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Third Transition

Towards Sustainable Development and Global Governance

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Present-day futurologists are endangered by the pitfalls of laxity, alibism and self-satisfaction, which manifest themselves by describing the future rather than thinking about it. It is conditioned to a high degree by the demands of economists. Such an attitude is more futurography than futurology. Futurologists, the people dealing with the future, behave in a short-sighted way until they understand futurology more as a futurosophy, i.e. as a pondering on the future. However, to deal with it, it is necessary to have courage and a strong motivation, which is not possible without a firm hope. It is necessary to add to the present futurography a futurosophy with a prophetic aspect. The result has then to be something more than a series of scenarios, conclusively futurosophy has to help us discover the sense and the aim of our lives, our activity and tendencies, it has to give us a prospect of the final end of the human story of the Earth. A demand to know the sense and the aim of history is a principal demand of reason, thinking in a global way.

Karel Skalický

Introduction

We live in a special period, the period „at the turn of time“ (1). The 20th Century was not only a period of great scientific discoveries but also the period of the bloodiest wars in our history and emerging of problems which we can call, for the first time in history, indeed global. I believe we can distinguish at least five major groups of global issues:

- Violence in the world (threats of regional nuclear conflict, terrorism, organized crime, contempt for human rights, militant religious fanaticism, ethnic intolerance)
- Population growths (mainly in developing regions)
- The uneven and unfair distribution of wealth (escalating tensions in the developing countries and between the developing and developed countries)
- Destruction of the environment (threats to biodiversity including cultural diversity, deforestation, desertification, water shortages, soil degradation, pollution of atmosphere and climate change)
- The ineffectiveness of supranational political and economic tools and institutions

What shall we do? In the same way as in history rulers made their countries build something which would transcend the present and its immediate purpose (such as Gothic cathedral for example), **we need a vision** which will help us transcend short-sighted consumer style of life (which can be considered as main cause of many global problems), after which there is nothing permanent left excluding waste and damaged life-support systems of the Earth.

According to Gro Harlem Brundtland (2), the chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development, **sustainable development** can become such positive vision. G. H. Brundtland composes the transformation to a sustainable development the neolithic and industrial revolutions. It would thus be the third most important transformation in the history of Mankind.

The restoration of our relationship to the Earth, to our neighbours, including future generations, to the Nature is, above all, the point of sustainable development. But sustainable development is not achievable globally without some kind of effective **global governance**. As mentioned above, today global political and economic tools, represented mainly by U.N. are very ineffective. Therefore issues like U.N. reform, the global economy, the care for the global commons, development aid etc. are discussed in this study.

Final part of the study is focussed at the idea set forth by Albert Gore in his book Earth in Balance (3) – **the Global Marshall Plan**. During the course of history there has appeared several times an idea which, when realized, became a catalyst for positive, far-reaching changes. Original Marshall Plan (Programme of European Revival) shows how grandiose vision can be successfully transformed into the shape of particular activity. Now there is chance to develop idea of new

„Global Marshall Plan“ which could help „to satisfy the needs of the present without threatening the need of future generations to satisfy their own needs“ (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

The Millennium Project (4) decided in February 2000 to develop the idea of the Global Marshall Plan through two rounds questionnaire and interviews. Over sixty people from seventeen countries participated and major findings are presented here.

As the Marshall Plan was designed to rebuilding of Europe after World War II., goals of the new „global Marshall Plan“ are the achievement of reasonable and sustainable development and the elimination of poverty. Current economic and political situation is very different of the past WW II. Therefore we consider that „**Partnership for Sustainable Development**“ is better title than „global Marshall Plan“.

There are many studies in the area of sustainable development and some studies in the field of global governance trying to formulate and develop these new challenges. But even greater challenge is to implement these ideas. Of course it is „long shot“, long term goal which will be achieved (hopefully) step by step. **Implementation of sustainable development** principles at local, national as well as global levels and implementation of global governance principles (U.N. reform above all) into real life is challenge and mission for **public policy**.

Public policy is interdisciplinary discipline using knowledge of economy, politology, law, sociology, anthropology and other disciplines to analyze process of formulation and implementation differentiated public interests. (5)

Active public policy is attempting to anticipate potential threats as well as development opportunities to influence in advance supposed development. Here public policy is close to **forecasting** oriented at studying possible and desirable futures.

It is indeed very important whether transition from industrial development towards sustainable development will be evolutionary or revolutionary. K. Popper (6) distinguishes closed society and open society. For closed society typical changes are revolutionary, accompanied by chaos, violence and radical changes in the very short time period. For open society more typical are gradual reforms made step by step. This evolutionary process is much more „friendly“ but needs also more time, ability to anticipate and accepting active public policy. According to K. Popper there is no chance to secure happiness for each man, but it is possible to create reasonable conditions for development of human skills and potential. The goal of social development is not maximization of well-being for maximum of people but the goal is minimization of human misfortune and suffering.

To achieve this goal for people in industrialized, developed North as well as for majority of people in nonindustrialized, developing South, the transition to sustainable development and global governance is, I believe, necessary. Results presented here should be considered as inspiration and stimulation for further effort to formulate better one of the greatest challenges at the dawn of the third millennium – „**third transition**“ which I understand as **transition of industrial society towards sustainable development and global governance**.

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- 3) Gore, A. (1994): Země na misce vah. (Earth in Balance) Argo. Praha (In Czech)
- 4) The Millennium Project is an international utility to provide an ongoing capacity as a geographically and institutionally dispersed think tank, to improve and continuously update humanity's thinking about the future and to make that thinking available through a variety of media. The Millennium Project was initiated by the United Nations University, The Futures Group International, and the Smithsonian Institution, coordinated by The American Council for the United Nations University. It is an international network of over 600 futurists, scholars, business planners, scientists, and policy makers from over 50 countries who work for international organizations, corporations, governments, universities, and NGOs.
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Sustainable Development

The Development of Man

If the Big Bang theory is valid, our Universe came into existence approximately 15 billion years ago and our planet 4.6 billion years ago. If the theory of evolution is valid, the first rudiments of life appeared on the Earth 3,8 billion years ago and inorganic evolution on the Earth changed into organic, biological evolution. Only 40,000 years ago *Homo sapiens sapiens* appeared and thus **biological evolution changed into cultural evolution**. This stage of development might not be the final one and mankind perhaps will enter later the stage of ethical, spiritual evolution.

