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EDITORIAL

The 58th Human Rights Commission (HRC) has been characterized by very diverse events of which the most unfortunate for NGOs, was the reduction of their speaking time by more than 30% and the regrouping of several items on the agenda.

The tragic events in the occupied territories have dominated the discussions. Repeated requests by High Commissioner Mary Robinson for an authorization from the HRC for a mission to the occupied territories and the continuous pressure of Arab states to get Israeli policies condemned, have led to the holding of a special session and to the voting of two resolutions and of one decision¹.

This bulletin echoes previous CETIM interventions and conferences which have denounced, among other things, violence against Colombian trade unionists, who often pay for their political engagement with their lives; and the economic crisis in Turkey, which leads to increased oppression of trade unionists, journalists and the Kurdish population by the Ankara regime. Finally, CETIM has developed a strong critique of anti-terrorist measures and laws promulgated in Europe and the USA since the 11 September 2001 and of the « war against terrorism » launched unilaterally by the American government.

The achievement of the Right to Development remains one of CETIM's major foci of interest and we have launched an international call for NGOs and social movements to mobilize against repeated attacks on the Declaration on the Right to Development. In this bulletin is a petition which has been presented to the Working Group on the Right to Development of the UN.

¹ See also resolutions E/CN.4/RES/2002/1 and 90 and decision E/CN.4/DEC/2002/103.

58th session of the Commission on Human Rights (18 March - 28 April 2002)

One week after the end of its 58th session, Malik Özden, delegate of CETIM, presents a mixed assessment of the proceedings of the Commission: an overview of advances and retreats before the *raison d'Etat*¹.

Le Courrier: You have been following the Commission for several years now, how do you assess the 2002 session ?

Malik Özden: First of all, I would like to say that on balance, this session isn't as negative as the press has let people to believe. A lot of observers have highlighted the non-condemnation of several countries. I think the balance is quite positive, as most of the resolutions on civil and political rights as well as some resolutions on economic, social and cultural rights, have been adopted by consensus. For example, the resolution on the right to food, which up till now was opposed by the United States (absent this year). Other examples : The optional protocol for the Convention against torture, which has been adopted, even if a vote also had to be taken on the nomination of a rapporteur on the right to health, but also the decision of the HRC to establish a working group, which will examine, from 2003 on, an optional protocol for the Pact on social, economical and cultural rights. With the long-term objective that victims can lodge a complaint with the committee in charge of these rights, as is already the case for civil and political rights.

Of course, we regret the withdrawal of the proposed resolution on the respect for human rights within the context of the fight against terrorism. It is a failure that has received a lot of comments. But in fact, other resolutions on this subject have been adopted and have been ignored. I'm thinking in particular of the text entitled «integrity of the legal apparatus» which represents a valuable protection against military tribunals or of the exception instituted by states in order - supposedly - to judge terrorists. By the way, similar initiatives have just been launched. Many special rapporteurs haven't waited for the submission of this resolution to present critical reports on the fight against terrorism; for example, the rapporteur on freedom of expression, on racial discrimination, on religious intolerance, etc. Since 11 September, they have drawn up a list of violations, especially in the West, in order to bring to the attention of states the risks of breach of rules under the guise of the fight against terrorism. Unfortunately, this work, approved by the HRC, received little or no attention in the media.

The special rapporteurs, as well as NGOs, have complained during this session about the reduction of their speaking time as a result of the discontinuation of evening meetings. Is there still a place for real discussion at the Commission or do they try to muzzle the «troublemakers»?

- It's a big problem! Everyone agrees by saying that the HRC needs to be reformed. This year there have been 564 documents of 9,024 pages in total...No-one has time to seriously examine all these documents. More and more States and NGOs participate actively in the sessions. In order to deal with the problem, the tendency is to muzzle reporters and NGOs. That's the wrong solution. Because they do represent the victims, they are in the frontline, in the field, they provide concrete data. If we silence them, we can indeed ask ourselves what the Human Rights Commission is going to do! However we do have to find a solution to the problem of overload. Because it's always difficult to work when supplies don't follow, when documents aren't received, when they're not

translated etc. The official reason provided for discontinuation of nocturnal sessions is budgetary. The Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly had accepted that the 58th session could have additional sessions.... Only at the end of March we were told that there was no money and that urgent measures had to be taken. In the corridors many people reckoned that this was the result of pressure from the United States, absent from the session, and making use of their contribution to the United Nations, which they release only sparingly....

