

## Research and Publishing Centre on Europe Third World Relations

### EDITORIAL

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Social Development took place in Geneva from 26 June to 1<sup>st</sup> July at the same time as the "Geneva 2000" Forum, which was supported by the Swiss Government. During the Forum the specialised agencies of the United Nations, NGOs, governments and the financial institutions organised numerous conferences. Collaborating with the Association of American Jurists (AAJ), the International League for the Rights and Liberation of People (LIDLIP) and the International League of Women for Peace and Liberty (WILPF), CETIM took active part in both the Summit and Forum.

In this special issue of the Bulletin, we comment on the extremely lukewarm results achieved in world social development during five years since Copenhagen and on the questionable circumstances of the gathering in Geneva. We provide summaries of the three conferences that we organised within the framework of the "Geneva 2000". We feature the joint NGO press release on the report that the UN Secretary General has prepared in collaboration with the Bretton Woods institutions and the OECD. We also print the NGO Declaration on Social Development that CETIM endorsed.

We include to the mailing of this Bulletin, a brochure entitled "Globalisation and Alternatives", which is a compilation of articles by Messrs. Samir Amin and François Houtart, who offer their views on the underlying reasons for the catastrophic results in social development. Apart from criticising the current model of "development", the two authors propose some avenues for reflection on possible alternatives to the dominant neo-liberal school of thought.

### **The Geneva Summit Continues to Steer the Neo-liberal Course for Social Development in the World**

*Published in Le Courier, 17 July 2000.*

Under the title of "World Summit for Social Development and Beyond: Social Development For All At The Time of Globalisation", the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly tasked with the follow-up to the Copenhagen Summit (1995) took place in Geneva from 26 June - 1<sup>st</sup> July 2000.

In spite of the almost unanimous recognition that social conditions in the world are disastrous, aggravated by the negative effects of globalisation, government delegations at the Conference endorsed the course of neo-liberalism that had already been charted out in the final Copenhagen document.

In fact, in the final text of the Geneva Declaration, neo-liberalism - that is the flexibility in the labour market and the entry of countries "in transition" into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) - is reaffirmed as the way to achieving social development. Yet, it is free trade and, more generally the

neo-liberal policies applied that are in great part responsible for the insecure condition of millions of the world's population. On the issue of the foreign debt and structural adjustment programs (SAPs), no concrete solutions were proposed by the conference, except for a few recommendations to the Bretton Woods Institutions (International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) calling upon them to collaborate with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to "*find ways to reduce the negative impact of the SAPs*", and also to relief the debt of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries, known as the HIPC initiative.

This prompts us to ask three questions with regard to the promises made in the final Declaration: First, on the halving of poverty by 2015; secondly, on the reassurance of the rich countries that they would allocate 0.7% of their Gross National Product (GNP) to development aid and, finally, on the "urgent" fight against HIV/AIDS, by facilitating access to affordable drugs. On the first promise, the United Nations had already set 2006 as the target date for the eradication of poverty. The "survivors" should therefore wait patiently until 2015 to "benefit" from the neo-liberal policies.

Regarding the second promise, in the early 70s the United Nations had set the target of 0.7% as the percentage to be allocated for development aid. To date this promise has not been respected (with the exception of four countries: Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands), not to mention the fact that in recent years there has been a dramatic reduction in overseas development aid. Moreover, the content and true effectiveness of these measures are questionable when the relationship between world production and trade are not challenged. On this issue, the stand of most rich countries, particularly the United States, is clear: they favour trade over development co-operation.

As to the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the United Nations tasked the World Health Organisation to develop appropriate programs when transnational corporations, who look only for maximum profits for their shareholders, dominate the pharmaceutical market.

