the International Bill of Rights. Incidentally, though the tribal in India were popularly designated as Adivasis, the Indian Government has expressed to the UN Subcommission its reservations to treat tribals as the indigenous peoples and in fact in 1988 ILO Conference the Indian representatives strongly argued against the proposed shift of the term "population to people" in the convention No 107. The scope of the present paper precludes us to deal with the recent changes in different forums of the United Nations and the proposal of the United Nations for universal declaration on the rights of tribal and indigenous peoples scheduled for presentation in the General Assembly next year.

The impasse however originates from the inability to comprehend the whole gamut of possibilities within the right of self-determination and without challenging the territorial integrity of the state structure. Exceptions apart, most of the tribal peoples struggle are geared towards achieving some sort of local self-government and genuine democratic federalism within the existing state structures. Self-determination then implies a process of renegotiating their relationship to the state so as to defend and recuperate their rights to the traditional land and land-based resources and appropriate political institutions and powers to manage these for the tribal peoples and to defend their rights to the maintenance of identity in

the legitimate cultural, linguistic and social spheres and to cessation of abuses and discrimination and equal participation in the development process within the embrace of the multiethnic federal system. Denouncing these struggles of greater regional and cultural autonomy as secessionist or mere manipulation of external powers and thereby legitimizing the repression and torture would continue to be counterproductive as evident from the persistence and growth of tribal movements despite decades of terrorization and cajoling.

This scenario brings us to the possibilities of outlining the forms of self-determination. To begin with it may be divided into two broad categories: the external, i.e. secession and formation of independent states which would obviously be a matter of great worry for the modern states and the other is internal, which is limited to settle the legitimate grievances in accordance with the established international and national instruments of human rights and of course within the broad matrix of the state structure. The second option provides a mutual obligation, i.e. the state is obliged to respect the right of tribal peoples to internal self-determination while the tribal peoples are obliged to respect the territorial integrity of the state. To put simply there are great possibilities for developing a wide-ranging form of self-determination without crossing the threshold of the principle of state sovereignty. Of course, if the democratic means to achieve the internal self-determination is absent or continuously thwarted with state violence as a last resort struggles for external self-determination cannot be faulted and in fact would be legitimate in the international law. As non-self-governing people, they would form a category recognized by the United Nations as eligible for the right of self-determination expressed through secession and consequent formation of an independent state.

Internal self-determination or internal autonomy is not intended to dismember the existing states but extends the rights to the tribal peoples to control their traditional territories and resources, the organization of their societies, decision-making institutions, preservation and development of their own cultures and ways of life. And matters affecting them require their consent. Control is the major factor involved in the principle of internal self-determination covering rights to life, land, culture and self-development. There are many degrees and various levels of economic, social, linguistic and political autonomy. It may range from self-government in the areas of language, education and culture to limited sovereignty on a specified land base administered by the tribal councils though ultimately subjected to national interests and regulation and to nation within a nation on the model of American Indian nations of the USA where land-based tribal collectivities form common elective

councils within the mutually agreed upon spheres of influence in other words from regional autonomy to local self-government to federalism. The form would depend upon the specific regional contexts, peoples' aspirations and struggles.

Needless to reiterate that currently tribal peoples have no real decision-making rights. With the increasing centralization of economic and political power and incessant attempts to standardize the socio-cultural fabric and of course the ever-expanding expropriation of territorial resources, several tribal peoples have been consciously expressing their desire for autonomy and identity fulfilment. The well-organized ones seek to establish territorial local self-government to satisfy their economic, social, cultural and political needs. They look forward to realise equal level of governments among the Union State and territories, each with relative sovereignty within its own jurisdiction. Internal self-determination would increase their participation in the decision-making process and thus have considerable influence on the present and future political, legal and administrative systems. And by strengthening and respecting the diverse social bases, it will contribute further to the richness and diversity of human civilization. Suffice to note that internal self-determination is central in the struggles against colonialism, hegemony of welfare and development processes, including an overdue struggle against research paternalism where most researchers continue to treat them as objects of professional interest. Unfortunately any attempt for territorial autonomy and internal self-determination is simply dubbed as efforts at destabilisation and threat to national integrity of the Indian Union. This is myopic. Rather recognition of such an autonomy could be a positive step towards social justice and emotional fulfilment and therefore strengthen the democratic federal republic.

It is worth emphasizing that the right to internal self-determination is very much within the constitutional framework of India. Though not explicitly, Nehru's five benevolent principles for the Indian tribes guarantee preservation and promotion of their rich identities and cultures and control over land-based resources and the Fifth and Sixth Schedules plus Articles 29, 370 and 371 in the constitution with provisions for regional councils, autonomous districts and Scheduled Areas provide the contour of internal self-determination. Perhaps one could add the Anandpur Sahab Resolution, the West Bengal Cabinet's unanimous resolution on the subject in 1978 and the principle of regional autonomy applied in the case of Gorkhaland, the Rajamannar Committee Report and Karnataka Government's submissions to the Sarkaria Commission belong to the same genus.

The Sixth Schedule is the most powerful legal instru-

ment towards tribal self-government and could form the essential structure for working out the contents and forms of internal self-determination. It authorizes the autonomous district and regional councils to legislate on management and use of land and land-based resources as per their customs, administration of justice, management of public welfare institutions, collections of revenues, taxes and royalties. It is of course true that over the years their law-making powers and administration of justice has been curbed and in fact has several problems and contradictions. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that only the Sixth Schedule respects customary corporate rights of the tribals and provides a scope for maintenance and development of cultural diversity, self-management, sustainable self-development and internal self-determination. It is beyond the traditional conception of individual civil rights of equality and non-discrimination. What is required is to strengthen the thrust of the schedule and effectively implement its provisions in conformity with the tribal ethos and visions. The point is that there are already elementary provisions for internal self-determination and can easily be developed.

But curiously the concerned scholars often tend to deny this right to the tribal peoples by raising a number of objections to its impracticability. Given the constraints of the scope of the paper, let us deal briefly the most important objections. It is argued that the tribal peoples are neither the only indigenous peoples of the land nor there is proof that their ancestors were not immigrants from other parts of the globe in historical or prehistorical times. But the very fact that they are distinct peoples with identifiable separate cultural and linguistic identities and are so recognized by the state should be sufficient for granting the relative autonomy for their survival and development irrespective of the date of immigration. Secondly, it is held that the tribals are not only equal but also enjoy special Constitutional rights and therefore additional expansion of the support system is unwarranted. Suffice to state that despite the well-intentioned provision the ground reality vividly expresses their overall exploitation and marginalization. Mention may be made that special provisions are made at individual levels and not on tribal corporate level which is the crux of the matter. Thirdly, those who argue that the tribals are given a chance to participate in advanced culture and development of the state and therefore enjoy the privilege should note that there is an inbuilt ethnocentrism of the ruling classes and nations in their proposition. Fourthly, the tribals allegedly lack essential elements of self-governing institutions and their population is small. But are they really smaller than the existing microstates of the world and what about the ongoing process of uniting diverse groups into a single entity? Besides they have a permanent population, a more or less defined territory and lar-

gely continue to have the traditional political institutions at local levels which are the essential features of the state. The major criticisms however are with respect to the lack of autonomous and contiguous territory and to the non viability of economic systems which would nullify the functioning of internal self determination

True that most tribal societies in India lack contiguous territories and they live interspersed amongst non tribal populations and some are even spread over several countries. Moreover there are diversities of cultures uneven distribution of wealth and class formations geographical dispersion linguistic fragmentation articulation of capitalism and international division of labour production and expropriation many pursue the same occupations as those of neighbouring non tribals wide ranging cultural interactions and that some tribals even try to conceal their separate identities may be formidable obstacles to the formation of regional or territorial governments. Each one of these appear true but only in isolation from the totality of the prevailing relationships. Despite differences in geography culture and capital penetration the tribal peoples across India share a common feature i.e. marginal lives characterised by poverty and dependence. They face essentially similar problems like economic subjugation socio cultural stigmatisation and lack of political power and make more or less similar demands all over i.e. greater self control over their present and future status. Both historically and contextually their relationship with the state is marked by fundamental asymmetry and is conditioned by economic and ideological considerations of the dominant classes and nations. Besides it needs to be mentioned that most tribal people live in Scheduled Areas and they constitute a majority in nearly 800 blocks of the country and are in overwhelming majority in Meghalaya Mizoram Nagaland Arunachal Pradesh Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Minicoy and Amindivi. Wherever their strength is limited in consultation with the people the consociation model may be institutionalized which would ensure each community the autonomy through community councils for education language healthcare social policy justice services etc. On the other hand where regional autonomy movements have already created consciousness of territory based identities like Jharkhand Bodoland Ladakh Telengana etc shall have their regional or territorial governments largely based upon their own methods of decision making with necessary changes to serve the current interests

About economic non viability the issue appears to be rooted in the academic inability to trespass the unilinear evolutionary model of development and the obsession for western notions of development. Be that as it may economic non viability has never been accepted as an obstacle to the implementation of the

right of self determination. The Declaration of the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples states clearly in paragraph 3 that inadequacy of political economic social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. Most tribes still hold their traditional way of life is still of practical importance and highly valued and given a chance it would continue so in the future. The requirement however is to restrict the coercive usurping of their resources by external powers. Natural resources provide substantial employment and income. Self reliance and collective labour intensive and cooperative economic structures with necessary changes in institutions and values may meet the requirement of the modern times. Besides all production systems are dynamic and innovative protection of the resources and royalty from sub surfaces itself could be in most cases substantial to build the necessary infrastructure for sustainable development. To maximize sustainable yields the funds from taxes rents and royalties and the government programmes can accommodate the required changes in technology and infrastructure. Additionally the criticism against granting the relative autonomy comes from the notion that given the overall domination of basic capitalist structure dominated by world capitalism and consequent growth of a relatively heterogeneous and conflictual population within and among the tribal societies the traditional methods of consensus and decision making process may not be appropriate and thus regional/territorial self government with control on education trade taxation and regulation of exploitation of territorial resources etc may be dysfunctional. This implies that only parliamentary system of representative government and intermittent elections is suitable for all economic systems and not the face to face dialogue to resolve and arrive at decisions. Perhaps the right note should be that our understanding of the complex tribal epistemology is terribly weak and much more research is needed to comprehend the situation

III ETHNODEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY

Having noted that internal self determination is in essential conformity with the available avenues of the state and that the criticisms are largely vague and unsubstantiated we turn to the preconditions for the successful implementation of the principle of internal self determination. The crucial requirements include (1) legal recognition of tribal organizations including their creations and development on the communal intercommunal regional and/or national levels with clear objectives of control over their traditional land resources lives and culture (2) respect for traditional rights including soil forest sources of water and

strategy of survival their syncretic complexes. While both assimilation/integration and apartheid condemn the future of tribal peoples into a blind alley ethnodelopment pleads that they should have the right to choose what to conserve and what to change what to adopt from the other cultures and what to reject and all these in what pace and intensity in this fast changing world. In the process of reformulation it is likely that several aspects of their economy culture symbols and beliefs may lose their force and might have to be replaced but such a decision should come from them only. This is the alternative discourse or the Third Way.

Moreover it needs to be stressed that though class divisions have become all pervasive and therefore socially integrating category tribal ethnic identity too persists as more or less equally significant principle of social integration. And therefore struggles for internal self determination cannot underestimate the ethnic existence as a formidable force. In concrete contexts both the basis can be unified to achieve the common objectives. It is thus not a social class alone but also a people a culture and a civilization. In any case for most tribes class and peoples are synonymous despite the rise of limited internal differentiation. In other words their struggles demand multidimensional approach including at the levels of ideology culture and gender. Be that alone the basic tenets of ethno/self development would include the following elements or factors namely (1) self sufficiency i.e. dependency should be progressively removed in the ethnodelopment process in order to achieve this it is necessary to recuperate models of technology and systems of specific knowledge so as to make them integrate with the modern systems. Self help housing cottage industries and the like with appropriate technology may be detailed out as components of self government. (2) Social justice i.e. development geared to resolve not to create the question of social and spatial inequality. This demands that they should be subjects of their present and future development. (3) Control of their own development according to their own priorities values and customs with full participation in the actual process of planning and implementation. And (4) ecological equilibrium or environmentally sensitive development which have been the cornerstone of the history of the tribal peoples across the world.

It is high time to acknowledge that the traditional tribal cultures and knowledge systems have much to offer to our imperiled planet and thus internal self determination and ethnodelopment cannot be separated from the collective human rights of all human beings. The fact is that in the inhospitable regions they have survived as viable societies for several centuries may provide insights into the very survival of the planet itself. As the modern management systems

sub soil resources whose utilization requiring the consent of the people and then adequate royalty for their use in the country's interest. (3) recognition of regional and local autonomy with respect to their own forms of authority customary law language customs values and identity as long as they do not clash with the internationally accepted standards of human rights and (4) working out appropriate strategies to counter the neo colonial and other nascent capitalist forces institutions and agents of state which prevent the realisation of the principle of internal self determination. This should include subordination of bureaucracy to collective tribal authorities and forms of decision and official support for their own programmes of economic social educational and cultural development.

These preconditions to the internal self determination lead us to the strategy of ethno or self development. In a broad sense ethnodelopment is the practical manifestation of internal self determination and without it the tribal peoples cannot put in practice self determination. Ethno implies respect for the wishes and desires of other peoples societies and cultures and development in this context refers to a total phenomenon combining economics politics and culture in an all encompassing whole defined by the concerned people themselves. Ethnodelopment then means control of the ethnic over its land resources social organization and culture. Additionally it implies that the tribal ethnicities have the right to freely negotiate with the state the kind of relationship they individually wish to have (Stavenhagen 1987). In other words it conveys that basing upon the traditional institutions and values to confront the challenges posed by the modern world. This is not a self imposed isolation or a political secession but redefining the notion of development and nation building on the basis of the legitimate aspirations of the culturally distinct groups. After all the UN General Assembly has adopted the right to development in 1986. What ethnodelopment aims at is to elaborate their own cultural forms and knowledge systems so as to react and accommodate themselves to the new times i.e. in short striving to change in order to conserve the essentials

Ethnodelopment should not be confused with the romantic tribalism which Indian anthropologists discussed under isolationism. Built on the conservative call fascist resonance theory of cultural relativism. In contrast the notion of ethnodelopment does not intend to keep the tribal peoples outside the matrix of change or take refuge in the supposedly original unaltered past. It recognizes that neither the history of the tribal peoples was ever frozen nor they can survive uncontaminated by the present and future events. The isolationist position is obviously paternalistic anachronistic and discriminatory for it denies the tribal peoples to elaborate and change as a

are considered failures it is important to understand the tribal responsible stewardship of the renewable resources and capacity to determine their own future and quality of life it is time to look at the tribal holistic futuristic ecologically sustainable and culturally specific modes of management and development as the Third Way The fundamental feature of tribal subsistence systems is their organization by community and a clear tendency for communal control and collective management of economic resources with due respect to and balanced interaction with nature It must be stressed that sustainability is not unchangeability It refers to not only the needs of the present but also the future generations with appropriate technology and socio cultural organization Being based on highly cooperative local self development it is suitable to local ecosystems and their safe reproduction Moreover it simultaneously refers to the sustainable cultural systems and calls for affirming and enhancing diverse cultural identities Despite the changes much of the tribal ontological status of integration of nature and human society have not been fully incorporated into the logic of world capitalism This provides the basis to formulate appropriate designs for sustainable development

In sum the principle of internal self determination and the strategy of sustainable self development or ethnodevelopment would ensure the beginning of a process of emancipation of the tribal peoples The detail contours however are still to be worked out Internal self determination for autonomy over their economies territories culture and future could be a powerful tool for genuine democracy and federalism It would provide a new physical and symbolic space The Sixth Schedule despite certain weaknesses could be the basis for working out the principle of internal self determination and ethnodevelopment

In this complex what role the conscientious tribal researchers can perform? It must be acknowledged that as much as their knowledge is welcomed by the status-quoists several times more enthusiastic public ovation awaits them organized by the people studied by them of course with more or less equal conditions Those who are concerned for the future of the people and the country to me should be allies in the liberation struggles of the tribal peoples in particular and marginalised peoples in general in the name of scientism and hypocritical objectivity they cannot

evade the responsibility to the people who contributed to their very professional existence It is not a call to defend the tribal peoples interests but also a complex responsibility of disseminating the relevant information and sorting out strategies to conscientize on their existence and potentiality for changing the structurally unjust social systems Needless to state that production and dissemination of knowledge is central to their political struggles for realizing internal self determination For those such roles are outside their professional integrity (sic) or difficult to perform they can surely denounce all cases of ethnocide ecocide and genocide and insist on the significance of respecting socio cultural diversity bio diversity and economic diversity of the peoples of not only India but everywhere In case such a role is considered partisan knowing pretty well that all the suggested strategies so far are either ignored or served the purpose of harming the tribal peoples there is enough scope to develop the discipline of anthropology There is an urgent need to locate the tribal approaches to historical and ethnological researches leading to rewriting their history and explaining their cultures themselves After all practical experience of the peoples should form the cornerstone of any research and thus contribute to the development of indigenous scientific approaches Academic research should be presented from within rather than from above as a fait accompli and in terms of intelligibility to the concerned people There is also the urgent need to democratize information on human rights and development processes After all we have benefited from their time energy love hospitality and culture Let us not forget that what we are today is because of them Let me end here with the presumption that anthropologists too have some responsibility

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IKRAM AZAM

PROMOTING PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY IN THE THIRD WORLD

INTRODUCTION

To many in the Third World Francis Fukuyama's End of History theory (1) is just a tunnel vision myth created by the apparent demise of communism with the end of the superpower Cold War Philosophically speaking if life is living history or history is life then history can never end as long as there is life on earth For life is a continuum a process that will go on till Doomsday and beyond if we go by the world's great religions (2) Life and history are said to unfold themselves in waves and cycles and spirals and clusters and constellations (3) The apparent end of one is the beginning of another in this endless process and continuum For the Third World one such end beginning came with the end of freedom and the beginning of colonial imperialism a few centuries ago Take for example the case of the British Empire (4) Another such wave emerged with the various national freedom movements culminating in the attainment of the sovereign nation state status with the end of the Second World War around the middle of the 20th century But the superpower rivalry for spheres of influence thereafter led to covert neoimperialism and new colonialism with foreign aid and international trade finance monetarism banking system protectionism and multinational cartels monopolies and corporations as active agents and facilitators of this charade (5) The end of the superpower rivalry in 1987 91 and the Gulf Crisis of 1990 91 have brought in new worries in their wake about a dangerously unipolar world a manipulated if not surrogated United Nations a pliable Soviet Union and so 21st Century Pax Americana

NEW IMPERIALISM

Thus life and history go on as inscrutable and unpredictable as ever The hope is that with them visionary humanity will continue to probe the future

with fresh guiding images visions and ideologies to suit the new challenges If both 20th century capitalism and communism have failed to solve the present century's problems the 21st century will undoubtedly seek its own more apt solutions to its own special problems albeit the 20th century hangovers and heirlooms The biggest of them of course being

SURVIVAL (6) in WAR and PEACE I

This search for survival in peaceful progress will involve many a myth vision and ideology (7) to lift life's (The) Poverty Curtain (8)

The Democratic Lure Myth and Reality (9)

As authoritarianism whether military or political/civilian became increasingly unpopular since the 1960s in the newly emancipated Third World Developing Countries/Underdeveloped World Democracy emerged as the common catch call of humanity There were fundamental reasons for this The local ruling elite (10) were regarded as socio cultural alienates with their own vested interests to protect and promote through systemic status quo seeking for self power perpetuation and by resisting social change They were also suspected of being agents of international imperialism both western capitalistic and communist especially the former and of hoisting indigenous imperialism on a gullible people and naive nation The West particularly America was openly blamed for exercising double standards in its democratic professions and practices in that while it was practicing democracy at home it supported autocracy abroad in its ever obliging clientel of dated and decadent military regimes kingdoms sheikhdoms and what not The message of this rising crescendo of criticism abroad reached the American and Western corridors of power to effect a positive pro democracy attitudinal change that tied aid to basic needs human rights peace disarmament and nuclear non prolife

ration issues. Thereafter at least theoretically the prospects of Third World Democracy picked up. But the hurdles remained which shall be discussed later. Now in the 1990s with the global defeat of at least Soviet communism democratic aspirations have spread like a contagious rash all over the world and even deviant dictators are amusingly paying it lip service today. This is nothing short of an irony of current history.

The greatest danger in this new found democratic euphoria is that it is being simplistically idealized in the West and the Third World alike as the only panacea and saviour of long suffering humanity. Not only is democracy emerging as the antithesis of communism it is also erroneously being equated with secularism and capitalism. As Mida's mythical touch stone transformational cure of all human ills and evils the false expectations that it is arousing are rocketing the skies. It is a matter of common experience that when ideals and reality clash in the pragmatic realm of life the result is general disillusionment. That is what has to be guarded against globally regionally and locally the failure of democracy from a high hope and idyllic dream to a disillusioning flop.

Not that critical analyses and realistic appraisals of democratic theory and practice are lacking. The end notes of this paper list just a few random readings (11). But euphoria has a way of glossing over (unpleasant) reality ultimately only to belie unrealistic expectations.

Democracy As a Problem and a Solution

Democracy as a Solution can be successful only if its Prerequisites are provided for and the Problems inherent in processing and packaging or institutionalizing it are foreseen and planned about. This calls for much forethought (12) and Strategic Futurization (13). The champions of democracy at home and abroad must cater to them for securing success.

Democratic Prerequisites

The most essential from the Third World angle can be itemized as under

(A) Endogenous

- (i) Democratic aspirations if not ideology
- (ii) Favourable historical experience
- (iii) Contributory political culture and national character or norms values and life styles
- (iv) A proper resource base human (education etc)

racy etc) and maternal

(B) Exogenous

- (v) International/regional support best channelled through the U N

But the U N itself needs to be reformed for its foreseeable 21st Century Role and Responsibility as a truly independent and non aligned/neutral balancer of power and peace in the world and guardian of democracy. This becomes all the more necessary in a dangerously unipolar world after the so-called Soviet Surrogation (in the opinion of some) and the U N capitulation to the U S in the 1991 Gulf War. The minimum requirements of any such reform are

(a) A U N that is more truly representative of the global population and complexity. The outdated hegemony of the permanent Security Council members must be balanced proportionately by the induction of Eastern Europe, United Germany, Australasia, the Far East, Third World, Latin America and the Muslim World. If not the elimination of those who no longer have either the population or the economic power to justify their membership- despite their military might.

(b) A U N that is financially secure, stable and independent and does not depend on arm twisting and blackmailing done by the big/super power(s) or the arrogant rich. For that the U N must generate and invest funds to secure an independent source of income free from manipulation by its traditional financiers.

The promotion of democracy will get a fillip if at least the potential of the foregoing factors is present in a society. Conversely it is likely to be impeded to the extent of the paucity of this potential or reality.

The Democratic Problem

As pointed out earlier, democracy becomes a problem when it is idealized out of all proportion to its living reality. That apart, the greatest problem with Democracy in the Third World has been experienced in the following fields

Power Politics (14)

The definition and delimitation of power as well as its judicious and balanced exercised and transfer are a riddle that even India and Israel (otherwise cited as Third World democratic successes) have not been able to unravel and master. The democratic theory of checks and balances, the rule of law, the supremacy of the constitution, independence of the judiciary and the separation of powers etc. is well known. But the political will to ensure practice thereon is lacking. In

fact the reverse is practised in stark violation of Lord Acton's warning that

All power corrupts
And absolute power
Tends to corrupt absolutely

The executive feels threatened first by street power and then by the media. To cope with them becomes its obsessive expedient. It psyches and cons the former and muzzles the latter. As for the institutional/constitutional restraints on the executive, it corrupts the legislature, coerces the bureaucracy, surrogates the state media and amends the constitution. It also turns the Judiciary into an obliging conniving hand maiden that endorses/legitimizes it through the Doctrine of Necessity, favourable judgments, legislation by (Presidential) Ordinances and special or even Kangaroo courts etc. protected by the colonial contempt of court theory to assume more power. Emergency powers and draconian laws are enacted in the name of national interest, integration and security and to cope with the rising tide of terrorism and subversion, guns, drugs and destabilization. Sometimes even popular charismatic leaders resort to such power politics assuming that their popularity confers them the inherent right to do so. The result is that National Power gets frittered away in the tussle between Political Power and Power Politics of the personal, the partisan and the parochial. This also provides an opportunity for and paves the way to coup d'états and martial laws. The basic cause of that is sometimes an absolutist power base that causes reactive revolt or a weakened and fragmented one which becomes a temptation for ambitious usurpers, power hungry deviants or else self appointed messianic saviours of the nation state. Pakistan at present is a troika with the power base manipulated overtly or covertly by the President, the Prime Minister and the Army.

Cosmetic Democracy

The Third World (South Asian) limited experience of Western Democracy has been at best a mixed bag rather more of a pest than a panacea. Why? Not just because of the usual teething troubles, but much more because of rhetorical psyching and conniving through the manipulating media and by sheer corruption and malpractices like elections rigging and crossing the floor known as horse trading in South Asia. Election costs are also inflationary in fact spirally astronomical so that democracy has become an exorbitantly elitist fad. Because of its well known ills and evils it is also exploitatively token messily marginalized, actively agitational and fragilely vulnerable elections time ritual. Such so called South Asian/Third World democracies are also subject to other strains and stresses particularly

Exogenous Regionalism/Regionalization, supranationalism and multinationals

Endogenous Ethnationalism or subnationalism as in united Pakistan of 1971 vis à vis East Pakistan/Bangladeshi (sub) nationalism

The Results and Their Causes

The Results

There are several causes of such democratic cosmetics wherein elitism leads to the alienation of the elite and the marginalization of the masses. The result is non liberal democracy as an underdeveloped (or developing) variant of Democracy in the Third World under the myth of (economic) maximization according to C B Macpherson (15) in the capitalist system. That prevents the emergence of the plurality of elites (16) from among the politically motivated masses and the educated middle classes. The ruling well entrenched vested interest cliques and coteries try to block Social Mobility and Political Change (17) beyond the barest minimal. Likewise people's participation is peripheralized -except at rabble rousing rallies and agitational processions and of course in the elections season. And so the democratic illusion (18) for the common man. Thus also the Radical Critique of Liberal Democracy (19) which insists upon a critical reappraisal of modern democratic theory to focus on its necessary conditions and justifications in a revolutionary era of turbulent change rushing on to the 21st century (20). The fear of the collapse of the false façade of democracy coupled with the elitist lust for power promotes state violence and ruling elitist autocracy (21). The road from liberal to mass or people's popularly participatory democracy is fraught with many a chilling challenge and rational or irrational response. And thus the necessity of Managing Political Conflict (22) through democratic crisis management, conflict resolution, preventive action, preemptive planning etc. or even panicky fudging or fumbling through. In the Third World, authoritarian state violence causing human rights issues is frequent. Therefore the future of political conflict between the elite and masses and within contending conniving elites can be foreseen and seriously daring democracy in the near future to the end of this century. The best way to cope with such foreseeable power crises is to adopt Futuristic as national policy, if not philosophy, and to resort to Strategic Futurization as a planning process and instrument. That way the national system is likely to generate activist change agents or managers of change well equipped with the skills of change to cope with it as a value and way of life integral to the national ethos (23).

The Causes

The main reasons for politico-bureaucratic elitist power politics and the marginalization of the masses in Third World democracies are traceable to the absence or short supply of the Democratic Prerequisites listed earlier in this paper. But the most predominant is the particular political culture, historical experience and national character of each Third World nation state or country which sets it apart from its neighbour or counterparts and also distinguishes it from Western Democracy or the Western Democracies. Their theories, experiences and practices Western Democracy does not seem to work well and won't in the Third World because of their distinct differences in the aforementioned areas.

Yet the democratic aspirations and need for Social Change in these very Third World Societies urge upon the Democratic option and choice. What is the way out of this dilemma?

The Democratic Choice and Solution

Democracy is not a Divine ordinance that it should not be discarded on tragic disillusionment. Yet the current consensus is that with all its faults it is so far the best system evolved by human experience over time. Then how to reconcile the Third World democratic aspirations with the seamy or unseemly performance of Western Democracy in this alien milieu? Apparently logically there are three major ways to do so:

(i) To indigenize Democracy in the Third World by grafting it on to the local political culture, historical experience and national character values and life styles.

(ii) To relate Democracy to the people's daily lives needs and life issues and thereby to make it pragmatically meaningful as to be solving their problems and delivering the promised and expected goods and services.

(iii) To evolve a Local Model and/or a Regional Paradigm of Democracy that grows naturally out of the indigenous social subsoil, historical habitat and geopolitical environment.

That is where the transmutation of theory into practice comes in. It is not enough to talk of or even pledge basic needs and human rights. They must be delivered in deed at the people's door steps. And thus the importance of Peopling of indigenous grass roots direct and and people's popular participatory democracy. Of national democracy and pluralism in ethnically diverse national societies in order to mitigate any fissiparous tendencies or secessionist movements via mutual

accommodation of common and special interests.

The Muslim World is trying to crystallize the Islamic Paradigm of Islamic Consensual Democracy in an Islamic Welfare State and Society (24). It needs to be encouraged in this effort despite the all too natural differences with its Western counterparts (25). The similarities too need to be explored and patronized. That would be the barest minimum if revolutionary change (or allegedly fundamentalist transformation) is to be avoided in the last decade of the 20th century (26). Much will depend on the collective wisdom and will of the totality of the leadership of the Third World and of those abroad who wax eloquent about the blessings and beatitude of A New World Order (27). It is to be hoped that it will be a socially and humanly responsible, futuristic leadership and not the traditional myopic type set. Likewise the perception is that China's apparent democratic isolation to day might well be a prelude to the 21st Century Chinese Paradigm of Democratic Socialism or Social Democracy (28). Such a leadership is expected to reconcile and serve both the collective national and global human interests of development and defence, national integration and regional stability cum security (29).

Serving Human Needs

Freedom and National Sovereignty earlier we had suggested that democracy in the Third World could strike roots and succeed if it were related to and served the essential human needs. For the Third World which has suffered for centuries at the hands of colonial imperialism is still suffering from exploitative capitalism, neo colonialism and new imperialism and may yet be suppressed by 21st Century imperialism in the garb of a mythically delusory New World Order. Its Freedom is most dear to it. Therefore it will jealously guard its sovereign nation state status against both ethnationally inspired disintegration and alienly engineered, terroristic subversion, sabotage and destabilization and/or supra state regionalism/supra nationalism. Nationalism may now be meaningless for Europe or the West but for the Third World it is symbolic of national identity, geopolitical reality and hard earned freedom (30). It is not nationalism that spurs nations on to war or aggression but the denial or repression of it. Like religion it causes a reaction both when it is imposed and when it is crushed. No doubt regionalism and globalism have their own human worth and value. In fact they find moral support in Islam's theory of Regionalization (Pan Islamism) and humanitarian Universalism (31). But the nation state as a natural habitat of peoples has its own geopolitical constraints and compulsions (31) (a).

Now we can turn to other essential human needs

The multinational Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues has discussed the following operative facts and factors in its Report Winning The Human Race? (32)

Global Issues

- (i) Population
- (ii) Environment
- (iii) Poverty and Development
- (iv) Global Militarization
- (v) Terrorism
- (vi) The International Drug Problem

The foregoing are as common to the Third World as to the international community generally. The first and third coupled with illiteracy, unemployment and inflation are typical of the Third World. In recent years the arms race has gained ground because of the cause of old unresolved fundamental issues and their basic causes like self determination and perennial crises like Kashmir, Afghanistan and Palestine. Likewise destabilizing terrorism and subversive sabotage are also on the ascent. Environmentalism is perhaps the major if not only breakthrough in some Third World/South Asian countries. Democracy whether global or national must seek to tackle these issues if it is to bear any meaning and message for the Poor and Wretched of the Earth (33).

To the above Global Issues can be added the following Man Made Disasters as covered in the Report under reference:

- a) Contemporary Food Crises
- (i) Famine
- (ii) Desertification
- (iii) Deforestation
- b) New Man Made Disasters
- (i) Commercial Nuclear Power
- (ii) Genetic Engineering
- (iii) Industrial Disasters

A separate chapter is devoted to Armed Violence to focus on

- (i) Weapons of Mass Destruction

(ii) Communal Conflicts

(iii) Humanitarian Norms in Armed Conflict

The Vulnerable Groups discussed in the said Report are

- (i) The Young urban and street children
- (ii) The Uprooted refugees, displaced persons, statelessness and mass expulsions
- (iii) The Neglected indigenous peoples and the disappeared

The Forces of Change or Change Agents

Critiqued in the Report are

- (i) New Nations
- (ii) People's Movements
- (iii) Women
- (iv) Youth
- (v) Modern Technology
- (vi) Transnationals
- (vii) The Media

The above cannot be taken for granted. Nor is democracy itself the ideal fit and perfect fit. The foregoing would need to be democratized and democracy itself reformed, futuristically or futurized in order to engineer effective social change. Otherwise the foregoing themselves could be manipulated to serve authoritarianism. Fascism is well known to have brainstormed people and stormtrooped systems on the strength of parliamentary dispensations and democratic slogans and clichés.

Significantly the Report ends on a note of Hope with creative thinking on Disaster Management and General Conclusions and Recommendations the crux of which is quoted below that requires the reformation of both the operant national and international frameworks, the systemic political factors and the United Nations Coordinating Role inspired by a Humanitarian Code of conduct.

We are convinced of the need for global consensus building and for strengthening multilateralism (34) And

Finally we emphasize the need to build upon the

existing structure of human rights and humanitarian principles by identifying and promoting those human values and norms which are common to all cultures and creeds in all continents (35)

Also

In concluding this Report we wish to reaffirm our faith in the ability of humankind to overcome the colossal challenges facing it. Our plea for progress in the humanitarian field is not intended to downplay the need for progress in other areas economic political and global security. Indeed we recognize that progress in these fields is essential for promoting the causes we espouse. But somehow somewhere the vicious circle of confrontation and conflict has to be broken. We believe humanitarianism can and must play that role. In our view it is a field in which ideological differences North South problems and East West rivalries can be transcended. The recognition of the fundamental worth of the human person and the ethical values shared by all societies must be the sustaining force behind common action for common good (36)

Thus Democracy has to be Humanized and made socially responsible and moral if it is to strike roots in the Third World socio political culture psyche and system. Here one is reminded of Green Politics (37) But that alone won't do unless the emphasis is on Green Ethics and Green Democracy for the transformation of the human mind-set and Third World mentality

Like the Human Race Report. The Futurist (38) USA offers a similar list of human problems and solutions notably in

(i) Issues of the 1990s (38 a)

(ii) Outlook 91 And Beyond (38 b)

In fact there has been an increasing spate of Futurist literature on the subject in recent years (39) The point to note is that there is an uncanny commonality of perceptions on the entire human level from the local to the global. What is needed is sustained and concerted efforts to first humanize and moralize democracy and then to indigenize or nationalize it while globalizing it at the same time. The pluralizing role of NGOs in the democratizing process and people's empowerment is essential (40)

Some Third World Solutions

Democracy in the Third World can succeed only if it is

(i) Indigenized/Nationalized on the basis of Local Models and Paradigms

(ii) Humanized and moralized

(iii) Pragmatized and Peopled with reference to the Essential People's Needs and Popular Plural Participation. Populism not elitism should be its Message as a Populist Movement. The People's Power must be motivated for grass roots social integration inspired by an equity operated people centered vision of sustainability

The following measures are suggested in the light of the Third World experience of Democracy (41) in order to employ it as an instrument and agent of much needed Social Change

(i) Empowerment of the People the Masses (who matter) by direct local participative door steps democracy via constitutional policy provisions and institutional practices

(ii) Regular General Elections on the basis of

(a) Professional Representation to make politics truly representative of the national cross sectional spectrum and to grant fair representation to all the major professions/general interests. That will break the political monopoly of the existing capitalist exploitatively vested interest elite the feudals the big business and the civil and military bureaucracies. It will also enable the educated poor and middle classes to be properly represented

(b) Proportional Representation to give due weightage to all the participatory political parties and plural interest

(c) Fifty Per Cent Direct Female Representation on the basis of population. There should be no token reserved seats for women or their indirect election by the male elected members of the legislatures as at present in some countries e.g. Pakistan. They should be directly elected by the voters. There should be no bar on a female head of state or government

(d) Lowering the Voting Age of the Youth to the High School Age to 15 years in order to maximize their participation in public affairs and thereby to nurture their sense of social responsibility

(iii) Stringent Legislation and Enforcement against exorbitant politics floor crossing horse trading political blackmail kidnapping for ransom or as pressure tactics and any other form of political corruption and malpractices including election rigging

(iv) Legislation and its implementation against the imposition of martial law

(v) Enactment to ensure that a properly elected go

vernment completes its normal term and tenure of office

(vi) The anachronistic colonial concepts of the contempt of court and legal immunity to high office should be done away with as human nature is fallible and accountability must extend to one and all big and small without let or favour

(vii) Fundamental Principles like the freedom of the media rule of law due process checks and balances independence of the judiciary and separation of powers must be legislated and practised

(viii) The supremacy of the Constitution and the National Democratic System must be secured over petty personal partisan or parochial interests

(ix) The Third World Democracy should aim at Sustainable Societies and Systems rather than Western capitalistic exponential growth. Sustainable socio economic holistic development and political reconstruction should be taken to where they belong the rural majority masses. That is the sanest way to contain cancerous city sprawl and unplanned urbanization. Sustainability can also help to tackle the forestable electronic colonialism and technology nihilism imperialism or authoritarianism of the global village post industrial information society (42)

(x) Agricultural Income Tax and genuine (not paper) land reforms are essential both to end outdated feudalism/absentee land lordism and to effect small farm self employment instead of gifting away limited state land to the landless for political expediency and timely trade offs

(xi) Urban unemployment can and needs to be tackled by means of training for self employment and credit facilities easy loans and grants. Development must be taken to where it belongs the 70% rural masses- to prevent unplanned urbanization city sprawl and shanty towns

(xii) The literacy rate will have to be raised substantially by 2000 A.D. Balanced and job market related education science and technology must become the objective of the education policy

(xiii) Population planning policies/strategies must be linked to real life needs problems and poverty. Only then can they hope to be practised

(xiv) Conserver rather than Achieving Societies need to be pragmatized (43) Resource mobilization and human resource generation inevitable for this purpose

(xv) Finally Self Reliance and Self Help need to be

practised rather than preached or sloganized in order to plan for Self Sufficiency

CONCLUSION

Democracy in the Third World is yet largely cosmetic marginalized and vulnerable. Its salvation lies in humanizing and indigenizing it to serve the people's needs and solve their life's problems. Otherwise it will remain at best a fanciful myth or deteriorate into a disillusioning reality

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Ana Maria SANDI

PROSPECTS FOR RESTORING CIVIL STRUCTURES IN EASTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES

THE NEED FOR STRONG CIVIL SOCIETIES

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

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

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

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

East Europeans are not the only ones to complain about this lack of participation. As contemporary democratic models are moving away from technocratic visions of government to extensive participation, in Western countries also more people feel the need to participate in politics. However, the situations between East Europe and the West are quite different. The functioning basis of that world usually called developed is based on political freedom and the strict observance of a system of laws and regulations. It is exactly the existence of complex organization and rules which now generates bureaucracies and induces passive behaviour patterns. The obsession with technology, productivity and efficiency also leads to the eradication of political and moral questions from public life and to a certain atomization. In addition, the withdrawal from political involvement is reinforced by a media which swamps people with packaged political culture.