Should NGOs not take some radical measures, like a boycott, to make their voices heard?

- That may happen. For the moment they have promised us that these are only exceptional measures....

For the first time, the United States was not a member of the HRC. But they have been very present indeed behind the scenes. Was it not a mistake to exclude them?

- Indeed, one could ask oneself if it's not preferable to deal directly with the most powerful instead of with its pawns. But I feel that the real problem is elsewhere. Theoretically, when they are present, the United States only have one voice out of fifty-three. But due to their military, economic and political power, they have strong influence on the Commission. The real problem actually lies in the politicization of the HRC, because it leads inevitably to a power struggle. And there, might is right!

To get out of the deadlock, the criteria of respect for human rights need to be redefined and more objective and consistent decisions need to be taken. Make the HRC independent of politics again. By dint of applying two weights, two measures, by adopting ambiguous positions, we reinforce those countries which are little inclined to respect human rights. The vote on the death penalty for which the number of opponents declines every year is a good example of this. Right now we are seeing political coalitions forming on votes that do not have much to do with the defense of human rights.

Where does this drift come from?

- The 'democratic' States bear a large responsibility. For example, the United States, Japan and the European Union refuse systematically to talk to the HRC about external debt, the transfer of waste and toxic products, globalization etc. This year, in several resolutions on racism, Europe and Canada have refused to mention the Declaration of Durban, despite the fact that they signed it last year. In the face of such 'about turns', such denials of human rights, Southern countries tend to react and form coalitions. We have seen this in particular in African countries, to avoid condemning Zimbabwe. These countries are excluded from decision-making processes in international authorities, at the WTO, IMF, World Bank, but also at UN agencies like UNCTAD, UNICEF, WHO and UNDP, which tend to become auxiliaries of the private sector. They have only the General Assembly of the United Nations and the HRC to make their despair heard. Their situation is catastrophic, economic and social rights are stymied, and the HRC becomes the only platform in which they can express themselves.

But shouldn't we be happy with the upcoming block from the South?

- From some points of view, yes. What's worrying is the attitude of the North, which provokes kneejerk reflex of a block of countries. But it's also a tendency that has consequences on the votes at the Commission and more fundamentally on the withdrawal of human rights from the international arena.

In relation to condemnation of States, we are in a sublimely ridiculous situation where isolated individual countries like Cuba or Iraq are condemned, but not Russia or China....

That's the tendency over the last two or three years: It's more and more difficult to get a condemnation of a country at the HRC, because of strong political coalitions, without objective criteria.

But how to get out of this situation which removes all credibility from the HRC. Would it be possible to transfer it into a committee of experts more independent of States, a little bit like at the Sub-Commission of human rights?

- Above all, the sub-commission should no longer be muzzled. For three years now it hasn't been able to adopt resolutions on three countries. It therefore doesn't play its role of counterpower anymore on this scene. Having said this, it would be a mistake to want to bypass States because, by definition, they are the principal actors with regard to human rights, they have to apply the resolutions adopted by the UN. They thus have to take their responsibilities with regard to texts they have signed, and not just according to their current political/financial interest.



Drawing by Rodnério published during the 2nd World Social Forum in Porto Alegre

In short, states don't play the game anymore....

- Less and less. I think that the adoption of the Patriotic Act in the United States, followed by the «*antiterrorist*» directive of the European Union, has encouraged many already repressive states to hide behind this planetary struggle in order to better muzzle opposition. During a CETIM Conference on the 11th of September, a representative of indigenous Alaskans reported that in order to stop his militant activities, the government accused him of being linked to Al Qaeda... By such means, it becomes easy for States to do and justify whatever they want. It's a worrying tendency. The behaviour of the United States, which puts itself above the United Nations and international law, which go it alone when it suits them, and to whom the whole multilateral system snaps to attention, unfortunately serves as an example for other states.