### **A Programmed Setback**

The Geneva declaration merely persists on the course of neo-liberalism, whereas in 1995 already some one thousand non-governmental organisations attending the Copenhagen Social Summit, had predicted its failure by declaring <sup>1</sup>: "*While some progress has been achieved on some essential issues during the discussions, we believe that the economic framework of the draft is basically in contradiction with the main objectives of fair and sustainable social development. The over-reliance the document places in unpredictable 'open and free market forces' as a basis for national and international economies worsens rather than alleviates the current global crisis. These false premises threaten the realisation of the Social Summit's goals.*"

How then to explain the fact that the governments persist on

<sup>1</sup> Alternative Declaration in Copenhagen

this course when they themselves recognise the negative effects of globalisation? Voluntarily giving up their regulatory role, States show little concern for their citizens, abandoning them to the mercy of the powerful transnational corporations. The outcome of the Geneva Summit very clearly indicated that neither representatives of the non-governmental organisations calling for debt relief and denouncing international trade relations favourable only to the powerful, nor some delegates of the Southern countries (who denounced a type of globalisation that was handicapping their economies) were the ones heard. More likely it was the all-powerful representative of International Chamber of Commerce who was listened to. Taking the floor as a non-governmental organisation, the International Chamber of Commerce declared that: “States must guarantee the free flow of investment and of capital and respect intellectual property rights.”<sup>2</sup>

### A Rhinoceros Crashing into a Wall

This position is well reflected elsewhere in the statement of Mr. Poul Nilson, the European Commissioner, during an interview with the *Libre Belgique*, on the signing of a new “partnership” agreement between the European Union and the African countries (APC). Mr. Nilson said that “today, the South resembles a rhinoceros charging full force against a concrete wall, the wall of ‘globalisation’. Do nothing, and it will crash into the wall. The purpose of the EU-APC agreement is to transform this enormous rhino into a herd of gazelles, some of whom will be crushed against the wall, and unfortunately it is the price to pay so that the lions have sufficient to eat in order to survive – it is what we call the reality of the market. But, many other gazelles will be sufficiently agile to go around the wall or jump over it.”

The report that Mr. Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General, has prepared in collaboration with the Bretton Woods Institutions and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and which was presented at the Social Summit, marks a new stage in the use and infiltration of these institutions by the business world. Without going into the details, the report, contrary to its title “A Better World for All” offers no concrete solutions to “poverty” apart from giving some statistics. Should we be reminded of the harmful role that these financial institutions played in creating the catastrophic conditions that a major segment of the world’s populations today live?

The real motivation behind this report was revealed by the UNDP Administrator, Mr Marc Malloch-Brown when stating: “The report was instigated by a request of the G7, which wanted to have at its yearly meetings the means to evaluate the progress made in realising the objectives of development (...) When witnessing the inadequate participation of heads of States of developed countries at this Conference, one can understand that a report of this nature, allowing comparative evaluation, would be a useful tool.”<sup>4</sup>

### The UNDP Consultant

The UNDP Administrator, formerly a high ranking official of the World Bank, also informs us of the new trends in his Organisation<sup>3</sup>. Taking advantage of the “trust” and “close

rapport” that it maintains with different countries, UNDP will serve as a “consultant” and “adviser” to the Governments in order to help them to better “manage their new private sector.”<sup>4</sup>

By dominating the United Nations, the transnational corporations (TNCs) want to keep it from criticising the damage caused by neo-liberal globalisation and from slowing down initiatives for market “take over”. At the same time, they want to take full advantage of UNDP’s experience and infrastructure as well as its unique reputation as a world organisation. The efforts of the TNCs in this direction will be crowned with success on July 25, 2000 when there will be a launching of the partnership between UN and the TNCs, known as the “Global Compact”.

In conclusion, one does not have to be a prophet to see that the social situation of the world will worsen in the years to come unless there is a significant change in the political will.



I am hungry! BRAVO, it is good when civil society participates!

## Summaries of the Conferences during the Social Summit

### GLOBALISATION AND ALTERNATIVES

#### Balance Sheet and Perspectives of Social Development

Panellists: Mr. Samir Amin Director of the Third World Forum and the President of the World Forum of Alternatives; and Mr. François Houtart Professor of the Catholic University of Louvain-La Neuve, Director of the Tricontinental Centre – CETRI and the Alternatives Sud Review and President of LIDLIP.

Mr. Samir Amin underscored the fact that the neo-liberal approach to globalisation will collapse, and with it there is the risk of conditions worsening. The degradation of the working class is a strategy to increase the profitability of capital. Left wing movements have an enormous responsibility to understand the current trend and provide appropriate solutions.