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

In order to allow effective opportunities of participa

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

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

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

POST TOTALITARIAN SOCIETIES

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

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

The inertia of public awareness is encouraged by the old structures and residual nomenclature The fight for everyday subsistence added to low wages inflation and shortages keeps people occupied mostly

with the material aspects of life sometimes mere survival Finally there are many political discussions but no participation in politics except through political parties

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

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

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

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

PREREQUISITES FOR RESTORING CIVIL SOCIETIES

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

The dreadful experience of communist countries

showed that people cannot really be free without private property Economic independence is a basic requirement for citizens to feel free to question the states decisions Therefore a first precondition for the restoration of East European civil societies is the separation of the economy (property) from the state another important aspect is the separation of the culture from the state

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

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

Citing Noel Malcolm who said that democracy is ruled by the people and nationalism is a precondition to the formation of a people G Will concluded recently that the increase in nationalism in East Europe is a good indication sign that people are trying to establish stable nations (1991) The author seems to forget that in this geographic region nation states appeared a long time ago They shared a common history and culture within a particular territory What has been lost and has to be regained is a sense of shared destiny which was denied during the last 45 years Therefore once again the increase in nationalism comes from both the differentiation processes and manipulation and not from the formation of new nations

Finally a third precondition for the restoration of civil societies is related to the attitude towards the future Civil societies start to exist when people go beyond their immediate interests and think about the future

When public opinion has the capacity to transcend current concerns it begins to develop systems of values (Heller 1991) However East European countries are highly disillusioned with long term thinking after being exposed to the failure of the communist utopia Also during the present transitional phase people are too preoccupied with sudden changes around them to be able to indulge in long term visions The difficulties of fighting for survival during highly inflationary times and a type of disappointment following big initial hopes are making the future seem even more alien

PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY BY RESTORING CIVIL SOCIETIES

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

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

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

ties) A suggestive recent example is the transformation of a part of the Romanian Civic Alliance Movement into the Civic Alliance Party. The phenomenon is certainly not new as the history of many green movements proves.

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

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

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

An undiversified media held in the hands of power may represent another danger. By the imposition of a single viewpoint a hostile media and especially the TV may become a serious obstacle for the development of all sorts of populist or right wing movements.

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

Despite the various problems and dangers threatening their existence and evolution Eastern European civil structures begin to manifest themselves as the

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

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

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

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

One such opportunity is represented by the international organizations which should assume a more important role in catalyzing democratic processes. The quest for democracy has been seen as a double-sided process concerned on the one hand with the reform of state power and on the other hand with the restructuring of the civil society (Held 1990). The need is felt to see it also in broader terms including transnational corporations and on the other hand would be networks of components of national civil societies. The usually held opinion that individual action can make no difference on a world scale is contradicted by many stories of success. The Bel-

gium initiated Action Villages Roumaines by which hundreds of Romanian villages were twinned with European ones was very efficient in stopping Ceaucescu's mad plan of destroying Romanian villages. Another well known example is offered by the activities of the Amnesty International Organization. The World Futures Studies Federation itself has worked since it was established in the direction of networking organizations and people looking for more democratic futures.

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

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THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION WHAT CHANGES FOR ECONOMIC PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY?

INTRODUCTION

Having hardly felt the infatuating taste of freedom and democracy the people from Eastern Europe entered a new phase of growth much more sober which was due to the failure of their hopes and illusions. The great expectations for solving the huge pile of problems with one sweep of the hand of the new democratic governments and a massive help from the West were not lived up to. Nowadays more and more people begin to realize that they could not possibly reach the Western standard of living in a few years their future being imagined as a long period of constant uncertainty rising inflation and unemployment

One of the illusions typical for the emerging democracies in this part of the world is represented by the high expectations of the people for a better participation in decision making. The totalitarian regimes during their last 10-15 years have declared the human rights of participating in Self management or Worker Management System. This appeared to be only a tool to secure the safety of the small bureaucratic elite which continued to take the vast majority of the decisions on behalf and for the people.

The situation now seems to be changed completely since the East European people live in the conditions of political pluralism which allowed them to take part in the first free democratic governmental institutions. At the same time the civil society with its evolving structures and mechanisms is still in quite a rudimentary state in these countries. The democratic citizen rights and the stability of democracy are still at great risk. A basic problem is whether and how the new system of democratic institutions could meet the need for a growing grassroots participation in decision making.

In this respect it is necessary to note a unique feature

of the transition in Eastern Europe: the tight and very unpopular economic measures have to be carried out in combination with a strong grassroots democracy movement which is a testimony for the close relationship of the people in the region with the European cultural tradition. The economy should undergo a period of dominance of the economic coercion in which the people have to change their attitudes towards work and profit their way of thinking and behaviour under the threat of unemployment and/or serious cuts in wages, jobs and social security funding. And it seems that all this goes into line with more central control and regulation and not with people empowerment.

Such a major challenge lying ahead could not possibly be met without a clear concept on the goals objectives strategies and techniques of privatization.

THE PARTICULARITIES OF PRIVATISATION IN EASTERN EUROPE

Maybe it will look strange what difference does the process of privatization make for the problems of participation since it is known that ownership and control in the world history have been separated for a long time. I dare say it is not the same in this part of the world. The very success of the transition to a market economy whether the existing monopolistic structure of the economy will be overcome and free competition will prevail depends on how the privatization will be accomplished. Without laying its sound economic foundations the process of democratization in the political sphere will not go over certain limits making democracy in the East European countries as fragile and unstable as ever while the perspectives of participation will be growing dimmer.

A preferred future is represented by a privatization

model aimed at the dispersal of state ownership among the majority of the population. It might turn out to be a feasible one if we take into consideration the sensitivity of the people from the region towards social justice and equality. A scenario leading to the concentration of wealth into the hands of a small group of people will certainly meet strong resistance and provoke social conflicts and instability.

The preferred future society in Eastern Europe will be supposedly that of numerous owners which constitute a prevailing middle class being the main source of social stability. On this the European countries could rely in order to attract massive foreign investment. So far no differences from the Thatcherist model could be seen except probably in a higher level of participation in decision making.

Looking from the present to the future one could also see a number of serious difficulties confronting privatization in Eastern Europe, the main being

the valuation of the assets of the companies. It has to be done keeping in mind the absence of private markets, stock exchanges, meaningful accounting records, etc. Overvaluation or undervaluation in the benefit of managers and civil servants can be met even now in the existing practices in Poland and Hungary.

the need to privatise the larger part of the economy in a relatively short period of time. According to the ambitious governmental programmes in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia up to 70% of the state owned enterprises should be privatized in 3-5 years. If the process of privatisation takes longer, it is very likely that the government will not resist the heavy social and political pressures for salvation of the state industry by providing new subsidies. The considerable fall in the standard of living will lead to a massive migration of young and qualified people to the West and the flourishing of populism which is a favourable environment for the rise of dictatorships.

the lack of clear and well defined property rights. Under totalitarian rule the property was owned by everybody, i.e. by nobody. It was state owned but nobody neither the civil servants nor the managers and the workers have behaved like real owners. Even in the 80s when the workers in Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria were given rights to elect the managers and to allocate resources they regarded the property as something they could benefit themselves from for free either legally or illegally. Following the Yugoslavian model the system of self management or worker management failed because of the dominance of short term preferences for consumption over long term investment.

Having in mind the short time period and the lack of sufficient savings which could prevent the people from participating in the process of privatization it becomes clear why the idea of using voucher schemes and ESOPs as main privatisation techniques is so popular in Eastern Europe. In Poland and Czechoslovakia the adult population can buy already up to 30% of firm's equity through vouchers, 20% directly and 10% through mutual funds. The draft of the Law on Privatization in Bulgaria stipulates the possibility of using vouchers in order to acquire for free 20% of the shares in the mutual funds.

There is a strong opposition against buying firms' equity through vouchers in Hungary and Bulgaria. According to leading scheme the demand for shares will greatly exceed their supply which will reduce vouchers purchasing power for the majority of the population. Besides people lack the knowledge and expertise to invest by means of vouchers. They will probably entrust them to investment funds or sell them in the market for a price much lower than the face value, the result being the failure of the scheme.

We may face another irony of history when the final outcome of the application of voucher schemes would be putting the economy under the strong control of speculative small groups mostly operating on its shade side.

The Bulgarian law like the Polish one is likely to ensure the sale of 20% of firms equity to the personnel of state owned companies on preferential conditions for 3/4 of the face value by using 3 years long low interest loans. This kind of ESOP could have a specially motivating effect in the labour intensive industries (for example in textile, footwear, etc.) where the bigger part of value added is created through the direct efforts of the workers including a great deal of manual labour. The situation is quite different in the capital intensive industries in which the economic performance of a company depends to a larger extent on the level of technology and the skills of the managers.

It is known that ESOPs in the West do not lead to a significant redistribution of power in the companies. In fact the ceding of real control over decisions is very little. Its motivating effects are still more dubious as the employee income from dividends is negligible. That is why a number of suggestions appeared stating that the main privatisation technique should be the buy out of the whole or at least 51% firm's equity by the personnel. It was said that this could make the people more inclined to endure the inevitable hardships of the transition (wage cuts, harder work, etc.) and will soften future social conflicts.

A personnel buy out will obviously make real economic

as a main privatization technique. A strong argument against this is the following: vouchers and ESOPs may lead to a colossal dispersal of ownership which will give too much leeway to managers. This is what Bulgaria may not need but we still have to decide which one is better: a concentrated or diffused stock holdings model.

Academic studies have proved the positive relationship existing between stock concentration and productivity which indicates the importance that a concentration of powerful stockholders has for the efficiency of a firm. The so-called X inefficiencies and have an indirect positive impact on productivity through their influence on a firm's diversification strategy and investment in R&D. Powerful stockholders can use an implicit or explicit threat to bring an issue to a proxy vote or to sell their stock as a means of influencing the strategic development of a firm in a manner they feel appropriate.

This is supposed to say that the distribution of ownership has important connotations for the efficiency and strategic development of firms. For example when the stockholdings are concentrated in the hands of a limited number of large investors, information asymmetries are low, the ability of stockholders to remove a management team is high and managers are likely to be constrained to pursue their own strategies that are not in stockholders' interests. Stockholders commanding significant blocks of shares can use their voting power to enforce investments in maximizing productive efficiency (related diversification investment in R&D, etc.). It is more likely that ownership and control will be fused again through MBOs and the employees will be pressed to take working positions that are most productive for the firm, not for themselves. And it is less likely that managers will tend to choose strategies which maximize their own utility such as investments in excessive staff, unrelated diversification and imitation of the innovations of other companies.

On the contrary when stockholdings are diffused among numerous small investors it is difficult for individual stockholders to coordinate action and demand an accounting from management. Thus significant information asymmetries are likely to exist giving managers leeway to pursue strategies inconsistent with stockholders' interests. The possibilities of real control of stockholders' people/employees in the case of applied voucher schemes and ESOPs over decisions are strongly reduced.

It may seem obvious that a preferred future model of privatisation in Bulgaria is the one of concentrated stockholdings. The sale of stock to a small number of large investors is what most of the Bulgarian state owned companies need now. They are overstaffed

mic participatory democracy in Eastern Europe, but it might be completely inadequate having in mind the present economic environment and the following

it is known that worker decision makers tend to be averse to risk especially when there is no clear relationship between investment for future returns and short term benefits. It is very likely that there will be no cuts of excessive staff but the managers will see to it that everyone gets his/her salary and bonuses regularly.

the elected managers will probably carry out a populist policy matched to the day to day demands of the personnel. The working discipline and the quality of the management will deteriorate.

the low educational level and the lack of information and managerial culture of the personnel will certainly result in a formal participation in decision making and ceding of real control over decisions to the professional managers.

Finally according to the opinion of Western experts and businessmen the adoption of personnel buy out as a main privatization technique will discourage massive foreign investment in the countries from Eastern Europe. If this is true or not is an issue that has to be elaborated further which I am going to do on the basis of my consultancy experiences and impressions from the Bulgarian industry.

THE CASE OF BULGARIA

Bulgaria is considered to be a country where the people's expectations and illusions tend to be lower than in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This may be due to the fact that Bulgaria started radical economic reforms later (in February 1991) and could see their first results in the countries from Central Europe. Typical features of the Bulgarian people like pragmatism and common sense are likely to have their say too. In fact it is not by chance that Bulgarians are the only people in the Balkans (compared to Yugoslavia, Albania and Romania) that managed to go through the transition peacefully without a single drop of blood up till now and to sustain a kind of fragile but nevertheless real stability.

And it goes without saying that the Parliamentary elections scheduled for October 13 will be won by those political parties and coalitions that will present less ideological discussions and emotions and more practical solutions to present and future problems of the country.

Such solutions are expected to be presented on the critical issue of using voucher schemes and ESOPs

and grossly inefficient use of obsolete technology and produce poor quality goods which cannot be sold in the world market. They are dominated by very strong trade unions which are able to impose the demands of the personnel upon the managers and even sack the latter.

Knowing the situation in Eastern Europe and Bulgaria such large investors could not be found but a few among the native population. That is why it is really a massive foreign investment that is hoped for. The foreign investors are likely to bring into the Bulgarian economy the main world criteria for productivity in come and competitiveness the result being some real changes in work attitudes and lifestyles of Bulgarians. The Bulgarian companies will have to undergo a radical restructuring and sanitation that certainly requires clear definition of property rights intensification of labour and tightening of the working discipline wage and job cuts etc.

Naturally in order to come and invest in Bulgaria the foreign businessman would like to know whether they or managers authorized by them will be able to execute their power in the company by taking all key decisions concerning its future development. They would prefer not having to deal with an increasing employee participation especially in the case of employee buy outs.

The other scenario of diffused stockholdings is much more feasible keeping in mind the wait and see policy of large foreign investors towards Eastern Europe and Bulgaria. Besides the populist trends in their political development and the sensitivity of people towards social justice and security make almost sure that voucher schemes and ESOPs will play a significant role in the process of privatisation. According to the logic of such a privatisation model the process of restructuring is likely to be much slower and full of compromises. Managers will tend to follow their own interests seeking more power, security and status. As a result in the long term the economic efficiency of firms will probably suffer.

In my opinion the implications of both cases for economic democracy and participation are going to be the following: authoritarian management styles and hierarchical organization structures which reduce the chances for people's participation in decision making are likely to prevail. Of course this will meet strong resistance from the trade unions and from the employees themselves. At the same time the people in the factories have lost their feeling of security and sense already a very tangible threat of becoming unemployed. They will have to submit to economic coercion typical for 19th century capitalism.

I could give here an example of employees attitudes

towards goods quality in the Bulgarian companies in the light industry. They are aware that the quality plays the most important role in the competitiveness of their products in the world market. Yet the quality suffers not only because administrative top down control is not working efficiently but also because the efforts to organize a kind of mutual control down at the assembly lines (like in Japan) constantly fail. Here is the explanation given by a line manager to this: No one will demand from his/her colleague to correct his/her mistake that deteriorates the quality because no one wants to spoil his/her good and friendly relations.

The implications for democracy and participation mentioned above do not go into line with the global trends of increasing people's participation in decision making. The revolution in information technology and telecommunications requires an adequate shift in the distribution of power in the companies. Information is available anywhere so decisions can be taken anywhere the skills are located. The commitment of personnel to the firm's mission goals and strategies has become a decisive competitive advantage in the fierce world competition. That is why in today's rapidly changing environment management is becoming highly participative by ensuring more employee participation and putting control right down the line.

These changes will certainly come to Bulgaria in the future. The Bulgarian companies will have to integrate into the world economy by using in their own way the technology, organization structures and management styles that are now coming into existence in the most developed countries. The present economic difficulties should not be an obstacle for them to develop a vision of the preferred future and convert it into pragmatic goals, objectives and strategies. This is a work that should be done today and the personnel should participate actively in it.

The investment decisions in a quasimarket environment in Bulgaria today would be better focused on people training and education. It does not suffice to have a wider information access because the people should be taught how to use the acquired information. They will have to learn to recognize the signals of forthcoming changes in the environment and to understand them. This is a part of the learning process that could start in the Bulgarian companies today thus preparing the employees for the challenges of a future participation in decision making.

MATÉ SZABO

HUNGARY A NEW DEMOCRACY AND ITS FIRST CRISIS

Past crisis are useful for future politics if the analyses made of them produce positive challenges for the political learning processes. Analyses of the Hungarian system transformed with other Eastern European character compared with other Eastern European countries (Bruzsi 1990). Few protest actions mass mobilization and no violent armed conflicts took place in this country in the democratization period between 1988 and 1990 while in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union sharp political social conflicts marked the transformation. This difference is partly due to the fact that Hungary has a relatively homogeneous nation state without federal structure or territorially located minority groups. But it was also possible to solve other social and economic conflicts in Hungary in a less violent way than for example in Poland where civil war like scenes occurred and military dictatorship existed. The reform minded Hungarian communists made it possible to achieve a peaceful transformation with institutionalized change of the elites (Bihan 1991, Muravich, Schopflin). But after building up a new democracy the consequences of deep social and political crisis could not be avoided.

The declaration of the Hungarian Republic on the 23.10.1989 the anniversary of the anti-stalinist revolution of 1956 was an important event in the democratization of the former Soviet bloc. But one year later just after the first democratic communal and local elections on the 26.10.1990 the taxi drivers and transporters went on strike to protest against the increase in the price of fuel paralysing the whole country for three days. It provoked an atmosphere of fear, tension and aggression until a compromise was worked out in the last moment. This event was the first crisis of the new Hungarian Republic. The analysis of the underlying factors of the development of Hungarian politics and society resulting in this crisis could help to analyze future problems of post-communist democracies in Europe. I will try to give a brief sketch of development.

- 1) political institutions
- 2) economic social problems
- 3) problems of political culture and
- 4) the dynamics of the crisis itself

1 Political Institutions

The processes of democratization in Hungary had by October 1990 resulted in the building up of a parliamentary system (Figures 1 and 2). Hungary has a state president but a far weaker one than his Czech and Polish colleagues. Nonetheless he is the commander in chief of the army and he has important functions in the declaration of the case of emergency. The reduced responsibilities of the state president made the compromise possible between the strongest governmental party MDF and the biggest opposition party SZDSZ where the SZDSZ nominated the president while strengthening the role of the prime minister nominated by the MDF. This compromise called in Hungary MDF/SZDSZ pact is the source of a cyclical tension between the Prime Minister and the State President. Its first manifestation occurred in the time of crises when the President rejected the intervention of the military forces and pleaded for political solutions and against the first nervous and aggressive reactions of the government.

The Hungarian parliament is a one chamber organ and the main representative of the sovereignty of the nation. The division of parliamentary seats (Figure 1) shows that unlike other post-communist countries Hungary has diversified multi party system without all embracing popular organizations like in Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The parliament is dominated by political parties in Hungary and there is no second chamber with territorial federal representation like in the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland or Czechoslovakia. The dominance of the political parties in the political system is an important

element in Kádár Hungary and the new Republic (Bihari 1988 1991) Critics speak on a new party state where other elements of the political system are overruled by the dominance of political parties

Unlike Poland the Trade Unions had played a marginal role in the transformation of Hungary and they are politically marginalized in the new political system together with other organizations of interest This is a missing link in the process of interest representation in Hungary During the crisis parliament could not act appropriately in working out compromises in conflictive situations When non institutionalized protest is challenging the legitimacy of the political institutions parliament is not the proper institution to find a way out The absence of effective economic interest representation led the actors to economic and social protest in a non institutionalized way The weakness of the corporative elements of the new political system are due to the fact that the old system the Kádár regime incorporated them in its decision making processes (Bihari 1988 Bruszt 1988/a) The Kádár politics succeeded in integrating the established and legalized trade unions and interest organizations so that in the new democratic system they are blamed as former servants tools of the old system Unlike Poland there are no effective attempts to establish new types of unions Only intellectuals and white collar workers are organized in new alternative unions and the millions of blue collar employees upheld their formal membership without a real political support for the old unions The conflict and the concurrence among old and new types of interest organizations is also there at the level of other interest organizations The result is a general reduction in the political relevance of corporate sphere in politics (Table 1)

There are conflicts among the old and the new unions on redistribution of property of the old established unions The government used this conflict to neutralize the two blocs with each other and to reduce political influence of organized workers But with this step it prepared for non institutionalized social protest which occurred in the crisis Mixing consultations with economic interest groups should have been organized in the Council of Interest Representation bringing employers employees and the government

Table 1 Trust in different institutions

(Hungarian Institute of Sociology and Political Science Bruszt Simon 639)

Institution	March 1989	November 1989	November 1990
Army	58%	53 4 /	53 9 /
Police	57 5%	50 6 /	48 2%
Parliament	64 5%	63 6%	45 1 /
Trade unions	35 2%	31 3 /	29 /

Table 2 Party identification and voting behaviour

(Gallup and Hungarian Institute of Political Science 1990 February Bruszt Simon 610)

Question when did you decide the candidate you will vote for?	
On the day of the election	14%
1 2 days before	12%
one week before	18%
longer time	56%
Comparing party identifications in democracies (Bruszt Simon 618)	
Holland	83%
USA	83%
Finland	82 %
U kingdom	81%
Italy	73 /
FRG	66%
Austria	65 %
Spain	60%
Switzerland	59%
Hungary	50%

tive motion of no confidence has been introduced by the pact into politics which means that only the government as a whole could be challenged by the parliament together with an alternative proposal on the person of the prime minister The chancellor principle was also based upon the model of the FRG The government and especially the prime minister has a very strong position and the parliamentary opposition has little chance to control and challenge governmental politics (Bihari 1991)

Of more than 50 parties participating in the national elections in March 1990 only 6 won seats in the parliament Some of the smaller excluded parties (Social democrats Greens radical nationalists) are able and ready to participate in and organize non institutionalized and sometimes anti parliamentary political protest The exclusive electoral system (Hibbing Patterson) the reduced role of the opposition within the parliament and the very strong position of the government and the prime minister provoked discontent in the parliamentary and in the extra parliamentary opposition These problems of political institutions connected with other factors had contributed to the crisis in particular the problems of a) the lack of representation for economic interest groups b) weak loyalty and integration of the population towards new political institutions c) an exclusive electoral system provoking discontent and d) the too strong position of the government should be mentioned here

2. Economic-social problems

The same social economic crisis of state socialist systems which initiated transformation in Eastern Europe endangers the political stability of new democracies (Schopflin) The economic and social problems in Hungary are somewhat different from those in other post communist countries While elsewhere scarcity of food and consumer goods and

their supply was the main characteristics of the old system and provoked discontent and protest for example the Polish case in Hungary a type of consumer socialism has emerged since the sixties The Kádár economic policy secured a regular supply of the consumer goods and acceptable welfare and health services Compared to other socialist countries living standards were better But this relatively higher living standard was secured by extremely high foreign (Western) debts which resulted in different economic problems during the eighties (Bruszt 1989) This higher standard of consumption related to the cultural and economic openness of the country towards the West provoked disappointment by the turn of the economic and social policy after Kádár The new economic policy did not want and was not able to secure the loyalty of citizens by paternalistic and irresponsible policy which functioned as if there were no limits to the country's resources

The paternalistic orientation of the welfare expectations to the Father State stabilized the Kádár Hungary for decades (Bruszt 1988/b) Paradoxically when former missing civil and political liberties were extended during the process of democratization it was parallel to the reduction of economic and social stability and welfare The unpopular but necessary steps of rationalization and reduction of domestic consumption consequences of decades of previous economic policy are combined with the shocks of marketization and privatization which challenged the social stability too The other challenging factor is the collapse rising expectations within the society which were of foreign trade relations built up on COMECON integration There is no more cheap energy material or guarantees for the purchase of Hungarian goods by the former COMECON members This contributed as a triggering factor to the outburst of the protest in the disappointed and overloaded social milieu by the necessity to raise fuel prices because of the fall in Soviet supplier and rising prices on the world market in the shadow of the

3 Problems of political culture

In Hungarian history there is little tradition of democratic authority. Hungarian political culture is not used to accepting political authority just by norms and values based on social consent. Instead, traditions of rejection towards unjust rulers, disobedience and rebellion are preserved in the Hungarian mentality. These general traits are impossible to change in a short period of time. On the one hand, rejection in anything connected with politics is very strong among the masses, resulting in political passivity and non-participation, and on the other hand, disillusion on policy can be easily transformed into general rejection of political norms and institutions into illegal and anti-institutional protest. Political apathy and non-participation in institutionalized forms combined with readiness for non-institutionalized political protest is a dangerous and explosive mixture.

In elections, a growing political camp of political passive non-voters can be identified. In the general elections in March 1990, an average of 37% of the citizens did not vote, and there were districts where this figure was 60%. In the same year, in the local elections just before the crisis, approximately 40% of the voters were passive again, and in one village, 93% failed to vote. People are fed up with politics, which seems to them to be alien and destructive (Table 3).

Compared with other socialist countries, the system transformation was an institutionalized change of the elites with little mass participation (Bihari 1991, Bruszt 1990). This had the advantage that violent conflicts between the police and the masses could be avoided, but on the other hand, no new affective loyalty and solidarity was developed towards new leaders and institutions, which people had not fought for. Compared with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, where mass protest and violent conflicts raised a new democratic consciousness, Hungarians felt themselves alienated from the new politics without having access to it (Table 4).

What about intellectual elite which took over the leading bureaucratic and political positions of the communists? The new ruling elite is highly divided.

Table 3 Political information and interest

(Magyar Kozvéleménykutató Intézet 564-565, May-June 1990)

Question	Are you familiar with the present political situation?	Yes 7%	More or less 68%	No 25%
Question	How interested are you in politics?	Very much 22%	Slightly 59%	not at all 19%

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Table 4 Acceptance of democracy

(Hungarian Institutes of political science and sociology 1990, November, Bruszt-Simon 644-645)

Question	How far are you satisfied with democracy in your country?	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	Hungary
Totally		19	28	19
Considerably		347	302	131
Little		383	537	673
No		251	134	177
Assertion	You should not fully trust politicians!			
Agree		49	57	80
Disagree		51	43	20
Assertion	In our country everybody matters in politics!			
Agree		85	58	43
Disagree		15	42	57

Unlike Poland and Czechoslovakia, where integrative organizations representing national consensus developed ahead of the system transformation in the form of solidarity and Civic Forum, the Hungarian political opposition was divided, and this division became the differentiation line of new multi-party system (Bihari 1991, Tokés 1990). The liberals of the SZDSZ and FIDESZ are the main forces of parliamentary opposition. The MSZP is the opposition within the opposition, ignored by all other parties because of its communist past. The Christian national camp established the new government with the coalition of MDF, FKGP and KDNP (Figure 1, Hibbing, Muravchik, Bihari 1991).

The existence of institutionalized pluralism does not mean automatically the acceptance of political culture characterized by conflict and consent. At first, the conflict with the old regime united all new political forces. But during the process of democratization, institutionalized competition in elections and parliamentary debates made clear that the new political forces could not learn tolerance towards others and the relativization of their own values for the sake of making political deals and compromises with each other. A high ideologization and symbolization of conflicting values and issues is the tendency where older conflicts lines of interwar political culture Hungary between urbanists (liberals) and populists (Christian nationalists) reemerged (Tokés 1990). The authoritarian experiences were also internalized by the opposition. The FIDESZ as a generation based youth party tries to escape the resurrection of old political cleavages, but their initiative to build up a type of consultative forum among the six parliamentary parties on the model of the Spanish Moncloa

was blocked by sharp tensions between liberals and Christian nationalists. In this situation, it was not possible to organize coordinated action in a time of crisis. The camp mentality of conflicting parties hindered any cooperation in the public sphere.

Political institutions need time and energy to influence their social and cultural environment through education, information and other factors of political socialization. Mentality and political culture are much harder to alter than institutions. Now we have in Hungary pluralistic and democratic institutions, but without the mental and cultural background in the new political elites or the masses. That is why mass mobilization against democratic institutions could go beyond the limits of constitutionally rooted right of free assembly and demonstration. The masses are ready to destabilize and challenge the new institutions, but the new elite is not yet able to defend them effectively. A situation of political vacuum which manifested itself in the crisis.

4 The dynamic of crisis

The sudden and drastic rise of fuel prices declared in the night of 24th October provoked an unseen and so illegal and prohibited spontaneous demonstration of taxi drivers and transporters. The spontaneous mass actions emerged from discussions, the entrepreneurs and private drivers queuing up at petrol stations late in the night. The cars of protesting drivers first gathered at the closed parliament in the night and then blocked all main traffic lines of the country. The blockade developed further in the morning of 26 October, and on that day reached an almost total paralyzation of the private and public

traffic in the capital and in the country including international transport and traffic roads. The blockade was maintained during the whole Friday, Saturday and Sunday with some breaks agreed for medical and food transports. The blockade was supported by masses of poor people gathering around the main spots of the protest who understood it as a general protest against the worsening of their living conditions. The demand of the drivers was to restore prices to their previous level. The government at first rejected all bargaining with illegal protest groups and threatened them with police intervention and criminalization. The situation became complicated when the biggest opposition party SZDSZ demanded the resignation of a government incapable of governing the country and reaching a consensus. The state president originally candidate of the SZDSZ rejected the intervention of the army in the political conflict. The police seemed to be unable and unwilling to use force against the protesting people and protest groups enjoyed a broad public support (Table 5).

This situation forced the government to talk to the protest groups. The three days of the blockade raised an atmosphere of sharp tension, people bought the stores empty and feared violent conflict. But the conflict was avoided by the discipline of protest groups and through their cooperation with the police. No remarkable violent acts were reported despite the fact that the biggest governing party the MDF mobilized a counter movement against the blockade during the talks which was also illegal without police registration. The police prevented conflicts between the protest groups and this demonstration. On the streets there was a type of solidarity between protest groups, the police and the local population who helped to uphold discipline and order. The spontaneous mass mobilization denied having broader political objectives and did not try to organize steady cooperation forms or develop an ideology beyond its single issue. But the broader social support gave the single issue of fuel prices a meaning of social self defence against unsocial governmental economic policy.

The institution for negotiations was established or better to say redefined for this function in the already mentioned Council for Interest Representation. This was a consultative organ between the employees and the employers and the government which had no real political relevance before the crisis. The organization which was created to prepare decisions on future social and economic policy became for a while the centre of the politics in Hungary. The organ was acceptable to both conflict partners for the government because it was something legal, institutionalized and controllable and for the taxi drivers because they could embed their particular demands in a broader framework of public economic and social criticism on governmental policy. Before they entered in this arena all compromise was rejected by the conflicting actors. The broader context of the negotiations and public control, the main parts were broadcasted live by the mass media, helped to find the way out of the paralysed situation. The representatives of the employees and the employers joined up against the government. The discussion was to be compared to a people's trial of the government with highly delegitimizing effects.

The compromise had been worked out in the last minute on Sunday night to secure a normal start to work the following week. The rise in the prices was reduced to 35% and there was an agreement to liberalize fuel prices in the future and to follow the movement of the world market. The protest groups had to dissolve all traffic barricades by the morning and a promise of no criminal proceedings was made to the protest groups which has been later legalized by the parliament passing a law on a special amnesty. This compromise had been worked out in an extremely risky and expensive way while the whole social and political life of the country was paralysed for three days.

The crisis delivered some important insights which are relevant for future crisis management in post communist democracies.

Table 5 Estimation of the blockade (Magyar Közvéleménykutatási Intézet 597 598 October 1990)

Question: Do you think that the majority supported the government or rather the protesting taxi drivers during the crisis?	7% Government	78% Taxi drivers	15% Neither nor
Question: Do you agree that taxi drivers were concerned only with their own interests?	Yes 12%	No 84%	Do not know 4%
Question: Do you agree that taxi drivers represented public opinion?	Yes 72%	No 22%	Do not know 6%

Figure 1 Results of the national elections

42%	Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum MDF)
24.6%	Alliance of free democrats (Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége SZDSZ)
11%	Independent small holders and Bourgeois party (Független Kisgazda Párt FKGP)
9%	Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt MSZP)
5%	Christian Democratic People's Party (Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt KDNP)
5%	Alliance of young democrats (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége FIDESZ)
3%	Others (Independents etc.)
<4%	Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt MSZMP)
	Greens Hungarian Social Democratic Party without parliamentary representation

- 1) The relevance of the corporative elements within the new political systems. There must be a counter balance to the territorial and political organized representation.
- 2) Consensus between elites and society and among the new political elites should be reached on the basis of the political culture of conflict and consensus.
- 3) A way must be found to institutionalize market economy and political democracy at the same time in a society which developed until now under the conditions of authoritarian personalism without political and civil liberties but with social security and stability.

Timetable of the transition in Hungary

20 25 5 1988	Kádár falls from power. Károlyi Grósz and Imre Pozsgay the new leaders.
10 11 2 1989	1956 described by Imre Pozsgay as people's upheaval/rising acceptance of pluralism by the MSZMP.
10 5 1989	Miklós Németh forms new government.

Figure 2 Changing structures of the political system

- a) *The political opportunity structure of the Kádár system in the 80s*
 - 1) Party state integration bureaucratic pseudo representation
 - 2) One party rule monolithic-gerontocratic
 - 3) Official trade unions transmission belts (Lenin) of the party
 - 4) Associations strict political control
 - 5) Churches political passivity administrative control
 - 6) Mass media press publicity centrally controlled censorship
 - 7) Self government administrative character centralized
 - 8) Social movements restricted political space repressive political control promotion of innovation and opposition
- b) *The political opportunity structure produced by the transformation*
 - 1) Separation of the state and the party attacks on bureaucratic power revitalization of representation
 - 2) Party system from one party rule to the multi party system
 - 3) Old and new trade unions lack of political representation for industrial workers
 - 4) Associations rapid development in number and relevance
 - 5) Churches political passivity abolition of the administrative control rehabilitation and compensation
 - 6) Mass media press and publicity rapid development important role abolition of censorship and administrative control
 - 7) Self government revitalization of communal autonomy decentralization
 - 8) Social movements extension of political space equal opportunities but the need to maintain their resource mobilization capacities in a situation of sharp competition for social support and mobilizing issues

16 6 1989
Imre Nagy leader of the 1956 revolution victim of Kádár is reinstated

13 6 18 9 1989
Round table bargaining between MSZMP and the United opposition on the institutional framework of political transformation

6 9 10 1989
MSZMP party abolished and MSZP established

23 10 1989
Amendment of the constitution and the establishment of the Hungarian Republic

26 11 1989
Referendum on the direct election of the state president initiated by the SZDSZ/FIDESZ and Imre's presidency is rejected/hindered by the result

25 3 / 8 4 1990
National elections/results

16 5 1990
New coalition government of MDF/FKGP/KONP

9 7 1990
New referendum on the direct or indirect election of the state president

3 8 1990
Election of the state president Árpád Göncz SZDSZ by the parliament

30 9/14 10 90
Local elections

26 29 10 1990
Taxi drivers blockade

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ERZSÉBET GIDAI ECONOMY, DEMOCRACY, FUTURE CHANGES OF EASTERN EUROPE

In Eastern and Eastern Central Europe the process of changing the political system precedes the change of the economic and social system. The primacy of the continuing political power struggles reproduces serious economic and social conflicts. There has been practically a change of power taking place which has only made the first steps in the change of the political system towards the creation of a democratic political and economic structure.