HRC has severely criticized Israel . . . but to no effect; even the inquiry about Jenine has failed. In the face of such

impotence, has the HRC not become an alibi, the good conscience of the United Nations? Shouldn't the UN be required to take compulsory measures?

- The UN has an obligation to do everything possible in order to avoid the blocking of decisions in an inadmissible way by states, in this case Israel. But the question of the means to be used is very delicate. Several international sanctions have had positive effects, like for example the isolation of South Africa during apartheid. But these sanctions responded to a strong internal demand and the isolation functioned as a support to these people's struggle. In other cases like Iraq, the embargo had the opposite effect. If you don't have the support of the people concerned, it becomes arbitrary. We impose measures on the basis of the interests of certain countries. That really comes down to applying the rule that 'might is right'.

¹ Article published in *Le Courrier* 4th May 2002.

report dated September 2001, that violations of the right to life and personal security as well as the practice of torture have increased to alarming proportions in Turkish Kurdistan, with 50% more cases of torture and of violations of the freedom of expression were recorded. The association registered 762 cases of torture during the first nine months of 2001, as compared to 508 cases documented in 2000.

To read and to order the European Civic Forum, Saint Johanns-Vorstadt 13, 4004 Basel, Switzerland :

The bitter taste of our fruits and vegetables: the exploitation of migrants in extensive agriculture in Europe: testimonies and analyses from the Moroccan secret migrants to El Ejido (Andalusia).

Coéd. Information and comments / European Civic Forum.
132 pages 15 CHF or 10 €

Summaries of CETIM's Interventions and Conferences

Turkey : from Economic Crisis to grave Violations of Human Rights

Turkey's current economic crisis, related among other things to excessive military spending and the regime's generalized corruption, is causing serious human rights violations - among journalists, trade unionists and the Kurdish population in particular.

Recession reached record levels in Turkey in 2001. The country's GNP fell by 8.3% during the first nine months of the year. To deal with this crisis, the Turkish government, with the help of the international financial institutions, initiated a gigantic economic programme... with less than mediocre results, since very few of its declared goals were achieved. This negative growth set in motion a process of impoverishment of the most deprived and already severely penalized sectors of the population.

Turkey's military expenditure is one of the major causes of this crisis. The war against the Kurdish movement is said to have cost \$10, 000,000,000 p.a. over the past 15 years ; today 10% of the national budget is still being allocated to military expenses.

The crisis is accompanied by many human rights violations by the Turkish authorities. The main targets are journalists, who are prevented from exercising their profession. Dismissal, the full range of repressive legal measures, intimidation and imprisonment are used to silence those who dare criticize the government's policies towards minorities or to denounce the corruption of the country's elite. According to the association of Turkish journalists, some 2800 professional journalists lost their jobs in 2001.

In this context and for a period of two months, the trade union movements, attempting to denounce poverty, corruption and the violation of social and economic rights, organized demonstrations in 17 cities. Their efforts were severely repressed by the anti-riot police on several occasions, and hundreds of workers were arrested. At the same time, the unified demonstrations organized by the trade unions in Ankara, Istanbul and Diyarbakir in protest against the anti-social economic programme, were prevented from taking place.

Finally, Osman Baydemir, president of the Diyarbakir section of the Human Rights Association, clearly asserts, in a

Anti-Terrorist Laws in Europe and the US, War against Terrorism : Consequences for Human Rights

CETIM has denounced the security measures, anti-terrorist laws and framework for decision making, taken in the US and European countries, as well as the unilateral military attack, launched by the United States of America against Afghanistan following the September 11-2001 events.