If the age of our planet is represented by a twenty four hour day, then *Homo sapiens sapiens* appears on stage only in the last two seconds before midnight!

At that time **man was a hunter and gatherer** and he did not affect his environment too much. He used primitive tools, he had well-developed speech, he was capable of abstract thought and used fire. It means he could endanger himself or his local surroundings e.g. by forest fire, which however did not affect his environment a great deal.

Gradually man - a hunter-gatherer - becomes a **herdsman and a nomad**. At the end of the ice age the climate of the northern hemisphere (15,000 - 10,000 years ago) changed. The herds of deer either died out, or went north. Therefore man had to look for supplementary sources of sustenance. He developed fishing and above all the **gradual domestication of animals occurred**.

At that time man could already **affect his environment regionally**. The immoderate usage of pasture-land and its subsequent degradation occurred. People had to migrate and look for new territory. Fights between tribes or the breaking up of tribes took place. In the Old Testament, in the first book of Moses, the parting of Lot from Abram is described: "... the land could not support both of them dwelling together; for their possessions were so great that they could not dwell together; and there was strife between the herdsmen of Abram's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle. At that time the Canaanites and the Per'izzites dwelt in the land. Then Abram said to Lot, "Let there be no strife between you and me, and between your herdsmen and my herdsmen; for we are kinsmen. Is not the whole land before you? Separate yourself from me. If you take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if you take the right hand, then I will go to the left".

But even if man destroyed his pastures and left, the countryside had enough time to regenerate.

In the Early Stone (Neolithic) Age (10,000 years ago) a big change occurred. Man started to collect, store and sow the grain of some plants and above all he started to settle, especially in warm regions with a fertile soil. This change is called the neolithic (agricultural) revolution.

At that time on the whole planet there were about 5 million people. It was possible for more people to provide food for themselves with the help of a new way of life than it had been by hunting and gathering. Centres of big communities were created first of all in the fertile alluviums of the big rivers of subtropical and mild climate zones (the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Indus, the Ganges, the Yellow River etc.).

It was already in the power of man to intensively influence and **destroy his environment, both locally and regionally**. The Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans managed to devastate a substantial part of the territory of the Mediterranean, above all by the deforestation of vast territories, and also by their over-intensive grazing, the erosion of turf soil and the subsequent water and wind erosion of the soil right down to the rock. Because of intensive irrigation in antiquity, the territory around the rivers Euphrates and Tigris and around contemporary Palestine and Israel were devastated. The agricultural soil was salinated (water containing mineral substances evaporates and the salts stay in the soil) in the course of centuries and the land changed into semidesert or desert.

The fundamentals of the development of science and technology were laid down in antiquity in the Mediterranean, the Near East and also China and India. A technologically-orientated society, however, arose from the Mediterranean and spread gradually to the north and north-west of Europe. **In the Middle Ages, the land of central and western Europe was deforested** and its appearance changed extensively (the territory of central Europe was originally more than 90% covered by forest, today it is about 30%). But two factors helped to save the European landscape from devastation. On the one hand the ecosystems of the mild climate zone are more resistant to anthropogenic influences, on the other hand European culture was suddenly given a chance to expand in 1492 – Christopher Columbus discovered America, which was colonised in the following centuries. Even here the countryside was deforested and there were similar changes as in Europe.

Until that time man had been completely dependent on nature and his ability to affect the environment limited. **The turning point, however, came 300 years ago**. Papin invented and eight decades later, in 1776, James Watt constructed the steam engine, the **era of the industrial revolution began**. Man started to use energy from fossil fuels on a large-scale and he increased his power many times over. The consumption of natural resources and energy increased exponentially.

Exponential growth hides in itself a great danger. For instance the consumption of electrical energy has doubled every ten years over the last century. In the last 60 years the consumption of energy has risen by 3 - 4% every year. But if this tendency continued, in 3,200 years we would need the energy of the whole Sun and in 5,800 years the energy resources of the whole galaxy! So exponential growth is not sustainable from a long-term viewpoint. Even today **we have reached the physical “limits to growth”**, as our situation was called by Donella and Dennis Meadows and J. Randers in the first report to the Club of Rome 30 years ago. (1)

Our space is limited roughly by the size of the biosphere. Our resources of raw materials and fossil fuels are limited and from the long-term viewpoint it is irrelevant whether they last 10 years or 50 years at the present rate of consumption. The devastation of the environment is a signal that **we have reached the limits in using the biosphere on a regional and global scale**. There is nowhere to escape. So we must learn to live within these limits.

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Natural Factors Influencing the Biosphere

The first predecessor of man (herbivorous *Ramapithecus*) appeared on the Earth not such a long time ago - about 8 - 14 million years ago. Until practically the present day the influence of man on the biosphere was very limited. In the history of the planet, however, there were changes, vast natural processes which we could call catastrophies from an anthropocentric point of view.

The fall of an asteroid onto the Earth used to be an isolated, but always “catastrophic” event. Our planet collided with an asteroid approximately 20 km in diameter about 65 million years ago. This might have been the cause of great changes in the representation of plants and animals, including the extinction of the dinosaurs (these made room for the evolution of mammals).

A collision with an asteroid at great speed releases energy which equals the explosion of hundreds of atom bombs. Besides a strong blast and fires lasting for months, in the atmosphere there were more than a billion tonnes of dust. The fires filled the troposphere with smoke, ash and soot. In this way the intensity of solar radiation falling on the surface of the Earth was lowered to one per cent of its normal level which is an intensity comparable with the light of a full-Moon. It lasted approximately one month. Within about 6 months the solar radiation was back to half intensity. In this way the temperature fell by 20 - 30 degrees centigrade, so even in the tropical zone the temperature was around zero. Plants (because of the lack of light and the cold) and animals (because of the cold and the lack of plants) died out on a large scale.

The movements of the lithospheric plates (“continents”) are important for the development of the Earth and life on it. The movements of continents and the flow in the crust of the Earth condition at least three important phenomena (1):

- the creation of the magnetic poles of the Earth;
- volcanic activity and earthquakes;
- the covering of the continents by ice and the rise of the ice ages.