The current crisis is very similar to the one experienced at the end of the nineteenth century: a crisis of productive capital, the emergence of new technologies, and the surrender of social democracy. The “Belle Epoque” sung by the privileged was one of the harshest for the governed classes. It lasted no more than fifteen years, before leading to two of the most violent inter-imperialistic clashes and ending by the crushing of fascism. The regulation of capitalism after the Second World War gave rise to unequalled growth. The neo-liberal period came about when the regulatory models weakened and the Berlin Wall fell, and has caused a cascade of crises.

<sup>2</sup> Speech delivered by Mr. Ashraf Tabani, representing the International Chamber of Commerce and the International Organisation of Employers, on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2000 during the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

<sup>4</sup> SG/SM/192 of 26 June 2000 transcript of press conference given by Mr. Kofi Annan, heads of the UN specialised agencies, and heads of the international financial institutions (notably, IMF, World Bank and the OECD)

<sup>3</sup> UNDP’s original mandate consisted of developing and supporting development programs, particularly in the Southern countries.

<sup>4</sup> From “Le Temps” newspaper of 29<sup>th</sup> June, 2000

The difference between the current situation, as explosive as it may be, and that which prevailed at the end of the last century is that the imperialistic system was based on the *export of capital* whilst today it is the United States of America that absorbs the resources, living off a *parasite economy*, and with a considerable deficit. This economic leadership is paralleled by military power. We saw it in Yugoslavia. European and Japanese ruling classes played the U.S. game.

It is vital to find some alternatives.

Mr. François Houtart noted that the first step to take was to refuse to recognise the “legitimacy” of the capitalist system because of its economic ineffectiveness to provide the material bases for the physical and cultural life of all mankind. Today there exist two major schools of thought on possible alternatives. First, neo-Keynesianism which proposes regulating the economic system in order to thwart its negative effects and abuses. Secondly, post-capitalism, which states that it is the logic of the system itself that should be attacked, and as such, its objective is to replace capitalism.

In order to formulate alternatives, it is important to analyse the realities, particularly the one of the market, in terms of social relationships. The market is in fact a social product and not the result of a natural law. The proposed alternatives are at differing stages of formulation. The first stage is *utopia*, that is to say: what kind of society do we want to construct? A necessary and concrete *ideal society*, constructed collectively and permanently.

The second stage is *the middle range*, with general achievable objectives, that can basically be expressed in economic terms (the reorganisation of the systems of production, another modulation of trade and exchange; the regrouping of regions, eco-development alternatives, etc; and in political terms: strengthening the power of government over economics, reorienting the United Nations, setting up regulatory organisations at all levels in the economic, ecological and democratic fields, etc). Finally, the *short range* corresponds to all the regulatory measures in the economic, ecological, social, political and cultural fields where the two preceding schools of thought can act together, at the practical level, whilst all the same diverging from their philosophies.

The way to succeed is to mobilise global resistance and struggle, which is supported by the development of theoretical thinking and mutual sharing of information, and to influence the field of international law.

### CIVIL SOCIETY: THE ARENA OF SOCIAL STRUGGLES

*Panellists: François Houtart Professor of the Catholic University of Louvain-La Neuve, Director of the Tricontinental Centre – CETRI and the Alternatives Sud Review and President of LIDLIP and Alejandro Teitelbaum Permanent representative of the American Association of Lawyers (AAJ) to the United Nations offices in Geneva.*

Mr. Houtart stressed that there was *great confusion* regarding the concept of civil society: starting with NGOs who claimed a special place in it right up to the market stakeholders who saw it in terms of the business world against the State. It was therefore important to trace the history of the concept.

The concept was born in the XVI century at the time of the classical Renaissance theories. Its first interpretation was to make the distinction between primitive society (irrational and unorganised) and civil society (civilised), meaning the State. Later, the second interpretation opposed civil society to

political society, or to the State (Rousseau, Hegel).