« *The American Interventions in Central Asia violate the spirit of the United Nations Charter* » has emphasized straightaway Nuri Albala, French lawyer, President of the International Commission on Fundamental Rights and Globalization, during a parallel conference on this subject organized by CETIM and AAJ : « *The day after the attacks, the 12th of September as well as the 28th of September, the United States have obtained two resolutions at the Security Council. Their principal vocation eventually turned out to permit them to escape from every rule!* ».

The Security Council having noted in resolution 1373 of 28 September 2001, the right to legitimate defense of the US, should have firmly prohibited from that moment on any unilateral bombing campaign. The Charter in fact stipulates that legitimate defense can only be invoked when the Security Council has taken all necessary measures to guarantee peace and security.

Moreover, in the case of a threat against peace, Chapter 7 of the Charter doesn't recommend the use of armed forces directly. It proposes gradual, provisional measures, and only when these fail can the Council take action by demonstrations, blocking measures and other operations executed by air forces, navy or ground troops of UN member countries.

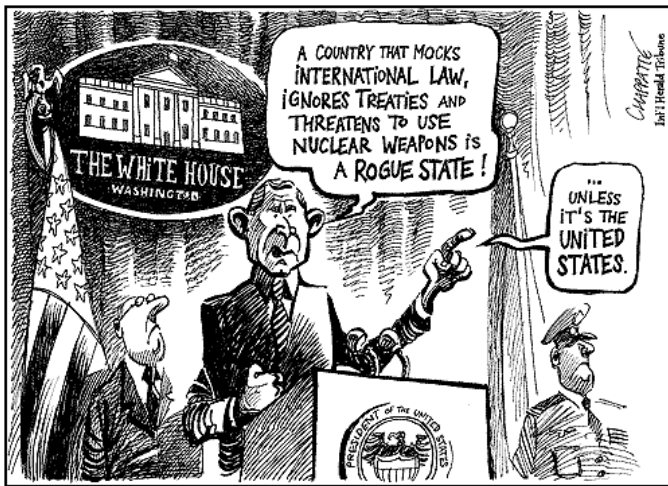
The US is not only interpreting international law very liberally, but is also showing a clear disdain for international humanitarian law with regard to the presumed members of Al Qaeda, held prisoners at Guantanamo military base in Cuba.

The attacks of 11 September have permitted many states, and in particular the United States and European Union member states, to legitimate and vote on new legal arsenals. According to Antoine Comte, French lawyer, these laws are « *a real war machine against fundamental democratic rights and against those who, for several reasons, will find themselves 'in opposition' with a more and more globalized and unjust economical, political and social system* ».

Actually, these anti-terrorist laws like the Patriot Act in the United States, or the « *décision-cadre* » adopted by the European Commission whittle away individual liberties and

criminalize de facto all forms of objection. In this way, strikers, trade unionists or anti-OGM militants could be considered as terrorists according to Karen Parker, representative of the international Educational Humanitarian Development Project.

In this context, we need to reflect on the legal definition of «terrorism» and terrorist acts, presented as such by governments. From these official texts a very vague definition of terrorism emerges, allowing many interpretations, remarks Antoine Comte. In addition, «these laws could be qualified as laws of exception, insofar as they create new procedures in contradiction with fundamental rights of defense». In other words, penal codes are largely sufficient to fight against terrorism. According to him, the present situation is dangerous in the sense that it produces two categories of citizens and thus negates the universality of rights, which, until now, has been recognized.



Drawing by Chappatte published in the International Herald Tribune

Human Rights Violations against Trade Unionists in Colombia

Alarmed by the serious violations of Colombian trade unionists' human rights, CETIM and AAJ denounce the present situation. Trade union rights, closely linked to the right to freedom of association, is a fundamental right recognized in various international treaties (the Universal Declaration, the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights, the ILO conventions). However, these rights are being, and have for several years been, systematically violated in Colombia.

According to national and international NGO reports, the Colombian trade union movement is the most threatened movement of its kind in the world¹. An ILO report published in June 2001 attests to the increase in violations in 2001. In that year, more than 150 trade union leaders and members were arbitrarily executed. Many more were subjected to various forms of violence directed against the trade union movement: death threats, assassinations, arbitrary detention, forced removals, torture, kidnapping, breaking into homes, etc.