It can be accounted for a substantial result that one party monolithic power structures were changed for multi party political systems in all ex socialist countries. Beside party pluralism several organizations of interest representation have appeared first of all labour unions and a vast number of civil initiatives for articulating local strata or community interests.

Political debates have been intensified almost in all Eastern European countries between certain political groups and the parties represented in parliament (Not only between governing and opposition parties but within the government coalition as well).

These all have their impacts on the decision making but also on the execution of approved decisions. On the one hand this situation may complicate the process of democratic decision making by often creating pseudo debates. There is the potential danger that democratic decision making could be changed for the soft dictatorship of the new party bureaucracy. On the other hand conflicts appear in carrying out the decision and do everything for boycotting its execution.

It can be mentioned among the results that a constitutional order has been established in place of the one party dictatorship although to different extent in particular countries. It is the least formulated in the newly created Republics of the disintegrated Soviet Empire and maybe the most consolidated in Hungary. Czechoslovakia and Poland

In contrast with the initial results of political pluralism these countries have achieved far less in transferring their socio economic system and in democratizing their economy. However no answer has been given to the great question if the mechanisms of economic processes can be into the mechanisms of democratic liberty sometimes unarticulated and taking illusionary risks.

The opinion of researchers experts and politicians is greatly divided. There are cases when the opinions can happen to become dominant which reject the option of democratic management and either stand for the bureaucratic regulation or put emphasis on the governing role of the free market mechanisms.

We have to point out that the mere fact of having elected representatives in the parliament does not mean democratic decision making.

Democracy especially following an openly dictatorial power structure can be regarded as a more advanced stage of social evolution. Although some shortcomings can be brought with which can threaten further progress.

First of all uncontrolled democratic freedom which can give broad opportunities for some aggressive interest lobbies disposing of dominant material strength to manipulate the will of millions and to bring about measures against common interest. This appears not only on the domestic but also on the international scene. In other words democracy is sometimes the democracy of those having more power versus the representation of the common interest of the society. Historical evidences show that this cancerous tumour of democracy could not have been eliminated without metastasis.

Some of the scepticism towards practising democracy can be justified here especially with regard to

the economic processes

These questions are put even more radically by the revolutionary changes in Eastern Europe

The change of power has reproduced the social and economic crisis in an extended way without having managed to give ways of solution partly due to the inherited situation partly to faults of political management and futile debates

In other words it means that while we live in the years of social dialogue in Western Europe with interest representation bodies standing for a human centred economy and social progress in some of the countries of Eastern Europe (Rumania Bulgaria the Soviet Union) we face the danger of famine The evolutionary gap in social economic and technological development between the Eastern and the Western regions of Europe can be expressed in decades

THE CRITICAL POINTS OF THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION AND OF THE DEMOCRACY IN HUNGARY

The change of system having taken place in Hungary has meant a positive turn first of all for the elite engaged in politics The former nomenclature have become the leading circle of business life while their former opposition are trying to conquer more and more of the power structure For great masses of the society however the change of system has not so far brought about an increase of opportunities but worse living standards and lessened freedom of individual movement

Both the commodity producing peasantry and the working class are beyond the ideological horizon of the government coalition The liberal parliamentary opposition too strongly represents the interests of capital as opposed to those of the workers and peasants however weak and ambiguous the bourgeois civilization is and however unestablished the new bourgeois civilization is however unestablished the new bourgeois capitalistic relations are in Hungary Despite all ideological differences the opposition does not represent a genuine alternative against the government coalition as the national conservative ideology builds its economic policy on an order of liberal values similar to that of the opposition Thus both the government's and the parliament's values are to the right from the centre which is duly reflected by the institutions of conciliating interests outside the parliament since just because of the lack of their ability to function they do not constitute a genuine counter balance against the conservative right wing legislative and governmental power

Since the change of system the centralization of state administration has increased which is indicated by having the State Property Agency function as an organ of the government by repeated interventions in the management of the economy especially by introducing centrally the replacement of top managers It is typical that even the Act on Local Governments has created further possibilities of direct interventions in the internal affairs of different institutions The system of central administration was created by statutory regulation its essence can be grasped in one man authority which permeates both the state administration and the economic organizations

While the interests of the employed are represented to a small extent in the parliament the institutions of interest conciliation outside the parliament are unfortunately operating only formally (e.g. the Council of Conciliation of Interests) No decision of vital importance has been taken by the Council yet it is getting clear that the government has no other purpose by maintaining it but to shift a considerable part of its responsibility upon the employers and the employees

For the great masses of the society the change of system will become a positive experience only if besides creating an efficient system of safeguarding their interests the present process of impoverishment can be stopped within a relatively short time and a tangible increase of living standards can be achieved It requires a new economic policy basically different from the current one

The cardinal point of taking a step forward is finding the way out of the economic crisis which has continued for well over ten years now During the past two years the worsening of economic indices has not come to a halt

A significant reflection of this fact is the downward trend of the index indicating economic growth (Fig 1)

The inability of companies has fallen considerably which is shown by low profits high nominal interest rates (35-49 per cent) a growing shortage of capital the deteriorating state of functioning capital and the rapidly sinking level of technology

The amount of debts is extremely high (our foreign debts equal \$21 billion internal debts make up 1300 billion approximately the same amount) the interests and instalments to be paid in 1991 will come to \$4.7 billion The liabilities exceed \$2000 per capita

The elimination of the COMECON especially the collapse of the Soviet market means a loss of nearly \$2 billion for Hungary as well as a considerable loss

of markets for the companies first of all for large enterprises producing mainly for the Soviet market

The rapidly growing inflation makes calculation and rational management impossible (inflation cash push) and has an increasingly damaging effect on living standards (The inflation rate in 1990 was 35 per cent in 1991 it is expected to be 38-50 per cent)

The relative backwardness of infrastructure especially that of human infrastructure (education health care research culture) has increased further although it means one of the basic driving forces of progress

The recession of the economy turning chaotic had the most drastic effect on the population making living conditions uncertain increasing unemployment and decreasing living standards The number of the unemployed is expected to reach 500-600 thousand by the end of 1991 i.e. about 10-12 per cent of the occupied population will be out of work The problem is intensified by the fact that financial means to tackle unemployment are missing The solidarity fund determined as 2 per cent of wages and salaries is not enough to cover the ever increasing expenditure on unemployment benefits Increasing unemployment is linked mainly to accelerating privatization and to the fact that the false principle of full employment so assiduously enforced by the former party state has been replaced by drastic often groundless dismissal of labour force

The increase of unemployment is accompanied by the differentiation of the population according to income and property by impoverishment at a large scale This trend was definitely proven by our survey on the means of livelihood based on 6000 households and carried out in May June 1990

If we take an average Hungarian family of four consisting of two wage earners and two dependents and where the parents earn average wages (in 1991 it is a net Ft 11 000 i.e. about USD 160) in 1989 they spent 45% in 1990 55% and in 1991 85% of their income on running costs and food About 20% of the active population (i.e. of the 5 million out of 10.4 million) receive the minimum wage i.e. Ft 7 000 monthly (USD 100) which does not provide sufficient financial coverage for the two basic consumption mentioned above About 40-45 per cent of the population live on the minimum subsistence income which is according to our calculations about Ft 8 400-8 700 in 1991 Considering the increase of unemployment it is getting more and more difficult to obtain extra income by taking up extra work Those who have savings (40 per cent of the interviewed) use up their reserve to pay for their everyday livelihood where there is no possibility for that (i.e. as is the case

for the majority of the population) the family becomes insolvent

Thus not only the entrepreneurs producing for the home market are unfavourably affected but the incomes of the state are also decreasing Practically all three actors of the process are losers but naturally the families concerned are suffering the most from this situation resulting in grave social conflicts The organizations representing the interests of wage and salary earners mainly trade unions are only able to attain partial results (e.g. the increase of minimum wages) due to their conflicts* and split on one hand and on the other as a consequence of the lack of parliamentary representation so they cannot directly influence legislation

One of the basic issues is to change the present state of affairs to stabilize the economy by means of restructuring it and developing technological standards to create new jobs i.e. to guarantee secure livelihood for all groups of the society

OUTLINES OF A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The ineffectiveness and failure of the economic policy pursued so far is basically due beyond the unfavourable external circumstances to the fact that the economic and political leadership was wrong when choosing the aims of this policy and the means of their achievement One of the major mistakes made by the present economic and political leadership is that they wish to derive the fundamental elements of their economic policy not so much from a profound analysis of the current state of the economy as from the renouncement of the past from transferring the old doctrines into their opposites (e.g. private ownership instead of collective ownership market instead of central planning small scale plants instead of large scale enterprises trade with the West instead of trade with the Eastern block etc.) It is also a mistake to realize the otherwise necessary changes in a forceful way which recalls the haste of the 1950s The actual economic situation however raises these issues in a different way not as either or but both and questions

Outlining a new alternative economic policy means assuming that the Hungarian economy may only get step by step out of its present crisis by means of organic development in the way of ensuring a gradual transition from the current situation into social market economy and European type mixed economy which is set as a target in Hungary in the course of

* at present there are more than 150 different trade union organizations in Hungary

Fig 1
Calculations of the Finance Ministry for the economic performance of 1991 in comparison with the programme of the ministry

Change from the previous year in % at comparable prices		1991	1991
		Programme	expected
Gross production		4.5-4	8.6
Out of which			
industry		10.5	12.10
agriculture and food industry		1.0	2.0
GDP		4	8.5
domestic use of GDP		5	8.6
out of which			
end consumption		5.4	6.5
gross accumulation		5	13.9
Foreign trade			
export		6.5	10.7
import		7.6	10.7
Current prices million dollars			
Foreign trade			
export		11 600	11 000
import		11 800	11 300
balance		200 100	300
Balance of current international payments in convertible currencies		1200	800

the change of the economic system a mixed economy has to be created in which all viable forms of ownership play primarily functional roles in the economy consequently they are co-ordinate none of them is superior to others for ideological reasons

According to the prevailing neo liberal conception an economy is regulated and coordinated by either plans or the market. There are not and cannot even be transitory forms therefore an economy is either a strict Stalinian planned economy or a free market economy. The reality on the contrary to this in the majority of modern national economies is a peculiar mixture of the two types of co-ordination and regulation different in each country. It seems reasonable to create such a model of dual economic management in Hungary. In a dual economy one can find the branches and sectors that are basically coordinated and regulated by market forces as well as those where the influence of the market is less decisive. To rely market forces concerning the regulation and co-ordination of the sizes of production and trade as well as that of the level of prices and wages is permissible only in the branches and sectors where there is

genuine competition there are no monopoly organizations and the agents operating on the market are approximately in the same weight class enjoying equal conditions of competition in the branches of the Hungarian economy that are lagging behind or where the companies are in an unequal condition with regard to competitiveness on either the home or the international market. The economic units capable of growth should be granted preferences and financial support by the state temporarily.

The neo liberal conception refuses the role of the state and the economic management as shapers of the restructuring saying it is the task of the market. This idea is based on the assumption of an ideal market economy that has never existed. Actually in developed capitalist countries and even more so in the new industrial countries rapidly overtaking the former the state very efficiently intervenes by various means and in many ways in the shaping of the structure of the economy. Therefore on the grounds of international experience and practice it would only be proper to set the non-intervening or night watch man state of the neo liberals against the manager

state planning and organizing on macro economic level which controls and by its specific means supports the fulfilment of the tasks of restructuring most important from the point of view of economic growth and social needs. It is among others the task of the manager state to offer effective support to various (private and collective) enterprises which can be done by creating economic environment favouring enterprising spirit on one hand and on the other by establishing the infrastructure and system of credits necessary for economic ventures.

According to the present conception of economic policy adequately to neo liberal thinking the prices and wages develop freely (which is already true in the case of prices but not so much in case of wages for the time being) therefore the state and the economic management have to supervise only the fairness of the competition. Consequently in this economic policy the main emphasis is on the regulation of prices and instead of being on the regulation of wages. It may be assumed that in a developed market economy this conception would stand the test of thought experience. It is not quite so in them either but in an underdeveloped market economy in the making the liberalization of prices and wages may only result in inflation's breaking loose which eventually leads to shock therapy or monetary restrictions crippling the economy completely. (Good practical examples of the futility of such policy are offered by certain Latin American countries or in our immediate vicinity by Yugoslavia and Poland).

In order to get economic growth going it is necessary to face the fact that central control of prices and wages to some extent is inevitable. In the case of wages it may mean the levels and proportions negotiated collectively by the trade unions, the employers and the government. Regarding prices it is imperative that the state should set an upper limit to the increase of the price level in the sectors of little actual competition or none at all.

In addition to the necessity of revising the current practice of price and wage liberalization it is also necessary to revise the liberalization of import from developed capitalist countries as well as the liberalization of repatriation of profits made by foreign and joint companies dealing primarily in import. The current practice despite the extreme shortage in foreign exchange serves to boost up rather than production and will sooner or later exhaust the foreign exchange supplies and reserves of the

Hungarian National Bank which can only be compensated by raising fresh loans eventually. The liberalization of the import from developed capitalist countries will have to conform first of all to industrial policy and to the development of the competitiveness of Hungarian companies. Furthermore it is to be combined with the elimination of the administrative obstacle towering in front of the export of Hungarian goods (especially agricultural and food industry as well as light industry products) to developed capitalist countries.

Provided the changes mentioned above are carried out there is no need for strict monetary policy and restrictions and some well weighed measures to boost up demand may give a start to economic growth so that this revival of the economy should not impair the balance of the balance of foreign trade and the balance of payments but on the contrary should improve them. The additional resources effected in this way are to be concentrated on the sectors which either improve the balance of foreign trade (e.g. the sector of exports) or reduce the need for import by increasing the vertical integrity of the economy.

In the light of international comparisons Hungary like the other Eastern European countries falls behind the countries in Central and Western Europe mostly in respect of the development and infrastructure. At the same time the extension and development of infrastructure is less import intensive than other sectors and can absorb a considerable part of the relatively unskilled labour an increasing number of whom are losing their jobs these days. All that explains why when re-starting the growth of the economy there should be special attention paid to the development of infrastructure which is for that matter also justified in respect of a greater involvement of foreign working capital and the solution of the most urgent social problems (e.g. the housing shortage).

Re-starting the growth of the economy requires much more effective measures to encourage ventures than so far more rational and rigorous tax policy and tax control and the increase and controlled utilization of the financial funds available for ventures as support. In addition to the stabilization of the economy the new economic policy outlined above would render it possible to lay the foundations of the strategy of economic upswing thus the establishment of a humanitarian economy on long term.

ANTONI ESTRADÉ & MONTSERRAT TRESERRA

RESHAPING DEMOCRACY, REDRAWING EUROPE THE CATALAN NATION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OF THE FUTURE

There is widespread agreement on the fact that one of the key issues of the present moment in Europe has to do with the unresolved national questions. Since 1989 if not before the news have been filled up with reports that inform us of territorial disputes and ethnic quarrels. From the Baltic to the Balkans the end of the Soviet Empire has made possible the emergence of oppressed nationalities which have begun to articulate their demands for freedom and independence.

As an offspring of that the shaky foundations of European stability have started to crumble and governments in the East as well as in the West have adopted cautionary measures of different kinds. But almost everywhere the dominant political language has been strikingly similar in its rhetorical uses when describing those events: words as threat, menace, danger and the like recur once and again and are in themselves enormously revealing of the underlying assumptions behind the official discourses.

To be fair though we have to acknowledge that there are important differences in the interpretation of the questions by the Western European governments. Some of them like most prominently the German government have adopted a favourable stand on the demands for independence voiced by oppressed nationalities. On the contrary some others have been far more stubborn and hard in their opposition to anything that would seem to alter the territorial status quo in Europe. Such has been the attitude of for example France and Spain two States with a long and sustained tradition of centralism and both of them having at the moment a socialist government.

Historical as well as ideological and geo-strategical factors are not having a minor role on these issues. On the one hand and on a very deep almost sub-

conscious level both Spain and France are very good examples of States built upon the negation of the pluricultural nature of their inhabitants. France has almost completely succeeded in forging a single nation out of a sheer variety of peoples and cultures (Alsations, Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corses Occitans and so on) and that explains its relative tranquillity but in the case of Spain national integration is far from being achieved and that accounts for its fear of the effects that the current national upsurge might have within its own frontiers.

This is the reason why particularly in Spain an old fashioned left-wing anti-nationalist rhetoric has reappeared in recent times to warn us against the perverse quasi-demonic effects that the revival of nationalism might suppose for the stability of Europe and for the continuity of the democratic system altogether. This outmoded song speaks of the disasters awaiting us if the nations fighting for their independence were to be successful: a new era of political dictatorships, cultural darkness and social unrest will open up in Europe. Fanaticism, intolerance, racism, deportations, conflicts of all sorts even wars are predicted by the most apocalyptic brands of anti-nationalist preachers. They are all blind to the undisputable fact that this is not in general an aggressive imperialistic nationalism with totalitarian aims but on the contrary it expresses the struggle of different peoples to assert their rights to freedom by peaceful and democratic means against structures of domination and oppression.

Much in the same way it is neither true as the anti-nationalist trust argues that those are movements for egoistic isolation and separation. They are in fact movements for cooperation and participation and most of them very sympathetic as it regards European integration. The sole thing is that they put a

previous and very important condition for all that and this condition is no other than freedom. They wish to cooperate freely to reach a European agreement that would secure their right to exist as full members of the future European partnership to participate as adult and free nations. Their demands are then liberal democratic in character as well as in procedure and they are also perfectly consistent with the European tradition of small and middle size States which are at the same time guarantors of economic prosperity and political stability countries like Belgium Denmark the Netherlands Norway Sweden Austria Switzerland Hungary Finland Ireland and many others

It is for those reasons that we are in a position to sustain that any solution that does not bring with it an open recognition of the right of those nations to fulfil their democratic demands for independence is not worthy of being named a proper democratic and European solution. Maybe some persons would disagree with such a conclusion but that will be a further symptom of the need to redefine what we understand by Europe and by democracy

A revision of those concepts is more and more pressing after the democratic revolution that is taking place in the East. Redrawing Europe and reshaping democracy are the most urgent tasks for the of the Continent if we want to allow room for those changes which are well under way. And both aims are inseparable. Europe will become fully democratic only by acknowledging the right of these nations to become independent as well as in their turn those people should conduct their petitions of self government through the democratic institutions and by democratic means. The notion of democracy should be extended to include not only individual rights but also the collective rights of those that have decided through referenda that they would like to be independent. Any other conception of democracy which will not respect the sovereign decisions of those nations is to be considered a sort of disguised dictatorship and consequently should have no place in the Europe of the future

The Western side of the issue

So far so good but we have not yet said a single specific word on Western Europe. Up until now we have been considering the general case of national movements in Eastern Europe but it is now time to turn our attention to the Western side. Since at least from our point of view one of the main errors in the present situation is to think that those changes are affecting only half of the continent when as a matter of fact they bring about much wider global implications

First of all we should bear in mind that also in the West there are unresolved national questions and that the present one is a golden opportunity to try a solution on a wholly European level. The process of European unification should be built on the basis of stability and that stability could only be granted if the principle of solidarity is not collusive with the principle of freedom and self determination. All Europeans from the Atlantic to Russia should be provided with the opportunity of having a place of their own

If a sense of fairness and rationality prevails this shall not result in a Balkanization of Europe. Several measures of various kinds could be implemented to prevent that from happening. For example an all European Committee for the rights of nationalities might be launched having as its main aim the supervision of any process of national emancipation which in its turn could be asked to satisfy a number of requirements in order to become feasible. Considerations of territorial size, sufficient economic power, cultural and linguistic peculiarities and demographic density should have its importance in the final decision but above all the main requirement must be that the will for independence should express itself by democratic means either by a declaration of the Parliament in question or through a referendum of self determination. Once the independence is finally achieved the European Community should grant the political and military protection of that new State against any attempt to reverse that process by force

Only if that is possible can Europe become a meeting place really open to all Europeans. To open that path is not in any sense to allow the resurrection of the national conflicts that gave way to the First and Second World Wars but to prevent them with the most intelligent and profound of all strategies. In the same vein we must say that a process such as the one we have been presenting cannot be thought of as carrying with it the erection of new frontiers in Europe. If all that is true it is because that process should coincide with another one of pan European integration at the economic, political and even military level. Something that has already started but which needs an urgent if prudent acceleration

At the same time the European institutions could stimulate concrete policies of supra national cooperation which eventually could culminate in various sorts of regional associations between different political units and sometimes even in larger confederations. All that should be done having in mind the need for equilibrium between different zones and powers which has to be maintained if that European unity is going to endure. It will also be crucial to ensure protection for minorities within the new States and better policies on migration

It is not an easy prospect. It is also demanding. Lots of imagination, subtle political and diplomatic engineering, careful consideration of each case and institutional inventiveness have to be deployed in order to achieve those aims. But sometimes quite often indeed the right way is the difficult way

The Catalan Case

Catalonia is a prime example of a Western European nation having a right to self determination within the Europe of the future. Catalan is a widely spoken language in a region of more than 10 million inhabitants with increasing economic power and with a clear sense of distinctiveness. At the moment what is strictly called Catalonia constitutes the biggest part of the Catalan speaking area having now a population of over 6 million

For a period of more than 150 years Catalonia has had a national movement of its own always democratic in character that has been fighting for the recognition of its cultural and political rights. During the years following the end of the First World War Catalan patriots were in high expectation because of Irish independence and because they thought that the support given to self determination in Europe by the American President Woodrow Wilson would reach them and they would be free. That wonderful dream never took place and in 1923 a military coup in Spain ended up with a very limited but efficient autonomy started in 1914 under the name of Mancomunitat. A period of repression against Catalan culture followed which was in its turn ended by the proclamation of the Spanish Republic in 1931. In Barcelona Francesc Macià the leader of the Catalan democratic nationalists proclaimed the Republic of Catalonia though after several days he was convinced to conform with a limited autonomy under the name of Generalitat de Catalunya

The drama of the civil War which in some sense was a war fought against Catalonia put an end to a short period of Catalan assertion. From 1939 onwards a dreadful era of national oppression on all levels began and lasted until Franco's death in 1975. Catalan language was forbidden from all public uses including the schools and the administration. The newspapers the television and so on. After the war nearly 4000 Catalans were shot dead. 2000 died in the Nazi concentration camps and hundreds of thousands went into exile. The Catalan Parliament and the Catalan Government were dissolved and even the Catalan President Lluís Companys was murdered by the Spanish Army after a mock trial. Books in Catalan were burnt in public and many people were beaten up by the Spanish police only for speaking in their language

With Spain returning to democracy in 1977 Catalonia recovered a measure of autonomy. Nevertheless centralism is still a major trend in Spanish politics and there is a growing sense of dissatisfaction with the current level of self government

If we are giving all these historical information although in a very condensed form it is because we want to convey to you the fact that the Catalan national movement is not a new thing but an old one. In that connection it is also important to realize that Catalan demands for national recognition have always been deeply linked with demands for wider democratic rights. Democracy and Catalonia. Catalonia and democracy those are ideas that always go together

What is new in the present moment of our country is that the frustration occasioned by the continuous restrictions to Catalan autonomy is fuelling a growing demand for outright independence. A kind of solution that traditional Catalan nationalism always very cautious in its procedures rarely advocated in such an open way

Several reasons account for that change. First of all the overwhelming belief that Spanish politicians either on the right or on the left of the political spectrum will never be granting full autonomy to Catalonia. Secondly and maybe more important the Spanish Army is not so feared as it used to be in the past. Many Catalans now think that our integration in Europe is a good guarantee against any military coup. Finally and more recently the August Revolution in the Soviet Union and the independence of the Baltic Republics are showing that Europe can accept new States within it

For the time being though the political parties that ask for independence are still having a small share in the Catalan Parliament. In spite of that the right to independence is now the issue of the day and polls recently made inform us that nearly 40% of Catalans would answer yes in a referendum for independence. Those developments have met the angry reaction of the Spanish press which finds them intolerable

But for us they are far from surprising. At the end of 1988 we conducted an opinion poll interviewing 2100 Catalans all over the country about aspects related with their national identity. The results were published in a book that came out in 1990. Among other questions we asked about feelings for independence in the following way: If there was now a referendum to initiate a gradual process towards Catalan independence what would be your vote? The global result was that 44.5% of the answers were yes and 26.4% were no. If we take into account that the Catalan population includes a large section

of Spanish immigrants this is a very remarkable score. Even more so when we think that in 1988 there was no party in the Catalan Parliament that openly advocated for independence.

There is a feeling that this will for national freedom might be rising in the near future. Nowadays September 1991 there is much talk on Catalan independence in Catalonia as well as in Madrid. Contrary to some centralist perceptions, almost nobody is wishing to establish a completely separate Catalan State with its own frontiers. Instead of that, what is generally believed is that most of those aspects will gradually be assumed by all European powers, leaving to national governments the rest of the issues which might be of some pan-European regulation. If that is going to be the future of Europe, there is an increasing number of Catalans that think that an independent Catalonia is, within such an arrangement, a foreseeable and desirable project.

Conclusion

Even if it might sound paradoxical, we must then stress that rising demands for Catalan self-determination and independence are perfectly consistent with Catalan wishes to participate in the construction of a united Europe. As a matter of fact, both aims are the same: mainstream Catalan nationalism has always been Europeanist, democratic, and liberal in character, particularly when contrasted with the political options that have been prevalent in Spain all along the twentieth century.

This is why for us at least, independence is no longer synonymous of isolation, but of free and responsible co-operation. There is nothing much strange with that. To end with a wider philosophical consideration which is in tune with the spirit of this World Conference, we must all be perfectly conscious that freedom is the first condition for real participation. True democrats cannot disagree with that. Well, at least we hope so.

CHAPTER III COMMUNICATION, INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES AND THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION

TONY STEVENSON AND DARREN SCHMIDT

COMMUNICATION AND LEARNING IN THE TRANSITION TO PARTICIPATORY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Is communication across different mindscapes or communities of shared meaning critical to (a) participation and (b) facilitating the transition to participation from today's predominant authoritarian and representative forms? If so, there is a dilemma: differences in mindscapes can be roadblocks to communication and learning. Gregory Bateson's work in developing a learning framework is examined for ways out of the mental trap. A second dilemma is posed by Mogoroh Maruyama: he asserts that diversity is creative and essential to building mutually beneficial relationships. Yet in traditional western societies diversity leads to destructive competition. If as Maruyama claims it is not the strongest which survive but those in symbiotic relationships, the question is: how is communication and learning facilitated among people with differing competing mindscapes in complex social systems in order to kick start a transition to their cooperative participation? The problem is examined in the context of facilitating participation in a westernised community in a tropical Australian river system where the so-called experts are trying to introduce farming techniques to prevent land degradation. A range of diverse competing mindscapes is brought to the task: those of soil and water conservation scientists, agricultural extension officers, farmers, townspeople and others all from different ethnic and educational backgrounds. Action learning processes are proposed for both the transition and the participatory activity. But these processes too have limitations.

COMMUNICATION AND LEARNING IN THE TRANSITION TO PARTICIPATORY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

This paper addresses the challenge of this conference to find forms of participation by people in the organization and development of future societies in a

way that is compatible with different symbolic, ideological and ethical systems (1)

Specifically, it examines the role of human communication and learning in both (a) participation and (b) the transition to participation. It also considers how to address the dilemma of traditional forms of communication and learning which are helping and hindering participative processes.

But first, what is meant by participation?

Denis Goulet (2) in dealing with this question reminds us that participation can be either purely ornamental or a vital element of strategy according to the relative weight assigned to it in the overall development practice of a given society. He has chosen to use the definition adopted by Marshall Wolfe (3) and the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD): the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control.

COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Then there is the question of what is meant by development. Since there is much written about the role of communication and development and the paradigms they share, it may be useful to consider communication in the context of its relationship with development and what is meant by each.

Klaus Krippendorf (4) is but one who believes that communication and development are inseparable; they are conceptual twins. Both are embedded in certain ideological modes of reasoning and both play different roles relative to each other.

Two classic models of communication and development the diffusion of innovations and the cultural imperialist come from what Klaus Krippendorff (5) has called the control paradigm in the diffusion model particularly its traditional form change agents seek to control the modernization of a society. The cultural imperialist model change is intended to impose Westernised values on developing societies

In addition to the network convergence paradigm Krippendorff proposes the information seeking paradigm and the autopoietic (self organizing) paradigm. He says that in the network convergence paradigm a network of communicators converge on mutually determined meanings for words phrases ideas and values

The information seeking paradigm according to Krippendorff is based on the needs of people who receive information essentially receivers decide what is to be communicated to them. The autopoietic paradigm views communication as a function of a group of communicators who participate in defining and organizing themselves into meaningful action

Neville Jayaweera (6) has proposed moving beyond the traditional paradigms of both development and communication. His suggested new paradigm calls for development which satisfies basic needs self reliance and participation. However he warns that such a paradigm exists primarily in the heads of academics and international agencies who have no direct responsibility for national policy making

Jan Servaes (7) has argued for a theory of development communication which recognises one world of multiple cultures. There is no universal development model as development is an integral multidimensional and dialectic process that can differ from society to society. Development should be based on participatory democracy and structural transformations

Meanwhile Soedjatmoko (8) has argued for an alternative theory of development one which does not insist on industrialisation or modernisation at all costs but takes into account social and historical factors and is concerned with the capacity of nations communities and individuals to learn to adjust and to renew themselves

Earlier Soedjatmoko (9) had spoken of the issue of world development and governance and identified a problem which we believe applies also at the level of national and community development how do we learn to effectively manage a system in which no single power is in control?

Given the level of complexity reached Soedjatmoko (9) said human society cannot be managed intelligently

tually or practically through increased control. He said we need to learn to understand and manage complex systems while respecting the autonomy of the processes and the elements within these systems

Not all researchers agree with theorists such as Krippendorff who believe that communication is central to the process of change and development

Godwin Chu (10) believes that communication can sometimes play a dominant part in the interactive change process which constitutes development while at other times it can play a supporting or minor role at best. There are historical social economic political and cultural cross current at the heart of social change and development

Whether or not Chu is correct the conventional wisdom attributes a central role to communication at least when there is a consciously deliberate made to bring about change through development. If the change taking place at present in the Soviet Union is an example of development then communication is obviously playing a part both through the mass media and perhaps more importantly in an interactive interpersonal way at the grass roots level

Our interpretation of Chu is that he does not deny that communication is happening during processes of development rather he questions the extent of its influence in bringing about change in all cases. To consider the complex process of social change and development it is useful to break away as Chu says from the conventional paradigm of communication. We believe it is equally important to eschew the conventional paradigms on development

The conventional paradigm sees communication as message sending. But when we see communication as the process of sharing meaning dependent on our experiences cultural social personal to mention a few we begin to understand that it is hard to change our embedded way of seeing things. This is because messages themselves have no inherent meaning. Their significance to us is determined by the way we use them and we are often unaware of the processes that shape our interpretation of the world

Communication is a social experience through which we interact with our world and make sense of it. Giving meaning to things around us is simply our interpretation of things not the events themselves. Any two people especially if they come from different social and cultural backgrounds can give quite different meaning to the same thing

In our study in North Queensland (11) one sugar cane farmer we interviewed saw the practice of not regularly tilling the soil as lazy. Yet another saw it as

a good idea to help prevent soil erosion. The first had been brought up to believe that farming was hard work from dawn to dusk. He regularly and unhesitatingly engaged in what has been called recreational ploughing while the second followed the practice trialled by agricultural scientists. This calls for leaving the trash of the previous crop on the ground to provide a blanket for both preserving and allowing microorganisms to rejuvenate it. The fact is that many modern farming practices have actually reduced the workload of many crop farmers and they now have more time to themselves than used to be the case a generation before

EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Here we find it useful to turn to evolutionary theory which deals with the metaprocess of change. Peter Allen (12) eschews the mechanistic Newtonian paradigm to which for example Krippendorff's control paradigms of development subscribe. If communication is the way people share meaning or even give meaning to their world then it does play a part in Allen's model of evolution

According to Allen at the microscopic level in human systems decisions reflect the different expectations of individuals based on their past experiences. The future (we would say also change) is created from the interaction of these decisions. This fails to fulfil the expectations of many actors leading them to modify their (mis)understanding of the world or alter it naturally simply leave them perplexed

Thus to follow from Allen the way people make sense of their world during social interaction their communication and learning has an integral role in evolution and we would assert its consequential processes of change and development

To return to Allen evolution in human systems is therefore a continual imperfect learning process spurred by the difference between expectations and experience but rarely providing enough information for a complete understanding. It is this very ignorance or multiple misunderstanding that allows exploration and hence learning

Thus we believe there are structural and historical factors which may prompt expectations or even misunderstandings amongst communicators which impinge on communication and learning processes in producing social change and development

Historical and structural factors are responsible for the fact that people bred and nurtured in different national cultures or even in different microcultures within the same nation will have different outlooks perspectives and conceptualisations

Maruyama (13) would call this a difference in mindscapes

CULTURAL ROADBLOCKS

In a westernized society particularly such differences are usually responsible for confrontation with each special interest trying to get its way over other special interests

In planning the use of land resources in the wet tropical sugar cane farming area of North Queensland (14) we have found serious roadblocks to ecologically sustainable development. Certain farmers still refuse to use conservation farming practices such as water course structures for minimising soil loss from sloping cane land. This is at odds with the soil conservation scientists who claim to have shown that such water course structures significantly reduce soil loss which can be as high as 400 tonnes per hectare in a heavy tropical downpour (15). There are also fears from marine scientists that nutrients from chemical fertilisers used by some farmers runs off with the soil into the coastal rivers ending up destroying corals on the nearby Great Barrier Reef

Collaboration between people of different mindscapes seems necessary in order to share meaning on what constitutes ecologically sustainable farming practice. This is not to say that people need to change to a uniform way of life but simply to bridge mindscapes in order to participate in a collaborative process for sustainable rural development

There is a dilemma communication within one mindscape is facilitated by a sharing of meaning made possible by shared backgrounds in say a microculture such as the scientific community or a national culture. And if communication is necessary for bridging mindscapes that bridging makes shared meaning more difficult the more the mindscapes differ. Put another way cultures need to converge to establish an identity and to ensure each member knows what another is talking about. However this convergence makes communication between cultures more difficult as a result

Lawrence Kincaid (16) emphasises the role of convergence in communication and adds that cultures are sustained by dynamic networks of people who communicate according to patterned flows of information. Mutual understanding emerges amongst people who share information over time and this according to Lawrence Kincaid facilitates mutual agreement and (perhaps later) collective action

Often though cultures become comfortable with the way in which they interpret the world and this makes it harder to see and understand other interpretations

or mindscapes Communication between people that is sharing of meaning about their world and each other is made more difficult the less people's mindscapes overlap

It can be difference in mindscapes between say politicians of right and left scientists and farmers black and white Japanese and Nepalese which makes participation difficult in any social process particularly if collaboration is called for We are seeing now in what has been called the Soviet Union anything but unity and more importantly difficulty in sharing mindscapes from one republic to another over what constitutes a sovereign culture

Bateson (17) provides us with a learning framework to help us conceptualise the hurdles that prevent us from communicating across paradigms (or mindscapes) His learning 1 describes a simple type of learning from trial and error experiments Learning 2 describes how some people (we believe many of us) are able to recognize the problem solving context of learning 1 and use trial and error tests and other strategies to solve more complex problems

Bateson's Learning 3 is an extra paradigmatic learning Although Bateson states that this level of learning is rare we can use it to illustrate how people are able to leave their historical paradigm and immerse themselves in another Such people are able to understand and appreciate the different values and perspectives of the new paradigm and are able to communicate meaningfully with other members of that paradigm (or mindscape)

Communicating across mindscapes requires cooperation Most people from the western world are uncomfortable with cooperation (18) Cooperation is at odds with their traditional strategy competition Competition has allowed huge modern markets to flourish and has enabled countries with many resources to dominate (and in some cases help) countries with few resources However competition is a zero sum game Players in this game can only win at the expense of another player's loss No new benefits are created

Cooperation is an alternative that allows a positive sum result Neither player loses and all players gain by plotting mutually satisfactory action However cooperation need not mean that players have to surrender advantages or give less than maximum performance in order to work cooperatively Differences in aptitude and competence that have traditionally shaped competitive environments in the west can also facilitate cooperation

THE CREATIVE DIFFERENCE

In fact Maruyama (19) sees differences as a basis for creating new energy in relationships He says that diversity allows players to seek out new ways of determining and developing relationships with a view to manage change

Symbiotic relationships are those in which participants benefit from a co-existence based on divergent but complementary interests The classic example is the pilot fish and the shark the shark is cleaned by the pilot fish who in turn feeds from the shark in mutually beneficial relationship

If as Maruyama proposes diversity is creative can we cooperate to share meaning and produce mutually beneficial change across mindscapes? Where does this process start?