The history of the concept demonstrates that it is a reflection of the need of the new social class, the bourgeoisie, to construct a concept in line with its social position. With the birth of the working class, as a result of industrialisation, another school of thought came into existence, that of Marxist analysis, which underscored the importance of economic relations but hardly used the concept of civil society when developing the one on the social classes.

The neo-liberal school of thought took up the concept by applying it to the economic field of free enterprise and to the numerous private initiatives that mark out the areas of “residual” poverty that were the inevitable outcome of market adjustments.

It is therefore necessary to *reconstruct the concept* and there are many ways of doing so. The *non-Analytical* conceptualisation leads to an angelic vision of civil society: encompassing all institutions and persons wanting to do good, namely citizen’s organisations, solidarity and community groups, women’s organisations, NGOs, and professional organisations, etc. It is a third sector, coming between the market and the State, that can reorient the action of one or the other to the benefit of the most disadvantaged groups of society.

The concept of the bourgeoisie, both in its neo-liberal form and in its neo-classical one (accepting the State as the regulator) gives importance to organisations of civil society in their role as the institutional channels of society’s liberal projects and as a remedy for its mistakes and excesses.

Lastly, there is an *analytical* definition of civil society, which differentiates between the top and bottom strata of society taking into account unequal social relations. To adopt it is already a political act since such an analysis reveals the logic of the system. Civil society is therefore the place for social struggle as currently the market shapes it. Thus the term cannot be considered as unequivocal, neither socially nor politically. The call made by the World Bank, IMF and WTO for NGO participation is an attempt to use them to promote the neo-liberal agenda.

### MODIFICATION OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

#### Impact of Neo-liberal Policies on Western Societies

*Panellist: Loïc Wacquant University of California-Berkeley and Centre de sociologie européenne du Collège de France*

Virulent denunciations of “urban violence,” intensified surveillance of so-called problem neighbourhoods, increased expressions of youth delinquency, harassment of the homeless and immigrants, curfews and “zero tolerance,” continual growth of the prison population, the deregulation and privatisation of crime-related services, the punitive monitoring of recipients of public assistance: throughout Europe, governments are surrendering to the temptation to rely on police and penitentiary institutions to stem the disorders generated by mass unemployment, the imposition of precarious wage labour, and the shrinking of social protection.

This conference retraces how this new punitive common sense” was forged in America by a network of neo-conservative think tanks as a weapon in the war against the welfare state before being exported to Europe and the rest of the world, alongside the neo-liberal economic ideology which it translates and applies into the realm of “justice”.

And it shows how the transition from the social state to the

penal state, spearheaded by the U.S. turns to mass incarceration as anti-poverty policy, portends the advent of a *new government of misery* wedding the invisible hand of the deregulated labour market to the iron fist of an intrusive and omnipresent punitive apparatus.

A *neo-liberal punitive doxa* composed of a set of notions and measures aimed at criminalising poverty and thereby normalising insecure wage work was incubated in America and is being internationalised, indeed globalised. Three operations are distinguished in the transatlantic diffusion of this new doxa on “security”: (i) the gestation and dissemination, by American think tanks and their allies in the bureaucratic and journalistic fields, of terms, theses, mottoes and measures (“zero tolerance,” “broken windows theory,” community policing, curfews, the erosion of the juridical boundary between minors and adults, imprisonment of repeat-offender youths, deregulation and privatisation, “prison works”) that converge to penalise social insecurity and its consequences; (ii) their borrowing, through a work of adaptation to the national cultural idiom and state tradition, by the officials of the different receiving countries; (iii) the “academicisation” of the categories of neo-liberal understanding by pseudo-social research that serves to ratify the abdication of the social and economic state and to legitimise the bolstering of the penal state.

The “upsizing” of the penal component of the United States is causally and functionally related to the downsizing” of its welfare component in the post-Keynesian age. Both partake of the advent of “liberal paternalism,” which places the hypertrophied carceral system at the core of the emerging apparatus for the government of poverty, at the crossroads of the (1) deregulated low-wage labour market, (2) a revamped welfare/workfare system designed to buttress casual employment, and (3) the ghetto as instrument of racial control.