The change of polarity of the geomagnetic poles took place approximately once every 750,000 years in the past. The change of polarity lasted several thousand years. During this period the intensity of short-wave solar and cosmic radiation falling on the Earth increased, which could influence mutation and genetic changes.

As a result of the movements of continents, dislocations, friction and stress in the crust of the Earth appear. Accumulated energy is released sometimes suddenly as **tectonic earthquakes**. Focal centres of redhot magma also appear and a large amount of gas and steam is released. Due to excess pressure an explosion can occur.

In 1883 the explosion of a volcano destroyed the island of Krakatoa near Java. It was possible to hear the explosion 5,000 km away and the tremors were recorded in all the seismological centres of the world. 20 km³ of ash was blown into the air. A tidal wave (tsunami) caused by the eruption killed 36,000 people. As a result of the eruption some islands sank while others appeared.

On a long-term and global scale evolution is influenced by **continental glaciers**. These move because under the glacier the high pressure lowers the melting point and a small layer of water forms on which the ice slides (it is the same principle as in skating).

Ice ages have appeared quite rarely on the Earth. The first ice age maybe took place in primary rocks, 2.3 billion years ago, another 400 million years ago, then 250 million years ago. The last ice age was in the quaternary period and ended only 10,000 years ago (unless it is still going on and we are living in between two ice ages). During the last ice age big mammals in mild climates died out due to a lack of food.

So even without the endeavour of man, life on the Earth developed under the influence of gigantic changes. Maybe that is why new organisms capable of adaptation and survival came into existence.

Recently man has been affecting his environment with a power and intensity comparable with the above-mentioned phenomena. But this influence has increased to a global extent over an unbelievably short period of time. If, for instance, under the influence of the change in geomagnetic polarity the changes were in progress gradually over thousands of years, with the same trend of development man would exterminate half of all kinds of plants and animals on the planet by the end of the 21st century!

We do not think we could jeopardize the essence of life on the Earth. But we can cause great suffering to all living beings including ourselves.

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The Roots of the Global Crisis

What is the reason for the state which we can call a global crisis? For people who believe in God, reason of the global crisis is original sin. At the moment when Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden tried an apple from the Tree of Knowledge, they gained the possibility of choice. In all the following centuries and millennia up to today we have been exposed to a free choice between good and evil and we will never be deprived of the ability of choice.

In the course of the development of Mankind, Man has borne within himself the ability to do good and nice things, but at the same time he has borne within himself the ability to do bad, perverted things, and become a beast, as we could see during the war in former Yugoslavia, or during the bloodshed in Rwanda. Let us not delude ourselves that this danger will be for ever restrained by culture and civilization.

When the war ended it was found that the only means that the civilized, scientific and Christian states did not use were torture and cannibalism, and that was just because their usefulness was doubtful.

Winston Churchill

Civilization has three elements: material, cultural and spiritual. If these elements are not balanced, it is bad. In history the balance was lost in many powerful empires and the analogy with the present situation often surprises in its precision. **The passing of the Roman Empire** can serve us as a warning prototype of the present state. For Rome towards the end of its fame, a consumer life style, a cosmopolitan society (in the sense of the world known at that time), an erosion of their scale of values, and an exodus of the élites from towns to villages were all typical.

In Rome at that time, however, there appeared no effective activity, no protection against the danger of destruction. In the present world, nevertheless, thousands of non-governmental organizations and civic initiatives are raising the alarm and they are trying to "**change course**". (1) If it is not successful there may be no reason why the western, Euro-American civilization should not end up in the same way as famous empires in the past:

Man will go on ascending, but his ascent may not be guided by western civilization as we know it. Just now we are on the scales of history. If they find us lacking, the next step will be taken by somebody else. We have no guarantee, just as the Assyrians, Egypt and Rome did not have.

Jacob Bronowski

The American futurologist, Alvin Toffler (2), writes that our civilization has built its understanding of progress on three ideas which have led us into crisis:

1. *It is right to exploit and rule Nature.*
2. *People are the supreme creation of evolution, the principle of natural selection (Darwin) is transferred also into social understanding (the richest and most powerful people are also the most able and the most worthy).*
3. *History irreversibly makes for the better life of Mankind.*

It is remarkable how many people today, and not only today, think that the reason for the crisis is that which above all politicians often present to the citizens as a desirable aim - i.e. **affluence**:

But when the state became powerful through work and justice, powerful kings were overcome in war, barbarous tribes and great nations were subjugated by power, when Carthage, a rival of the Roman Empire, was wiped out to the roots, when all the seas and lands were open to them - at that time luck started to play the devil and to turn everything upside down. For those who had easily borne pains, danger, unsure and difficult periods, peace and wealth, at some other time so desirable, became a burden and bad luck.

Gaius Sallustinus Crispus (86 - 35 BC)

Affluence has often brought the polarization of society into the rich and the poor. It is the same today and the situation is now probably the most acute in history. The gap between the rich and the poor assumes today new, non-traditional forms and we can distinguish three types of affluence which separate the haves from the have-nots:

- a) the rich and the poor in a material sense;
- b) those who do and those who do not have access to information;
- c) a split in society between those who are looking for knowledge and wisdom and those who are indifferent.

Affluence leads also to the irresolution of political élites and nations and to an inability to accept energetic and maybe also painful measures, which would, however, prevent future shocks with much worse consequences. Let us remember the inability of the international community to prevent the wars in Somalia, former Yugoslavia etc. Too often provocative arrogance brought benefits for local criminals and rivers of blood for the victims. This is nothing new. In 1936 Winston Churchill attacked the government for their inability to prepare for Hitler's attack, saying:

This government is simply not able to make a decision or make the Prime Minister do so. Therefore they continue in this peculiar paradox, decided to be indecisive, resolved to resolve nothing, stubborn in their hesitation, firm in their flabbiness, strong in their powerlessness. ...We are approaching the end of the era of postponements, partial solutions, comforting and nonsensical excuses and delays. Instead we are entering the period of their consequences.