Maruyama (20) suggests that feedback may be an answer In scientific paradigms feedback provides information about irregularities in mechanical systems A thermostat for example self-corrects the heat of a system by processing temperature feedback and making appropriate adjustments

This constitutes a deviating counteracting feedback loop Although useful in mechanical systems such feedback loops disrupt human systems by impeding creativity an alternative order Maruyama says we need to take more notice of feedback loops that amplify deviation so that diversity is allowed to flourish and relationships can generate new energies

Yet as Allen (21) points out any single cultural consensus in a complex social system about the goals to be pursued would greatly reduce the diversity of that system and make it more fragile and less capable of adapting to volatile environments

Does participation lead to mutual benefit for all participants or is it a smoke screen for another form of manipulation by people in dominant social positions of those less powerful?

If then by participation we mean the active involvement of all people in the management and renewal of their own organizations national or tribal for mutual gain through mutual adjustment then is such participation preferable to the dominant present authoritarian and representative forms of government? On the basis that mutual benefits accrue to all partners then it seems intuitively obvious that such participation is preferable

In fact Maruyama (22) uses this logic to propose that it is not the strongest that survive but the most symbiotic In an evolutionary sense those species

that are able to adapt in consonance with a diversity of other species respond more fully to changing environments In human terms this would mean that relationships shared by people should be symbiotic through participation in mutually determined action

But is such participation possible?

Although Yamaguchi (23) would say that participation is inevitable collaborative participation for evolutionary development which produces mutual gain is difficult to imagine at least in the short term in today's society In fact given today's preoccupation with greed and selfishness it is perhaps the least likely form of participation that can be expected

Is the answer action learning?

Action learning (24) is research that provides something of an alternative to traditional research approaches It stems from a participatory epistemology as opposed to an empirical interpretative or critical epistemology

Traditional research approaches deal with communication through a variety of perspectives The empirical approach treats communication as a process that can be measured controlled and optimised The interpretative approach considers communication as something of an art that can be enhanced stylistically while critical theorists view communication and language as means by which cultures sustain and recycle their identities

Action learning in many ways takes the focus off communication as an entity and allows for participants (traditionally the people being researched) to set their own research language agendas generate their own data and deal with the results in ways that make most sense to them

In this way participants are learning by doing as well as creating opportunities for communication Action learning puts the horse where it should be before the cart by not trying to improve or increase communication but by creating social structures that allow for better communication as a matter of course

One of the keys to success through action research is diversity of participatory input Diversity of output linked with mutual decision making ensures that people's mindscapes are being challenged to the point perhaps of being able to communicate across paradigms (Bateson's Learning 3)

Linstone (25) proposes that using multiple perspectives to define ill-structured problems helps analysts gain insights into innovative solutions that would have been previously inaccessible Action learning

facilitates a multiple perspective approach through allowing people to experience the constraints and opportunities that play a part in other participants work

Action learning has a home in soft systems methodology (SSM) developed by Checkland (26) SSM is a response to messy ill-defined and ill-structured problems that arise when people interact with technology the natural world or each other SSM aims to improve situations rather than optimise performance If such situations involve people we believe problems are best solved by participatory means rather than authoritarian or hierarchical means

The theories above present us with some challenging new strategies which we can use to address dynamic and increasingly demanding community problems but we are still left with some provoking questions Are people comfortable with a participatory approach?

In our study (27) of sugar cane farmers in North Queensland we have found that people feel uncomfortable when their scope of responsibility changes People who are happy to allow decisions to be made for them are nervous about taking the responsibility to plot a course of action Similarly people who conventionally reside in positions of community power feel uncomfortable in relinquishing that power to other participants

Such conceptualisations of power stand in the way of true participation but they are not easy to break down We believe that such views evolve in a complex system of social political and biophysical interactions and if the situation is to change an appreciation of such complexity is required We believe this appreciation can emerge in a participatory environment

IS COMMUNICATION ENOUGH?

Thus learning through participation provides us with a means to improve situations Communication will sustain and enrich that participation but it alone will not drive it

However we are still left with a paradox

True participation requires convergence of cultures and this convergence necessarily means that there will be some levelling out of divergent interests capabilities and values

Yet Allen points out that it is variability and non-average behaviour that leads to diverse populations that are better able to adapt to dynamic environments Fluctuating or mutant responses to problems

Allen claims are a long term evolutionary strategy
Clearly policy makers from all backgrounds should be urged to think again about applying traditional solutions to new and dynamic problems. Evidence that such solutions are failing meets our eyes every day and new approaches are called for

We believe that while straight forward answers can not be found in the arguments presented above new and better directions for action are certainly there for urgent consideration

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SIRKKA HEINONEN

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION IN BUILDING A SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY

1 INTRODUCTION

Debate on and allusions to the information society have become in certain cases a mere platitude. New substance is required to the concept of the information society. This can be created by combining the issues of information society and sustainable development.

During the past few decades innumerable analyses and scenarios have been elaborated on the technological applications feasible in the information society. I call the emergence of these applications and their growing utilization positrends (1).

On the other hand serious thoughts and warnings have been given concerning the negative implications of introducing new technologies. The respective contortions and the increasing number of malfunctions and failures in applying information technology (IT) can be labelled as negatrends.

Careful and balanced analysis of positrends as well as negatrends should provide a basis for building an information society. Moreover, one must bear in mind that the same trend can be a positrend or a negatrend depending on the surrounding context or on the beholder's view. A positrend can also transform into a negatrend. For example, the utilization of information technology to improve the safety of elderly or disabled people can, if inappropriately applied, end up violating their privacy or making their living environment too mechanistic. The result is a lack of high touch which has been sacrificed for the sake of high tech.

Another example is given by the increasing trend of telework. It is a positrend, a positive model of action by decreasing the volume of traffic to and from work, thus diminishing the emissions from cars polluting the environment. It also saves expenses and time.

spent in traffic. However, teleworkers can lack sufficient social contacts. Also, recent studies have indicated that owing to telework the work traffic diminishes only to some extent. The total impact of new technology of transportation may not necessarily decrease the traffic flows. This is because the creation of new telecommunication equipment and techniques create new demands and markets. The economic growth has a tendency to increase transportation (2). In addition, telecommunications may indirectly cause an increase in the number of kilometers travelled since they render people more inclined to travel large distances in their leisure time. Accordingly, telecommunications also generate new travel (3).

Such a balanced approach covering both positive and negative trends, relatively neglected, would be a thorough analysis of the socio-cultural implications of the information society and by large of the coming of the postmodern citizen. This is closely related to the theme of encouraging participation in building a sustainable society. Accordingly, the information society should and could be developed in all of its aspects to promote sustainability. Such a future society could be coined a sustainable information society. Developers and inhabitants of such a society could be characterized as representing a new eco-conscious information culture.

The Academy of Finland (4) launched in June 1991 a research programme on sustainable development in collaboration with the Ministry of Environment. Within the research programme, sustainable development is conceived as a strategy of social policy with the aim of promoting the development of human communities in an ecologically sustainable manner. The existing societies provide a basis for seeking a compromise between economically feasible, socially acceptable and ecologically sustainable development. The programme comprises 15 subprojects to be carried out.

ried out in the period of 1991-1994. In the research programme much emphasis is laid on societal values and practices. One of the research projects is concerned with the information society as opportunities and obstacles to the sustainable development (5). Major guidelines of this subproject recently initiated are discussed in the following.

2 INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SUPPORTING SUSTAINABILITY

The responsibility for building a sustainable society is laid not only on decisionmakers, government and industry, but equally on researchers and individual citizens. The essential question is how to actively involve various instances towards the common goal.

There are various means of utilizing information technology in promoting the principle of sustainable development in communities. All the above mentioned parties of the functioning society should be advocated to participate in building a sustainable society. The major means can be roughly divided into the four following categories:

- 1) Monitoring (systems for detecting environmental impacts controlling the quality of air, water and soil etc.)
- 2) Regulation (systems for regulating energy consumption, enhancing recycling etc.)
- 3) Education (systems for teaching and conveying such issues, attitudes and lifestyles at school, in adult education and in mass media as support for sustainable development)
- 4) Teledemocracy and teleparticipation (systems for decentralization of power and for evoking action via local democracy and debate)

In the future, the above measures for utilizing information and communication technology to support sustainability can be inter-connected in an intelligent and sophisticated manner to provide efficient interaction.

2.1 Monitoring

In the information society, the dominant technology, information technology, could be applied more effectively to directly supporting sustainability. This can be achieved by installations for monitoring and controlling the state of the environment and imminent threats. This monitoring can be divided into follow-up of the environment and into the follow-up of functioning of

industrial plants and possible environmental risks. The monitoring of the environment by means of the information technology and satellite technology (remote sensing) best acts as the early warning system. According to the data received, corrective measures should be taken. Environmental problems are transnational and global. Accordingly, joint efforts are needed from separate nations, which has proved in some cases rather difficult. Environmental hazards do not respect any geographical or political frontiers. However, consensus on the urgency of environmental issues will grow in the near future, forced by the hard realities. Lester R. Brown of the Worldwatch Institute has said that the battle to save the planet will replace the battle over ideology as the organizing theme of the new world order (6).

In the future, the whole biosphere will be increasingly wired with monitoring instrumentation and satellite remote sensing. Accordingly, owing to such global and local monitoring, we will know much more and much earlier about the environmental impacts of everything we do (7). Climate change, ozone depletion, spread of deserts, destruction of forests, etc. require constant monitoring in order to keep at pace with the alarming environmental hazards and to activate repairing measures.

The reliability of industrial plants rests on detecting failures before they happen. Preventing serious damage may depend on computer data scrutiny and sensors that work in hostile conditions. Together, such measures could allow utilities to diagnose most degenerative problems that cause breakdowns. Via a data highway, engineers can observe the performance and wear of critical parts of the utilities. The diagnostic monitor of the future will first declare an anomaly and then gradually refine the diagnostics. Eventually, computers will tell the operators when the danger signs demand corrective action (8).

The data received from monitoring the state of the environment could be displayed at public places in a way that today the state of the weather is illustrated for passengers in traffic. For example, the knowledge of current contents of the traffic-generated pollution could guide behaviour patterns.

2.2 Regulation

After monitoring, the next natural step is regulation and control on the basis of the data gathered from the follow-up or as an independent measure. Advanced information technology can introduce solutions decreasing the energy consumption and toxic and harmful emissions. This applies both for the industry as well as private life.

In homes, the information technology could be better utilized for regulating energy consumption. In intelligent buildings, you can turn on the switch of the heating system at home by a telephone line when you leave your office. Heating, cooling and lighting can be optimally adjusted by using control panels. In intelligent offices, several applications are introduced for optimizing energy consumption and other functions.

In industry, more effective measures could be taken to launch information technology especially for controlling and purifying purposes. Thus, computer technology can have a positive influence on environmental management. Good examples of this are to be found in the industrial sector where the utilization of highly refined measuring and control techniques, sensors, etc. is spreading (9).

However, the high expectations of the early 1980s for the contribution of information technology to environmental management have not yet been fulfilled in practice. Alvin Toffler claimed that information technology might reduce automobile and consequently also the discharge of harmful substances. A computer and a (digital) telephone link make it possible to work at home, hold meetings by telephone, pursue education from a distance, shop and arrange one's banking from the living room (10). This vision of the information society is somewhat biased by too high an expectation of what information technology can deliver.

Several navigation systems under work in car traffic are aimed at optimizing the traffic flows and thus diminishing congestion and pollution. Accordingly, intelligent traffic will be introduced alongside with the concept of intelligent buildings.

The ultimate framework is intelligent cities, of which there are several Japanese projects under way (11). In traffic, entirely new modes of transport may be developed utilizing IT. For example, systems could be built for linking cars together in convoys to be remotely controlled in addition to electrical cars and magnet trains. However, such technical innovations can only be successfully applied if the social context changes simultaneously. This requires great social changes for which a process of adaptation will take years (12).

2.3 Education

Education of sustainable issues can be effected through the information culture. The culture of the information society is permeated by the idea of lifelong learning and education. New technical modes of learning will take ground, such as tele-education via satellites and computers. In the information society, education is one of the key factors. Therefore, envi-

ronmental issues should be incorporated more into teaching material at schools, universities, adult education as well as in mass media.

Ultimately, it is the question of educating such attitudes, values and lifestyles as support sustainable development. To give an example of the mass media, the leading Finnish newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, included a few years ago in its editorial policy a regularly appearing full-page column tackling current environmental questions in several detailed articles. The idea was originally suggested by an environmentalist.

The Finnish citizen organizations are also active in distributing educative information on environmental issues. Last year a large campaign was organized jointly by several organizations including the Finnish Society for Future Studies in the form of the Environment and Futures Train. The train ran throughout the country, stopping at certain stations to present material and instructions for consumers towards environmentally sound behaviour and lifestyle. The train also comprised a teleworkshop demonstrating the possibilities of computers.

For several years in Finland, the Communications Education Society has organized Communication Camps in the summer for children and young people. The aim of the Camps is to educate children in utilizing information and telecommunications technology interactively. Such skills are conceived to increase the participation of an ordinary citizen in developing his or her own community and thereby belonging to the community (13).

The information technology could appear as a mega-trend for solving environmental problems, not only at the technical level but as an educational and even cultural tool. Its main role would then be to awaken the responsibility of citizens, companies and authorities. First of all, general awareness of the acuteness of environmental issues would have to be achieved. This is by no means evident today, despite the urgency of sustainability. Even some recent future-oriented books amazingly ignore or briefly pass today's global environmental problematique.

The monitoring and regulation described above can be linked to education in manifold ways. For example, at homes, personal computers could be programmed to display relevant environmental data received from monitoring first thing on the screen when started. In offices and factories, the same could be done collectively or through workers' workstations whenever feasible. When introduced to everyday life, the significance of environmental issues may no more be bypassed.

2.4 Teledemocracy and participation

The sustainable development of living environments could be greatly enhanced by teledemocracy and teleparticipation. Systems should be created where citizens could participate through information networks in decision making concerning their own living surroundings. Today in a few Finnish municipalities there are experiments ongoing where the citizens may for example watch the decision making process in the municipal board through videos. This has proved enormously popular. The next step would be to organize a system where the citizens could in a local or national information network give their vote in urgent environmental issues to guide the decision making. Neighbourhood telecenters should be provided for those who have no access from their home.

In this year the National Housing Exhibition in Finland demonstrates a local information network with access to national and international databanks. The network is built in Varkaus in Central Finland to cover a whole neighbourhood linking all 100 households together and to provide various services (banking, shopping, booking, E-mail etc). Accordingly, the buyer of a house automatically will also have purchased the network linkage (costs of FIM 6000 or equivalent of USD 1500 are included in the house price).

At the national level in Finland there is a project Public Information Network initiated in 1988 by the Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications and to be completed by March 1992. The participants in the project include ministries, government agencies, institutes, private enterprises, municipalities and their associations. Until now information networks have not been integrated in Finland though the way they have been available for approximately ten years. One of the purposes of the project is to increase the use of data network services and make their use as easy as possible. The development and implementation of the network does not mean setting up a physically new network. It will utilize the existing national telephone and data transmission networks and their value added services. The project is a framework for electronic services which should be

- * easily available to everybody
- * fast, flexible and effective to use
- * inexpensive to acquire and to use
- * independent of time and place
- * internationally usable when necessary

The basic electronic services of the Public Information Network should incorporate at least the following

- * electronic mail which should be unified, inexpensive and easy to use
- * enabling transmission also in the

form of telex, teletype, telegram, electronic letter, synthetic speech and braille.

* a nationwide electronic telephone directory which will be developed and produced jointly by telecommunication companies.

* an electronic marketplace where goods and services can be sold and bought.

* administrative services offered by various authorities including information on taxation, social security, pensions and patent applications, as well as training and cultural services such as library services and electronic cultural magazine.

* travel information and reservation services enabling the booking of tickets, seats and accommodation and giving information on timetables and routes.

* company services tailored for the needs of small and medium sized enterprises.

* banking, bank transfer and insurance services.

The project claims to have several social aspects and benefits. Finland is a relatively large, sparsely populated country. The Public Information Network would bring its services democratically to the young and the old, the healthy and the disabled, near and far. It aims at giving citizens possibilities to participate actively thus contributing to teledemocracy. The monthly costs of using the Public Information Network will equal to an average user his or her monthly newspaper subscription fees.

Teledemocracy and teleparticipation will not develop but gradually through the implementation and introduction of information networks as described above. When taken into use, there are several possibilities for promoting sustainable development through teleparticipation and teleparticipation. Through information networks citizens could participate in creating a new, eco-conscious information culture. Therein, lifestyle issues would be approached with a view to sustainability. Excessive consumption could become effectively limited. As a countermeasure to the shopping craze, electronic marketplaces would offer inexpensive goods. Goods could also be bought in return for other goods or services.

Via local information networks news could be distributed, for example, announcing collection points for hazardous waste disposal. Electronic bulletins could be edited and updated, giving useful instructions for diminishing excessive consumption and providing contact data for cycling of second-hand items. Citizens could be solicited for launching campaigns for protecting their near environments, for diminishing

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daily use of cars etc. Contests could be arranged for creating information technology applications that enhance environmental protection. Children could be encouraged to participate in building a sustainable society by producing e.g. computer games where the winner is the least energy-consuming player.

3 NEW ECO-CONSCIOUS INFORMATION CULTURE

In such an information society as will be positively developed, environmental issues and sustainability form an inextricably intertwined facet. Through awakened awareness and a rising sense of responsibility both at personal, local, national and global levels, the value system of the citizens in the information society will harbour in a prominent place ethical and ecological aspects.

Such a vision is conspicuously depicted for example in Yoneji Masuda's hypothesis for the coming of the homo intelligens. Enlightened citizens move from awareness to action and know how to promote sustainability by using computers and information technology in all its spectrum. (14) This vision is most recommendable and welcome at the time of ever accelerating change of the environment, technology and society. However, the great problem remains how to achieve such progress in the behaviour of people and organizations.

Technology is a double-edged sword. It is far too easy to succumb to techno-optimism and to trust in human capabilities in managing technological developments. Above all, constant alertness is needed in utilizing new technologies. It is becoming all the time clearer that the principle of knowledge and know-how is power, is growing in importance. In the new, eco-conscious information culture, brisk measures have to be taken to ensure the growth of democracy. Only thus it may be possible to eliminate or at least alleviate the problem of dividing citizens into two categories of have and have not. Information technology when appropriately applied, no doubt contains promising potential for building a sustainable information society.

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JIM DATOR

I WANT MY ITV

Or Imagine Reverend Tilton inviting you to press your hand against the touch sensitive screen. Feel the healing power of Jesus while you transmit your Visa number

Or Who will be the Goebbels of interactive media?

I have been co evolving an understanding of the relationship between participation democracy communication and communication technologies for more than 25 years. A little bibliography at the end of this paper of some of the things I have written contains a partial record of that odyssey. The longer bibliography following mine contains some works mainly recent which others have written that I have found informative. I have also been directly involved in the production of a large number of audio visual radio audiotape film television and video programs in the US Canada and the UK and for many years I taught courses on media literacy and portapak/camcorder video production. I watch a lot of television.

Here are some of the things I think I've learned

1 What you know depends on the models and media you use to know it. Scholars who rely on reading to gain and writing to convey their knowledge of the world (especially scholars who do so in only one language) live in a very restricted world indeed. While some scholars also and a few mainly rely instead on mathematical models and media while a few still rely also though seldom mainly on audio visual forms almost all scholars at the present time construct their world through the printed and sometimes spoken word. Of course the world constructed by for example a native speaker of English only is substantially and importantly different from the world of a native speaker of Japanese only they both have more in common with each other than they do with the world constructed by a non literate or semi literate

television viewer [Dator 1968 and 1977]

Moreover in addition to academia the most important governing systems of the modern world are almost entirely based on written words and the conflict over their meanings. I am referring to law whether constitutional or statutory the courts and the bureaucracy [Katsch]

2 Human values and institutions reflect and influence human behavior and aspirations. Human behavior and aspirations are related to (determined by?) human biology environment culture technology and each person's individual experiences. A change in any one (or more) of these factors changes behavior and consciousness and challenges existing values and institutions. Humans as tool creating and using animals have most typically changed these relationships by inventing and using new technologies. Thus I consider new technologies to be the major agents of social change and thus I try to survey sources which indicate new and emerging technologies and speculate on their probable use and impact on the other relations [McHale Dator 1982]

3 Historically every new level of communication technology especially has destroyed the society in which it was invented and used and served as the catalyst for the creation of new societies which then were destroyed by still newer communication technologies [McLuhan]. Specifically this progression has been from pre speech to speech to writing (but since most people did not know how to write though writing had been invented I favor the term scribal) to printing (i.e. the invention and widespread use of the printing press and the invention of institutions such as schools representative government and commerce based on it) and then more recently electro-chemical/electronic communication and more futuristically genetic engineering and soon molecular engineering [Dator 1973b 1977]

With each of these developments the number of other humans a single human could contact and the amount quality kind etc of data/information an individual could obtain/give has increased in what can at least metaphorically be considered a geometric rate

Michael Marien among others is concerned with infoglut at present. He ain't seen nothing yet. For only one example Jan Huston showed me a recent (April 8 1991) report (B 240617) by the US General Accounting Office which says that NASA missions will soon generate quantities of data never before encountered. Between 1990 and 2000 the volume of data archived will rise by over 5 600 percent. Information systems now in place will be unable to store process and retrieve this data which will amount to more than 1 000 times the amount of information now stored in the Library of Congress. Storing this daily supply of data would require about 10 000 reels of standard magnetic tape which if stacked would be nearly twice the height of the Washington Monument. And not only do no systems presently exist for storing this data there is presently no way to archive it much less to retrieve it once it has been stored. But they are working on it.

4 The possibility of and the desire for participation and democracy have changed as communication technologies (as well as other technologies) have changed. The evolution of speech arguably made it possible for early hominids to band together and destroy their contemporary sapiential kin (such as Neanderthal) who were intellectually and physically and perhaps culturally superior but linguistically challenged [Diamond]. Without doubt writing made civilization and imperialism possible. No antique empire existed without some kind of a writing system which was used to conquer control and civilize pre-literate tribes. Writing made it possible to colonize minds across time as well as space [Vide The Bible].

The printing press made the production of books cheap and plentiful thus destroying the monopoly of the Church by making Every Believer a Priest. By pointing out the discrepancy in various handcopied versions of the Bible the printing press also made the editor and publisher more important than the writer.

The silent solitary reader and writer operating in the privacy of his own mind able to pause over words and their meaning to compare passages of decontextualized texts to put together take apart and couple anew little trains of thought made revolution possible and individualism necessary [Eisenstein].

5 Representative government was probably the best

available social invention for solving the problem of how a small homogeneous and geographically isolated group of gentry could govern a vast new country in their interest. How could they prevent undesirable elements (slaves women propertyless and lower class men) from taking over? And then gradually over two hundred years how could these undesirable elements be permitted to participate in and support the system without actually gaining control over it?

The answer was the American system of representative government with its divisions and separations of power and checks and balances. It has proven to be an effective and durable social invention for those purposes [Dator 1973a]. But as long as it remains representative and bureaucratic government in the US is definitely not democratic.

6 I don't want to go off on a definitional snark hunt now but I have not said what I mean by participation and democracy so far.

Participation and democracy are certainly not the same thing. Participation is simply the act of taking part in something. There are at least two kinds of ways one can take part voluntarily and by coercion.

The opposite of participation is alienation. And there are two kinds of alienation. The most frequently discussed is when one wants to participate and cannot. But equally alienating are situations when one doesn't want to participate but must.

The importance of this distinction is clear when we consider the difference in the modern world of participation in governance vs participation in the so-called market economy. It is very difficult for the average person to participate effectively in governance. It requires enormous and continuing resources of knowledge time and money which most citizens do not have to really have a say in governance today.

Indeed some people argue that non-participation in government is a good thing. For example in a recent article on low voter turnout in the US the right-wing political commentator George Will wrote. To be blunt smaller usually means smarter (and he might have added more wealthy and conservative). Furthermore low turnouts often are signs of social health. Low political energy can be a consequence of consensus about basics. When society is not riven by deep fissures about fundamental questions non-voting may be passive consent reflecting contentment. Many potential voters abstain because electoral outcomes do not determine the shape of their lives. Which is the way it should be in a good society politics is peripheral to happiness [Will].

It is impossible to imagine that George Will would say the same thing about anyone who chose neither to have a job nor to go shopping everyday because participation in capitalistic economics is peripheral to happiness. Indeed just you try not participating in the economic system in the US! No matter how much a person might choose to be self-sufficient and provide for all her own economic needs it is impossible if you have any doubts ask any Hawaiian activist who wishes to live off the lands as her ancestors did for millennia before the white man came what her life is like as a consequence of that desire. The essence of capitalism and one of the main achieved goals of Reaganomics is the commodification of everything. The old popular song to the contrary notwithstanding the best things in life aren't free any more. The non-voter may be a model citizen but the non-consumer (even more than the non-employed) is a pariah.

Moreover there are many ways to take part. To that extent I must agree with George Will. Few voters vote? So what? Voting in contemporary representative governments is largely symbolic legitimating and not effective participation. It is hard for me to accept the argument that individuals who vote and otherwise utilize legal avenues of political participation today are actually controlling or even significantly influencing governmental decisions. They are participating but they are not governing.

On the other hand as I said in my opening remarks at this World Conference even merely watching (staged or spontaneous but nonetheless edited) political events on television is a kind of participation. From a quantum politics perspective merely watching is a powerful mode of participation certainly a necessary first step in any other participative act. And in this participative universe all acts are participative [Dator 1983a]. Becker Gilder Herbert Pagels Peat Wheeler & Zurek Wolf Zohar].

I believe it was Woody Allen who pointed out that the secret of life is showing up. Someone else concluded that they also serve who only stand and wait.

To return to definitions for a moment I understand democracy to mean rule by the people. By this definition there are no democratic governments anywhere in the world presently and very few if any democratic organizations of any kind. Democracy remains an ideal or a futuristic for of governance.

7 However I believe true democracy direct citizen controlled governance can be achieved through the use of electronic technologies [Barber Bezold & Olson Glenn Harris Joseph Masuda Rezazadeh Rogers Tehranian Toffler]. But I also acknowledge that those technologies can presently most certainly are and thus probably will be used to decrease

democracy sometimes perhaps while actually increasing participation [Bagdikian Eliul Kellner Linstone Mitroff & Bennis Schiller].

I have demonstrated elsewhere [Dator 1980 1983b] and support the work of others who similarly labor that it is possible and desirable to use and invent communication and other kinds of technologies to create truly democratic forms of governance for the first time [Hiltz & Turoff Turoff Slaton]. While I have no doubt that these technologies will increase participation without our active imagination design and effort I am certain that they will not be used to make democracy possible but rather merely to concentrate even more the power of the very few who control the present.

Indeed even with our active imagination design and effort these communication technologies might be used to enhance the power of the already powerful. What Bertram Gross calls Friendly Fascism fascism in the form of a Mickey Mouse Ninja Turtles and Ronald Reagan and at a global level as recent televised events in Eastern Europe the Persian Gulf and the former Soviet Union make clear is the most probable future as it is the present of participation and democracy for all of us [Gross Schneider & Wallis]. Should this be called quantum fascism?

Benjamin Hourani recently conducted a kind of Delphi forecast on computerization organizations and values asking 407 experts to respond to thirty four statements about the effect of computers on the organization of the work place. Statement twelve said Computerization will promote greater decentralization and democratic self management in the work place. Fifty five percent of those responding said that statement was either inevitable highly probable or probable. Forty five percent said it was possible but not probable or not possible [Hourani]. See also Sproull & Kiesler Tesler Negro ponte Malone and Rockart]. I agree with the experts it's a toss up.

8 To me the most interesting emerging technological developments in communication participation and democracy are in the areas of visualization dematerialization artificial intelligence artificial life and virtual reality [Dator 1990 and 1989]. Also Amato Anderson Blakemore & Greenfield Brand Coates Davies Daviss Dyson Fishman Friedhoff & Benzon Gann Graubard Gregory Hardison Hellman Herman Helsen & Roth Johnson & Brown Jones Joseph Kroner Krueger Kurzweil Langton Lanier Leebaert McNally & Inayatullah Montgomery Mora vec Newstead Peterson Rheingold Saenz Smith Stone Thomas Travis Turkle Waters Yuki and Zuboff].

Virtual Reality is not television its the telephone And it's not the telephone either It's a medium of expression more than of communication like music or art After all most of what people communicate about concerns not just physical things but people ideas feelings events which operate within social structures not in physical space

Now that we can represent reality directly why use the symbols?

This is not electronic LSD But it is a real good tool for getting people who might be a little Newtonian and deterministic to recognize that reality is an opinion and not a fact [Above quotations from E Dyson p 11f]

In the future I see [virtual reality] as a medium of communication where people improvise worlds instead of words making up dreams to share It would be a reality conversation an objective form of the Jungian dream the collective unconscious You might call [virtual reality] the collective conscious

Once you get a taste for making up your own reality you don't go in for passive realities anymore

Sometimes I think we've uncovered a new planet but one that we're inventing instead of discovering We're just starting to sight the shore of one of its continents Virtual reality is an adventure worth centuries [Above quotations from Lanier p 116f]

Mark Weiser to the contrary says that what is happening with electronic technology is diametrically opposed to our vision of virtual reality What is happening instead is that ubiquitous computers are fading into the background and becoming invisible (just as Arthur C Clarke predicted they would almost thirty years ago) Indeed the opposition between the notion of virtual reality and ubiquitous invisible computing is so strong that some of us use the term embodied virtuality to refer to the process of drawing computers out of their electronic shells and placing them in everything - cars buildings appliances human bodies By pushing computers into the background embodied virtuality will make individuals more aware of the people on the other end of their computer links and unaware of the computers themselves There is more information available at our fingertips during a walk in the woods than in any computer system yet people find a walk among trees relaxing and computers frustrating Machines that fit the human environment instead of forcing humans to enter theirs will make using a computer as refreshing as taking a walk in the Woods [Weiser p 94f 104]

We don't understand the game we're playing I'm not sure that the game will settle down In a world

economy with no world body politic it could be that upheaval in world communications will continue to accelerate at exactly the rate of technology growth Engines without governors rev up and explode economies without theories may do the same The structure of the world information economy is being determined by traffic rather than policy in part because there's no world body politic in part because there's no workable theory of what's happening The wired world is a teenager with a new car taking dumb risks finding new freedoms It's a privilege to be around self discovery like that but grueling and sometimes tragic [Brand p 248f]

Does Kaoru Yamaguchi have the key to the economic theory we need [Yamaguchi 1986 1990]? Are Harlan Cleveland and his cohorts inventing the global body politic that this euphoric post Cold War world otherwise disdains [Cleveland]?

9 Whether the challenges of embodied virtuality virtual reality artificial intelligence and artificial life are being addressed presently or not they are small potatoes compared to the power of genetic and molecular engineering which is emerging Electronic technology is based on the manipulation of the electron Genetic and molecular engineering manipulates everything else [Baskin Drexler F Dyson Foss & Rothenberg Hameroff Porter & Rossini Webber Yoxen & de Martino Yoxen] This is information of the highest order leading to an information society far beyond that which even Yamaguchi or Masuda envision Given the increased pace of research and development of these technologies there is good reason to believe that in the early 21st Century the electronic information society will be replaced by societies based on genetic and molecular engineering [Bishop & Waldholz Drexler & Peterson] Certainly this portends forms and processes of participation and democracy that are presently beyond my ability to imagine in sufficient detail

But I have no doubt that it is on these technologies and their consequences that the members of the WFSF and all futurists genuinely concerned about the future of participation and democracy should be focussing their attention and not on the forms and problems of the present on which our members dearly love to squander their concern (I often feel we should change the name of our organization from The World Futures Studies Federation to The Present Problems of the World Debating Society)

But you don't have to take my word for it Consider what Eric Drexler founder of The Foresight Institute concludes about nanotechnologies

Eons of evolution and millennia of history have prepared this challenge and quietly presented it to our

generation The coming years will bring the greatest turning point in the history of life on Earth To guide life and civilization through this transition is the great task of our time [Drexler p 239]

That is the task to which we each should turn our efforts

Will you take me for Chicken Little or the Little Hen if I inquire Who will help me thresh the corn?

A PARTIAL RECORD OF THE EVOLUTION OF MY IDEAS ABOUT COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION

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JOAN CASALS, EMIL HERBOLZEIMER

**OUTLINE OF A NEW ECONOMIC MODEL
FOR A SOCIETY IN TRANSITION
EASTERN EUROPE**

A. The neo-capitalist economy a model to be superseded

1 We have witnessed in recent months the dismantling in Eastern Europe of an economic system based on the public property of the means of production and the allocation of resources through central planning. The deficiencies of this system in attaining the level of production and consumption commensurate with the possibilities and expectations of an advanced society has induced the people of these countries to opt for a new economic model

2 Given the proximity of the other Europe and the absence of experienced alternatives these countries are looking at the neocapitalist image as a mirror to be imitated. Yet we feel it necessary to warn them of the malfunctions of the present neocapitalist system which underneath its resemblance of equity and prosperity is faced with serious imbalances which instead of diminishing lead to an increase in the differences among its citizens

3 The core problem that faces today's neo capitalist society lies in its incapacity to stop speculative activities. These are not only unfruitful but also rob the real production stream of important resources either because they are evaded or because they are merely set aside or underutilized

4 Only a part of the acquisitive power of those rents is being transformed into a demand for current production. Most of it is discarded and accumulated in big stocks of money or financial assets which serve to enlarge an ever growing floating mountain of money. This is an economic area founded on money as an end in itself without any productive activity in the process and may thus be referred to as the speculative area

5 The consequences are harmful in two ways as not only are less resources destined to investment in equipment in order to develop future production but the sale of the present production is undermined due to the fact that one part of the rents generated by it does not become actual demand

6 The speculative activities have also led to a rupture between economy and ecology. The present system is not able to manage properly the allocation of natural resources (increasingly scarce and degraded) since present price mechanisms do not adequately take into account the cost of replacement

7 The starting hypothesis of this report is that the above problems and malfunctions arise mainly from the overlapping of two very different kinds of market

a) a real market of goods and services based on the production transformation and the innovating capacity of man (real supply)

b) a speculative market based on

* the creation of money or financial assets and the exchange of debts and obligations for other debts or money

* the attainment of money through the appropriation of the land and natural resources

* rents obtained from money that has been lent and from deposits of financial assets

8 It is not always easy to distinguish between the real and the speculative market. It may be true that on occasions the speculative activities may act as a stabilizing force of the market. Yet in financial and real estate markets the thin borderline between stability

izing and destabilizing speculation is crossed very easily in most cases the main objective in the purchase of shares or real estate is the ulterior sale with the sole purpose of obtaining a gain totally unrelated to productive investment or to the actual use of the real estate in question

9 The speculation malice is multiple. A result is the increase in the mass of money (since credits are usually requested to buy financial assets and real estate) without any increase in the real wealth originating from the sale or purchase of goods or services. This is one of the main causes of inflation which in addition is not computed in the official figures recording the rate of increase of prices. It is a system of distribution of rent in favour of speculators by concentrating in a few hands large amounts of money worked by others.

10 Speculation has another no less important side effect: it discourages real production by industrial investors as well as employers and employees. Who will make an effort to produce if his neighbour earns more money without any such effort and furthermore strongly influences the course of the economy?

11 As a result large sums of purchasing power remain captive of the speculative market and not sufficient demand is created to purchase the new production. This prompts a series of reactions by the enterprises to close the gap:

- * induce consumption through increased credit (which withdraws resources from the real economy)

- * gear production towards products with a short life span (programmed obsolescence) or even destructive purposes (such as military goods)

- * to limit supply and competition through collusive behaviour of enterprises (cartels or alliances) or concentration of enterprises through mergers, takeovers or joint ventures

12 The role of the neo capitalist State with its financial and monetary policies (control over money supply and foreign exchange credit regulations and creation of public deficit) and its increasing interventions can not reduce the deep causes of the imbalance. Even the social democratic management of this type of market economies brings no solution to the problem. Its achievement lies in mitigating the extreme effects of the imbalances through redistributive methods which are however made ineffective by the disproportionate increase of some of the critical prices (especially interest and housing). Thus a bigger equity at the moment of distributing the cake (salaries) is greatly limited at the time of everyone getting his part (when the consumer spends or pays)

13 It is apparent from the above that the main problem or malfunction of the neo capitalist system arises from the undifferentiated treatment of two very distinct markets. By not having recognized the need for a balance between economic flows and stocks of goods as well as money the system does not ensure a complete return into production of all the resources generated by society

14 It needs to be emphasized that contrary to the real market where the flow of demand provides resources for the new production in the speculative market the demand provides money to products accumulated in previous periods (such as the monetary deposits for loans) or even of previous creation (such as the secondary market for assets) or even not created (such as land). Thus it can be viewed as a pseudo market since it is based on barter of money for stocks which do not form part of the actual production.