The main cause of these violations was not armed conflict but rather the victims' trade union activity. Paramilitary troops were often responsible for these violations, but their ambiguous relationship with the Colombian government guaranteed them total impunity².

In conclusion, and taking into account the catastrophic state of human rights in Colombia, we can only deplore the inadequacy of the measures being taken within the United Nations to address this situation.

¹ Cf. the Preliminary Report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (ICHR) after its visit to Colombia from 7-13 December 2001.

² In the above-mentioned report, the ICHR denounced the existing cooperation between state officials and the paramilitary forces. In her report to the Commission meeting in 2002, the High Commissioner for Human Rights also noted that «in view of the harmful effects of paramilitarism on the situation of trade union members, the limited results achieved by the state's action against the paramilitary forces have helped prevent the risks from diminishing». E/CN.4/2002/17, par. 296.

The American Multinational Occidental Petroleum (OXY) leaves the U'wa Territory

CETIM congratulates itself on the victory of the U'wa people in Colombia, who have been threatened for 10 years by the project of oil bearing prospection granted by the Colombian government (without consultation of the U'wa and in contradiction with the Constitution, as well as with ILO Convention 169) on the American multinational OXY. During the annual meeting of shareholders in early May, the latter officially announced the withdrawal from this project. CETIM has brought this struggle to the attention of participants different interventions and conferences at the UN and elsewhere.

AN APPEAL SIGNED BY 82 NGOS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS TO WORKING GROUP ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT (Geneva, 25th February - 8th March 2002)

Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1986, the Declaration on the Right to Development has become an obstacle to proponents of neo-liberalism. It stresses the right of all peoples to «freely determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development», to exercise «full and complete sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources», the right and obligation of each State to «formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom», and the obligation of all States to «co-operate with each other in ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development.»

Needless to say, these principles do not satisfy proponents of a world without restrictions to the flow of capital and looting by transnational corporations; needless to point out that this Declaration clashes with the policies of the WTO, IMF, World Bank, and places governments subjected to neoliberal policies in an awkward position.

It is therefore not surprising that this Declaration, which is the only international instrument which defines the right to development, is now being methodically attacked in the UN, especially in the working group on the right to development.

Since last year, we have seen the systematic undermining of this right by western States, both at the level of its definition and at the level of the measures to be taken to apply it.

In this context, the wide support that this petition received from NGOs and social movements (82 signatories), its impact on the states attending to the Working group and the fact that it was attached to the final report of the Working group confirm a

first important success for the CETIM and the AAJ. Here is the text of this petition :

The Declaration on The Right to Development is in Danger !

We the undersigned :

- Reaffirm that *“the right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized”*;

- Also reaffirm that *“the respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples”*, as well as *“the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members”* implies *“the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources”*;

- Demand a democratic international order, based on democratic principles, allowing for the full participation of each country to partake in economic decision-making and to define trade policy at the international level;

- Also reaffirm that, *“Participation, if it is so effective in mobilizing of human and natural resources and combating inequalities, discrimination, poverty and exclusion, must involve genuine ownership or control of productive resources such as land, financial capital and technology. Participation is also the principal means by which individuals and peoples collectively determine their needs and priorities, and ensure the protection and advancement of their rights and interests”*;

- Urge the independent expert to focus on implementing the right to development, on the bases of the Declaration on the right to development, in accordance with the mandate entrusted by the Commission on Human Rights, specifically to *“to enhance efforts to consider and evaluate the impact of international economic and financial issues on the enjoyment of human right”*;

- Urge the Working Group to focus, on one hand, on a follow-up mechanism on the implementation of the right to development and, on the other hand, on a mechanism introducing sanctions for violations to the right to development, and economic, social and cultural rights.