What will, in Churchill's words, "the period of their consequences" at the end of the millennium be? Robert D. Kaplan, in his essay, *The Coming Anarchy* (3), describes our prospects as follows:

Ecological exhaustion, cultural and racist collision, geographical contingency and changes in the form of war are the basic factors which influence development. Africa, or the region of the Gulf of Guinea, is the place where the negative influence of these factors manifests itself. This part of the planet offers a dreadful picture of poverty, disease and exhausted resources. It is a region of collapsing nation states and international frontiers, escalating crime rates and permanent tribal wars. In this situation an uncontrolled explosion of criminal anarchy appears to be a real strategic danger. Such a development may be expected by the rest of Africa and the Third World. In these countries, which are extremely difficult to control, the pressure then results, not in totalitarianism, but in the collapse of social structures and in a "culture of street hawks", such as in Somalia. Waves of boundless conflicts without clear definition will dash across the continents, which means for the West that there will be no obvious and easily definable threat such as communism or Nazism.

Such a development, however, can lead only to the discrediting of the ideals of democracy and to a call for a strong authoritarian ruler. Even if an "enlightened" ruler appears, society is defenceless against the possibility that the ruler or his successors may become very "unenlightened" rulers in the course of time.

Paul Johnson, the author of the book, *The History of the 20th Century* (4), considers **moral relativism** to be the basic reason for the escalation of the world crisis in the 20th century, resulting in a great wave of violence (above all in two world wars):

Marx described a world whose leverage was economic interest, for Freud sexual motivation was the most important. Both assumed that religion, the original impulse which moves individuals and crowds, is and always was a mere fiction. The third of this trio of great German thinkers, who tried in the 19th century to explain human behaviour, Friedrich Nietzsche, was an atheist too. Religious faith will be replaced by secular ideology. Those who once filled the ranks of totalitarian clergy will become totalitarian politicians. The will to power will give birth to a new kind of messiah who will not be limited by any religious principles and will want to govern Mankind with an inextinguishable desire. The end of the old order and the world lurching without a guide in a relativistic universe was a direct appeal for gangster statesmen to appear on the scene. Their appearance was not long in coming.

If the 20th century has brought so much poverty and suffering, does it mean that Mankind has gradually degenerated and is behaving worse and worse? I do not think so. In comparison with our ancestors we have much greater opportunities to influence our environment and we have also much greater responsibility which we are not always able to accept.

During the whole period of his existence, Man has influenced the environment - in a positive and also negative way and to a still growing extent. So we might complete this example with the statement that contemporary generations are basically neither better nor worse than previous generations, but we have, thanks to science and technical advance, substantially greater opportunities which are, it seems, not counterbalanced by greater responsibility and also foresight. In comparison with past generations, however, we are more experienced and we have more information available. This is our chance, because *"every crisis at the same time in its own way means a catharsis, it bears within itself the enormous potential of positive powers whose release contributes to the birth of new quality."* (1)

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The State of the World

We will mention, briefly and without claim to completeness, some global problems to be able to show why the world needs a vision of how to continue.

The population problem

Today on the Earth there live more than six billion people. In the countries of Western Europe the density of population per square kilometre reaches the figure of 100, 200, and also nearly 300. The population here is now stabilized and is hardly increasing, in some places it is even declining. The population is growing older. There are more and more people of post-productive age and it is increasingly difficult for a state to provide for its inhabitants corresponding social security and health care.

In the developing countries, that means in the poor, non-industrialized countries, there live eighty per cent of the world's population. Population density in these countries is usually not too high - several dozen people per square kilometre. However the statistics are sometimes confusing.

In Egypt today there are 60 million inhabitants and the figure doubles in only 30 years. Such a trend should make us nervous. If we calculate the density of the population, there are only 57 per square kilometre. But in Egypt, only 2.5 % of the land is cultivated. If we calculate the number of inhabitants not over the whole territory of Egypt but only the cultivated land, then the density is 2,315 per square kilometre!

Unlike the developed countries, the population in the developing countries is very young, the majority of people are of pre-productive age, and because in the developing countries there live four fifths of the world's population, we can say that even in general terms Mankind is "young", with the highest representation in the pre-productive categories. This means a very important fact. If you had a magic wand and arranged that from this moment on every parental couple in the world would have at most two children, the number of people in the following twenty years would increase to eight billion. Why? Because the largest age groups are today the youngest and as they grow to productive age the number of people will increase even if nobody has more than two children. But because we have no magic wand, we know that the number of people in the first half of the 21st century will reach probably not eight but approximately 10 billion.

Why do the people in the developing countries have so many children? Above all **in the poor developing countries there is no social and old-age security and health care**. So if you fall ill or grow old you are dependent on the help of your immediate family. Parents believe that if they have more children they have a better chance that some of them will be able to take care of them.

Cheap child labour is another factor. The majority of people work in agriculture (often 80 or more per cent of the population). Children often do not attend school, they work in the fields.

Sex is one of the few accessible pleasures for the poor and unemployed. The poor usually survive from one day to the next and they have little sense of thinking in the long term. **Religious and cultural reasons**, of course, play a very important role too. In some places for a woman to be able to fulfil her role as a mother she should give birth to at least four or five children. In other places she is supposed to give birth to a son or sons.

We face the fundamental question: can we and do we want to regulate the growth of the population on the Earth?

As early as 1824 the British priest, Malthus, stated a remarkable hypothesis:

Human population does not differ from the population of plants and animals, which tend to grow in a geometrical sequence (exponentially), while the production of food increases in an arithmetical sequence (linearly). If Mankind does not voluntarily limit its ability to reproduce, it will increase in number and the outside limits - hunger and war - will be applied.

Let us emphasize the key word *voluntarily*. Man is the only species from the animal kingdom which can voluntarily regulate its reproduction and thus avoid painful **outside limits** - epidemics, hunger, war etc.

Let us thus assume that the regulation of the growth in population is desirable. How is it possible to achieve it? Of course not by dictatorial, totalitarian methods. In the short term this can work, but definitely not in the long term. This is, I am afraid, the case of China. When China had a billion inhabitants it aimed at halting the growth in the population at the level of 1.2 billion people. It was successful to a considerable extent at the cost of very rough economic measures towards parents who have more than two children and above all by enforcing abortions. Even if we do not evaluate the moral side of it, we can assume that in the future transfer of China from a totalitarian political system to a democratic one there may be a population explosion. Pressure provokes counter-pressure.