15 Today's situation in the world thus bears a special interest. To work appropriately neo capitalism will need to free itself from its pseudo markets without losing the market concept while the neo-socialism should allow a revival of the new market without permitting the emergence of the speculative pseudo market. In this historical moment we should find new ways and means with which to approach the fourfold antinomy:

- * real market and speculative pseudo market

- * monetary flows and goods flows

- * money stocks and reserve stocks

- * economy and ecology

16 In sum we miss a way to separate both kinds of market that is not only simple and efficient but also as predictable, objective and documented as possible. An institutional framework which without hindering personal initiative and responsibility radically reduces the non productive evasion of resources for real production.

17 One way to achieve the above mentioned separation between markets would be by giving a differentiated and specific treatment to the assets that feed the speculative markets and establishing an appropriate mechanism for promoting channelling and distributing savings towards productive investments. To guarantee the proper functioning of such distinct markets it would be necessary to set up an adequate monetary discipline which could start with the introduction of a new instrument of exchange for the operations of the speculative markets. The above analysis leads us to a new economic model whose

basic elements are described below

B A new economic model

a Monetary instruments

18 The model proposed is based on the coexistence of two currencies which are the reflection of the dual exchange of flows: transaction exchange of stocks

- * a currency like the one we have at present but whose functions would be limited to short term payments. In other words for the exchange in the real market of the production of goods and services as well as for current consumption (which includes the purchase of equipment payed in the short term)

- * another monetary instrument or asset whose main function would be the reserve of value aimed at creating savings and channeling them to their final investment in equipment and other assets. In short an instrument conceived for the financing of direct investment in equipment with long term loans and for the acquisition of assets in the speculative markets (capital and real estate markets)

19 The first currency (for the short term payments in the real market) could be our present currency or Money. This currency could also be traded freely into the second monetary instrument or asset.

20 The second monetary instrument or asset on the other hand is a new instrument that we refer to as Solid Title. To serve its function as reserve of value the Solid Title should be backed up by a real asset that is practically invariable. The ideal asset would be land (both urban and agrarian) in order to accomplish its role of monetary base or guarantee the land would need to be turned into community property (see Annex 1) entrusting its administration to a special Public Entity. This new Entity would become the only purchaser and leasee of land.

21 Thus two main objectives would be achieved simultaneously:

- * a stable monetary instrument

- * the elimination of land as one of the key perturbing factors of the present markets

22 Given the role entrusted to the Solid Title (namely to channel savings towards real investment) it could not be automatically converted into the other currency. Money it could only be used to purchase material and immaterial productive assets (equipment, plants, soft and hardware, know-how, etc.) or financial property assets (such as shares and bonds).

23 The transfer of land from private to community property is what would give birth to the Solid Titles as the payment for this transfer of property would be made in these Titles.

b The Public Agency in charge of administration and issuing Titles

24 The economic model provides for the establishment of a specific bank type: Public Agency which would be responsible for issuing and trading Solid Titles and purchasing and leasing land.

25 Above all this would be a bank that could not grant any type of credit. It would be authorized solely to trade Solid Titles as collateral in very specific cases such as:

- * When a purchaser of capital goods mortgages Solid Titles worth an amount equivalent to the purchase price of said goods in order that the Public Agency may pay Money directly to the seller.

- * When a person holding a Solid Title insurance policy needs to have a medical bill paid in Money by the Public Agency.

- * When a pensioner whose private pension fund is in Solid Titles wishes to receive pension payments in Money.

26 Generally speaking this Public Agency's balance sheet would be similar to that of issuing banks during the early years of the gold standard. However its Assets would consist basically of land (rather than gold) and its Liabilities of the Solid Titles issued.

27 The purchase price of land would be established on the basis of the official property value for all land on a particular date. The rate of exchange between Money/Solid Titles would be established on the basis of the public agency's operating account, i.e. by the rate of return in Money on its property assets expressed in Solid Titles (see Annex 2).

28 Transfer to Solid Titles could be gradual and could be limited so that the expected amount necessary to cover the exchange of savings to real investment would always be available.

29 Land and real estate property would be leased through a totally open auction market (sublets would not be authorized) which would eliminate the right to transfer property. The duration of any lease would be contingent upon the amount of time necessary to amortize the new building to be constructed on the leased property. Prior to expiration of the lease the right to said property would again be offered in auction. The lessee could be granted the right to first

option The rent paid in Money would go into the public treasury Were property owned as community property this would permit more coherent and operational and less costly development plans

30 The type of Public Agency required by this economic model could have serious drawbacks administration could be complicated it might serve to disguise a lack of bureaucratic neutrality or encourage political manipulation This would make the model infeasible

31 However in practice these shortcomings might not be so great Administration would be less complicated than is currently the case in neo capitalist economies because it would be more objective and more predictable The risks of arbitrary action and manipulation might also be less than is currently the case due to the fact that administrators would have a more limited margin of interpretation and allocation

c Savings and Investment

32 As mentioned earlier the use of Money would be limited to ordinary transactions involving consumer goods short term purchases of capital goods and other short term investments Long term investments could be channeled through Solid Titles which could be used to purchase shares or more commonly bonds in business firms or Solid Assets in the Public Agency

33 Solid Assets would be a financial product of the Public Agency and would aim to replace current systems of saving and long term financing which require the State and financial institutions to issue interest bearing assets and the creation (bank multiplying factor) of money by increasing their lending operations

34 These Solid Assets would be an extremely attractive form of long term saving They would be very stable in value because their value would be linked to property values Furthermore earnings would accrue to them from the income the Public Agency would earn by administering the use of the property involved

35 Solid Assets would be the result of and response to the Solid Titles voluntarily deposited in the Public Agency by savers whose deposits would be the equivalent of fixed term personal savings These savers would be people who have sold their property and individuals who want to guarantee that their savings will maintain their purchasing power in the future Their voluntary deposits would provide the Public Agency with Solid Titles which could be offered to all new savers

36 As is to be expected those who have sold their land will not use all of the Solid Titles they received Nor will they want to keep in their pockets too many Solid Titles as these do not earn any rent unless they are placed It is also to be expected that many savers (including the small ones) will prefer to maintain some of their savings for future use in Solid Titles This will provide the Public Entity with an additional supply of Money

37 The enterprises engaged in production would normally obtain their regular flow of finance through the emission of bonds and shares but they could also obtain Money from the Public Entity offering in exchange to mortgage an equivalent amount in Solid Titles

38 The Solid Title would furthermore be an instrument capable of improving the negotiating process between labour unions and employers by including in the salary a new component geared to investment Thus the vicious circle of escalating salaries inflation could be broken A genuine popular capitalism as well as new systems of personal self insurance (health retirement etc) could be achieved in an unbiased manner

d Taxation and natural resources

39 An important proportion of the public revenues would stem from the leasing of the land which would lead to a proportional reduction of the other taxes in particular those levied on work and enterprise activities

40 This new automatic and neutral source of revenue would further permit the tax authorities to give special tax treatment to investments considered to be of public interest

41 The inheritance of Solid Titles and other durable riches could easily be transformed into a preferential modality of loans on a long term basis Thus the heir would have to devote a fixed share of the rents perceived to investments of public interest The present inheritance taxes could thus be abolished

42 The exploitation of the non renewable natural resources (deposits etc) would demand the payment of special taxes (replacement levies) in Solid Titles This payment would be allocated directly to the institution in charge of obtaining or developing the permanent substitutable resources A tax would also be levied on the users of natural renewable resources (woods etc) and the pollution of degradable ones (air etc) in sufficient quantity to ensure the replacement or restoration of such natural resources

C Prospects for the Implantation of the new model in Eastern Europe

43 The countries where the most appropriate conditions seem to prevail at present to put forward this new economic model of society are some of the Eastern European countries for two main reasons

* to avoid falling into the wrong dilemma communism-capitalism without any other alternative in view

* to avoid the renouncing of all their institutions without a careful analysis of which among them could be useful to achieve an economy of better quality than the neocapitalist

44 In Eastern Europe the land and natural resources are yet community owned Most of these countries are also about to create some new monetary and financial mechanisms and introduce some measures towards the progressive privatization of its productive apparatus This starting point in forging a new mixed and unknown economy provides a favourable framework for the adoption of the proposed model

45 The present situation further presents the special advantage of enabling an economic transition in which all citizens may equitably contribute to the reconstruction of the country by renouncing to excess spending with the assurance that their savings will revert to their benefit at a later stage The country should prevent being excessively dependent on other countries through a responsible economic management which would permit the generated surplus to be used in internal productive investments

46 In the transition process toward the new system the role of the civic groups that have provided the moral and cultural basis before will continue to be important These include the intellectuals the churchmen the university people etc They should not lower their guard during this historic period wrongly believing that their mission has ended (as could have happened in the Spanish transition)

47 Their role would be that of maintaining the sufficient perspective to preserve some of the permanent values before the radical changes sweep everything away One of the consequences to be avoided is that the people disappointed with the fallen idols would thoughtlessly embrace the bright symbols of today's neocapitalist model

48 It is essential to keep those elements of the present system which could be considered to have validity for the future and maintain a critical view of any tried out models to avoid reverting again to a monopoly of ideas It must also be avoided that any

hypothesis or alternative model of change like the one being suggested here be drowned due to the fact that they lack the diffusion mechanisms or support by the established powers of the prevailing neocapitalist system

49 In the Western countries meanwhile it would be advisable to take advantage of the changes in Eastern Europe to take stock of the present situation and step out of our complacency The imbalances and malfunctions of our system are considered by too many as unavoidable or as a price to pay for our badly shared and uneconomic prosperity It would not be difficult to start thinking of our own perestroika (restructuring) which although less sweeping than in our Eastern counterparts would also have to pass through the door of a rigorous and deep glassnost (transparency)

50 In this context the brief model developed above offers a new institutional framework and mechanisms to set the basis for a feasible restructuring of the Western economic system The new model would lead to higher efficiency and economic freedom at the national and international level including the Southern countries whose development is hampered by the present imbalances of the Northern system

Annexes

1 Community property

In the past the thought of public schools or public health care would have been startling The idea of compulsory military service would also have been shocking as would have been the idea that historic treasures should be publicly owned Back then it was inconceivable that there would come a time when beaches and valleys were not private property or that no one could exploit forests springs or game reserves without government authorization

However a slow but irreversible process of privatization of certain assets has taken place This process has involved a lot of ups and downs and has not always been successful or appropriate mostly likely because the boundaries between public and private property have never been sufficiently clear It is paradoxical that land today (the absolute leading source of community wealth) is still privately owned when it was originally community property to be used free of charge

One way to eliminate this paradox would be by making a distinction between public domain or bare legal title (the jus in re of jurists) and private or

beneficial ownership (jus ad rem or the right to something)

Things are unlikely to have been helped by the fact that community property (belonging to several individuals) has so often been confused with public property (belonging to the representatives of individuals)

Still the form of property ownership proposed in this economic model (see Paragraph 20) is neither arbitrary or utopian

2 Rates of exchange

To elaborate on Paragraph 27 the purchase price of a particular piece of property could be established as of the first day of the monetary reform. It would be no less and no more than its official value on that day. From then on any eventual capital gains on that particular piece of property would be part of the general capital gains earned by the Solid Titles as a whole. And as of this first day property would be evaluated solely in terms of said Titles (as an accounting unit)

As an example let us assume that on the first day of the monetary reform this unit was the rate of exchange for Money/Solid Title. In time this rate would probably register a natural increase (pushed upward by the inflation that erodes the value of money)

But it would not be logical to allow this rate of exchange to be determined by the microeconomy when it is an exclusively macroeconomic parameter. Should this rate of exchange be set in accordance with the daily fluctuating supply of Money (from savers) this could give rise to instability (and even speculation) which would have no relation to the abundant reserves in stock

Consequently this rate should be set in accordance with the Public Agency's own operating account, i.e. on the basis of the global profitability of its entire property assets and expressed by the quotient: Money deposited for rents and rates + commissions for rent collection on all property not yet part of the Agency's assets divided by the equivalent in Solid Titles in relation to the property owned by the Agency

We should also bear in mind the fact that leases (on administration of which the Agency would have a monopoly) would not be allocated by the government but by auction (this is the closest thing to a market when the seller is a monopoly) using all the most modern information systems to assure that such auctions would be as public and neutral as possible

It should also be pointed out that though the head of the Public Agency would have a great deal of power he would have much less margin for manipulation (and arbitrary action) than the most insignificant officer of any of today's public banks

CHAPTER IV FUTURES STUDIES AND PARTICIPATION

ANTHONY J N JUDGE

GORBACHEV DRAMATURGE ?!

Participative Democracy vs Participative Drama

Lessons on social transformation for international organizations from Gorbachev

1 SOCIAL CHANGE LAG WITHIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

It is a sad truth that international organizations are often the last to implement within their own operations the techniques of social transformation which they advocate or which are explored in other arenas. It is sadder still that such organizations often aspire to function as pale imitations of intergovernmental bodies such as the United Nations themselves faced with severe problems of sclerotic structure and the thinning that reinforces it. This is most clearly symbolized by the limited vocabulary used to describe the majority of international organizational structures: general assembly, conference, committee, programme, project and the like. More obvious is the reflexion of such thinking in the limited diversity of forms of international meetings.

It is no wonder then that there is an increasing loss of credibility of international bodies with a corresponding lowering of expectations on the part of those sensitive to the unlearned lessons of the past. Sadly for those unaware of those lessons, expectations easily become inflated, spurred on by a healthy natural enthusiasm for new opportunities. The 1992 UNCED Earth Summit is one such example, readily exploited by factional interests under the guise of remedial initiatives for planetary ills.

2 LEARNING FROM THE EASTERN EUROPEAN SURPRISE

It is within this context that we can marvel at the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and especially at what is to be learnt from the actions of Michael Gorbachev in facilitating these changes. What are the lessons for social transformation within international organizations?

It seems quite apparent that no international organization contributed any insight, scenarios or models to facilitate such changes. None has been mentioned in this respect. At best it can be said that many organizations provided contexts in which interaction between representatives of Eastern and Western bloc countries occurred. No discipline is cited as having made a significant contribution to the change. International organizations and disciplines are currently embarrassed by their inability to respond creatively to the changes in Eastern Europe. In the midst of euphoria, disappointment at Western inadequacy is yet to be fully realized.

3 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AS PARTICIPATIVE DRAMA

The key event in the final breakthrough was the reactionary coup against Gorbachev and the response to it. The word most frequently used in relation to these events is dramatic. It is therefore worth exploring social transformation as a drama.

The question to be asked is whether the sterile vocabulary of participative democracy is appropriate to a period during which voter apathy is significantly increasing, most notably in the Western democracies and especially among the young. Specifically, is it participative democracy which leads to sustainable social transformation? The words and structures used do indeed reflect understanding of desirable change. But can it not be argued that the most significant current product of participative democracy is tokenism and lip service in all its forms, notably in international organizations? The plethora of unimplemented and quickly forgotten resolutions over which large conferences agonize at great expense for long periods of time is a prime illustration. The extent to which governmental bodies and others renege on solemn commitments

often by watering down their interpretation is another

It is therefore worth exploring the dimensions of a new world order based on participative drama as the key to sustainable social transformation. We have entered a world of policy making through image building, continual scripting of media photo opportunities where scenarios are prepared down to the minutest detail and much effort is made in casting people for roles. What then is happening to dramatic processes?

4 BEYOND CAUSE AND EFFECT EXPLANATIONS AESTHETIC PARTICIPATION

Is it really useful to attempt to arrive at the truth of whether Gorbachev masterminded the social transformations which his actions facilitated? The attempt raises questions as to whether he was a part of some more or less enlightened conspiracy, a victim of events, a puppet unable to control what he set in motion, and whether he became a loser through the process. The social transformation process is however as interesting whether he controlled events or was controlled by them.

Much more interesting is to shift the perspective and explore the lessons of Gorbachev as a dramatist. However conscious he was of the changes he was setting in motion and whatever his degree of personal interest in emerging as a winner according to the conventional criteria of the political arena, Hans Magnus Enzensberger has according to John Berger named Gorbachev as a genius of withdrawal, the great master of retreat.

From this perspective it is much less relevant how consciously he controlled events. Of far greater relevance is the aesthetics of the drama and above all the level and kind of participation that it engendered and focused. It can be readily argued that it was the final drama of the coup and counter coup which unleashed the full force of social transformation. Can the programme of any democratically participative international organization focus involvement to achieve such levels of social transformation?

From an aesthetic perspective it is irrelevant what personal problems a playwright has in mastering his material. The playwright may both manipulate his material and be possessed by it. The playwright experiences a highly personal drama in relation to the material through which his or her personal transformation may occur, leading possibly to greater levels of insight and understanding. It is then inappropriate to focus on whether the playwright won or lost, losing may be the only route through which a really great play takes form. There is a truth in the recognition

that a playwright must lose something in payment for the success of the play. Gorbachev was a successful change agent precisely because he held to his belief in the possibility of reforming the Communist Party and convinced his comrades, identifying with elements of the unfolding drama. But as John Berger put it in a remarkable article (Russia in the Thrill of a New Icon, The Guardian, 4 September 1991). He failed to imagine only one thing that due to all the other changes he'd brought about or stage managed, the CPSU would overnight be declared illegal. At the end of the third week of August he turns to the audience which is a world set free and at the same time finds himself empty handed.

Gorbachev experienced a series of major personal dramas, people identified with the betrayals to which he was exposed, whether real or imagined. Is it useful to seek some explanation of a long term policy based on linear thinking by which his performance should be evaluated for consistency?

5 HUMAN SACRIFICE AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

From his perspective it is valuable to review social change in the light of the drama of human sacrifice. It can be argued that nearly all legislative innovations have only been brought about following an appropriate level of human sacrifice. This is true whether the legislation concerns the safety of children's toys, mercury pollution or the independence of a country. To put it very bluntly, children have to be sacrificed before it is accepted that safety regulations on children's toys should be formulated (it would not be possible to count the number of such sacrifices associated with each piece of social change legislation). Leadership too may call for personal sacrifice. How can we ever know what Gorbachev or his colleagues sacrificed, whether or not they originally intended to do so in the way in which they did?

It is only of incidental interest to know whether the Soviet Emergency Committee of 8 were willing or conscious participants in the drama or how conscious Gorbachev was in placing them in positions from which they could instigate the coup. It is they who provided a dramatic focus for the reactionary forces. They were turned into scapegoats who could be sacrificed thus liberating others from the thrall of the repressive mode of thinking. The three young men who were sacrificed (or who chose to sacrifice themselves) in the defence against army tanks were of dramatic significance in bringing about a realignment of the military forces, only to be matched perhaps by the lone individual who in a much publicized dramatic sequence disrupted the movement of a column of tanks in Beijing in 1989.

6 DRAMATIC COVER UPS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

How does this perspective relate to the structures and policies of international organizations? For a start it might be asked whether official attempts to suppress the dramatic dimension of factional fighting are precisely what makes the activities of international organizations so boring and irrelevant to the wider world. There are truths to be learnt from the media focus on the scandals of the United Nations and its agencies and on the naked ambition of those who aspire to their highest offices as feudal fiefdoms with some even obliging their subordinates to address them as Excellency.

Within the dramatic metaphor what then is to be made of an international conference panel session aligned on a podium in a manner that bears a remarkable structural similarity to the widely publicized Soviet Emergency Committee press conference especially when the subject is the future of democratic processes? Does this alignment comfort the political reactionary in each of us?

It is frequently assumed that conference sessions involve a high degree of spontaneity. In fact most conference sessions are heavily pre-scripted with the roles cast long in advance. Good conference organization tends to imply a high degree of control over the scenario as it takes form. Why not then structure the conference as an enthralling drama, at least to some degree? Opposing viewpoints could then interplay more effectively to draw the participants into a more profound appreciation of the dynamics, touching the emotions as well as the intellect. Was this not one purpose of classical Greek drama? There is merit in exploring the marriage of what conventional occurs on a conference podium with the dynamics of actors interacting on a stage?

Is there not something rather quaint in the efforts to capture a conference on still photographs and in minutes at a time when reality is being redefined by video clips and CNN style presentations?

7 PARTICIPATION IN DRAMATIZED REALITIES

It is important to the outcome whether Gorbachev was really (a) isolated under house arrest or (b) whether he allowed it to appear so? The limitations of Western either/or logic may be preventing us from recognizing the two other possibilities accepted in Buddhist and Japanese logic. These would point to situations in which (c) both (a) and (b) are correct and (d) neither (a) or (b) are correct. These capture some of the perceptions of Shevardnadze on the matter.

In a period when politicians can be destroyed by

reporting (whether falsely or not) on their association with call girls at what point will it become useful to stage dramas to position a politician for electoral purposes, whether or not some people have to be sacrificed to achieve credibility? Already the status symbols of a plethora of bodyguards and security controls may be used to good effect as a happening even in the absence of commensurate threat.

Has it not already become convenient to stage kidnappings, attempted assassinations and other happenings to capture media headlines and make a strong political point? It is useful to attempt to distinguish between Boris Yeltsin as the political genius in shaking the tank driver's hand (prior to using the tank as a podium) and as the dramatic genius who seized that opportunity, whether or not it was deliberately staged?

Such possibilities will naturally be skillfully exploited by the self-seeking to great effect. They offer a prime strategy for image building for the next presidential election in the USA. Substantive issues in isolation only attract factional interest. It is the dramatic interweaving of these issues in a comprehensible scenario casting the candidate in a dramatic even heroic role which enables individual voters to buy into the vision of the candidate's party endeavours to sell. The challenge is an aesthetic one with aesthetic risks. For the drama can fail on aesthetic grounds and be perceived as a farce. Politicians can also be bad actors.

8 DRAMATIZING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Perhaps it is the organization Greenpeace which has moved furthest in this direction and with greatest success in seeking positive social change. The Rainbow Warrior incident could not have been better designed (again whether or not this was the case). Through such initiatives people are drawn into participative scenarios with which they can identify. It is through this identification and its exposure to the dynamics of the drama that orientations are shifted. This can have dramatic political consequences.

The question for international organizations is whether this is a route to be followed. Is the aesthetic condemnation of them as providing bad drama in monotonous conferences compensated by the social change that they do make possible even through the boring nature of the drama they provide? Can we possibly expect credibility of their initiatives? Can we possibly expect individuals to seek office in intergovernmental organizations who are capable of taking their audience through the kind of transformative process that Gorbachev (stage) managed by accepting various forms of personal sacrifice? Clearly a key post in this

respect is that of Secretary General of the United Nations. Such sacrifice seems unlikely in a period when the candidates are primarily interested in accumulating functions and their associated salaries and status symbols. In which case perhaps more should be made of the possibility of dramatizing such environments along classical imperial lines recognizing the reality of baronies and dukedoms and all the social drama with which they are associated.

9 ESCAPING FROM METAPHORIC TRAPS

The problem would appear to be that international organizations tend to get trapped in metaphors which may be adequate for their survival but are not however adequate for their sustainable development as organizations or for their contribution to the sustainable development of a complex planetary society.

The focus needs to be taken off tinkering with the structuring and restructuring of organizations. This is only stimulating to the few and often for inappropriate reasons. This may be perceived as a tinker toy understanding of organizations through metaphors of structures of connected boxes (reinforced by organization charts) or as mechanical devices. Critical restructuring is then perceived as moving the boxes and connectors into a different pattern. This is ideal for creating the impression of change. Unfortunately such changes have had little real impact on the erosion of the credibility of such bodies and are increasingly viewed with a cynical eye as just another consultant's dream.

There is an alienating sameness to the democratic procedures of international organizations. These are typified by procedural maneuvering, lobbying and electoral manipulation that provide a stage for the ambitious anxious to strut upon a stage. This is a fundamental problem of actors in both the political and dramatic arenas.

Both in politics and drama, power is an illusion. As Dorothy Rowe (Wanting Everything) states, Power is an illusion because it is no more than a meaning which the powerful have created and which the powerless accept as reality. Seeing power as a game means knowing that power is a construction a fiction for the rules which make up any game are played but there are many people who take game playing as seriously as those who regard their political creed or their religious beliefs as the Absolute Truth. The illusion of power is maintained by unawareness and silence. There is increasing recognition that the dominant institutions, whether governmental or intergovernmental organizations, only continue to function due to the conspiracy of silence that like the Emperor have in fact no clothes.

Dorothy Rowe argues that the aim of political rhetoric is to influence the audience so as to prevent us from finding alternative ways of constructing our reality and the language it uses is intended to obscure not to clarify. It relies on metaphors which are presented as accurate descriptions and give to its believers an illusion of power which they can express in the rhetorical language which they have learned. The metaphors used by the State in rhetoric may have been used initially as no more than vivid pictures understandable by and appealing to their audience but when these metaphors harden into dogma they become the means by which reality is perceived and responded to and they become part of the network of causes. So often what appears to be political revolution or an individual conversion is in effect no change, the titles given to the authority and the followers may have changed but the relationships and the metaphors to describe these relationships have not changed.

As Rowe states, The problem for all practitioners in the media is how much in their rhetoric they will present the structure of meaning which the State, the Church and the international financial institutions want to be presented as absolute reality and how much they will present alternative structures of meaning.

10 IN SEARCH OF GUIDING METAPHORS

It is not however a question of escaping from any use of metaphor. Metaphors remain a major unexplored device for redefining alternative realities and facilitating participative identification with them. Other metaphors notably the dramatic one need to be given greater attention as a means of ensuring new forms of involvement in collective initiatives.

It is a question of shifting from reliance on fixed (and progressively alienating) organizational structures to participative scenarios and from bad drama to drama of the highest kind. For it is precisely the dramatic form which can more adequately capture and recon-textualize the factional conflicts which reflect the levels of complexity with which society has to deal. The assumption that consensus procedures can be found to encompass this complexity is both naive and totally vulnerable to tokenism.

This suggests that the key to the future lies in the imaginative way in which essentially incommensurable policies (and the factions promoting them) are interwoven. The point is made by the unpreparedness of the international community in response to the desperate need of the ex-socialist countries for some way of blending command and market economies. As emerged so clearly at the Beijing WFSF Conference, no models are available because the

challenge to the imagination transcends the world of model building by which future studies has been so heavily influenced. This suggests that exciting opportunities for international organizations exist beyond the policy incompatibilities within which they become entrapped.

World governance in this sense is a question of imagination building rather than institution building. The role of international bodies concerned with policy making should be to focus attention on the emergence and movement of policy relevant metaphors that are capable of rendering comprehensible the way forward through complex windows of opportunity. The transformation of Eastern Europe illustrates the role of drama in focusing participative understanding of rightness and appropriateness.

The challenge lies in marrying new metaphors to models to ensure the embodiment of new levels of insight in organizational form. In this sense the United Nations could become a kind of caretaker for the metaphor gene pool on which the international community can draw in formulating responses to new crises.

This vision of world governance does not call for a radical transformation of institutions which is unlikely before the next major catastrophe. Rather, it calls for a shift in the way of thinking about what is circulated through society's information systems as the triggering force for any action. At present governance in the international community is haunted by a form of collective schizophrenia, a left brain preoccupation with serious academic models and administrative programmes and a right brain preoccupation with the proclivities of public opinion avid for meaningful action (even if sensational). Hence the fascination with the drama of Operation Desert Storm which combined both in a dramatic and deliberately dramatized scenario.

A number of rich metaphors can assist in this shift in perspective. In earlier papers the merits of ecological traffic and resonance hybrid metaphors have been highlighted. But their power and relevance to policy making may be best illustrated by crop rotation, a process intimately known to peasant farmers around the world. The farmer knows that to ensure sustainable development of his field he can grow one crop in that field for a period but must then replace it by a different crop to remedy the degradation of the soil caused by the first. He may have to grow a third and a fourth species before finally returning to the first again in his crop rotation cycle. It is the cycle which guarantees sustainability, not any particular crop. It is not also correct that to ensure sustainable development, policies need to be alternated like crops to correct for each others damaging effect.

on society and the environment? This is the implicit message of democracy although no political party or faction would recognize the need to sacrifice a cherished policy as part of such a process. But the distinct policies of appropriately opposed parties do succeed each other in a kind of chaotic cycle as each endeavours to articulate and respond to the defects in its predecessor's initiatives. It remains to be seen whether such chaotic cycles provide the sustainability required through the crises to come.

11 THE CASE OF THE WORLD FUTURE STUDIES FEDERATION

Do such possibilities constitute a meaningful challenge for bodies such as the World Futures Studies Federation? For many such bodies it may be better to leave well alone especially if there is no great felt need for anything more. Does WFSF have any collective need to be more ambitious than it is? Are the tensions it experiences such as to call for some new form of organization or will discussion of possibilities exhaust the energy for change? Minimal structure may be quite adequate.

But for a body such as WFSF, studying the future may call for capturing scenarios more meaningfully and moving from achingly boring scenarios to those which entice the spirit with new possibilities. To what extent does WFSF want to take any kind of leadership role? The appeal to the young or lack thereof is a major criterion. The dramatic dimension may then need to be explored (ironically it was at the Dubrovnik Conference of the WFSF in 1976 that an effort was made by a group of distinguished futurists to reflect in dramatic form the poor dynamics of WFSF Conferences).

One of the well recognized tragedies of international conferences including those of the WFSF is the number of participants who come from afar and have great difficulty in finding suitable opportunities to voice their opinions and engage in meaningful dialogue with others sharing similar or alternative views. The plenary/working groups formula is a crude response to this situation and results in a tragic waste of opportunity. Why is it not possible to design a conference communication system which provides a safety net to ensure an appropriate level of aid of word processors and photocopy machines very sophisticated participant to participant communication can be ensured without venturing into the more dubious and costly realm of electronic messaging. Such systems have been occasionally explored.

In the same vein, why has not use been made of such low cost technology together with survey techniques, statistical and graphics packages to provide

feedback to a conference on the manner in which participants cluster around different perceptions of issues associated with the conference theme? Such conference maps provide participation strategies based on a new level of information. Is there any point in talking about democratic structures when participants do not have access to either or both of these modest levels of information? For without them democratic participation merely becomes the right to vote and the right to intervene under highly constrained conditions which are widely recognized as alienating and vulnerable to manipulation.

Given the lack of sensitivity to such levels of communication within WFSF the issue needs to be redefined in terms of the nature of the guiding metaphor within which WFSF is trapped. What is the metaphor which makes WFSF members and conference participants reasonably content with the level of participation which they currently enjoy. For even in the first Parliament the Icelandic Thing it might be argued that participants were operating within a metaphor which allowed for greater degree of interaction.

Perhaps the problem is that we are all readily seduced by low risk metaphors whatever mild frustration they give rise to. An alternative might be to challenge each other with alternative metaphors of WFSF and its conferences not with the aim of being trapped in some single better metaphor but to learn the truths available from a set of complementary alternative metaphors. In the light of Gareth Morgan's insights (Images of Organization) we might consider WFSF as a machine, WFSF as an organism, WFSF as a self-organizing brain, WFSF as a culture, WFSF as a system of government, WFSF as a psychic prison, WFSF as a self-producing system and WFSF as an instrument of domination. But richer metaphors are no doubt necessary to be of any interest, notably WFSF as an ecosystem including predator-prey and symbiotic relations!

New ways of thinking about WFSF conferences are triggered by considering the conferences as a social activity (a party), a physical process as a game or contest as physical constructs as symbolic configurations as agriculture and food processing as energy processing configurations. This approach includes thinking about conferences structures in terms of an orchestra, a parliament, a temple, a fortress, a city, a battle plan, a table seating plan or as ritual dance movements.

Of course it is possible to argue that such questions are trivial and detract from the serious matters of academic substance that are the overt reasons for participating in WFSF. This brings back to issue of whether WFSF is an agent of change or trapped in an inappropriate metaphor. The lessons of social trans

formation in Eastern Europe raise questions about the appropriateness of the metaphors through which social transformation is envisaged.

12 IMPLICATIONS

A major reason for exploring this metaphorical dimension is that society is highly vulnerable to good drama whatever the morality or principles that it implies. Is it not reasonable that the bad drama furnished by annual General Assemblies (and notably that of the United Nations) should run the risk of being upstaged by other dramas (such as the hostage drama) of little social merit? The initiative will always tend to be with those who can furnish good drama as Goebels knew so well!

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THOMAS BAUMGARTNER, PETER H METTLER LARGE-SCALE PARTICIPATORY CO-SHAPING OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS FIRST EXPERIMENTS WITH PARDIZIPP*

Today problems exist in all walks of life. There is a lot of talk about today's problems as if they were new though one has heard similar arguments throughout history. But how to assess if we are really in danger of bringing the world to an end? Although this danger appears real it would not be the first time in history that people have thought and felt like this.

However one thing that is new are the consequences of modern sciences and technology which are not suited to given social and environmental requirements. They have given rise to questions concerning the quality of the decision makers. The questioning of many of these decisions has increased for some time and is now getting more and more specific with a demand for quality and information rather than managerial skills and competitiveness from the decision makers. The term decision maker describes those who determine the application of technology science and technical equipment which either already existed for a long time or have been recently developed.

It is not easy to change the structures and processes of decision making so that new structures and processes will be more suited to social and environmental requirements. We have tested our ideas as to how this could be done in an empirical project. Although we called it Project NRW 2000 it would probably be better described as an experiment (1).

We persuaded 90 ordinary people to participate in this project as experts on daily life and work. This group was asked to work in 6 regional subgroups and discuss with reference to three given normative societal scenarios for the year 2020 the relationship between microelectronics and labour markets of the year 2020 on the basis of a participatory Delphi procedure. Before we elaborate on the concept of our project in Chapter 3 we would like to outline it in

terms of the mainstream of the sociology of technology as well as with research on acceptance in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2 we will briefly illustrate the framework of the research programme socially oriented shaping of technology of the state of Northrhine Westphalia which funded our research project. Chapter 4 particularly deals with the participatory elements of our project whilst Chapter 5 devotes itself to the development of the scenarios. Chapter 6 sums up the results of the scenario construction. Regarding specific elements we restrict ourselves to topics concerning technology labour and the relationship between women workers/employees and technology. As a final outlook we deal with the political implications of our approach. All that is left is to remind our readers that we regard this project as a first application or experiment within our overall approach.

1 PROLEGOMENA / PRELIMINARIES

The further we went on with our experiment the clearer we could formulate the theory we called PARDIZIPP (2). Our research project was the first PARDIZIPP application as well as an experiment. Before we can claim our approach to be a mature procedure many more PARDIZIPP applications will have to be carried out within the many different constellations of its variables. The goal of PARDIZIPP is to develop new decisions decision structures and decision procedures that include more consideration of the social and environmental consequences of today's and future science technology and technological utilities.

Our experiment was not based on research on acceptance. The acceptance approach seeks to persuade the public to accept policies about which no attempt is made to make them understand. The

decision makers do not wish nor intend that the public should understand. On the contrary our approach does not begin using present day or any other specific. It is only in its latter stages that it attempts to influence present day policy in such a way that the chances of realizing a chosen scenario will be increased.

If the sociology of technology does not want to remain in an ivory tower, as most theories of sociology do, it will have to occupy itself with present day and future decisions regarding the aims of science, technology and technological applications. That includes concerning oneself with uncertainty but not impossible consequences above all with the social and environmental consequences of these unsuitable decisions. Finally, the sociology of technology should venture into the realm of proposals for decision makers and decision procedures which being put into operation could lead to decisions with less negative consequences than those we are experiencing at present.

Our research project should then be rightly regarded as being in the area of the sociology of technology.

if the expanding scientific community within this field would consider it positive

if this community would accept it as part of the tasks of the sociology of technology

if there were societal changes which have at least been partially stimulated by PARDIZIPP

if there were societal changes which have at least been partially stimulated by PARDIZIPP

2 A GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENTED RESEARCH PROGRAMME ON THE PROBLEM SOCIALLY ORIENTED SHAPING OF TECHNOLOGY

The government of Northrhine Westphalia is trying to fight the structural crisis in the coal and mining industry of this state with programmes like Technologieprogramm Wirtschaft (1979) and Initiative Zukunftstechnologien (1984). In particular these two programmes involve supporting highly innovative companies and technologies (3).

New technologies like microelectronics, information and communication technologies, new materials, laser sensor and control engineering as well as CAD/CAM/CIM will all be linked in a network with science and professional circles to bring about changes in the structure of the region.