List of 82 NGO and Social Movements Signatories of the Appeal

Action populaire contre la mondialisation - World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations - AL SUR DEL SUR. Plataforma contra la Impunidad y por los Derechos Humanos (Spain) - Amandamaji ry (Finland) - Asamblea por los Derechos Humanos del Cono Sur (Chile) - Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de España (Spain) - American Association of Jurists - Association internationale de Techniciens, Experts et Chercheurs (France) - Association Madera (France) - Association pour le Développement de la Sériciculture (France) - Association Sainte Catherine (France) - Attac Belgium - Attac Bienne (Switzerland) - Attac Bretagne (France) - Attac France - Attac Genève (Switzerland) - Attac Neuchâtel (Switzerland) - Attac Rhône (France) - Attac Savoie (France) - Attac Bellegarde-Pays de

Gex (France) - Bangladesh Krishok Federation - Berne Declaration (Switzerland) - Colectivo de Solidaridad por la Justicia y dignidad de los Pueblos - Comisión para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en Centroamérica - Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers-Monde - Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers-Monde (France) - Comité pour les droits humains « Daniel Gillard » (Belgium) - Commission Tiers Monde de l'Eglise Catholique (Switzerland) - Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (Guatemala) - Entrée9 (France) - Europe-Third World Center - Fédération des Associations pour la Défense et la Promotion des Droits de l'Homme - Fonds de Coopération au Développement - Food First Information and Action Network (France) - Fédération Internationale des Mouvements d'Adultes Ruraux Catholiques - Federation of Indonesia Peasant Union (Indonésie) - Focus on the Global South (Thailand) - Fondation Ficat Barcelone (Spain) - Forum contre le racisme (Switzerland) - Forum du tiers monde (Senegal) - France Libertés Fondation Danielle Mitterrand - Fundación Celestina Perez de Almada (Paraguay) - General Arab Women Federation - Grandmothers for Peace (Finland) - Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio (Mexique) - Instituto de Derechos Humanos Pedro Arrupe (Spain) - International Alliance of Women (Australia) - Intervida - Jeunesses alternatives (Switzerland) - KongoNetzwerk Deutschland) - Ligue internationale pour les droits et la libération des peuples - Lucha contra la pobreza y protección del medio ambiente (Paraguay) - Mouvement d'Action Paysanne (France) - Mouvement for National Land Agricultural Reform (Sri Lanka) - Indian Movement « Tupaj Amaru » - MRAP - North South XXI - O.I.N.G.D. CIVIMED Initiatives (France) - Instituto Políticas Alternativas para el Cono Sur (Brasil) - Pain pour le prochain (Switzerland) - Pax Romana - Plate-Forme Haïtienne de Plaidoyer pour un Développement Alternatif (Haïti) - Public Services International (France) - Red Solidaria por los Derechos Humanos (Uruguay) - Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights (Holand) - Servicio Paz y Justicia (France) - Sindicato de profesores del Reino Unido « NATFHE » (Great Britain) - Survie France - Syndicat inter-professionnel de travailleuses et travailleurs (Switzerland) - SWISSAID (Switzerland) - Swiss Coalition of Development Organisations (Switzerland) - Union des Juristes Arabes - Union des Syndicats Autonomes de Madagascar - Vía Campesina - VIVA IQUIQUE. Asamblea por los Derechos Humanos del Cono Sur (Chile) - Women against nuclear Power (Finland) - Women for Peace (Finland) - Women's international League for Peace and Freedom - World Confederation of Labor - World Movement of Mothers - Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (Inde) - Zone110 (Belgium).

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**TO ORDER FROM THE OFFICE OF CETIM
WE RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING TITLES IN FRENCH :**

**La Swiss-South African Association (1956-2000).
Un organe du capital helvétique en Afrique du Sud**

David Gygax

Université de Fribourg - Suisse 2001, 330 pages, CHF 42.-

This book presents one of the little known facets of the history of economic relations between Switzerland and South Africa: Swiss-South African Association. Since 1956, this private club gathers particularly influential members of the leaders of the Swiss economy.