Is there a **democratic way to limit the growth in the world's population**? Yes, there is - **economic development**. In all the countries which have risen from poverty and achieved a Gross Domestic Product of approximately 1,000 US dollars per capita, population growth has been changed and the situation has been stabilized. This is not illogical. As soon as a state becomes richer, social insurance and health care start to work, the people when old are not dependent only on the care of the family and they can receive a certain pension. In agriculture fewer people are necessary, more of them work in industry and above all in the services. The standard of living increases and the inhabitants no longer fight only for survival and the assurance of the basic needs of life. Children start to attend school and the parents want to offer them and also themselves something more than survival. They start to realize, although it is slightly paradoxical, that they cannot have many children if they want to lead dignified lives. Previously there was practically no chance at all, but now there is. Not, however, for ten children but e.g. for three or four. The curve of population growth quickly declines.

The last thing is to answer the cardinal question. How can four fifths of Mankind be given a chance of achieving economic prosperity? We can see in our country how complicated the economic transformation is and it is true we evidently rank globally among the 20 per cent of privileged and rich inhabitants of the planet. In addition, where is it possible to gain the resources for such development? **A fifth of the world's population consumes eighty per cent of the raw materials, ninety per cent of the resources of energy and produces a similar amount of waste**. This leads even today to serious damage to the environment, as we will show later. How is it possible to ensure a sustainable and friendly environment for four billion people? We will try to consider this in the following chapters, but one thing is clear; it will have to be a **development which will be qualitatively different** from the one which Europe and North America have gone through in the last two centuries.

The number of people in the world is connected also with the question of assuring **food supplies**. Will the planet be able to feed Mankind? For the time being there is enough food, but it is desperately unevenly produced and distributed. Therefore the food is destroyed in some places

to prevent a reduction in price (or at most the state buys it and in the form of food assistance provides it to regions in need), in other places children have stomachs swollen with hunger. However, the situation in the future is very uncertain. Since the 1950s we have been able to increase the production of food thanks to mechanization, chemization and the genetic cultivation of species. We called it the **green revolution** and in reality for thirty years the increase in food production was quicker than the increase in the number of people in the world, but it is not possible for ever. In the period from the 1950s to the middle of the 1980s the consumption of pesticides increased 32 times, the consumption of artificial fertilizers nine times and the surface area of irrigated fields twice. It will not be possible to repeat this. It is very demanding in terms of energy consumption and even if today you put 100 times more pesticides or artificial fertilizers into the soil the yield would not be substantially higher. The soil has been chemically impregnated.

It has happened twice (in the 1970s and 1980s) that in a climatically unsuccessful year around the world there was a poorer crop of cereals than was necessary to satisfy people's needs even with equitable distribution. This is a warning.

Lester Brown, a director of the American Worldwatch Institute (1), has come up with an interesting observation. With its industrialization and economic development, China is able to buy more and more cereals on the world markets. China has 1.3 billion inhabitants and only 0.1 hectare of arable land per inhabitant. This is the least in the world, and millions of tonnes of fertile loess are washed away into the sea every year by Chinese rivers. This is caused both by natural factors (it is not without reason that the longest Chinese river is called the Yellow River), and anthropogenic factors, above all by the enormous water and wind erosion of the soil which is caused by intensive agriculture.

China will soon be able to buy the entire world food surplus. States such as Canada, the USA, Australia or the European countries will prefer to sell their surplus to China for hard currency rather than provide it, within development assistance, free of charge or as a bad debt, to the poorest countries. The prosperity of China thus may unfavourably cause hunger in other, poor and financially insolvent, regions.

Health issues

We all know very well to what extent health, physical and mental comfort are necessary for a satisfied life. Health is not the highest value, but it is enough to spend a week in hospital and our convalescence becomes the central topic of our consideration.

Around the world there are many diseases which Europe eradicated in the Late Middle Ages. In Africa, South and South-East Asia and in Latin America there is still **cholera** (it has appeared several years ago also in Russia and Rumania), **malaria, typhus, leprosy** and other terrible diseases. It is possible to eradicate these diseases, or at least to reduce them. For instance, about three million people today suffer from leprosy. If the illness is brought under control in its first stage (light, insensitive stains on the skin), a medicine costing six US dollars can cure it. More advanced stages demand hospitalization and they are more expensive, however even they are curable. A lack of money, medicine and the prejudices of people in affected areas, however, prevent the eradication of this illness.

The inhabitants of the developed countries suffer from different problems - **illnesses of the circulatory system, illnesses resulting from overweight, degenerative disorders, tumorous diseases** and also **injuries**. In the Czech Republic alone, 1,400 people die annually in car accidents, 6,000 people are seriously injured and nearly 30,000 people suffer slight injuries.

The voluntary destruction of health by taking poisons - **drugs, alcohol and smoking** - is a separate problem. Some experts suggest the imposition of a special tax on alcohol and cigarettes, from which treatment of the diseases caused by these poisons would be paid. Why should a teetotaler or non-smoker contribute to the treatment of somebody who consciously and voluntarily damages their health for years?

AIDS is a sad example of an illness which is common to both regions. We still do not want to admit it in our country, but this illness is like an avalanche. UN projections estimate that in the year 2010 AIDS will reduce life expectancy in Zambia from 66 to 33 years, in Zimbabwe from 70 to 40 years, in Kenya from 68 to 40 years and in Uganda from 59 to 31 years! Everything what has been achieved in Africa in the course of the last century thanks to medical care may be lost.

AIDS is also an example of a dilemma which we face. Present-day medical science is able to help to allay suffering, to slow down the advance of a disease when it is not possible to cure it. However, this is very expensive. The treatment alone of a patient costs annually 20 000 US dollars. If there are one hundred patients it is acceptable, but what if there are tens of thousands? And what about people in the developing countries, where there are millions of affected people, the states are poor, and we have not mentioned corruption and the indifference of governing élites. Of course suffering people should be provided with the best care. I am only trying to point out a problem which is growing before our eyes and whose solution is unknown.

The problem of violence

Where does Man's longing for governing, conquering and subjugating come from? For the majority of his development, **Man was a hunter** and we have a hunter's attitude, so to speak, in our genes (the male part of the population). If we watch the world soccer championship, the behaviour of players and fans, not only in the stadium, but also at home in front of the television, resembles, with slight exaggeration, a state of war. But competitiveness in sport is still a very good outlet for discharging aggression.

Man the hunter differs from animals fundamentally. Of course animals protect their territories, but the fights end only exceptionally in the death of the weaker one, there are no fights which resemble the way people fight.