This policy was highly disputed. There was great

anxiety in most political circles in particular those close to the social democratic government that it would lead to the loss of jobs, additional health problems and social burdens for the labour force. These circles also felt that future forms of high tech would have negative social, cultural and political consequences. In this politically difficult situation the research programme 'Socially oriented Shaping of Technology' was introduced as part of the Initiative Zukunftstechnologien and was allocated a four year period of work. 'Socially oriented' means that the new technologies should take human, social and natural factors and requirements into account. A programme like this should also encourage people to remain masters of technology through being aware of the consequences of technology. Those people affected by technology should be able to influence its development in accordance with their respective goals. Alternative technologies should be simultaneously developed in order that society can choose between them. Those directly affected and the population at large should have the possibility and the right to take part in the shaping of the development of technology and its implementations (4).

In order to enable the broader public to take part in decision making concerning technology for economy one condition has to be observed (Jansen et al. 1989: 19). Alternative technological futures have to be developed, publicized and brought to bear on the shaping of future public opinion. This was the thinking behind the initiation of futures research projects within the overall programme 'Our NRW 2000' project was one of them.

3 THE IDEA OF THE PROJECT PARTICIPATORY FUTURES RESEARCH

The Institute for Applied Ecology and the Institute for Labour and Technology created a suitable tool in order to carry out this experiment. Some 90 citizens were persuaded to take part in our project as experts on daily life and work. Six working groups were formed in six cities in Northrhine Westphalia mirroring the social variety to be found in this region. These citizens developed three normative scenarios on potential shapes of the relationship between microelectronics and labour markets in the year 2020 on the basis of a participatory Delphi procedure. These discussion groups were guided by the project team. The project was intended first of all to test and develop a procedure which would allow a maximum number of citizens from very different social strata and with many different interests to develop various visions of the future in the form of potential and imaginable normative long range scenarios. It was hoped that such a procedure would in the long run allow societal collaboration in the shaping of science

and technology. The project also intended secondly to allow the participants to conceptualize and develop possibilities concerning the relationship between microelectronics and labour markets (5).

The project was subtitled 'Microelectronics, Labour Market and Co. Determination' with the emphasis on co-determination (here the translation is extremely difficult). It would be much more precise to translate co-shaping. The shaping of the relationship between microelectronics and labour markets or more generally speaking the relationship between labour and technology was embedded in the general question: How to organize futures research so that fixed institutional arrangements for participatory co-determination (co-shaping) of the future would be possible.

The experimental procedure used a great number of variables borrowed from other methods of futures research. The participatory Delphi procedure used here imitated Olaf Helmer's Delphi method developed in 1967 to assist in the forecasting of technological events.

Each of our six groups assembled independently. Each group was allowed access to new scenarios which were synthesized by the project team out of the work of the groups during the previous discussion rounds. Within each individual group however the participants were free to discuss all of the topics within the given time spans. During the life of our project each group convened three times. The team deliberately did not confront our participants with so-called experts who could have imposed their knowledge on them (e.g. on future technologies or future labour markets) before they themselves had an opportunity to voice their opinion. No influence by reputed experts should be allowed to hinder the ideas of our participants in relation to potential or future contours of the relationship between microelectronics and labour markets. We could not offer any financial compensation to the participants for their remarkable work. Instead we had to burden them with lots of literature and three Friday evenings and whole Saturdays in difficult group dynamics. Furthermore and that might have been the worst we had to urge them to imagine futures which they most likely had never done before or even imagined of ever being doing.

How did we gain the consent of the participants? First of all we did not open the discussion rounds to anybody who offered his participation himself. Secondly we wanted to have a certain representation of the structure of the population of Northrhine Westphalia although it is clear that 90 participants can never be fully representative. And it also is absolutely certain that the topics chosen for discussions were

not among the most popular ones with group members.

Our project wanted to develop three normative scenarios with the help of the participatory Delphi procedure. A scenario is a relatively coherent description of one possible future. It brings together great numbers of individual descriptions of that future (6).

Scenarios are means of communication for a fragmented society trying to develop common perspectives and a common frame of reference for action. Our scenarios are normative because the future oriented visions were not delineated out of any presently existing tendency or from any probable event within the near future. On the contrary we urged our participants to try to imagine the contours of their own lives in the far distant future. But as soon as one participant was endangered to drift into science fiction the other participants intervened. Another corrective to that danger was that the various groups were completely independent of each other and that we evaluated their proceedings according to the Delphi principles.

The three scenarios are also normative because they were based on three different logics of societal development (and their respective technologies). The participants were asked to imagine three different societal circumstances for the year 2020 (7) and to describe the three scenarios in as detailed a fashion as possible. We intended neither to define what was likely nor what would be desirable (8). In view of the available discussion time (three times 1 1/2 days) and also due to the broad spectrum of opinions held by our participants it would never have been possible to reach such an ambitious goal.

It is one of the central tasks of the construction of normative scenarios to get the participants to delineate policies and concrete actions. In order to attempt to actualize these scenarios we must create a scale of the urgency of implementation of policies and concrete actions which descends in importance from the year 2020 to the present time. Such policies and ideas form the basis of our recommendations but should not be seen as an attempt to influence politicians. Policies and actions do not only mean regulative administrative procedures. Both the participants and the team tried to imagine how principles of behaviour adequate to our scenarios could act as universal behavioural models in our society. Such measures should according to the Delphi method be developed during two of the three discussion rounds but in our first attempt this was unfortunately not possible.

Ideally the scenarios should be developed using the six following steps:

1 Definition of a general frame which will serve the groups as a basis for their common scenario construction

2 Construction of the scenarios and a careful analysis of their consequences and pre conditions

3 Quantification and model building Ideally this step is done in parallel with step 2 and should be reconsidered in view of step 4

4 Development of policies and concrete actions as far as one wishes to implement these scenarios

5 The development of another scenario a consensus scenario i.e. a consensus which has learned from the previously evolved imaginable and possible scenario

6 Attempt to develop recommendations for policies and concrete actions to politicians and to society as a whole on how to realize the consensus scenario

The last two steps are necessary if the project has been set for the task of preparing arguments for political decisions. One precondition for such a task is the representative character of the participants. In our experiment limited resources and limited time necessitated concentration on only a few of these steps. We could afford three discussion rounds. Two were already required for the construction of the scenarios (and less than two would make no sense). That is why the team already decided on the general frame of the scenarios (step 1). In consequence and unfortunately there was only one round left for the development of policies and concrete actions. The scenario's quantification and model building had to be abandoned for a number of reasons. One of them being that it is methodologically still uncertain how three basically different futures with basically different features could be modelled (one model or a plurality of models?), and how these normative futures could be linked to descriptions of the present (9)

4 LOCATIONS FOR GROUP WORK PARTICIPANTS AND PARTICIPATION

The following six locations within Northrhine Westphalia for the six discussion groups were chosen on the basis of their economic conditions and regional particularities

Bielefeld A medium sized town with a balanced mixture of services and industry. The population is predominantly Protestant.

Bochum A medium sized town in high speed change towards modern industry and with a large new uni-

versity

Düsseldorf The capital of NRW is dominated by service industries

Duisburg A conglomeration based on steel and coal and with a high percentage of foreign citizens

Hattingen A small town of some 50 000 inhabitants greatly affected by the crisis of steel and coal

Kleve A small rural town on the border with the Netherlands. The population is predominantly Catholic and works in farming

The team further tried to simulate Northrhine Westphalia's profile by selecting group members parallel to the social profile of the city or region. We tried to have representatives of different professions and levels of education of different professional and social status, prosperity, age, sex, confession, and family size. We also had to keep in mind that group members had to fulfill an enormous workload within a very short time. All the participants had been encouraged to take part freely and actively in the description and modelling of the scenarios and not to stick too closely to their own personal preference and world view. We also had difficulties with participants in relation to their expressing themselves. This was especially prevalent among foreigners and unemployed. The second best solution to this problem was to ask members of foreigners associations and of associations of the unemployed to take part in our groups. We also had considerable difficulties in finding participants from the following groups: independent service professions (lawyers, doctors, consultants etc.), single parent families, trainees, civil servants, and leading industrial people, scientists in the natural sciences, and persons with technical professions (in particular from the electronic and information sectors) as well as persons with functions in political parties etc. For most of these groups we found plausible explanations such as that if there is only one parent raising one or more children it is very unlikely that he/she would agree to sacrifice three weekends, owners of small shops or service enterprises are very often working on Saturdays and some times even on Sundays, the higher echelons of both civil service and industry showed considerable interest but when the dates of the group meetings came they had already agreed to other engagements, scientists from the natural and engineering sciences very often could not understand our methodological approach and sometimes even voiced principal doubts about social science research on the future of technology. In fact, most of them did not want to accept that lay people, i.e. non scientists, would be able to give serious thoughts to technological futures. The most problematic group to gain participants from was

however, the political group. Those who belonged to parties would never agree unless they got proof that members of other parties had already promised to come. Persons who were basically opposed to our societal system did not want to accept the rules for the development and discussion of the scenarios because they were afraid that they might be compromised for having accepted the scenarios.

At the beginning 109 participants agreed to collaborate. In the first round 78 actually took part. The size of the groups varied between 10 and 16 persons. The absentee rate of 30% remained throughout the second round. Some participants in later rounds had not participated in earlier ones. For the second round we also tried to persuade new participants to join. Altogether we had 54 participants of whom 40 had already participated in the first round. The third round finished up with 40 participants, i.e. between 5 to 9 persons per group. 28 citizens participated in all three discussion rounds. The quota of 25% coincides with other participatory research samples. Finally, it is interesting to note that women showed considerably more interest than men and that the percentage of women participating grew steadily from an initial 35% to 48% in the third round.

5 DESIGN OF THE SCENARIOS

As already mentioned, lack of time was a dominant feature in the team's design input to the general frame for the three different scenarios. But why just three scenarios? Two seemed to be insufficient or would have led to a confrontation between two opposite scenarios. From the very beginning we wanted to encourage the participants to deal with futures which they would not accept as their choice. Four scenarios even would have been better for that purpose for this would have increased the likelihood that everyone would have found positive and negative aspects in every scenario and therefore would have taken a much more neutral stance towards each of them. We could not, however, close our eyes to the shortage of time and the capacity of both the participants and the team. The team had to handle thousands of statements made by the participants and develop the expanded scenarios out of them within a reasonable time span. On the other hand, the shortage of time prevented us from the danger of letting the scenarios grow too voluminous. In that case the participants would no longer have been able to distinguish the different scenarios from each other.

After the team discussed these questions at length three different scenarios with three different logics of development were decided upon. Thus the participants were requested to develop and observe the consequences, preconditions, policies and concrete

actions as well as negative aspects in all three scenarios. We wanted to prevent them from projecting their sympathies into one and their antipathies into another scenario.

We hoped to be able to avoid distrust in the way the team worked out the new versions of the scenarios.

The participants were given the general framework of the three different scenarios as a basis for their work. Five principles characterized each scenario. In addition, we formulated paradigmatic statements of about three pages for each scenario.

For example

In scenario A we specified the notion of work as follows: Work is embedded in the notion of life in the same way as family, culture, leisure, societal and social involvement.

On environment we wrote the following: Conservative organizations control food, chemical products and the noise level.

In scenario B it was stated under technology that instruments control production processes, not harmful to the environment and instruments for everyday pollution control were produced in large quantities. Society was described as: The state lays down strict norms. They are supplemented by a whole network of private agreements. All are based on the individual citizen who has a very strong sense of responsibility for environment and nature.

In scenario C the notion of work was defined as follows: The organization of labour is strictly hierarchical and work hours are strictly determined by production necessities with shifts and Sunday work. For infrastructure the following was stated: Transport is dominated by private cars which are operated on the basis of remote control. Private traffic is very heavy. Cargo is transported by private firms, whilst public transportation has deteriorated almost completely.

We want to stress again that statements of this kind are not definitions. The team provided them for the participants rather as indicators for what they were expected to consider. The examples were not intended to be too specific as we wanted to avoid the participants merely repeating them or evolving slight variations thereof. Each discussion round began with an examination of examples of this sort. The actual scenario construction started with topics familiar to every citizen and were neither politically or ideologically controversial. Examples consisted of shopping work, vacations, leisure at home, etc. When the groups had exhausted these examples, we then

introduced them into the core of the scenarios technology and labour

The main goal of the second discussion round was to obtain as many statements as possible. In order to develop the fantasies of the participants and also avoid unnecessary and unsolvable conflicts we organized discussions in the form of role plays. We introduced the idea of a film studio. The participants had to imagine being stage managers or rather that they together formed the stage management. Furthermore they had to imagine that our team were the actors. The stage managers had to tell the actors how to imagine the scenario and how the actors were to act within the scene. The situation in the year 2020. The actors in the team members were allowed to ask questions if the directions given were not clear enough or to intervene if the directions did not run parallel to those in former versions of the scenario. If one stage manager gave a direction the others were only allowed to disagree by directing the same scene differently themselves. The only really strict rule to be obeyed under all circumstances was never to voice an opinion on somebody else's direction by saying impossible, false, that's not true, we have that today already, etc. It was further demanded that all statements were to be kept strictly confidential and remain within the group (this was also necessary because of German Data Protection Law).

The transformation of the statements into new scenarios was very difficult. We deliberately decided against recording the discussions and proceeded in the following manner. First we grouped various statements on one topic from every group and eliminated all statements which could not be clearly identified as characteristic of one of the scenarios (10). We then took into consideration all similar statements of the various groups. We accepted some statements only because of their originality or because they had a particular emotional flavour. These compilations were then transformed into a stringent text. Contradictions within these texts were avoided as far as possible but before we finalized a text we reread the minutes of all the statements in order to find supplementary or alternative ones.

We attributed great importance to the stringency of each scenario. All statements had to follow the principles of the respective scenario and no attention was paid to the possibility of comparing the various scenarios with each other. The final results can be summarised as follows:

Scenario A. Multifaceted NRW shows a dual structure. On the one hand the state accepted the coordination and regulation of marginalized parts of society. On the other hand a large number of very different consensus task forces (CTF) exists

CTFs were designed to realize participation and co-shaping at both the professional and the societal level. They unite the most varied interest groups and work on proposals for solutions to specific problems of one part of society and to problems which are found in different parts of society. No single societal sector was to be given preference.

Scenario B. Healthy NRW can be characterized by its typical network structure. In this scenario the different societal sectors are considered to be generally in equilibrium. The preservation of nature is the overall goal of this scenario or society. The ethics of self-restriction limit the individual in his/her demands they have to be put aside in cases in which the preservation of nature is more important. The coordination of all societal activities is not done by a super organization like the state but is the task and obligation of each and every citizen of many different organizations and of local and regional state institutions.

Scenario C. Strong NRW is characterized by a hierarchical structure within all societal sectors. The main goal of this society is the achievement of a continually higher economic rating within the world's economy. This determines the development of technology. People's notion of achievement and the infrastructure. Those sectors of society oriented towards economy and industry clearly dominate all others. This predominance must be accepted by the latter. The state plays almost no role at all.

Multinational Conglomerates (MC) accept societal control functions. They make sure that NRW holds her leading position within the world economy.

Furthermore we tried to alienate group members as well as potential readers from these different worlds of the year 2000 by using notions which are not common today. These were designed to enable participants to understand each scenario within its own terms of reference. Scenario A contains very familiar notions such as labour and environment which are close to their current meaning. Scenario B concerns itself with humans being an integral part of this concept. Finally in Scenario C notions such as environment are no longer used but are replaced by terms such as emissions or waste disposal. Different notions of labour will be elaborated on later.

6 DETAILS WITHIN THE SCENARIOS

It is very difficult to describe the scenarios adequately in a few words. They can only be understood as a whole. Individual statements are not at all indicative. Only the context can illustrate if a statement is possible, imaginable, adequate to a scenario, creative or

intelligent. The scenarios themselves should not be understood as complete and can and should be criticized and supplemented. We hope that the following comments and summaries will indicate the quality of the scenarios.

6.1 TECHNOLOGY WITHIN THE SCENARIOS

The participants expressed difficulties in imagining technologies for the year 2020. They had further hardly ever read science fiction. Technology for Scenario C was the one they could imagine best simply because today's industry and media are very active preparing for it already. External comments often criticize the lack of imagination in the images of technology depicted in the scenarios. The reader should form his/her own opinion on these images of technology developed by the participants.

Technology in Scenario A. Technologies play an important role in all realms of life and all citizens are influenced by them. That is why possibilities exist in relation to decision making on global development and functions. The search for new technical concepts and solutions is oriented towards the concept of consensual technology which offers a variety of criteria for the development and evaluation of these technologies (social economic technological regional and international criteria. ConTech).

Technology in Scenario B. All human activities are guided by the ethics of self-restriction. The wealth and variety of nature has to be preserved and fostered. These ethics also determine the notion of technology and are the basis for the development of the notion of adapted technology (AT). The development of technology above all the development and utilization of microelectronics follows the principle of harmony with nature. Most important is the orientation of AT towards decentralization and the promotion of small and medium sized enterprises.

Technology in Scenario C. All multinational conglomerates claim to have their own high tech philosophy. However their economic activities are nevertheless guided by the implementation and requirements of high tech. They sign oligopolistic contracts and only agree on the introduction of new high tech when their investment in existing technologies and/or production facilities is amortized.

The reader will have realized by now that the examples for technology in the three scenarios partly overlap. This is why it was as well necessary to discuss who operates and finances these technologies, infrastructures and products.

The political powers identified in Scenarios A and B

are to a certain extent technical conservative even if to different and ambiguous extents. They have serious doubts about future presently foreseeable technologies. Yet our participants were rarely able to ascertain a positive and concrete description of these future technologies from them. The fact that our participants seemed to be only able to conceptualize technology in relation to its current stage of development suggests their underlying feeling that more new technology is not required. Most of them would agree that technologies suited to Scenarios A and B could bring about better worlds. A change in technology for them is first and foremost associated with the risks of adaptation and costs which are usually difficult to bear psychologically, physically and financially. Maybe it is justified to assume that Scenarios A and B are characterized by inherent technological conservatism.

In a final analysis technological change in any society is a question of goals and of the risks which the population is willing to take in order to realize new technologies. The history of technology over the last 40 years e.g. Kennedy's man on the moon has given sufficient illustration of it. It is extremely difficult to classify technological fantasies in view of their chances to be realized by 2020. Hydrogen technology cited by some of the groups was initially accepted into the scenarios but came under heavy criticism afterwards. Economists would immediately ask for the price of the introduction of that technology or evaluate other inventions as not realizable because of that expenditure. However we neither expected nor asked our participants to come up with evaluations of that type.

6.2 NOTIONS OF WORK IN THE SCENARIOS

Our participants had not developed images of labour markets. They elaborated extensively on the notion and organization of work and differentiated precisely between the three scenarios.

In Scenario A labour is seen as a paid for activity within dependent work relationships like it is today. The weekly paid labour time consists of 25-30 hours. Other modes of work such as housework were regarded as activities but not as labour.

Scenario B maintained the notion of labour. Labour is an important content of life. The notion here comprises all activities labour in the economy so city and in the private sphere. These activities are considered to be of equal value and give right to utilize material and societal resources.

Scenario C has changed labour into achievement. All achievements in NRW are entirely determined by

the organization of the global economic activities of MCs. It is of utmost importance to stress that scenario C differentiates between three different types of achievement depending on the social structure of the respective individual.

The following three quotations illustrate the differences in the notions of labour

Labour in Scenario A Changes can only be made on a consensual basis according to individual or social situations. The individual working time generally is adapted to the overall societal working time so that there is a certain realization of the notion of labour for everybody. Besides paid labour every citizen is required to participate for some 10 hours in CTFs.

Labour in Scenario B The positive attitude of the citizens towards labour stems from the practice that creative capabilities are highly rewarded in all kinds of work. Labour is satisfaction and should stimulate all types of individual capacities.

Achievement in Scenario C The structure of achievement in NRW is determined entirely by the economic activities of the MCs. There are three types of achievers who can be distinguished by their relationship to the organization in which they are active. The first class of achievement is the Dur sphere usually is the class of the collaborators of the MCs. They come from very good families and their education is the best imaginable. The kind of achievement changes greatly in the course of their career. The second type of achievement is called the Chances sphere. Those who count as members have highly specialized capacities and know how and manage to get long term but nevertheless limited contracts. The lowest level of achievement is called the Flexi sphere. This sphere consists of persons whose capacities and know how are limited but still marketable. The contracts they are able to acquire are however short term. Sometimes they are even unemployed.

6.3 WOMEN LABOUR AND TECHNOLOGY

If one studies the relationship between women and labour one always has to take into account the personal situation of every individual woman as well as societal expectations and prejudices. The distribution of roles between the sexes today still forces women to do a lot of work without payment whilst whatever men do the societal expectation is that it is to be paid for. Nevertheless every second working woman is forced to make a compromise between labour in the private sphere and commercial labour. Despite the gender specific segregation of the labour market there is a growing tendency even among married mothers to look for employment.

Generally men and women have equal rights in all three scenarios. The respective differences between the three scenarios can be pin pointed as follows. In Scenario A sexual stereotypes remain the same. The equilibrium between the sexes is one of the most important topics of the CTF. In Scenario B men and women are supposed to be different from today and to have adopted each other's characteristics. They have developed towards an androgynous being. In Scenario C women must adopt male characteristics at the expense of their own femininity if they wish to be treated equally.

In the scenario development participants voiced different ideas in relation to the above

Scenario A The gender specific division of labour has almost come to an end. Men and women divide housework and family work equally between them. This is one of the central preconditions for equilibrium in the labour market.

Scenario B Not only a formal equilibrium exists between men and women but paid labour reduction to 20 hours per week also allows women to share this type of work equally. The so-called societal work and work at home is divided equally between men and women on the basis of their individual interests and capabilities.

Scenario C In the Dur sphere the chances of men and women are equal as long as they are achievement oriented. Most of them consider a family a great hindrance. Unmarried male or female managers are predominant and their main interest is the prolongation and fulfillment of demanding and highly rewarding contracts. In the Chances sphere one could call many couples and families achievement entities. Men and women are economically and socially equal. There are nevertheless considerable differences between men and women as regards the division of labour and world views. In general couples strive to create the situation where women can return to work within a few years of child bearing. Some 30% of all working people belong to the Flexi sphere. For the most part they will only be able to gain short term contracts and often suffer because they cannot get a contract at all. Many jobs in this sphere are time intensive as a result of which whole families or circles of friends compete for contracts and share the time input among each other. It is not at all surprising that many women are found in this sphere simply because here they are able to combine family and achievement.

Finally we have to mention that the scenarios hardly contain any suggestions of how future developments in science and technology will affect women. And there was also hardly any speculation about the

influence of women on these future developments. This is not surprising because if one looks at the literature on women and science/technology almost nothing is found about how female science and technology would differ from what exists already.

7 SOCIETY POLITICAS AND PARDIZIPP

Our experience shows that an extensive description of our procedure often leads to a misinterpretation of the relationship between that procedure and the overall intention of PARDIZIPP. This is why we want to pursue the following three goals in the final chapter

1 The relationship between our procedure and the overall goal

2 Consequences of this first experiment

3 Visualization of a potential situation should ever a political system decide on a real time implementation of PARDIZIPP once PARDIZIPP has been developed into a standardized procedure

Research projects like ours generally have to find their way through Cylla and Charibdis. Cylla is the problem of finding a phraseology which is understandable to participants who have not been trained scientifically. Charibdis is the attempt to avoid the reproach by colleagues of being unscientific. This is why we will treat the above mentioned three goals in the following way. Six considerations will be formulated in everyday language (a to f) and following thereafter four will be formulated scientifically (g to j).

a The vast majority of participants have not yet started to think their own society's future. Such kinds of thinking are almost entirely lacking in government documents. In as far as our participants' statements could be generalized one could say that Northrhine Westphalia's population has not yet noticed a lack of future oriented input in their government's policy. If they have any expectation of such an approach it is from the economic giants.

b The population is realistic about its own level of acquaintance with knowledge of the future. Our participants for example clearly voiced the opinion that they themselves have not been very creative or innovative as regards new technologies. In principle the population is interested in getting new knowledge but is limited in its capacity to take in this knowledge or can only do so in limited amounts and when presented in specific forms. It also only demands an improvement in the form of the presentation of information under certain circumstances. Should ever a

full PARDIZIPP be decided upon and implemented then the political system would have to be prepared to digest a great number of proposals for improvements but could in turn expect to experience a vast increase in creativity and proposals for innovations.

c The population seems to have great interest in submitting the following four topics for a PARDIZIPP (again if we might extrapolate from our participants to the reasoning of the overall population)

How can one gain the collaboration of the vast number of highly specialized experts for the development of socially and environmentally adapted technology and which institutional and political innovations would be necessary for this?

Microgenetics economic interests and individual health

Preservation and support of medium and small sized industry and enterprises because it is they which contribute to large scale employment more than big industry multi or trans national corporations and also because they are much more innovative than larger economic entities. This is particularly true for companies in the area of bio as well as environmental technologies.

Armament and disarmament war industry peace problems strategy and security problems

It is likely that problems like nepotism will also be counted among those topics which should be subjected to a fulfilled PARDIZIPP especially given recent developments within the atomic energy or the chemical weapons industries. In more general terms however we have to discuss how to avoid the evolution of ever new and life threatening problems that result from old structures and ways of thinking. The increasing number of private cars (the estimates show another 30-40% increase over the next 10 years) provides the best example of the above. People seem to be more interested in the question of maintained access to greater mobility than whether the resulting level of pollution does not constitute a threat to mankind (e.g. the greenhouse effect).

This is not at all surprising for if one looks at the awareness of even the most advanced researchers in technology assessment it is apparent that they are not even aware of e.g. the consequences of microelectronics in the industrialization of human reproduction via computer aided gene composition or the industrialization of human thinking (artificial intelligence).

Even more pin pointed is the question what has to be done in order to prevent these discontinuities

leaps fractions and societal breakdowns to come into existence? Interestingly enough the experts such as catastrophology researchers have not yet discovered the popularization method. Popularization means the earliest possible discussion on how such phenomena might be avoided. When such a discussion takes place the number of proposals on how such self-fulfilling prophecies might be avoided increases automatically and rapidly. Our proposal for such a popularization is PARDIZIPP.

f The question of the cost of the PARDIZIPP proposal of course is a very important one. The cost is at most somewhere around US\$ 1 million. This certainly is a lot of money but if compared to the billions invested in large projects such as the Airbus the magnetic train or nuclear power stations which quite often even end up costing twice as much US\$ 1 million seems negligible. Even if the political system was willing to spend this amount would it be sufficient? No but it would be a great step forward. What would still be needed then is the readiness to change our views and to act accordingly.

g The first scientifically formulated reflection starts with the difference between social and societal change. The latter is certainly the more comprehensive. It is the one which has been characterized since history began by oppositions and contradictions and one must take for granted that it will continue to be so. Not only the approach via societal change but also the approach via social change could be useful for our method though we cannot elaborate on it here. The social change approach could help to change the attitudes of participants towards their own involvement in societal matters through PARDIZIPP. It could as well help evaluate these changes in relation to their general readiness to participate in the shaping of society and lead to policies and actions aimed at the achievement of one of the three scenarios.

h Epistemologically our approach does not start from theory but from empirical results. One such empirical result is the loss of governability. Could it not be stated that our societies have caused that loss themselves by repeatedly not venturing to implement the necessary change in the inner societal organization structures?

i Lets us take two other important empirical results the concentration of more and more knowledge amongst fewer and fewer people and the necessity of increasing societal integration despite a growing inability on the part of specialists to communicate even among each other. Our approach tries to arrive at proposals for new forms of society (their principles structures technologies etc as well as policies and concrete actions by means of broad public discussion and on the basis of epistemological reflection in

this procedure methods like hermeneutics or understanding play a very important role though these cannot be delineated here. The construction of policies and concrete actions proved to be one of the most interesting procedures in our experiment because one can only construct policies and concrete actions if a scenario has already been decided upon. Furthermore the construction of policies and concrete actions is interesting insofar as they do not evolve in isolation. They are already political actions in a chain of events leading to another political culture where a large number of people are able to experiment with such a method. Finally our present time might well be described as structurally self-stabilizing. It simply seems impossible to imagine the construction of alternative policies and concrete actions without being informed by alternative societal structures.

j Theoretical proposals, paradigms and research on creativity and innovation are not yet highly developed. This is why our team has designed a persiflage of Bellamy's 'Looking back from the year 2020' which he wrote in 1887. This scenario carries the title

IN THE YEAR 2020 SOME CITIZENS OF NORTH RINE WESTPHALIA MEET AND REMEMBER

April 15 1991 in a press conference the Northrhine Westphalian Minister for Labour Health and Social Affairs presented the report of a study called 'NRW 2000'. He distributed a 100 page pocket book to all journalists present and announced that his Ministry allocated DM 30 million in the 1992 budget for further experiments with PARDIZIPP. The press conference was followed by a TV discussion on all the projects predictions and participations within the research programme the Ministry had financed for the last 5 years.

A few days later the budget committee agreed to the Minister's proposal largely due to the general public's reaction to the TV discussion.

January 1 1992 32 temporary PARDIZIPP committees started work. Their goal was to establish 150 working groups out of which more than half chose to deal with the topic micro-electronics and labour markets whilst the others decided either on micro genetics and health or on internal and external security. By the middle of 1995 all 32 committees received their reports and the impact of the work of these 150 working groups was so enormous that other intermediate social sectors began to sponsor PARDIZIPP undertakings and to integrate the results and proposals of former PARDIZIPP experiments into their own work. At the end of 1996 the first annual PARDIZIPP consultation congress took place with all the participants from PARDIZIPP experiments. From that date

onwards the number of innovative politico technical proposals increased exponentially.

Notes

(*) This is the translation of the article 'Technologie Soziologie alternative PARDIZIPP in Technisierter Kultur Beiträge zur Soziologie der Technik Sonderband Nr 1 of the Osterreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie' Vienna 1989 p 273 297. The authors are very grateful to Petra Keller for her help translating the difficult language of their article.

(1) Northrhine Westphalia 2000. This project was financed by the Northrhine Westphalian Minister for Labour (Arbeit) Health (Gesundheit) and Social Affairs (Soziales) and conducted by the Institute for Labour and Technology Hamburg (IFAT) and the Institute for Applied Ecology Freiburg (Oko-Institut). It was conducted from September 1986 to March 1989. The present address is: Arbeitsgemeinschaft NRW 2000 Lilienstrasse 3 D 62 Wiesbaden Naurod Germany.

(2) PARDIZIPP stands for Participatory Delphi Procedure for Future Oriented (the Z stems from the German word zukunftsorientiert meaning Future oriented) Interdisciplinary Policy Planning.

(3) Technology Programme for the Economy (Technologieprogramm Wirtschaft) the first programme was initiated by the Ministry for the Middle Classes and Transport in 1981. Initiative on Future Technologies (Initiative Zukunftstechnologien) the second programme was initiated by the Ministry for Economics Middle Classes and Technology in 1986.

(4) Allemann et al 1985 and 1988. Compare also Jansen et al 1988. Bruggemann and Riehle 1988 are of the opinion that in reality only little has survived of the initially high hopes of the democratization programme.

(5) In NRW 2000 the scenarios can only be regarded as products of the experiment and are of no direct value in themselves. They are a means to an end. The Lohausen study by Dörner et al 1983 proceeded similarly. Dörner's goal was the study of decision making by people under stress and suffering from insecurity. He used computer simulation of city development in order to test their decision making capacities.

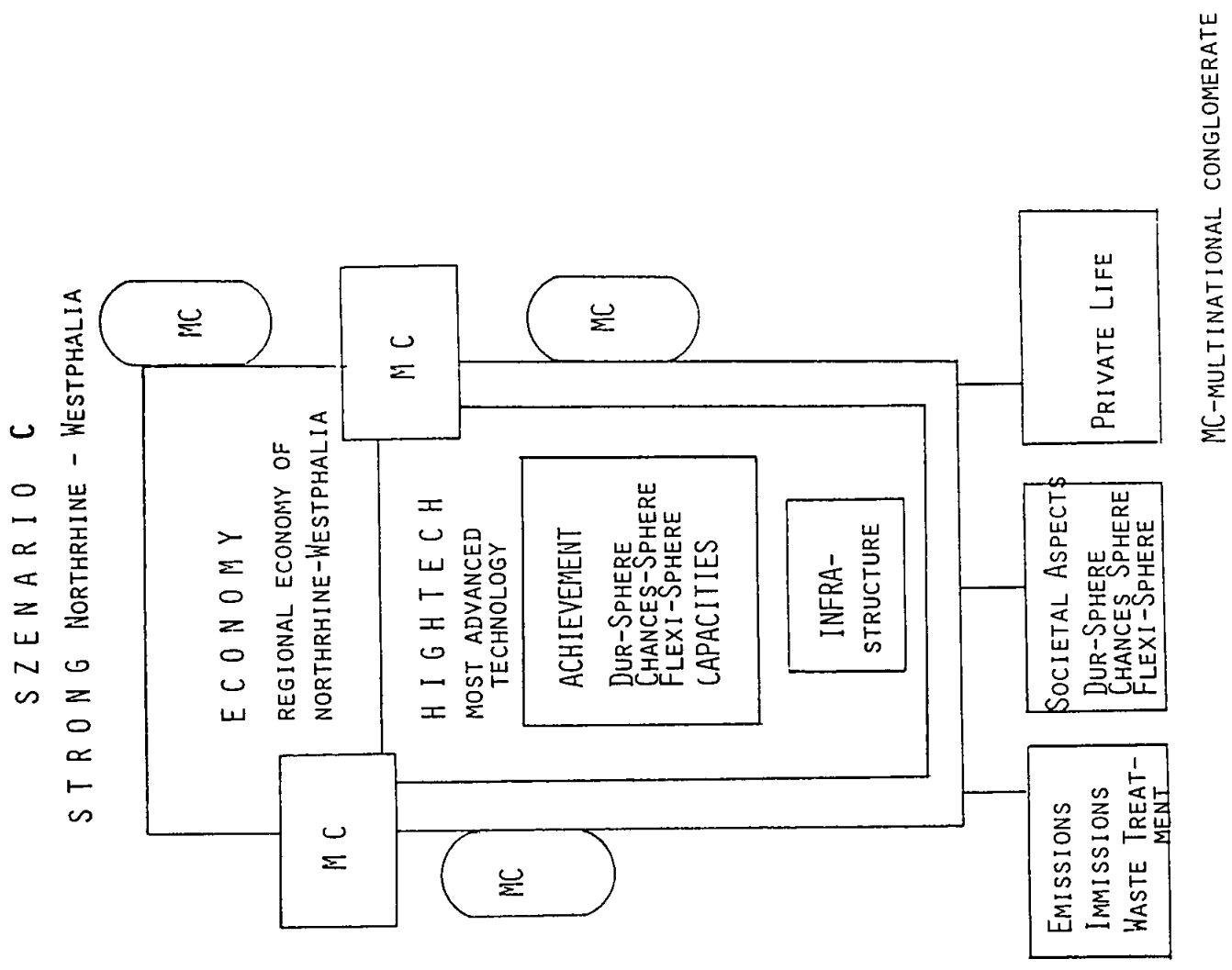
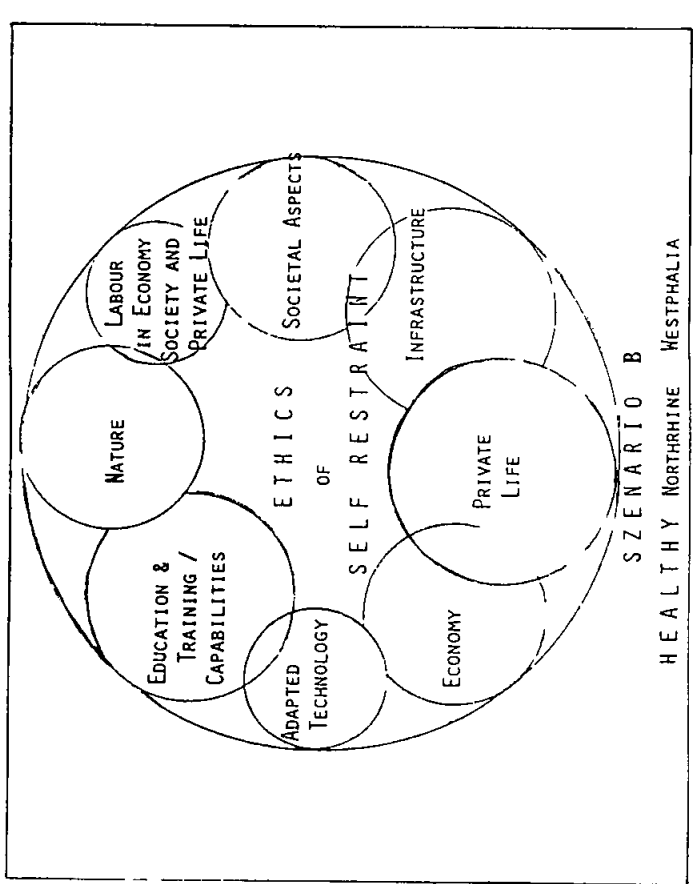
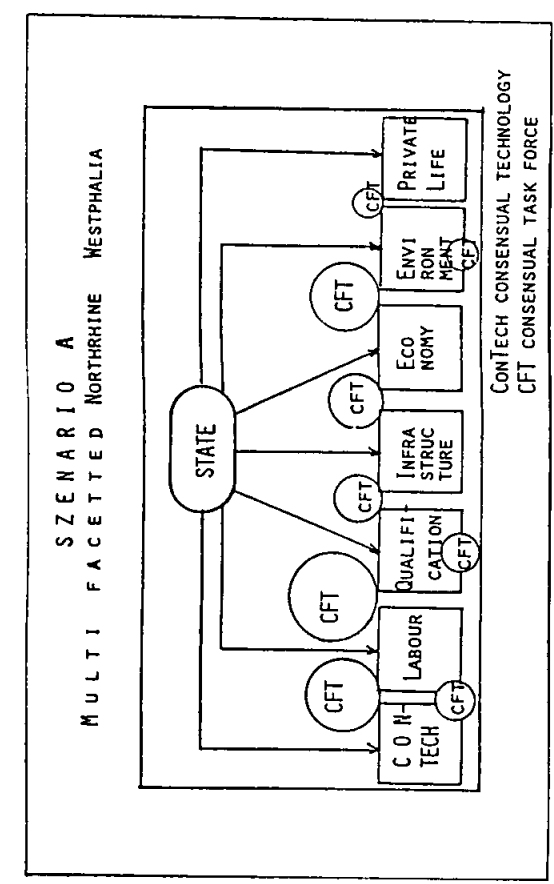
(6) See Lutz 1986 22. Compare as well von Reinritz (1987) who oriented scenario writing towards company planning.