Declaring itself apolitical and neutral, the Swiss-South African Association could not, however, avoid explaining in its internal publications in particular, the type of regime and repression necessary to the pursuit of profit by the entrepreneurs and exporters who constitute its membership. This book will illuminate, from a new angle, the fact that the inner circle of Swiss, economic and political leaders collaborated at all levels with the apartheid regime of South Africa.

**Aldo Ajello, cavalier de la paix.
Quelle politique européenne commune pour
l'Afrique**

propos recueillis par Pierre-Olivier RICHARD

*Coédition GRIP-Éditions Complexe, 2000, 134 pages,
CHF 18.50*

Aldo Ajello was a journalist, a senator, then an MP. In 1992, he entered the United Nations and was entrusted with the peace operation in Mozambique. He was responsible for this mission until 1995.

Today, appointed by the European Union, he struggles to promote reconciliation in the heart of Africa, in the region of Great Lakes, battered by so many wars and the genocide of 1994.

But how can one defend a clear and coherent position when Europe often speaks with fifteen different voices? Aldo Ajello, who scarcely resembles the classical diplomat, takes certain liberties in launching proposals and ideas to introduce a new dynamic for peace. In question and answer format, he denounces the erring ways of the international community.

**Le pas suspendu de la révolution.
Approche critique de la réalité cubaine**

Sous la Dir. de Yannick Bovy et Eric Toussaint

Éditions du Cerisier, 2001, 393 pages, CHF 30.20

More than ten years after the implosion of the Soviet Union, the Cuban Revolution still stands. While its demise has been announced a hundred times, it has faced constant hostility from the USA, which has never been denounced. It is a victory and an important one. What can one say about this revolution? Defend the struggle, the experience, the successes, of course, and above all. But this is not enough.

We need to talk about what is not right, as well. What matters today is the future of these victories. This book provides the reader with the means to critically assess the current Cuban reality, in the political, social, economic and cultural domains.

**Les États-Unis s'en vont-ils en guerre ?
Dans la course à la suprématie, des solutions
militaires plutôt que diplomatiques**

Collectif

*Coédition GRIP-Éditions Complexe, 2000, 148 pages,
CHF 18.50*

Since the United States became the only superpower on earth, it seems to have been taken over by an insatiable appetite for domination, in particular, diplomatic and military.

America as conqueror and militarist raises a lot of questions. How does one explain the return of this warmongering spirit - the sabotage of the UN? What role will NATO play in the new global game of chess? Why do isolationist tendencies prevail, to the detriment of a system of collective security? Finally, what are the real stakes in the anti-missile shield, and the consequences at international level? The authors try to provide answers to all these questions.

At a time when the war mongerers are « *on a roll* », this book is also an alarm bell.

Les droits humains, une arme pour la paix

Amnesty International

*Coédition GRIP-Éditions Complexe, 1998, 129 pages,
CHF 24.50*

In South Africa and Salvador some years ago, in Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday, in the region of Great Lakes, in Algeria, in Kosovo today, the question returns, ever more penetrating. Why so much violence? What makes people tear each other to pieces?

Any explanation involves an assessment of the social, economic, political, religious, ethnic context. Every conflict has its own history, its particular dynamics. We are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at a time when their continued violation constitutes the main threat for the peace worldwide. In this book, AI explains to us why the failure to respect human rights should be considered as a separate « *war factor* ». A reflection on the question of human rights under a new, completely original angle, that of international security.

**Mondialisation, comprendre pour agir :
enjeux historiques, économiques, sociaux,
technologiques, militaires... et stratégies d'action**

Sous la Dir. d'Anne Peeters et de Denis Stokkink

Coéd. GRIP/Complexe, 208 pages, CHF 23.50

With contributions from Samir Amin, Susan George, François Dubuisson, François Houtart, Claude Serfati, etc.

Exponents of reform of European policy, Anne Peeters and Denis Stokkink, in this collection, present different approaches which all place current globalization within the history of capitalism. Some insist on the cyclic nature of capitalist development, the long Kondratiev economic cycles which are so well known. Others highlight a structural crisis and insist that a structural break is both possible and vital.