At the period 1995 - 1989 there were 138 military conflicts in which 81 countries participated and 23 million people were killed. For only three weeks in this period there was no war on the Earth. If somebody added the conflicts since 1980 up today, it would certainly be more than two hundred conflicts all together.

In the second half of the 1980s around **1,000 billion dollars were spent on armaments annually**. Today it is approximately 650 billion US dollars. China, Russia and the United States have the largest armies in the world. The list of the ten largest armies is, surprisingly, as follows - India, Iraq, Vietnam, North Korea, Egypt, Pakistan and South Korea. These are (with the

exception of South Korea) poor and usually non-democratic countries. Not only these ones but also other developing countries spend enormous sums on armaments. Whereas the United States spends about five per cent of its state budget on armaments, in some of the totalitarian developing countries it is thirty or even more per cent. Such a state will, of course, behave unscrupulously, not only towards its own inhabitants, but also towards Nature. Tropical forests will be ruthlessly cleared, the raw materials plundered and exported just to gain the foreign currency to buy the most advanced military systems.

Today fortunately there is no threat of a direct, large-scale, global military conflict. Nevertheless, around the world **dozens of local and regional conflicts have started, in which light infantry weapons are often used**, and to which, however, **the world community does not know how to react**. Somalia, former Yugoslavia, conflicts in the former Soviet Union, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire etc. are examples. The United States is right when it refuses to play alone the role of world policeman, or more precisely "firefighter".

Violence happens not only in war. Today's nation states face the **increasing power of organized crime**. This is connected with the illegal **drug trade**, which is its main source of income (though not the only one). The world's illegal drug trade today represents a sum of 500 billion dollars. It is thirty times larger than the present state budget of our republic. Organized crime is able to corrupt high state and political representatives and thus it is a threat to the democratic functioning of the states themselves.

We should also rank among the violence **contempt for human rights** and their non-observance. Most of us remember what it was to live in a totalitarian country. Let us remember that around the world there is a minority of states in which a democratic political system operates. Thousands of people are imprisoned for their opinions, millions of people live undignified lives - they lie and teach their children to lie to be able to survive. Unfortunately, democratic states very often ignore this, if it helps their business.

The uneven distribution of wealth

At international forums, such was the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and then in New York in 1997 (Rio plus 5 Conference), there appears the following contention which has no solution: the rich countries criticize the **developing countries** for the fact that **their populations are growing too quickly**. The developing countries accuse the **rich ones of consuming too many resources** and thus undermining the opportunity of the future development of the poor states.

Our planet is rich in resources, but they are desperately unevenly and unjustly distributed. To give two examples, the **average Canadian consumes five hundred times more energy than the average Ethiopian**, and our consumption (in the Czech Republic), in comparison with the average Ethiopian, is "only" two hundred and fifty times greater.

Around the world there live 360 people whose property represents a value of more than a billion dollars each. Most of them have of course more than one billion. These 360 people together own property which is the same as the property of forty five per cent of the population with low incomes. In other words, 360 people own the same property as 2.5 billion less lucky inhabitants of the planet. It is possible to object that the rules of the market are the reason and

anyone who plays well according to the rules benefits. The objection is that **the market is not the aim but always only a means**, and if it causes such disproportions it must be regulated, otherwise we are its slaves.

There are not only enormous disparities between the wealth of individual countries but also inside these countries. In the United States, which has 270 million inhabitants, 35 million live below the poverty line.

In the developing countries the situation is worse. **There is no middle class which would stabilize society, or it is very weak.** If the difference between the incomes of the upper twenty per cent of the population is in comparison with the lower twenty per cent of the population in the developed countries from 6:1 to 8:1, in the developing countries it is much greater. The greatest disparity is in Brazil: 31:1. If we compared e.g. the upper and lower five per cent of the population, the difference would be several hundred times. This leads often to the frustration and anger of the unprivileged. The rich then live behind barbed-wire fences, they hire bodyguards, they go only by car to school to collect their children and, which is maybe even worse, this situation seems to be a deadlock, because the market will not create a sufficient number of jobs. Millions of people are unnecessary, nobody cares about them. Mother Teresa of Calcutta, when she was asked what she considered to be **the most serious problem** in the world, said "**to be undesired**". Those who grow up in poverty with the feeling that they are not loved and are not welcome in this world suffer most.

Resources

We exhaust the sources of energy and raw material very quickly and in large amounts. Our industrial civilization is based, above all, on the utilization of fossil fuels - coal, crude oil and gas.

It is estimated that the world's reserves of oil will last for approximately fifty years and the reserves of gas and coal for approximately two centuries. Today it may seem to us like Utopia, but **in the course of several decades**, at most a century, **we will have to manage with renewable resources.**

The utilization of nuclear energy is possible but very problematic. There is always a potential risk of accident (thanks to the human factor; people, unlike technology, can always make mistakes). We do not know what to do with the waste, nuclear power stations are expensive, their service life is limited and the cost of decommissioning a nuclear power station at the end of its service life, according to American experience, equals 130 per cent of the cost of constructing it. Mainly at the global level, however, they do not represent a solution. Also, uranium is a non-renewable resource and **the world will never have the money to build thousands of nuclear power stations which are necessary to satisfy the demand for energy.**

To save and to start utilizing renewable resources is a real solution. To save means not to tighten our belts but to transfer from primitive and wasteful technologies to modern and economical ones.

The situation with raw materials is similar. The reserves of not only gold, mercury, copper, tin, but also limestone, kaolin etc. are limited and final. 30 years ago the authors of the first report to the Club of Rome, Denis and Donella Meadows and J. Randers (2), warned that with unchanged

trends starting in 1972 the reserves of gold would be exhausted within 11 years, the reserves of mercury within 13 years, of silver within 16 years, of crude oil within 31 years etc. This did not happen. However, the report warned against unsustainable trends and it was right in the most important thing - we cannot utilize non-renewable and exhaustible resources for ever. But why was it wrong concerning the dates when these resources would be exhausted? **New important deposits of the majority of resources have been discovered.** New, **more economical technologies have been invented.** In the developed world they **have started to save raw materials**, with many of them being **recycled.** **Many raw materials have been replaced** by other materials e.g. plastics have replaced some metals, more effective optic fibres have replaced copper cables in telecommunications etc. and finally, the **developed countries have built their material infrastructure** and they will more or less just maintain it. For instance, the Netherlands does not want to concentrate at building new express highways, railways, seaports and airports any more. It wants to find a role in the sphere of non-material services (banking, trade, information technology etc.) which are the most demanding in terms of the search for information and its processing, but which are also the most profitable today.