(7) We decided on the year 2020 as the time horizon for many reasons. Alternative technologies will hardly be widespread before that date. Technological developments which have already been implemented today will still be with us in the year 2020 but furthermore an expert does not really know much about the year 2020 which is why one could also call the man in the street an expert on that topic. The further we look into the future the less important today's quarrels really are.

(8) Both the theoretical and the empirical background for this approach can be found in Mettler 1979 and 1982. Baumgartner and Mithun 1980 and Baumgartner et al 1987.

(9) This normative method looking back from the future to the present is known as backcasting (Robinson 1982) in the Anglo Saxon world. The parallel notion of Retrognosis was introduced in Mettler in 1979. When the team took a closer look at computerized backcasting models it realized that they as well were only capable of prognoses if they identify acceptable and usable passages from the present forward into the desired future.

(10) The discussion showed that the succession in which the scenarios had been dealt with in the groups had greatly influenced the kind and degree of differentiation of each statement. In most cases the participants had considerable difficulties differentiating between the scenarios under consideration and the other two scenarios dealt with a few hours before.



APPENDIX 1

IMAGES OF TECHNOLOGY IN SCENARIO A

Technical information and communication media

Communication linked automated planning device

Regional and decentralized data banks

Portable terminals for everybody

Software based data protection

Optimization of energy saving

Environmental data bank

Device for automatic pollution alarms

Automated industrial production to avoid night and Sunday work

Computers for learning in Schools and adult education

Remote control of production

Machine intensive health care Body Technology

Centralized traffic control devices

Credit Chips

Robotized kitchens and household devices

Computer homework with links to centres

Electronic security systems for elderly people

Household appliances with voice commands

Toy robots and telegames

Hologram art

IMAGES OF TECHNOLOGY IN SCENARIO B

Perma cultures software for farming and livestock breeding

Steering and optimization of energy applications

Control instruments for pollution and reconstruction of the environment

Information systems for the distribution of work

Regional register for equal distribution of work

Working time registration card

Learning systems for control and steering of production

Bio chips

Combined heat and power production

Electronic controls for solar collectors Energy storage and Heat pumps

Traffic calling systems in urban transport

Specialized computers to teach how to use computers reasonably

Traffic control systems harmonizing the different types of transport

Information systems for the distribution of goods

Household devices with specialized microelectronics for energy saving

IMAGES OF TECHNOLOGY IN SCENARIO C

Machines with voice controls and commands

Think machines and expert systems

Programme generated films and videos

Pocket computers

Space and military research

Telematics

Electronic babysitter and picture telephone

Traffic surveillance and control

Electronic navigation and access system for private cars

Transport optimization computer

Fully computerized kitchens and climatization of buildings

Remote control for household devices

Telecom shopping games and lottery

Computer camps

Autopiloted aeroplanes for private transportation

Telecom systems and networks

Fully automated centre for military strategy

100% CIM

Remotely controlled robots

Fusion energy

Automated Farming and livestock breeding

Computerized gene combination

Medical treatment in orbit (i.e. without gravity)

Sleep and dream inducing machines

Hallucination generating appliances

Deletion of negative memories

Treatment to create positive feelings and fun in leisure times

Highly flexible automated production machinery

8th generation artificial intelligence

APPENDIX 2

SCENARIO A MULTI FACETTED NORTHRINE WESPHALIA

Consensus is the key word of the year 2020. Technological development as well as applications of technology are decided upon with a maximum of consensus. The state provides consensus but participates in the consensus finding procedures as well. Five characteristics determine this society:

1. The various social groups harmonize their interests in particular in the following areas: income and property, labour and education, environment and regional development.

2. State functions are well specified. Preferentially on local bases, the state has to organize education, professional training and the infrastructure, as e.g. telecom or energy.

3. The speed of development of technology is determined by the demand of the users and their adaptability, as well as by international agreements. Standardization of the many different systems should facilitate their use.

4. All citizens can use a whole variety of media and

information channels, as e.g. broadcasting and TV, picture, telephone and video services, and last but not least, classical mail. Local and regional media in particular offer lots of opportunities for cooperation.

5. Individual working hours have become more flexible, the tasks of the individuals are more comprehensive and qualifications have increased.

SCENARIO B HEALTHY NORTHRINE WESPHALIA

Society and politics have adopted new perspectives because of pollution increase, changes in the composition of population (fewer babies and ever more old people) and because technology created tensions on the labour market. This society has five distinct, alternative ecological features:

1. Self-restraint is not felt as a threat but is the explicit goal. There is a great consciousness of the dangers of a destroyed environment. Sun, wind, and water play a decisive role in the energy supply. Raw material consumption is as low as possible. Air, water and soil are preserved as much as possible.

2. Consumption as well as production are reduced. Nevertheless, the generally guaranteed standard of living is so high that it is accepted by a vast majority.

3. Within the social web, social groups like families, neighbours, associations or spontaneous groups are of crucial importance. Self-restraint guides the lives of individuals and they actively support it. Beyond the obligatory minimum, labour time everybody can freely dispose of his/her time.

4. Inputs on nature, environment or life are permitted only when a maximum of precautions are guaranteed. The state gets full support by the citizens when enforcing this principle.

5. Technology's main purpose is to help decentralize society and to facilitate local control by citizens.

SCENARIO C STRONG NORTHRINE WESPHALIA

The structure of this society in the year 2020 is characterized by scientific and technological achievements as well as by the efficiency and strengths of the Northrine Westphalian entrepreneurs. The state is hardly interfering in societal life; five recognized principles govern this society:

1. Multinational corporations determine the level of international development of technology. This level of technology determines the development and the organization of the region.

- 2 Technical possibilities will be realized if an enterprise imagines that they could be profitable
- 3 Work conditions are determined by technical and company requirements
- 4 Big companies run their own central information and communication networks entirely for their own purposes. The population has a separate network at its disposal
- 5 Government restricts itself to the supply of resources: basic education, social welfare and to those parts of the infrastructure which cannot be operated profitably as e.g. waste disposal

RICHARD A SLAUGHTER

CRITICAL FUTURES STUDIES AND WORLDVIEW DESIGN PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES IN FUTURES STUDIES

INTRODUCTION PROBING BENEATH THE SURFACE

Much of the early futures literature considered world problems and proffered a variety of solutions. But by the late 1980s two important shifts of perception were under way. First it is increasingly clear that what have been called world problems are actually problems which have been largely created by affluent Western countries and exported to the rest of the world. So it becomes increasingly inadvisable for Western observers sitting safely at home and try to tell others how to solve them. Instead of projecting various concerns upon the third world, the more challenging task is to put one's own house in order. That is to consider what aspects of the Western worldview permitted this assault upon the rest of the world.

This deeper concern will take longer to achieve but it is very important. It hinges on the fact that very many problems seem to have no solution at the level upon which they are first experienced or described. This has been frequently overlooked in those branches of futures writing which are over-reliant upon empiricist assumptions and methods (measuring, calculating, instrumental reasoning). In this context the partiality of cultural traditions of disciplinary paradigms and ways of knowing had been largely overlooked. Similarly the role of language in actively shaping perception and mediating views of the world was neither well understood or allowed for. Hence problems tended to be described in superficially culturally specific and taken-for-granted ways. This led to the familiar litany of global concerns and a number of repetitious books, many of which ended up saying much the same thing.

From the viewpoint of the 1990s it is clear that solutions do not necessarily exist for all the problems

that have been created during two centuries of industrialism. Some situations are unsolvable. Others can only be resolved by approaching them differently. Take two examples.

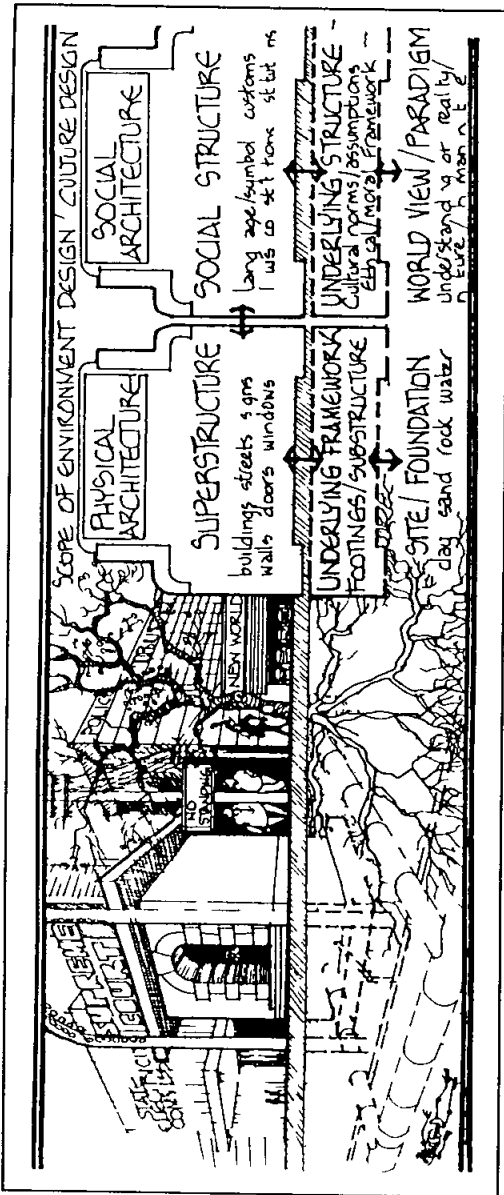
Many children and young people are deeply affronted by the destruction of wildlife and the natural environment. They rightly perceive threats to their own well-being and respond with fear, frustration or anger. A common response is to feel impotent: what can they do beyond protest or participation in half-hearted tokenistic clean-up operations? The second example is that of a school principal I met recently. His refrigerator broke down because a single component failed. He tried to replace the component but found there were none available. Finally and against his will he was forced to purchase a new machine despite the fact that the old one was repairable. In all such cases people feel outsmarted, helpless. The reason is that we are all confronted by much more than physical problems: more than simple cases of pollution or faulty kitchen appliances.

What these examples point towards are the embedded systems which lie behind everyday experience. In one dimension these spread throughout the time and in another they extend throughout the socio-cultural matrix in the form of ideologies (planned obsolescence) and cultural assumptions (we are separate from nature and can therefore abuse it). No individual could be expected to unravel these relationships on their own. So it is important to establish a method of dealing with such questions.

One place to start is figure 1. It draws a parallel between physical architecture and social architecture, thereby providing a central metaphor for critical futures work. While the former is built upon a physical substructure and foundation, the latter is founded upon a structure of norms, assumptions, etc. and also

Figure 1

Architectural Metaphor the Relationship Between Surface Structures and Underlying Foundations



upon a worldview or paradigm. The worldview contains a number of very important assumptions about the nature of reality of nature, human nature, time, meaning, purpose, and so on. The basic suggestion here is that problems with the environment or with refrigerators ultimately have their origin (and their possible resolutions) at one or more of these deeper levels.

It follows from the above that futures work which misses the shaping significance of socio-cultural foundations will increasingly be seen as naive and

superficial. This is so because futures work which misses the shaping significance of socio-cultural foundations will increasingly be seen as naive and superficial. This is because it misses the richest opportunities for problem solving, reconceptualisation and cultural renewal. The latter cannot be identified merely with changes in surface structures. We will have to deal in depth with the problematics of cultures in stress and in transition. So it is likely that distinct levels will be recognized in futures work. Four possibilities are given in Figure 2. Pop futurism tends to be technophilic, conservative and diversionary. It

Figure 2
Levels of Futures Work

- 1 **POP FUTURISM** takes existing social relations as given, ideologically naive, provides unconscious support for status quo, futures constructed externally via science and technology. EG: Future Shock (Toffler 1975).
- 2 **PROBLEM FOCUSED FUTURES STUDY** identifies problems and seeks to explore solutions at superficial taken for granted level. EG: The Limits to Growth (Meadows 1972).
- 3 **CRITICAL FUTURES STUDY** comparative analysis of assumptions, pre-suppositions, paradigms actively considers the influence of different cultural orientations and traditions of enquiry. EG: The Politics of the Solar Age (Henderson 1988).
- 4 **EPISTEMOLOGICAL FUTURES STUDY** locates and problematizes sources of problems in worldviews and ways of knowing, sees solutions arising from deep seated and unpredictable shifts at this level. EG: The Reenchantment of the World (Berman 1981) and Eye to Eye: The Quest for the New Paradigm (Wilber 1990).

thrives in mass market, in mass market TV programs and in the popular press. It can be marketed. Problem focused futures study is often earnest and well meaning, but its prescriptions may lack credibility for the reasons given above. Critical futures study is still fairly uncommon, but some of the best futures work available draws upon critical sources and traditions of enquiry. Finally, epistemological futures study provides depth needed for worldview analysis and redesign.

As one moves from level 1 to 4, increasingly rich arrays of options present themselves. At the most superficial level, one remains imprisoned by unregarded givens and unstated assumptions. The deeper one goes, the more demanding the work. But equally, the greater scope exists to look freshly upon assumptions and meanings which have come to seem natural and inevitable, but in fact are not so. At the epistemological level, futures work merges imperceptibly into the kind of fundamental rethinking which is clearly philosophical in character and orientation.

These are welcome developments. For it is here in the foundations of cultures that all world problems have their origins. Equally, solutions will emerge not from ill-founded analysis of superficial tinkering. Neither will they grow from the media hype of pop futurism. For solutions to be effective, they will involve deep seated shifts of perception, value, and understanding at the deeper levels.

CRITICAL FUTURES STUDY

The term critical is sometimes misunderstood. It does not simply mean to criticise, nor does it signify negative or derivative work. It is not threatening and should not be construed as such. Rather, it signifies a range of methods and tools through which we may probe beneath the surface in order to realize the full potential of futures work.

Critical futures study recognises the partiality of traditions, cognitive frameworks and ways of knowing. It is therefore possible to problematise aspects of the existing social and economic order and to explore some of their contradictions. It is important to understand why this is a constructive enterprise.

An unproblematic status quo is one which is accepted without question, one which embodies certain quasi-transcendental goals which are to be progressively realised now and in the future. Such goals could include health, wealth and prosperity for all humankind. Others might be racial equality, steady growth of GNP, and peaceful international relations. These all sound wonderful. But given the real substantive character of ideologies, assumptions

systems of exploitation, repression and destruction now in place, they are simply not realisable. Like the advertisements for women's fashions or impossibly perfect holidays, they have little substance. Yet these glossy fantasies mystify whole populations.

The fact that regardless of its very many impressive achievements, late industrial culture is the most rapacious self-centered and humanly destructive system yet seen upon the earth. It presides over numerous wars, the repressive exploitation of many Third World populations (and their unprivileged equivalents in Western countries), and the implacable destruction of the world's life support systems. Given this context, conventional sanguine views of the future have a flat, unconvincing and indeed blatantly spurious quality. The standard Western Worldview, far from leading to universal peace and prosperity, actually leads directly toward the abyss. It holds out no possibility whatsoever of sustainable human futures. Hence the importance of looking in depth at this culture and asking some penetrating questions. This is exactly what critical futures study attempts to do. Calling the bluff of anodyne views of futures helps us to isolate aspects of our present culture and way of life which urgently require critical attention. No one should doubt that this is a responsible and constructive task.

If it were not possible to interrogate the received wisdom of industrialised cultures, then we would most certainly be set on an irreversible path toward global catastrophe. If we were not able to understand our situation and act with informed foresight to avert the worst dangers, we would be committed to social learning by the crudest of experiences. We would have the experience in catastrophe in order to prevent it. This is clearly unacceptable. The price of crisis is becoming too great.

Critical futures study therefore aligns with other critical/interpretive initiatives to explore the possibility of productive discourse about the character, assumptions and likely directions embedded within the dominant culture. This is an important first step. But there is also another. By carefully questioning what is too often taken for granted (such as continuous growth or pollution as a mere externality), we can begin to distinguish new personal and social options. This 'unfreeing' of the status quo provides us with new (or renewed) sources of freedom. It does so by permitting a much wider variety of alternatives to be imagined and explored than are conceivable from within a dominant catastrophe-prone paradigm.

Here are some of the distinguishing features of a critical approach:

- * Discourse is not neutral. It is grounded in particular traditions and speech communities which cannot by

definition be objective Intersubjectivity is only partly rational

* It is important to adopt a reflexive posture that is one in which the observer does not simply observe (speak act etc) but is aware of the active shaping character of these processes

* A presumption is made in favour of the human emancipatory interest or simply the fundamental interest of all persons in freedom self constitution and unconstrained conditions of life

* It is suggested that progress is no longer a term which can be used without the irony it has much less to do with tools techniques and the external conditions of life than with (a) understanding the breakdown of a cultural synthesis at the epistemological level and (b) recovering the ability to discern a basis for qualitatively different futures

* Technologies are not regarded merely as neutral tools but as cultural processes embodying specific ideological and social interests The most notable features of technologies are often invisible and intangible (which is why they are missed by empiricist approaches)

* Stories are regarded as powerful explanatory devices They are not mere fiction because they model social reality in novel and useful ways They can therefore be used to explore some aspects of human futures in ways not accessible to reason analysis or the techniques of futures research (forecasting etc)

* There is an explicit focus on the recognition of meanings (such as work leisure defense health etc) This gives access to some of the most important shaping processes involved in social and cultural change

* The interpretive perspective critical practice hermeneutics the analysis of discourse semiotics

* The sociology of science and technology science as a social product technology as cultural text etc

* The critical theory of society cognitive interests Habermas theory of communicative action etc

* Speculative writing stories which comment with awareness on past present and futures

* Environmental scanning and strategic planning techniques of futures research applied in organizations

The careful use of these cultural and symbolic resources

ces provides futures study and research with powerful new metatheoretical tools Moreover when critical and epistemological futures studies are linked to processes of futures visioning and design they hold out the possibility of reclaiming a measure of steering capacity for the society as a whole

THE METAPROBLEM

The use of a critical futures approach means that we can stop talking superficially about world problems as if they were somehow separate from the systems of value and meaning which created them in the first place We can instead focus on the underlying breakdowns of meaning which have occurred (and are occurring) within all cultures affected by industrialised epistemologies and assumptions Once again focussing on the breakdown could be misconstrued if it were taken to be merely an attack on existing structures However this is not the case It is a necessary stage of diagnosis Knowing what has gone wrong constitutes an important step in putting things right It is a ground clearing exercise

We are here concerned with constitutive understandings which have shaped our views of the world at a very basic and powerful level understandings which have been expressed through (and embodied in) our social economic and technical systems As such they have taken tangible form and led to many consequences Some of the latter are already evident in our past and present Others have already been displaced into the future and represent challenges we have created but which future generations will have to grapple with An example may be useful here

The SDI (or Strategic Defense Initiative) was an attempt by the Reagan administration to purchase some degree of protection against the possibility of nuclear attack by the USSR It involved the expenditure of huge sums of money for the construction of nuclear shield This shield involved placing military lasers in orbit programmed to destroy Russian missiles before re entry into the earth's atmosphere However despite some very compelling graphics the system is technically unworkable Were this otherwise then a whole new era in the militarization of space would now be underway But for what purpose? The fact is that there is not now nor has there ever been a valid reason for beginning such a project The mere deployment and testing the system would have exacerbated the already serious problem of space junk thereby further threatening all future attempts at space exploration (In 1986 there were some 7 000 large objects in known orbits and over 40 000 smaller ones)

From a non critical viewpoint the SDI could be viewed

ved as a prudent extension of US defense policy The shield metaphor suggests something benign and protective But the reality was quite different Resources which spring from human ingenuity and the biological productivity of the earth were diverted to wholly negative and destructive ends In a more critical view these resources were immorally misused and wasted by the imperatives of its expansionism and fear Viable futures simply cannot be derived from these impulses and assumptions

This example could be multiplied indefinitely It shows why a critical futures approach is essential Without something along these lines it is all too easy to accept conventional assumptions which later turn out to be disastrous Since we have two centuries of damage to consider we can draw on that historical experience to identify several aspects of the metaproblem

1 THE DOMINANCE OF INSTRUMENTAL RATIONALITY (IR)

IR is a powerful cognitive system which matches means to assumed or pre-given ends It permits the construction of devices and machines of enormous computers rockets body scanners automobiles and toasters The physical infrastructure of our civilization is dependent upon it

The difficulty is that the way of viewing the world which IR encourages contains certain defects and is wholly inadequate for other non instrumental purposes One defect is that it contains no notion of limits Another is that it provides no rationale for seeing the world as other than a machine or as a set of inert resources Since IR is a system which only addresses the physical layer of the world it cannot supply useful insights about ethics meanings or purposes Hence unless it is interpreted according to some other (higher) principle its applications can become dangerously over extended

Many would now argue that is exactly what has happened in Western culture Taken alone IR is a recipe for disaster

2 REDUCTION AND LOSS OF THE TRANSCENDENT

Reductionism is the tendency to take something with a diverse range of qualities and to disregard many of them The standard play of reductionism is to say that if something cannot be measured it does not exist Economics has fallen into just this trap such that for example housework is literally regarded as being without value Similarly markets operate wholly on basis of past experience With the exception of the

futures market (which is a speculative economic sideshow) markets have no methods by which to exercise prudence or foresight They are crude mechanisms which use signals derived from past and present to govern their operations As such they effectively make the future vanish They reduce temporality to a narrow band of self interest in the here and now This is ethical and ontological non sense

Reductionism is endemic in industrialized cultures It says of phenomena this is only and then pick out some convenient characteristic Hence ecosystems basically provide services People are simply consumers or human resources Religion is either useless or mere therapy The possibility that there could be spiritual or transcendental realities of a completely different order is completely overlooked So far as IR is concerned spiritually and futures both have less reality than ghosts

3 SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR IRRATIONAL ENDS

It was Lewis Mumford who once said of modern weapons systems that the means were rational but the ends were entirely mad He says as many others have that once certain technical means become powerful enough they become ends in their own right This can be seen with modern information systems which are expanding very rapidly not out of some clearly defined need or purpose but from the compulsive dynamism associated with competing capitalist economies and enterprises

The present period has even been called the information age But it is by no means certain that this label fits Information as such is not valuable Nor is it to be confused with knowledge or wisdom The dynamics of expanding information systems are such as to lead toward ends which are largely unpredictable In this process means and ends tend to be confused Similar criticisms can be made of nano technology Here the threat of competition is used to fuel technical developments But again the ends are problematic If successful nanotechnology could well undermine the physical integrity of our world I conclude that such an end is indeed irrational

The key point is this when powerful technologies are linked with inadequate worldviews or with primitive human impulses they become irredeemably subversive If science and technology are to help us move toward humanly viable futures they will need to be reconstructed on a different non instrumental basis Hence if there is a way out of the present cultural trap it will clearly not be via science and technology as they are presently constituted Perhaps the only

lasting solutions will be via the re-establishment of truly human ends which are expressions of the highest human motives and capacities

4 THE DE-SACRALISATION OF NATURE

In most traditional cultures there are strong injunctions to protect nature from overexploitation. Such injunctions draw power from belief systems which endow the environment and all that lives within it with specific meanings. Many of these entities are sacred. That is they occupy a higher ontological level than that of mere use. They are not simply resources. They may be worshipped, consulted, propitiated. They become sources of inspiration, metaphors, art, the substance of lived experience.

But Western cultures developed according to the very different dynamic provided by Bacon and Descartes. One discovered the scientific method (by which nature could be manipulated in order to yield up her secrets), the other asserted the fatal duality between persons and the world. Newton completed the pattern by characterising the world as a machine (even though he himself did not fully believe it). The result was a culture which felt itself to be separate from nature and also above it. In this view, the Christian injunction to subdue the earth could be completed. But at a heavy price. For the earlier cultures which animated nature (and made it in some sense holy or at least possessing intrinsic value) knew what they were doing. They retained access to a much richer symbolic world while also protecting their own long term well being.

The de-sacralisation of nature meant that all the world and its creatures were no longer special, no longer protected. Whales could be rendered down into oil and corset stays, whole forests could be burned or wood chipped, the atmosphere just became a sink for all the noxious products of human machine culture. The results are now obvious.

5 HAVING SUBSTITUTED FOR BEING

Depending upon how one views the world, commerce can be seen as a source of wealth or as a prolific source of misinformation about many things. Or both. Like instrumental rationality, commerce is not inherently bad. But its overextension is probably providing bad for the earth. The mercantile influence in modern cultures has become very powerful and in order to sell goods, the advertising industry uses all the tricks and manipulations available to it.

This would not be a serious problem if there were countervailing forces to keep it in check. But there is

This is an important point for we have good reason to believe that the cultural editing which has taken place via the industrial worldview has had a number of powerful consequences. We have come to view the world in certain ways we construe the world. But this is an historically unprecedented task. We simply don't know enough about how these processes work. (The drawback of the re-programming metaphor lies in precisely this kind of difference between two different orders of phenomena.)

Nevertheless, we can clarify some of the components identified above and look for others which may qualify to be included in a renewed worldview. For example:

- * a sense of temporal process embracing past, present and future
- * a more conscious and strategic use of time frames matching them appropriately to different activities
- * a commitment to the long term implementation of foresight
- * a global and systemic view
- * recognition of the rights of future generations
- * a recovery of participating consciousness
- * a revaluing of reflexive awareness and
- * a commitment to higher order human development

It is not clear to what extent a culture can consciously change its own editing processes. However, looking back at successful examples of systematic change (such as have been to some extent achieved by the environmental and women's movements), there is sufficient evidence to justify optimism. Change is possible when the time is right and the ideas involved are compelling enough to win wide support. This does not mean that all problems can be solved. Many will only be resolved when their deeper dimensions are more fully understood and more widely appreciated. Yet even now there are numerous ways ahead.

The kind of cultural editing which has occurred within Western cultures has either ignored or misrepresented the higher levels of a qualitatively differentiated world. It has made them appear mysterious or esoteric, the realm of gurus, mystics or charlatans. In fact, they are simply part of a wider pattern. Just as a clock is more than the sum of its parts and living organisms more than the sum of its cells, so the more highly evolved manifestations of human consciousness reach transcendent levels. Accounts of these processes

suggest very strongly that higher levels of awareness tend to be inclusive rather than exclusive. They reach out to broader spans of space and time and have therefore become essential in healing the planet, creating peace and moving toward new stages of civilized life.

Transcendent knowing occupies the highest level not because it is better, but because it is more highly differentiated. It does not involve a rejection of empiricism or rationality, but rather an understanding of where their appropriateness lies, of where they fit. In losing this scheme of vertical differentiation, our culture has cut itself off from some of the most potent sources of value and meaning. One result is that problems (of power ownership and conflicting interests) genuinely appear irresolvable. They are irresolvable in these terms. Yet lasting solutions can rapidly appear in a vertical movement which transcends and resolves lower level contradictions.

There is reason to believe that human consciousness is emergent from the pre-personal ground of undifferentiated oneness with nature. The present level of advanced mind is an enormous achievement. But the whole thrust of human development goes beyond this toward states of clarity and integration which have been foreshadowed by great spiritual leaders. The work of transpersonal psychologists, as well as the accumulated wisdom sometimes known as the Perennial Philosophy, also confirm that new worlds of significance lie beyond the mundane. Schumacher pointed out the necessity of there being within the knower something which was adequate to that which is to be known. He called this *adequatio*. It has become a collective necessity if we are to move beyond the industrial era.

It cannot be overemphasised that insight depends upon the richness of the structures that enable it. That is partly why a critical futures method is essential.

RE NEGOTIATING MEANINGS

The notion that words simply mean what they say and that texts embody a coherent experience or account of the world is a deeply held and comforting one. It is comforting because it preserves a simple view of language and meaning which naturalizes a common sense taken for granted view of the world. Yet like the boudaires they enshrine, the comforts of realism are illusory. They obscure the ideological character and uses of language and leave individuals open to mystification and exploitation. There is insufficient latitude here to permit the full flowering of human communicative ability and expressiveness. In order even to notice ideological and linguistic traps (let alone to penetrate the fog of misdirection and escape

them) it is essential to yield some degree of comfort and certainty. Yet in so doing, what is lost in narrowness and naivety can be gained in breadth and freedom to speak one's own word.

Traditional literacy criticism concentrated on understanding what the author meant and classifying his/her stylistic attributes according to pre-defined systems of taken-for-granted criteria. Today the writer occupies a less privileged position and texts have been said to provide an open framework for the construction of meanings. While this view may readily be overstated, the reader has become much less a passive observer and more an active participant in the communication process. The reader is fully capable of calling forth meaning, purpose, and intentionality from a range of sources including texts. While in practice some texts may be susceptible to only a limited range of interpretations, it is of course always possible for the reader to reject textual assumptions and claims, indeed to leap beyond them to quite new areas of concern. This is a very important point: knowledge is never finished and therefore meanings are always fluid and negotiable. The ramifications of this view are of great significance for people facing up to the apparent inevitability of socio-technical systems.

This is so because in presuming a more equal status between author and reader, an important principle can be established which applies equally to other contexts: advertisements, editorials, newscasts, political speeches, and images/projects of the future. The concept of text can be utilised as a metaphor and applied to cultures and traditions.

Contrary to received wisdom (if that is the right term), our present transition from industrial ways of life is not centrally a matter of economic and technical change. These features are notified and exaggerated by viewpoints founded upon or conditioned by instrumental reason. Opposed to this perspective (which stresses externalities) it seems to me that by understanding the present cultural transition not so much in terms of the external regulation or control of techniques and technologies, but as a transformative process involving breakdowns and renewals of meaning, we penetrate to the core of all our major concerns.

In a critical future view, those concerns are perennial. They relate to the essentially human process of constituting meaning, significance, purpose, and value. It follows that if individuals are free to reinterpret texts, they are also free to reinterpret inherited traditions and normative views of desirable futures. (In fact, we should doubt if they can do otherwise, since meanings are never simply copied, duplicated, taken over intact.) If there can be no final or authoritative

reading of history or futures, it follows that in principle each person has the same potential right of access to the crucial councils and commitments of the day. Those who so choose can therefore, without regard for social status or academic qualifications, participate in cultural reconstruction and renewal at a very fundamental level.

SOCIAL LEARNING AND SOCIAL INNOVATIONS

Social learning is always necessary when a society must adapt to changing conditions. Yet there is always a time lag between perception, decision-making, and response. In the present century, we have seen some highly effective group learning and innovations in areas like medicine, computing, and space exploration. Yet in the wider arenas of public policy, such as health, economics, and the environment, we have witnessed a string of long-term failures. These are multi-dimensional failures of understanding, imagination, vision, and response. Today our societies, environments, and children are more at risk from a variety of significant threats than ever before. Something is clearly very wrong with the social learning processes now in place. They are slow, ineffective, and non-systemic.

The central problem is that the present world has been shaped by ideologies and epistemologies which developed in an earlier, simpler age. Many of the standard assumptions, meanings, and practices which came together in what I have called the industrial world view, succeeded for a while in creating a civilization of enormous wealth and technical power. But at the same time, this cultural programming had serious defects. These defects are now showing up in all the major systemic difficulties which we are experiencing.

Social learning can take place at a number of levels and in a number of ways (Figure 3). Surface learning refers to changes which can take place regardless of underlying structures. Organizational learning refers to changes in patterns of human activity within organizations and groups. Deep learning refers to changes in cultural programming at the level of epistemologies, fundamental values, and ways of knowing. Social learning can occur informally through planned incrementalism or via what has been termed crisis learning. A further option is that of deliberate systemic change. However, it is not an easy approach to implement at the social/cultural level because the degree of understanding, consensus, and steering capacity are highly problematic in pluralistic contexts.

Figure 3
Social Innovations

Surface Learning	Bye helmets Speed bumps Credit cards	Play groups No fault divorce Safe sex
Organizational Learning	Health insurance Ethical investing Futures workshops	Strategic planning Neighbourhood watch schemes Publicly funded foresight institutions
Deep Learning	Universal suffrage Deep ecology Intergenerational ethics	Intrinsic value Post materialist economies Critical and epistemological futures study

The modern crisis of social learning is at least five fold

- 1 The world is too complex to be understood easily. This makes it very hard to achieve consensus.
- 2 The cultural programming now in use is defective in certain major respects (manifested for example in short-termism and lack of foresight capability). This means that major social formations (politics, economics, commerce, education, entertainment) tend to incorporate redundant principles.
- 3 Social and political leaders seldom have access to the necessary tools, understandings, or policy options. They are hamstrung by questionable pre-judgements, self-interest, and industrial era imperatives.
- 4 There are too few forums where social learning can be facilitated. The official organs of the state which could facilitate social learning (the judiciary, parliament, the church, etc.) are by and large still playing old games by old rules.
- 5 Diverse surrogate worlds intervene between individuals and the reality of the social/economic/ecological context in which they live. They have come to play a powerful role in shaping perceptions of the world. But they occupy the human nervous system in a closed and unproductive loop, exerting a mystifying effect which obscures major systemic problems.

Clearly there are no simple solutions to this mismatch between a deteriorating world picture and inadequate human responses. Yet social learning can be facilitated in many ways. Some possible responses include the following:

- * Expose the theoretical and applied defects of the

industrial world view

- * Pay careful attention to the critiques presented by marginal groups

- * Seek social support for necessary innovations

- * Highlight the critical role of social innovation and the role individuals can play in supporting it

- * Seek to re-write rules which are now unhelpful

- * Develop foresight capacity in many locations and link with long-term sustainable visions

- * Reconceptualise present dilemmas as opportunities for human and social inventiveness

Social learning is not something that can readily be imposed from above. It is more subtle and diffuse. However, some conditions for the acceptance of specific innovations may include the following:

- * Broad agreement of the necessity of the change

- * Appropriateness of the change to perceived needs

- * Practicality of the change

Social innovations are not limited to grandiose plans and schemes. The Institute for Social Innovations has collected many more modest examples. Yet the collective impact of many small, innovative changes could be significant in the long term.

Social learning will, in all likelihood, take place through each of the means noted here. Some will be directed, purposeful change; some will be incrementally achieved from the margins; and some will be crisis learning, which is driven by the social experience of disaster.

The latter cannot be avoided. But there is much that ordinary people can do to understand the shifts they are living through, find appropriate means of responding to them, and therefore participate in the task of cultural innovation and renewal.

AN AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

An agenda for the 21st century is needed now for the reasons outlined above. Intentional change takes time. It must be organized. The necessary resources must be found and deployed. Structures need to be created. Enterprises need time to develop and grow. Yet looking at the complexity of the world and the nature of deeply embedded dilemmas, one can easily feel overwhelmed. So again, it is helpful to identify some broad, clear headings around which we can organise some coherent responses.

1 REPAIRING THE DAMAGE

Given the enormous costs which the industrial system has exacted upon the world, repairing the damage has become a major imperative. There are very many areas and ecosystems which have been completely destroyed. Others have been severely compromised. Entire species of plants and animals have been lost. This dynamic of destruction must be replaced with a new dynamic of restoration. Hence there is scope for a series of new professions to develop from the confluence of ecological science and environmental activism.

In the next century, I would expect to see new communities devoted to ecological reconstruction springing up in formerly devastated areas around the world. Such communities will need to be government-funded. They will not be like the communes of the 1960s and 70s, simple refuges from urban society. They will contain people with a commitment to healing the earth and the means to do it. Taken together, these communities could become a powerful and constructive cultural force.