Several trends that converge to constitute, as it were, a “European road” to the penal management of poverty and inequality, one characterised by the *conjoint* intensification of *both social-welfare and penal interventions* (rather than the substitution of the one for the other, as in the United States): the rise of incarceration rates among most member countries of the European Union since the economic turnabout of the mid-seventies; the massive over-representation, within the inmate population, of the most precarious segments of the working class, such as the unemployed, of non-European immigrants, and of drug addicts; the hardening of penal policies, more openly turned towards incapacitation as against rehabilitation (as indicated for instance in the “normalisation” of criminal justice policies and doctrines in the Netherlands); and in the persistent overcrowding of carceral establishments which effectively reduces imprisonment to its function of warehousing of the undesirable.

Recent shifts in public discourses on urban disorder, especially marked among socialist and social-democratic officials, betray a similar drift towards a police-and-prison treatment of poverty and other dislocations which, paradoxically, stem from having amputated state capacity for social and economic intervention.

### Joint NGO Statement at the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Social Development

The documented titled “**Statement on social and economic development, the struggle against marginalisation, discrimination, the environment, the eradication of poverty, and the production of food**”, was drafted by a group

of NGOs. CETIM took part in developing the first section of the document on economic and social development. The following is the text of statement which was adopted by consensus and signed by 30 NGOs holding consultative status with the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC).

The CETIM representative delivered a summary of the statement during the plenary session of the UN General Assembly meeting.

Concerned by the lack of progress made in the implementation of the commitments that were made five years ago at Copenhagen, the NGOs wanted to bring to the limelight certain aspects of the deplorable state of the world that to a large extent is due to the neo-liberal policies in place for the past 25 years. These policies favoured the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a small minority.

The policies carried out and encouraged by the Bretton Woods institutions and the World Trade Organisation have caused economic and social disasters in most Southern countries. It is time to put into question the neo-liberal economic system. It is this system that favours the monopolies of transnational corporations (TNCs) concerning technology, free financial flows, access to natural resources world-wide, control of means of information and telecommunication.



Sorry, we don't deal in politics here!

◀ To change this trend without renegotiating the commitments (notably 1 and 3) made in Copenhagen; we submit the following recommendations:

- 1) The centrality of social development and the human well-being to economic policy-making should not only be reaffirmed but should have a more vigorous commitment to a people-centred development to be achieved through social integration, poverty eradication, employment growth and gender equity;
- 2) Renew a strong commitment to the time-bound targets of poverty eradication by 2006;
- 3) Establish political, democratic and citizenship control over all economic and international trade agreements;
- 4) Implement an economic policy based on, social, economic, cultural and environmental criteria and not only on macro-economic indicators (rate of growth, inflation, balance of payment, exchange rates, etc.) as its is practised today. This policy should respect fundamental rights of human beings, gender equality and equity and justices at national and international levels;
- 5) Implement fully the ILO Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at work as a key element to the creation of a enabling environment for social development and to the formulation of respect of workers rights, including the prohibition of forced labour and child labour, freedom to form

trade unions and bargain collectively; the right of women and men to equal pay for work of equal value and non-discrimination in employment in order to achieve truly sustainable economic growth and development;

6) Undertake audits within the framework of the United Nations as to the legitimacy of credits advanced, the identity and responsibilities of debtors and creditors, and in second place, to the origin of the debts. This will underpin the ethical aspect of economic behaviour on the agenda and enable a fuller understanding of the debt and its origin. On the basis of the results, the remaining debt of developing countries should be cancelled because this debt, in any case already large reimbursed, is impeding the development and improvement of the economic and social situation of the people of these countries;

7) Reform the structures of international financial and trade institutions, notably of IMF, WB and WTO; review their policies and programmes in accordance with the recommendations of the World Summit and the Charter of the United Nations;

8) Abolish the SAPs if they are the source of violations of economic, social, and cultural rights, or transform them in the spirit of international co-operation which presupposes the realisation of the right to development;

9) Set up a mechanism within the UN to oversee that TNCs respect all human rights, given that they enjoy immense power without undertaking responsibilities and obligations in return.