In the future there will be **conflicts for resources** which are non-exhaustible and renewable. Water is one example. The Middle East, North Africa or the middle of Australia suffer greatly from a lack of water. If there had been more moisture in the region of the Dead Sea in Israel or in Death Valley in the United States there would have been not a desert but forests. In the first half of the 21st century there will probably be wars for these resources (as there was in 1991 in the war in the Persian Gulf, where the point was oil), above all for water.

The threat to the environment

The environment of Mankind is the part of the world with which Man is in mutual interaction.

Biodiversity

We can consider four types of biodiversity: **gene diversity**, which is a matter of molecular biology and genetics; **species diversity**, which is the best-known (the conservation of the existence of the species of flora and fauna); **ecosystems diversity** (the protection of ecosystems, which create the environment for the existence of species e.g. wetlands) and finally **cultural diversity** (the preservation of various human cultures, including "primitive" ones, such as the culture of Amazonian Indians, Australian aboriginals, African Pygmys or Asian mountain nations).

Estimates of the overall number of animal species on the Earth vary between 3 - 50 million. Only 1.7 million species have been described. Above all, among invertebrate animals there are millions of species which nobody has so far seen, studied or described. In flora about 350,000 species are known and there may not be many more. The existence of approximately one tenth of floral species is, however, threatened. According to some estimates, maybe a little exaggerated, half of the flora and fauna species could disappear from the Earth's surface before the year 2100.

Even from a purely anthropocentric point of view we can give at least three reasons why biodiversity is important:

1. **The ethical reason** - we have no right to destroy or threaten other forms of life.

2. **The ecological reason** - plants and animals as living elements of ecosystems are necessary for them to function and for the preservation of life on the Earth.

3. **The economic reason** - biodiversity is so far underestimated natural resource which is, however, very important for the cultivation of new agricultural plants and animals and for the development of branches of industry with good prospects, such as the pharmaceutical industry, food industry, textiles, chemical industry, the development of biotechnologies etc.

Let us look at cultural diversity. Today Euro-American culture "rolls over" the majority of other cultures. The Arab region and maybe also Hispanic or Chinese culture are trying to resist. However, wherever you are, in New York, Moscow, the Sahara, India, Brazil or on Wenceslas Square, everywhere you are exposed to the same **aggressive influence of western type advertising**, which stresses success, making money and enjoying life.

Tropical rain forests

Forests are the most productive natural ecosystems and they cover 33 per cent of the land surface of the Earth (not counting the Antarctic). However, tropical rain forests are the most endangered. They cover only six per cent of the surface of the Earth but in them live forty per cent of all the animal and plant species. We can consider them to be the lungs of the planet, they produce approximately one third of all oxygen and absorb carbon dioxide. Today these forests are disappearing very quickly, every year we lose about 150 thousand square kilometres of them. In total we have lost about 40 percent of the world's tropical forests.

The spread of deserts

Deserts cover 28.5 per cent of the surface of the Earth, providing we do not count also polar deserts such as the Antarctic or Greenland.

We should be worried that the extent of the deserts is increasing. The situation is the worst in the Sahel region.

One third of cultivated land is endangered by the spread of deserts, i.e. desertification. The reasons are: the unsuitable cultivation of the land, excessive grazing, clearing trees and bushes to obtain firewood, the destruction of tropical rain forests and changes in climate. In the course of the last century agriculture has lost 10 million square kilometres of cultivated land, above all in Africa and the Far East.

The pollution of the atmosphere and changes in climate

The pollution of water and atmosphere is the most evident and directly measurable threat to Man's environment. In the 1970s and 1980s mainly **acid rain** was spoken about. It is caused above all by burning low-quality, sulphuric lignite.

The worst situation was in Europe in the so-called black triangle - in the north of Bohemia and the adjacent territories of Poland and former East Germany. And, because the pollution of the atmosphere does not respect state borders, we evidently contributed to the acidification of Scandinavian lakes, where the local fishermen lost their livelihood. Today the situation in the whole of Europe is improving.

The developed states have the finance to utilize modern technology, the installation of separators, desulphurizers and water treatment systems, but many developing countries are

imitating our industrial development with old-fashioned technology (it is usually exported there by the developed countries). Traces of the influence of acid rain are evident in China, India, Nigeria, the Republic of South Africa, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico and other countries.

The greenhouse effect

The greenhouse effect is created by the influence of greenhouse gases, above all by carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxide, freons and some other gases. These substances, if they are released into the atmosphere, do exactly the same thing as glass in a greenhouse - they let through the visible part of radiation. However, this radiation, which changes into long-wave, thermal radiation after striking the Earth's surface, cannot escape back into space.

If global warming is increased by 2 - 4 degrees Celsius, a problem will appear. The icebergs will melt, the level of the oceans will start to increase. The islands in the Pacific and Carribean regions will be flooded and people will lose their homes. Dozens of world cities are situated on the coasts of the oceans or seas and they will be endangered. Tens of millions of people live in the deltas of rivers where, thanks to the alluvia, there are fertile soils. If the level of the rivers increases by only half a metre, **migration inland will start and it will not be stopped by the frontiers between states.**

As a consequence of the changes in the circulation of air streams, some areas will be drier, some damper. Some areas will be warmer (thus the ecosystems of the northern tundra would be in danger), others will be cooler. It is paradoxical that during global warming it will be maybe cooler in Great Britain. The warm Gulf Stream will probably deviate towards the north-west and the climate in Great Britain could be similar to conditions in the central part of Norway.

The hole in the ozone layer

The hole in the ozone layer is maybe the most serious danger for Mankind. In the stratosphere, at an altitude of 18 - 20 km, our planet is surrounded by a layer with an increased level of ozone. It protects the Earth and the living creatures on it against the excessive concentration of ultraviolet and cosmic radiation.

It has been found that freons released from refrigerating equipment or the propellant gases in sprays rise into the stratosphere and there the highly reactive fluorine and chlorine are released from their bonds and they react with the ozone. Chlorine and fluorine oxides and ordinary oxygen appear. The ozone is destroyed. **Freons have been rising into the stratosphere for many years, maybe decades** (the estimate is 15 - 50 years). This means that, even if all of us stopped using freons, the situation would not be better for several decades. The present problems with the ozone layer are caused by our activities many years ago.