2 CREATING SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES

This will be harder, but it is also inevitable because a non-sustainable economy is just that. However, there are so many contradictions to resolve (such as advertising and consumerism) that will not be easy to resolve. Direct economies addicted to earlier modes of growth

Growth will need to be redefined. Resources will need to be revalued. The environment will need to be brought fully into all economic calculations (instead of being dismissed as an 'externality'). At a deeper

level, the ideologies and power systems which drive the technocratic machine will have to be challenged and replaced. Similarly, the time frames which are applied to human economic life will need to be reassessed. Most importantly, it will be necessary to escape from the chronic short-termism now common in business, governments, industry and education.

3 RELEASING THE POTENTIAL WITHIN PEOPLE

Some see this as the key to crucial renewal. For all persons have within them enormous capacities and powers which are hardly engaged in everyday life. Those who are able to locate their potential and to develop it have the ability to become constructive agents of change. The whole history of citizen action movements of innovators and social activists tells us that people can indeed be very powerful. When linked with the right ideas and proposals, this force is irresistible.

4 CREATING INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES OF FORESIGHT

Foresight is an essential capacity to deploy at the social level and in the public interest. It is not just a personal capacity; it needs to be implemented in very many locations and linked with public policy formulation and decision-making at all levels.

Enough examples exist from around the world to show how to implement foresight. These examples can be utilised to draw on the best work available. Foresight will be even more essential in the 21st century than at present. But since it will take time to create the institutional structures and to train the people who will carry it out, the job should be started without delay.

5 FINDING NEW PURPOSES AND MEANINGS

This is the culmination of critical futures work. It begins with the critique of what is wrong, redundant, no longer helpful in contemporary cultures. It proceeds to develop alternative ways of knowing and being. These alternatives thrive upon new purposes and meanings, examples of which have been given above.

The purposes and meanings which powered the social system over some two hundred years have created a world of contradictions. The process of selecting new purposes and meanings will not be an easy one, since powerful groups always have interests bound up in the way things were. Yet the delegitimation of redundant social principles and practices are overdue.

The process of legitimating and implementing more constructive alternatives will be the major task of the next century.

6 RE-INVENTING CULTURE THROUGH A RENEWED WORLDVIEW

The way we see the world dictates the way we use it. So the commitments embedded in the foundations of industrial culture need to be examined and where necessary transformed or discarded. A renewed worldview will retain notions of justice, equity and so on. But it will also include other elements such as sustainability, stewardship and a global long-term view.

I have suggested that such a culture can arise from the inner dynamic of higher order human capacities founded on wisdom. But the fact is that no one really knows. The culture that follows on from industrialism cannot be specified fully in advance. What is certain is that if the human race is to survive in a world worth living in, a world rich in other life forms, rich in resources, rich in human and non-human options, then it will be with a culture based on assumptions very different from those now operating.

TOWARDS A WISDOM CULTURE

There is a regrettable tendency to label eras with instrumental titles like 'the industrial age' or 'the information age' as if these technical terms identified the essence of a period. But this is nonsense. Why should technology or economics dominate an entire era? Why not use some desirable human quality instead? What might a culture be like which aspired toward a real substantive and applied wisdom? Such a culture might well begin with a more advanced model of what it means to be human (e.g. Homo Gestalt). But what of the wider society and its structure?

Figure 4 provides a view of a hierarchy of knowledge. In this account, DATA is raw information. It could be any statistic or fact, but is meaningless without a context. INFORMATION includes data and indicates what category the data refers to. However, note that MISINFORMATION can occur when information is filed in the wrong category or when individuals or groups deliberately use information to mislead. KNOWLEDGE is created from information and data. It creates humanly significant meaning from patterns, relationships and accumulated judgements. Finally, WISDOM is the process and the product of searching for higher order meaning and purpose. Wisdom goes beyond the instrumental questions of 'how to consider why?' Hence data, information and knowledge can be seen as stages on the path toward wisdom.

Wisdom emerges from sources as the following:

- * The study of history, patterns of causation, the role of human actors, etc.
- * The study and application of philosophies.
- * The practice of spiritual disciplines.
- * The human aspiration to create higher order understandings and realities.

What are the grounds for using a notion of wisdom culture in a future context? First, it supplies a rationale and a method for transcending (literally going beyond) the destructive conflicts of industrial culture and establishing a different dynamic for cultural development. Second, it represents a humanly compelling goal to aim for. The goal is quintessentially one which concerns human and social development. As such, it may begin to correct the present imbalance between these and our presently one-sided preoccupation with technical change and development. The loss of balance between the human and technical represents a major and continuing threat for all cultures. Third, the exploration of human possibilities

Figure 4
A Hierarchy of knowledge

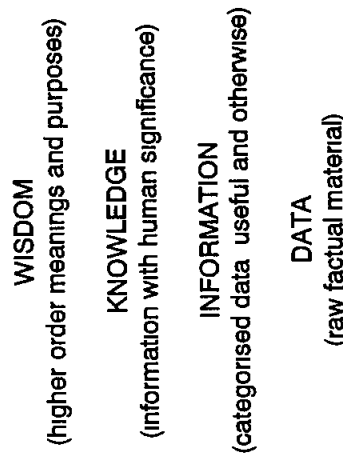


Figure 5
Aspects of a Wisdom Culture

Vivid understanding of common humanity
 Moves beyond roles based on race gender etc
 Balanced use of rationality and intuition
 Higher motivations re shape economic life
 Methods and institutions to foster growth of consciousness
 Education as a discipline in transcendence
 Technology as aid to transcendence not substitute
 Local differences set in context of universals
 All people and religions as one in spirit
 Governance depends upon mastery of the system at each level
 Body/mind/soul/spirit

After Wilber Up from Eden *A Transpersonal View of Human Evolution* London UK RKP 1983

lites at the peak of knowledge and experience reveals options for human and cultural development which are very difficult to reach from within an industrial worldview. Finally if a compelling view of a wisdom culture can be developed it may become a guiding image which positively encourages moves in that direction. Such an image would represent a more valuable contribution to culture than many of the more cognitive quantitative and professionalised contributions of professional futurists.

So what might a wisdom culture be like? Figure 5 gives one overview. Note that if one assumes the highest motives possible (instead of the basest) then many existing problems and dilemmas seem to vanish. This clearly suggests that the consequences of a vertical shift of consciousness can be intensely practical. However it is important to recognize that this is a very long term process! The reality of a wisdom culture could well take many centuries to achieve. But in the meantime it has enormous present day value as a goal a direction and a powerful contrast to cultures which have become dominated by technical systems.

It may be that wisdom culture or something very like it represents the only long term solution to the human metaphysical problem. For it will take the higher order imperatives of true wisdom to repair the earth reconceptualise the relations between people and people and attain a new balance between people and nature. It will take such wisdom to look beyond the instrumental (and finally disastrous) imperatives of faster farther away bigger more.

A wisdom culture inspired by the Perennial Tradition (ie the universal spiritual heritage of humankind) would be fully capable of articulating new meanings and purposes. This perhaps is the nearest we can approach to solving the human predicament. But such a view does not have important consequences

For example it means that our pre-occupation with tools and technologies may be diverting our attention from more vital possibilities. It also suggests that the present preoccupation with information industries and systems may be more of a passing phase than a lasting solution. Without being guides by higher order ethical norms information societies will remain crippled by some of the defective programming they have inherited from the industrial era.

CONCLUSION

A worldview is not like a machine to be broken down and acted upon as if it were an object. It is certainly intangible and our consciousness is interwoven with its structures. But this does not mean that we cannot reflect on it with clarity. Kekes provides us with a way of summarising the above argument. His outline is given in Figure 6 below.

From this outline we can see that the theories of the nature of reality that have driven the Western world over the last two or more centuries have become increasingly inadequate. In their place a more differentiated system oriented and holistic view is emerging. The anthropology which grows from this process diverges from the old view that humankind is separate from nature and possesses a transcendent right to exploit it. The new (or renewed) position is that humans are a self aware part of nature with the responsibility for protecting it and furthering the ends of life itself rather than the destructive and anthropocentric ends of abstracted technology or the industrial era.

The culture that emerges is one whose ideals are structured by a need and desire to re-sacralize the Earth and to live in harmony with it. The diagnosis is inherent in all the above: the faulty programming of cultural editing false promises of unlimited material

Figure 6
Components of a Worldview

A METAPHYSICS
 a theory of the nature of reality

AN ANTHROPOLOGY
 an account of the human significance of nature of reality

A CULTURE
 a system of ideals

A DIAGNOSIS
 an explanation of the discrepancy between the real and the ideal

A POLICY
 a program for overcoming or minimizing the discrepancy

Source: Kekes J. *The Nature of Philosophy* Blackwell UK 1980 p 59

wealth etc which were characteristic of scientific industrialism. The policy is emerging from a deep consensus generated by a congruence of insight in many cultures. One version was given above as an agenda for the 21st Century. While the surface details vary the underlying concerns are the same.

Life needs to be continually re-constituted within a changing reality. Our reality is of a world poised on the edge of great peril yet possessing many of the tools of understanding insight and action to choose a different destiny and steer toward more viable and fulfilling ends.

WENDY SCHULTZ

WORDS, DREAMS, AND ACTIONS SHARING THE FUTURES EXPERIENCE

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses several approaches to workshops and group activities which serve to draw people into the futures worldview. These exercises may be linked together in an extensive program of futures education or used as modules in different combinations as planning circumstances require. The conclusion briefly reviews different venues in which the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies has organized futures workshops and discusses the varying rates of success.

is the time to sort, prioritize, synthesize, and make anything approaching wise use of all that data. I am also discovering that I care less and less about philosophy, comparative analyses, empirical studies, and in short anything that smacks of being a neutral observer or that encourages the witty, theoretical gloss used merely to score rhetorical points. And I never have believed in being evangelically normative or prescriptive (except maybe a few gentle exhortations to encourage people to think more creatively about the future).

I do believe in active listening. I do believe in helping people dream, define their concerns, identify their problems, articulate their ideas, generate action plans, and COMMIT to those plans. I care about seeing people around me have a new idea, recognize a new opportunity, identify a different possibility. I enjoy offering that peak experience to others, and so I actively try to introduce as many people as possible to the futures perspective. In its workshop mode, the futures perspective offers people the opportunity for a peak creative experience. As a practitioner of the policy and planning sciences, I am especially concerned to share the creative futures experience with planners, legislators, judicial administrators, diplomats, non-governmental organizations, community interest groups, and school students.

The Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies has focused increasingly on the group exercises possible within two different formats: devising and exploring scenarios of alternative futures, and compiling and evaluating components of preferred futures. In designing futures workshops, the most basic goal is for participants to experience articulating their own ideas about the future. But it is fundamentally important that they do so in an arena where others are struggling to articulate theirs, and to experience negotiating the trade-offs among all those ideas. The next few paragraphs describe several variants on

1 INTRODUCTION

Words, words, words! I'm so sick of words. I hear words all day through first from him, then from you, is that all you blighters can do? (1)

I've long known that heat makes me cranky, so perhaps my irritability in this Catalan Indian summer heat wave has fomented my internal rebellion. Whatever the reason, I created a psychological watershed this morning and have wandered into a mental territory inhospitable to formal academic presentations. I don't believe in active talking anymore, nor in passive listening. If I could have figured out some group activity that only takes nine minutes, then I would have engaged you all in working with me to build something right now, instead of talking at you like this. Forgive me, I've failed you, and failed my own expectations. I have failed to explore and energize the creative and innovative resource this group represents.

I have ceased to believe in active talking. It's been said this is the age of infoglut, no kidding. We have more and better ways to deliver and store resounding amounts of data and information. What we don't have

futures labs that the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies has been refining and using over the past ten years and offers some examples of where why and how we have used them

2 STRUCTURED DAYDREAMING THREE MODELS FOR FUTURES WORKSHOPS

Basically we use variants of three different workshop exercises

Incasting visioning and backcasting Incasting developed primarily by James Dator is a form of deductive forecasting of alternative possible futures Visioning is an imaginative idealistic and normative process which aids people in explicitly articulating their preferred future Backcasting also known as Apollo forecasting or creating future histories bridges the gap between the events in a possible future usually a preferred future and the extended present it is a useful strategic planning tool Our formats and instruction sets for visioning and backcasting emerge primarily from previous work by Robert Jungk (2) and Elise Boulding (3) The following paragraphs describe our approach to each technique in greater detail and offer some examples

Incasting takes people on a comparative journey across several possible futures It requires moderate and equal amounts of logic imagination and intuition and is hampered by the idealistic and the normative An incasting exercise begins with three to five scenarios describing possible alternative futures This scenario are themselves the results of intermixing the logical extensions of impacts and cross impacts from specific emerging issues From these general descriptions of a future participants then logically deduce particulars specific details given a future in which nanotechnologies and bioengineering allow corporations to produce infinitely malleable mass market consumer goods what would chairs look like? What would 21st century chairs look like across an array of very different futures? How would educational systems differ between a high technology corporate future and a future characterized by increased spirituality and a focus on environmental stewardship? How would the concept of tourism differ across a green future a corporate future and a post environmental disaster post global depression future? What familiar social institutions would cease to exist? What new social institutions would need invention?

Facilitators implement this approach several ways With a small group facilitators begin by describing several futures the group then brainstorm the forms any single institution would take across the futures Group dynamics become awkward above a dozen with larger groups the exercise works better if several

smaller teams are formed Each team may then be assigned a single future for which each considers an identical set of questions Again the goal is to depict what form an institution or technology would take in the assigned future or how a particular critical issue would play out in the assigned future The only evaluative criterion at this point is internal logical consistency with the assumptions -either explicit or implicit of the assigned scenario Each team then reports back to the group as a whole and the participants are encouraged to evaluate and discuss the differences across the scenarios Groups are often most interested in incasting the possibilities for their own political critique incasting possibilities for specific marginalized subpopulations women children the physically or mentally handicapped the unemployed or at a more general level merely asking the teams to identify who in each scenario will find themselves economically or politically advantaged and who disadvantaged

Visioning is an exercise in structured idealism It requires wrenching one's common sense abilities away from the practical to indulge in daydreaming and wishing It not only assumes that can we create the future but also that a sufficiently inspiring vision of a preferred future motivates us to action Most simply it is an iterative brainstorming process relying heavily on imagination ideals and intuition Participants are asked first to state a handful of general characteristics for their most preferred future In the next round they perform a sort of idealistic incasting on the staple components of social reality in your preferred future what form will nation states take? Government? What will community social structures be like? How will people be educated? How will work be structured? How will goods be produced distributed and consumed? The next step takes participants further into the realm of fantasy asking them to consider the components of an individual's everyday reality describe a typical day in your preferred future begin from the moment you wake up and get out of bed and make sure to describe the bed and the bedding

This exercise has two primary goals one to create a richly descriptive image of a preferred future and two to get participants beyond the imaginative constraints of a purely practical yes but mindset Many people find it difficult to let go of the problem identifying and problem solving perspectives that work ingrains in all of us Often the best bridge to the ideal is a string of complaints most people know what it is about the present they do NOT like Consequently the psychologically natural opening exercise for a visioning workshop is a problem listing or catharsis stage in which participants list what they absolutely reject for their preferred futures Facilitators can then begin the statement of positive components by as

king people to restate the negatives as their opposites if cultural intolerance is the hallmark of a negative future the delight in cultural diversity may be a major component for the group's preferred future Another way to shift to the positive is to ask people what they have felt are their greatest recent successes either individually or organizationally This has the added benefit of reinforcing the belief that they can act positively to affect change

Backcasting is arguably the most difficult of these three activities either to do or to explain It simply means the creation of a future history a timeline that explains what events needed to occur for the future under discussion to emerge from the present we currently inhabit The simplest approach is for the group to consider the emerging trends implied by the given scenario brainstorm possible events related to those trends and then attempt to impose a plausible chronological order on the events list

A more rigorous approach asks for each characteristic or artifact of a given scenario what logical precursor needed to exist for this artifact to exist? And what logical precursor preceded the logical precursor? In short participants construct an effect and cause chain We often suggest five-year intervals between the events that is the links of the chain because we are most often dealing with social institutions which have fair inertia For scientific achievements or technological artifacts the links in the chain will probably be shorter Perhaps the best known example was the backcasting performed to design the Apollo program hence its other label Apollo forecasting As that example demonstrates this is the most obviously practical activity of the three described if the chain of precursor events is brought to within five or so years of the present participants can usually see a direct link to actions they could initiate within a week

Variants and combinations of these three techniques form the backbone of our workshop designs For introductory political science classes I frequently have students spend half an hour or so listing the characteristics of their preferred future then divide them into teams for incasting exercises across a range of possible alternative futures Afterwards they regroup and evaluate which of the possible alternatives they would prefer based on their preferred future characteristics

Interest groups and business are often most interested in articulating a mission statement or vision and developing strategies and programs to meet the goals the vision implies This often occurs in conjunction with a program evaluation or reassessment we have found that the tasks of listing current problems listing recent successes and then reversing the problem statements to create goals fit nicely with administra

tive perspectives while simultaneously widening the range of issues explored

Government agencies generally want both to plan for a wide range of contingencies and to establish some positive programs Furthermore such agencies often have extensive data collection programs and in a naive way may be attempting to monitor emerging issues If that is the case they have the input necessary to generate their own scenarios depicting possible futures across which they can incast possible outcomes of critical issues or policies Those possibilities may then be ranked for desirability in public hearings or by task forces The preferred future of the community as a whole may be aggregated by a series of such activities

3 DAYDREAM BELIEVERS FIVE EXAMPLES OF FUTURES WORKSHOPS

Over the past decade the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies has organized futures workshops in Hawaii on the mainland and in the Pacific Basin These workshops have involved a wide variety of participants including associations of credit union managers Girl Scouts state judiciaries and community groups The techniques described have also been included every semester for the past ten years in both graduate and undergraduate classes in the University of Hawaii Political Science Department

The following paragraphs summarize five of the most recent futures workshops organized and facilitated by staff from the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies Each case briefly touches on the following variables whether facilitators introduced futures studies generally giving an overview of critical emerging issues which techniques were used and how they were combined whether participants had previous experience with facilitated meetings whether the organizers/supervisors had participated in planning the workshop (had bought into the process) and whether HRCFS allocated sufficient resources (staff space time tear sheets/markers etc) for implementation

Micronesian Diplomatic Training Program In August and again in November of 1990 HRCFS designed and implemented a one day futures seminar for the Micronesian Diplomatic Training Program a week long activity sponsored by the U S State Department's Foreign Service Institute Participants included government officials from all the American affiliated Pacific Island nations While we included a futures briefing with an overview of emerging issues in both sessions we varied its proximity to the workshop exercises During August the futures briefing immediately preceded the futures workshop in

November the futures briefing was part of the program's introductory lectures the first day

For both sessions we begin the exercises by asking participants to describe changes within their islands in last thirty years. We then briefly reviewed emerging trends asking them what changes they see occurring right now. Following that we divided participants randomly into four groups assigned each group a different alternative future and asked them to incast the future of 1) the family 2) work 3) the economy 4) relations with other countries and 5) one other area of their own choosing. After each group reported back and we discussed these alternative scenarios we divided participants up by island group and asked them to describe the preferred future for their country. We finished the session by comparing the emerging trends the scenarios possible and what they wanted this sparked intense discussion on possible policy strategies.

These participants had moderate levels of experience with facilitated meetings as most of them were management level professionals. We had little difficulty translating the technique across Pacific culture conversational styles and body language. It did help to ask everyone to spend five minutes jotting ideas down before beginning brainstorming sessions as facilitators could then call on the terminally shy to read what they had written. That technique worked so well that we have since translated it back to our U.S. work. The Foreign Service organizers of the program were not involved in our design activities but were very pleased with the results and with the interest and excitement generated among the participants. We had perhaps too little support staff one person to present the overview and two facilitators. Given that there were only about sixteen participants however this proved sufficient if not ideal.

Health Promotion and Education Division (State of Hawaii Department of Health). This was a two day re-examination of division goals and mission a retreat featuring almost 100 people. A health professions facilitator was overall coordinator and he began the first day with a problems and strengths brainstorming session. This was followed by an emerging issues lecture after which the group broke for lunch. Luckily for the futures process the keynote speaker was Hawaii's Department of Health director Dr. John Lewin who is one of the most futures focussed and visionary speakers it has been my delight to hear. With the afternoon session we began a classic vision development workshop general statement of vision or goal for Healthy Hawaii 2020 then a segment focussed on describing the details of that preferred future moving backwards in time from the preferred to the present finally planning programs that would create that positive timeline.

The participants were divided into six random groups until the planning phase at which point division units met together.

This came close to defining disaster for me. We were working with a huge group of people and had only three trained futures facilitators and no trained recorders. The participants were mixed professional/administrative/clerical and while they perceived that as an interesting dynamic and a strength for us it meant that some people objected to lengthy instructions and other people did not understand what they were supposed to be doing. Design and planning was complicated by the fact that HRCFS was contracted late and had to explain/negotiate the process with the health facilitator (who was on the whole interested and accommodating).

Furthermore the division chief had not attended any of our planning sessions. She did not participate in the group exercises instead she drifted around watching over people's shoulders and generally made everyone involved feel we were an experiment under observation. In the middle of the first exercise she walked up to me in a panic and said "This isn't working. From my perspective it was so I asked her how she had expected it to work. I never got a clear response to that but she DID say she hoped we were not going to end by asking people to suggest first steps in programmatic terms and asking them to commit to those first steps. As that was exactly what we were planning I was appalled. She demanded a restructuring session at the end of the first day and laid all the responsibility on the health facilitator. Consequently the vision was never transformed into practical plans and people felt cheated. The two major flaws for this workshop were lack of interest and commitment on the part of the division chief and not enough support staff. We had to rotate three futures facilitators around six working groups.

Hawaii Teen Pregnancy and Parenting Council. If the previous case exemplifies disasters on a continuum of futures workshop experiences the vision workshop for the Hawaii Teen Pregnancy and Parenting Council was certainly the apotheosis. The HTPPC is a consortium of non profit public advocacy groups public agencies churches and interested professionals that serves as a clearinghouse and coordinating body for issues centered on teen pregnancy. Initially I was under the impression they merely wanted a neutral facilitator for a yearly action plan retreat. When we first met to discuss the agenda and I discovered they had renamed the activity an advance a delightful meeting of minds occurred.

We jointly replanned the day as a classic vision design workshop. Beginning with a brief introductory session and a playful warmup exercise we moved to

This conference also featured over a hundred participants and HRCFS through the Pacific Basin Development Council was only able to provide four staff members to support workshop activities. Of these only three had formal facilitation experience so facilitators rotated the first day through the five groups. On the second day an experienced science policy professional interested in the futures approach and experienced in facilitation lent a hand. While not an unqualified success neither was this conference a disaster. Participants particularly enjoyed the alternative futures incasting and some very good ideas emerged in both the visions and next steps workshops. The sea level rise exercise presented the most difficulty primarily because it is a very complex problem which is not amenable to problem solving within the space of an hour.

Office of State Planning (Office of the Governor State of Hawaii). This is the most ambitious project the HRCFS has initiated to date. It requires the full blown use of all the futures facilitation techniques starting from scratch with emerging issues from OSP's own environmental scanning program we designed a scenario construction workshop which uses cross impact matrices and iterative incasting to devise alternative possible futures. OSP's scanning project wished to learn how to write scenarios from emerging issues and wanted also to build a library of alternative images of the future related to their scanning activities.

OSP also wanted an example of how alternative future scenarios may be integrated into strategic planning thus we worked with them to devise a three phase process combining incasting with visioning. In the first phase critical economic public administrators and citizens. As part of these focus groups participants are also asked to identify the characteristics of their preferred economic future for Hawaii. The second phase was merged with the scenario construction workshops after the main components of each scenario were identified and described. Participants were asked to incast how the critical economic issues specified in phase one played out in the newly described scenarios. These alternative futures with their accompanying perspectives on the critical economic issues specified are then fed into phase three. Phase three begins by identifying a negative unthinkable future and reverses that to further refine the positive characteristics of ideal future expanding the characteristics already identified by interest groups in phase one. This preferred future is then used as a diagnostic to identify where across the possible futures policies could be used to ameliorate negative outcomes and encourage desirable outcomes. The phase three plenary ends with a next steps exercise to establish suggested policies and programs.

brainstorming a list of current problems. Old timers with the group then offered a brief oral history of HTPPC successes and using those as a bridge to optimism the group worked to reverse their negatives list to define positive characteristics for their preferred future. As a facilitator I suggested emerging issues that might provide new opportunities and probed for greater detail. We then split the group of thirty or so into four groups to further refine their preferred future. When the groups reported back we initiated a discussion which served as an informal check for agreement among the group lists. After lunch we worked to elaborate suggestions for immediate programs and the day ended with an initial attempt at synthesizing a vision/mission statement.

Almost all of these people had served as health psychological or vocational counselors and consequently the group as a whole featured huge resources in active listening facilitation and nominal group technique. I served more as a coordinator than a facilitator they self facilitated. The planning session with the advance executive committee had been intense and follow up was prompt and efficient. They provided the logistical support cannily scheduled it for a Friday and reserved the lanai of the Honolulu Yacht Club (sunny green and breezy) and had wisely told people to wear casual clothes and come with a playful attitude. We cheered each other at the end of the day.

Pacific Coastal Zone Management Conference. 91 Organizers of the 91 Pacific Basin Regional Coastal Zone Management Conference had requested input from HRCFS on injecting foresight vision and interactive creativity into their conference plans. Scattered throughout three days of more traditional paper presentations the American Samoa Coastal Zone Management program wished as hosts to include three of four workshops that promoted active discussion. Our design for them included two incasting workshops: 1) the first a classic incasting which divided people into five alternative future scenarios and asked them to describe the changed face of coastal zone management in each specific future. 2) the second a focussed incasting which considered two different sea level rise scenarios and asked them to imagine impacts and design possible governmental and programmatic responses. The last two workshops were brief forays into vision design for coastal zone management programs and a next steps exercise.

All of the participants were coastal zone/environmental management professionals experience with facilitated brainstorming was distributed unevenly. Conference organizers had been intensely involved with workshops planning discussing combinations of potential exercises and reviewing instruction sheets.

This design emerged out of plans to add scenario construction to the scanning project's abilities. The strategic planning process was already in train when the futures component was coupled to it. Consequently OSP had already hired a facilitation consultant to organize the phase one focus groups. The combined project support for phase two meant a luxurious amount of support staff for the scenario design exercises. A trained facilitator and recorder for each of four groups of eight or so participants. That workshop held in one afternoon went well according to schedule and produced four very diverse scenarios as intended. Phase three, the scenario/vision integration, has not yet been implemented. It will involve over sixty-five people and due to budget constraints we are understaffed. Consequently we will probably have to run a facilitation training session for volunteers from the OSP staff. Furthermore, there is not enough time in a one-day plenary to review possible emerging issues, which usually helps jar people out of their present-day mindset.

In terms of contact with the organizers, we have held numerous meetings to wrestle with perspective approach, possible products, format, and schedule. These meetings have included both scanning and strategic planning staff, but mid-management and strategic planning only. Nonetheless, the division head supervising scanning appears to have a nice sense of process ownership, as she has (sight unseen and plans unheard) made presentations on the overall process at national planning conferences. A true test of the practical usefulness of this imaginative

technique to policy makers and planners will be the reception of the final project report by Hawaii's state planning director. We'll keep you posted.

4 CONCLUSION

As a whole, the exercises described enable people to state their fears and articulate their hopes, to consider a wide range of possible changes and build alternative future scenarios based on those possibilities. To evaluate critically the opportunities and constraints offered by alternative futures and finally to construct a preferred future and develop strategies to achieve it. In combination, these group activities enable people to exercise creativity, flexibility, and adaptiveness in the face of the future.

NOTES

- 1 Lyrics from the song "Show Me" musical "My Fair Lady" Lerner and Loewe
- 2 Jungk Robert and Mullert Norbert. "Future Works Hops: How to Create Desirable Futures." London: Institute for Social Inventions, 1987. 123 pages.
- 3 Boulding, Elise and Ziegler, Warren. "Imagining the Future as a World Without Weapons." a workshop handbook.

CONCLUSION

ANTONIO ALONSO CONCHEIRO

WHAT WE/I HAVE LEARNED

I will begin by stressing that what follows is nothing more than a collection of personal reflections on our Conference. It is not an attempt to summarize a week of intense intellectual stimulus gratefully received from all of you. Attempting a summary would go against the spirit of our gathering. What I submit to you is only a humble and respectful set of some of my individual perceptions on what I have struggled to learn. If any of you feels misinterpreted by my remarks, I apologize in all modesty and a priori accept whatever blame I must take and suffer. Wherever you think I am being critical, please accept that my intention is not to offend but to share. Here rivers flowed everywhere. I can only offer you a vision of how a few mainstreams looked from my side of the waters. I do not claim objectivity for I have my own burden of culture. I do claim sincerity and good intentions.

As a start, let us think about the four concepts which were (or should have been) the fundamental concern of our deliberations: Democracy, participation, challenges and future. The title of our Conference contains these four words. Reading it, the first thing that it suggests to me is that although it may be a non-easy task, we should imagine possible present and future alternatives to turn challenges into opportunities in order to advance democracy and participation. I think I will not be off the target if I take it for certain that what was meant is that democracy and participation were undisputably taken by all of us as good, pursuable concepts, ideas lying on unquestionable grounds. Advancing them, furthering them, could not be but good news. Without attempting to pass a value judgement on this assumption, I can safely say that one of the first things I learned is that the bad news is we do not all mean the same things by democracy and participation. From what I heard, these two concepts are culturally and ideologically determined and unavoidably they are value charged. Without further precisions and a more rigorous treatment, we could totally agree or completely disagree with any single statement made about them, due to our cultural and ideological interpretations or misinterpretations of these terms. And this more rigorous analysis was absent from our debates.

The prevailing paradigm it seemed to me was a reference to them as entities which exclusively belong to the political sphere. Moreover, within this paradigm, in a more limited sense, as governance procedures characterized by a set of (fundamental) rules establishing who is authorized to make decisions in the name of the collectivity and the procedures under which this is to be done. In particular, the advancement of democracy tended to be interpreted mainly (unfortunately) as a progressive increase in the number of those who have the right to vote and may be even in structures where options solely mean choice between parties in elections. Because of the diversity of composition of our meeting, I here learned that although this may be the dominant interpretation (perhaps due to misrepresentation), it is not the only one possible. Equating democracy and participation with voting within existing formal structures is a very limiting conception prevailing mostly in the so-called developed Western world.

Within this paradigm, it was frequently recognized that this kind of democracy has shown in practice limitations, imperfections, some have called them. However, no matter how imperfect this kind of democracy is, I seem to have read it is the best we can do and we should therefore adopt it and expand it while at the same time improving it and perfecting it. Gradual accommodation and not radical change as the underlying assumption for the future. More of it, but better. Is that the best our imagination reservoir as students of the future can do? I, for one, refuse to believe it. Some of you pointed at trends of participation withdrawal from the existing formal structures. In his opening welcoming address, Félix Martí reminded us I quote of the ageing of the formulas inven

uted us I quote of the ageing of the formulas inven

ted during the nineteenth century which still govern the practices of the democratic control of power in our age. In the working groups the role of civil society and organizations outside of the accepted formal political structures was certainly discussed although still as fringe movements. Our frame of mind was still mostly fixed on these ageing formulas most of the time. Perhaps it was not here at the Conference where a stretching of our imagination had to be done. But what I think I learned is that such an exercise has to be done and is urgently needed.

During the discussions attempts were made to include other spheres of life and not only the political formal structures into the debate. The meaning and interpretation of democracy and participation in these other realms was still however in my reading in reference to what they could bring to the political arena. In my opinion much more should have been said about poverty and economic marginalization which gravely and negatively affect participation and democracy both within nation states less or more developed as much as between nation states. At a global scale the economic distance or gulf and even ocean as some would say to emphasize the importance of its size between individuals and nations has been and still is increasing and not decreasing. The debt problem has reversed capital flows from South and North and it has not been solved as yet. The trends for the future do not seem to point to a greater participation by the poor in the international market not to a more democratic allocation of relative prices to balance the unequal benefits the richer countries seem to appropriate to themselves in their exchanges with the poorer countries. Within nation states an unequal distribution of wealth prevailing in most countries but particularly in the less economically developed is obviously a tall barrier to participation and a serious obstacle to democracy however loosely we interpret the term. Whatever happens in the futures of democracy and participation will be inexorably linked to whatever happens in the future in the economic field. It is clear that transnational firms have today an important role in the decision making processes. No one would deny I hope that they do influence the national economies and the national political processes. Some even claim that their role in the making of our global futures will increase substantially. If this is so have we devoted enough thought to them in our deliberations on democracy and participation?

What I have just said about the economic arena could equally be applied in my view to other spheres of human life. How democratic and participatory are our basic social institutions such as the family the educational system the firms the trade unions? Can we advance democracy and participation in the strict political sense without advancing democracy and

participation in these other structures?

Probably one of my many misreadings of our discussions is that by advancing democracy and participation we have mainly thought in geographical terms rather than in qualitative terms advancing democracy and participation has meant introducing or expanding present democratic and participatory practices in more parts of the world rather than upgrading the quality of participation and democracy in all parts of the world. Thus maybe our enjoyment for the opening of possibilities in Eastern Europe (still very much the center of concern in this conference to the exclusion of what is happening in other regions for example in Central America) and our concern for what might hinder the advancement of democracy and participation there. Thus maybe our welcoming of a future with more independent and autonomous nation states taking independence as a positive sign for democracy and participation. However I must thank a dear new friend for pointing out the dangers of confusing nationalism and democracy. The new nationalisms not only exclude non nationals from participating thus reducing global democracy but often mean depriving them from some basic human right. I thank her for teaching me to think beyond naive images.

Our duality in our value systems and measuring sticks when thinking locally within national boundaries new or old and when dealing with global world participation and democracy was clear to me. Move towards self reliance and self determination are welcomed at least if they mean what we believe is a movement towards systems similar to ours. Local national impositions and authoritarianism are almost universally condemned. But with regards to the international situation we seem to have found different sets of justifications for non participation. We did not wonder that the establishment and use of vetoing procedures in international bodies are undemocratic. It is not the watchful eye of big brothers deciding who can or cannot have nukes which will advance global democracy and peace but the abolition of all nukes and other mass destruction weapons by all parties. There can be no grounds for international armed intervention not even the much used childish national security justifications. The mere existence of exclusive clubs of privileged parties whether it is the economic and political group of 7 or the group of 8 is by itself a limiting factor in global participation. It is not by protecting the self interest of the few that we will advance global democracy but by respecting and actively tolerating all the non us. The very same nations that were repeatedly mentioned here as paradigms and examples of democratic behavior within their borders have been and still are (although by different means) exercising colonial rights

altruism. Robert Junk altered our pace. The means were all important. The ends in the final tenure human happiness for all were secondary. Participation for the sake of participation with no concern for the goals. Democracy even if that means oppression for many. Nevertheless progress can be made when the exchange of points of view is not closed. And I am certain that we will remember our differences and our agreements and end up by working out a future where democracy and participation will have more in common for us all and will be more advanced both in quantity and in quality.

All opening sessions are happy welcoming occasions. We are thrilled by hellos and the prospects for new lasting friendships. All closing sessions are the opposite sad occasions for goodbyes. But every ending is a prologue and we will all be looking forward to a new welcoming perhaps the new opening ceremony in Helsinki for our 13th World Conference or even before if possible. Until my now fully developed addiction to the intellectual stimulus provided by the thoughts and ideas of all of you can be satisfied again please retain my heart and best wishes in your memory for certainly this meeting here in warm Barcelona warm by temperature and by the generosity of everyone of our hosts including those we met in the street has been a most memorable occasion.

My best wishes and my deepest gratitude to you all

(Presented at the closing session of the XII WFSF Conference)

It is now time to review our attitudes and low level of tolerance for those with different systems of meanings and ways of lives from ours. Otherwise in the future we will still be justifying undemocratic international behaviours in the name of preventing what we from our own ethnocentric values and ideologies judge as undemocratic. Jim Dator told us at our first session that democracy was a balance between freedom and order. I guess what I am trying to say is that what this balance is and what freedom and order mean have to be defined and interpreted dynamically and with the participation of all. The global international situation is far from satisfactory.

Our measures of success in achieving democracy and participation can no longer be measured by our proximity or distance to the western rich countries. In the future cultural diversity will have to mean respect and tolerance for a diversity of solutions. Cuba has been branded here by some as a prototype of an authoritarian regime. I do not want to and I do not have to defend this regime or any other for that matter. But when comparing it on the whole with other so-called democratic regimes of Latin America it would be wise to remain silent and humble.

To end up this few chaotic thoughts let me share with you my astonishment at the very few times that solidarity altruism co operation and other terms of the same nature were mentioned during our week of deliberations. Individualism liberalism efficiency representation etc were far more frequent. Not even the extremely well deserved prize given by our Finnish colleagues to our young example of pure