10) Introduce equitable fiscal policies that would establish a democratic distribution of wealth and prevent financial speculations fraud and massive tax evasions.

11) Convert military production into civil production to meet the basic needs of human beings;

12) Undertake agrarian reforms and favour a culture of food production with a focus on achieving local food security as the best means to prevent world-wide famine. Women being the major food producers must be given a major place in the planning and decision making

13) Promote dialogue and transparency in relations among States instead of imposing coercive and unilateral measures;

14) Adopt the optional protocol (draft under review by the Commission on Human Rights) to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, together with relevant modifications to the directive of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that would, among others, remove the geographic restrictions to individuals, groups or States wishing to lodge complaints of violations of economic social and cultural rights against whomever and wherever such violations occur;

15) Adopt a Declaration by the General Assembly, condemning the massive violations of economic, social and cultural rights and discriminations based on gender, as well as the abusive use of economic powers and international finance mechanisms which obtain concessions, advantages or disproportionate profits that have serious negative consequences for groups or populations (women, children, the disabled, workers, consumers, minorities, indigenous peoples) as international crimes;

16) Support all States and Governments that engage in programmes of action that promote solidarity among peoples for building their future by democratic mobilisation and equality for all.

*The cartoons in this bulletin have been taken from "Le Temps" newspaper and have been reproduced with the kind agreement of Mr. Chappatte.*

## ***Kofi Annan Kneels United Nations in the Face of Money***

*Five years ago when the press hailed the "audacious" decisions taken by the United Nations in Copenhagen, a thousand sceptic NGOs wrote in an Alternative Declaration that "while some progress was achieved in placing issues on the table during the Summit negotiation process, we believe that the economic framework adopted in the draft document is in basic contradiction with the objectives of equitable and sustainable development. The over-reliance that the documents places on unaccountable 'open, free market forces' as a basis for organising national and international economies aggravates, rather than alleviates, the current global social crises. This false premise threatens the realisation of the stated goals of the Social Summit." Unfortunately, events have proven the NGOs to be right, to the extent that the Geneva meeting is already being called "Copenhagen minus Five".*

*Nonetheless, Mr. Kofi Annan persists in endorsing neo-liberalism. He has supported closer alliances with the very same corporations that are responsible for the catastrophic world situation. He has pushed the United Nations to buckle down to the power of money and to give up the role conferred to it by its Charter.*

*Following on the heels of his predecessors, by giving way to budgetary blackmail and wholly endorsing the neo-liberalism myth, the Secretary General advocates for closer partnerships with the major transnational corporations and, for a handful of dollars, and offers them the world on a platter. The crowning of this process will be the official presentation on 26<sup>th</sup> July of the "Global Compact", an agreement reached with the corporate sector.*

*Much more serious is the fact that, brushing aside the analysis and views of the major UN organisations such the WHO, UNCTAD, FAO, ILO and UNRISD, the Secretary General has unilaterally embraced the policies of the World Bank, the IMF, OECD, when it is the policies of these very organisations that has created the current disastrous state of the world. Prepared jointly by these organisations, the document that the Secretary General proudly presented to the opening of the United Nations General Assembly in Geneva is a example of great hypocrisy. Titled "A Better World for All", it is nothing but a bluff intended to hid the real causes of the crisis and to delay a change of course which is so urgently required. Should the "strategies" proposed in the document be followed, new set backs are inevitable.*

The authors of this press release are AAJ, CETIM, LIDLIP, WILPF, FMA, FTM, CETRI.

### **CETIM RECEIVES AN AWARD**

Along with four other organisations and individuals, CETIM was selected by an international jury for the Kadhafi Human Rights Prize because of its "participation in the fight against globalisation and social regression." The four other laureates are Evo Morales, a leader of the american-indian farmers in Bolivia, Joseph Ki Zerbo, a Burkino-Fasan historian, the Black American Movement of 12 December, and Souha Béchara, a heroine of the South Lebanese resistance against the Israeli occupation.

SOON TO BE PUBLISHED IN FRENCH:

## **“FMI: les peuples entrent en résistance” (IMF: People Enter into Resistance)**

A collection of articles prepared in collaboration with ATTAC and AITEC.

A CETIM/Cadtm/Syllepse joint publication.

The public at large now better understands the social consequences of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which the International Monetary Fund has imposed on the Southern countries, not to mention others. Alluded to in several media reports, the suffering that foreign debt has caused in the Third World is at last being openly discussed.

However, the resistance that SAPs come up against goes very much unnoticed. At most, a demonstration or the raiding of a supermarket is mentioned in the course of a newscast. If, however, one is content only with the image projected on television, these movements seem both marginal and violent. All too often, people from the South are portrayed as alternating between resigned passivity and uncontrollable violence without any perspective.

In fact, the movements of resistance are wide and varied. They are striking not only because of their defensive nature and refusal to accept the current situation, but also because they represent a popular wish to come up with alternatives to neo-liberal globalisation. All in one-way or another raise similar questions that include: What other models of development can be suggested instead of those based solely on maximum gain for a few? How, starting with the meeting of basic needs, can human well-being be put at the centre of the process? What is a democracy worth if it cannot guarantee that each and every one has the possibility to effectively participate in the debate on a common future? How real is the right of peoples to self-determination if they cannot control governments that are supposed to represent them, and if governments themselves give up their sovereignty in face of “economic powers”?

The idea of this book grew out of a seminar held in Paris from 24 –26 June 1999, on “Resistance Against Structural Adjustments Programs”, and which was convened within the framework of the international meeting on “The Dictator of Markets? Another World Is Possible”.

Most of the authors who contributed articles to the book participated in the seminar. They come from all continents and describe the fight against the international financial institutions, IMF, the World Bank; and more generally against the “diktats” of neo-liberal globalisation in six countries: South Africa, the Mauritius Islands, Brazil, Algeria, Colombia, and South Korea.

In no way to their discredit, their analysis are not academic work, which though may be knowledgeable are often far removed from real situations. Referring to campaigns in their own countries as well as at the international level, the authors take stock of current militant action against neo-liberalism.

Initiated by CETIM, the publication is the outcome of a wide collaborative effort. The authors found the time to write their articles along with their numerous commitments and campaign activities. Members of ATTAC/ France took on the task of translating the articles into French. The president of CADTM/CCTWD wrote the introduction. Syllepse offered low cost and affordable printing of the publication. Finally, our fund-raisers, mentioned on the first page of the publication, secured the funds that permitted the dispatch of one thousand complimentary copies of the book to the French-speaking Southern partners and networks of the co-operating agencies.

In providing different Southern movements the opportunity to describe the goals and purpose of their campaigns, this publication hopes not only to offer the reader the possibility to learn about these efforts, but to also identify elements common to their own situations and campaigns, and thereby create new avenues for strengthened solidarity.

In Summary:

### **\* From South to North: The Debt Crisis and Structural Adjustment Plans**

*Introduction by Eric Toussaint, author of the Your Money or your Life!, and president of CCTWD.*

### **\* Mauritius Islands: Women at the Head of the Combat**

*By Rajni Lallah, president of Muvman Liberasyon Fam and member of the All Workers Conference.*

### **\* South Africa: Resistance to Neo-liberalism Grows**

*By Brian Ashley, co-ordinator of the Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC), national head of the 2000 Jubilee/South Africa.*

### **\* South Korea: KCTU against Financial Globalisation**

*By Ha Soon-Park, researcher with the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU).*

### **\* Algeria: Rejection of the Policy of Indebtedness**

*By Hocine Zehouane, vice-president of the Algerian League for the Defence of Human Rights and member of the association of Friends of Initiatives for Social Resistance.*

### **\* Brazil: The long March against Structural Adjustment Plans**

*By Chico Vicente, president of Central unica dos trabalhadores Rio Grand do Sul (CUTRS), directors of the Syndicate of Subway Workers and an ATTAC activist/Brazil.*

### **\* Colombia: Social Struggle in the Difficult Colombian Context**

*By Rodrigo Acosta, member of the Executive Committee of CUT/Colombia and Telephone Syndicate.*

- A synthesis of statements on the South on debt

- Glossary

- Addresses, websites, and books

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