In the case of the damaging of the ozone layer, maybe for the first time in history, nations acted quickly and effectively and by the year 2005, according to the Montreal protocol signed in 1987, the production and utilization of freons should be stopped around the world. However, we again face here the disparity between the developed North and developing South. **The rich states have know-how and they can manage the technologies which can replace the use of freons.** The developing countries do not own these technologies and they have neither the human nor financial capacities for local research and development so they say to the industrialized countries: "give them to us". This, however, will be very difficult because **intellectual wealth is today what is most appreciated in the developed world** and what these countries protect most and the

developing countries react: "so O.K., then we are forced to use our out-dated technologies. We, in the end, in the tropics and subtropics need the refrigerators more than you who live in more favourable climatic conditions". Thanks to such an irresponsible attitude and inability to agree quickly, all of us, the poor and the rich, may be the losers.

In our list of global problems, we have, of course, neglected the many other pressing problems of the present and the future. One example is the **growth of towns** when the biggest cities have around twenty million inhabitants. Cities today are expanding, above all **in the developing countries**. While in 1960 New York was the biggest city, in 2000 it was the sixth. London, which in 1960 was the second biggest, was in 2000 the twenty-seventh. However, while Mexico City was the fifteenth in 1960, now it is first with more than twenty million inhabitants. Sao Paulo was the seventeenth, today it is the second with nineteen million inhabitants. And a North-American city with only a million inhabitants daily consumes 800,000 tonnes of water, 2,000 tonnes of food, produces 2,000 tonnes of waste and burns 12,500 tonnes of fuel from which there remain 1,200 tonnes of ash.

The developing countries are not able to build in the towns an infrastructure (water distribution, drains, electricity, transport, schools and medical centres). These poor conditions, of course, influence the crime rate, mass unemployment rate and aggressive behaviour, and from the countryside there come more and more people who cannot make a living on the land and who hope that they will be given a chance in the towns.

We have not mentioned the **problem of unemployment** and the sensible spending of free time. An unemployment rate up to six or seven per cent can still be considered healthy; there is competition for jobs, but the developed European states have often an unemployment rate higher than ten per cent and this burdens the state excessively (unemployment benefit, social benefits) and causes pathological social phenomena.

In the developing countries a high percentage of the inhabitants are not employed or are employed insufficiently. Some of them work outside the officially observed economic sector and other people work illegally 10 - 15 hours a day, without registration, without insurance, for poor pay or for just something to survive on.

With the present development of science and technology there arises the question of **what to do with unqualified people**. In the USA and other developed countries difficult thing is to find an unqualified job which does not demand education. This is where heavy competition and the worst pay are found.

We have not mentioned also the possible **expansion of Man into space** either (and its assumed positive and negative consequences), even though in the coming decades maybe only to the nearest reaches of space. With the technology available today it would even be possible to build whole satellite cities in orbit (but also on the sea or at the bottom of the oceans).

We have analysed neither the opportunities for development nor the risks and threats of the so-called **biological time bomb**. We have mentioned before the neolithic revolution and the industrial revolution, we could speak about the present scientific and technological revolution as a higher level of industrial (or postindustrial) revolution. What next? Biological revolution? Biologically orientated branches, such as **biotechnology, genetic engineering**, the medical

sciences or psychology, could indicate the direction of the development of Mankind in the 21st century. This is not only a chance for Mankind but also a great demand for responsibility. Will we manage to use the opportunity and accept the responsibility? The recent reports about the successful cloning of sheep and even anthropoids are a great challenge. Will we clone people? Are we able to think about the consequences?

I would like to mention one more problem. It is more an individual problem, but it has a global influence. We could call it the **escape from reality**.

We all have met weaklings who spend their lives in fruitless dreaming and sighing about what they could be and what they could manage "if". Life goes on and they have no courage to live in reality. This attitude is spreading today, it has various and, at first sight, attractive forms and it threatens the disintegration of the personality of the individual. The situation with society and individuals is the same as with the human body and individual cells, or with a house and individual bricks. If the bricks or cells are not good enough, they cannot create a high-quality house or a functioning, healthy body. It is simply not possible.

Among the means of such escape from reality there are **drugs, gambling** and the escape from life into **pseudo-religious sects**, but there can also be **computer virtual reality**. We will soon be able "seemingly" to go through a tropical forest, to climb Everest, to play tennis at Wimbledon etc. In itself it is not bad and for the purposes of education, training or recreation this may be perfect, but we cannot allow it to enslave us and we cannot escape into a world which is only "seemingly" real. The present-day sitting in front of a computer screen and **endless "surfing" on the Internet** is a small warning.

I consider also the **aggressive influence of today's advertising** to be an escape from reality, and this time very dangerous. It is a delusion and a hoax, this game of success, eternal youth, health, luminous white teeth etc., and an emptiness in the heart and soul. Such a world does not exist and despite this we are bombarded with the vision of an unreal world at every step only in order to make us buy more, to consume more, to produce more and more, to earn, consume and again produce, earn - and so it goes on, round and round.

A boycott of the products and services whose advertisements are based on arrogant lies and hoaxes would be the best reaction. However, it demands a desirable level of civic maturity and commitment.

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The Biosphere and the Environment of Man

The biosphere is the part of the globe in which living organisms exist and in which ecosystems work (1). In other words, it is a vivified "skin" encircling the planet, 20 km deep (approximately 9 km above and 11 km below sea-level). Approximately **95% of all living organisms are found**

in a layer only about 3,700 metres deep (3,500 m above and 200 m below sea-level - because solar radiation penetrates to a depth of only about 200m where photosynthetic processes can be in progress and other forms of life at greater depths are dependent on detrital fall-out).

The Earth's diameter is 12,756 km. So it is clear how thin a skin the biosphere is. So far the only known forms of life in the Universe are on our planet. Our distance from the Sun is 147 - 150 million km. If we got closer than 145 million km to the Sun, the water from the oceans would evaporate. If we moved further than 152 million km from the Sun, the water in the oceans would freeze up. So life is a miracle and a great gift.

The environment of Man is the part of the world with which man is in mutual relationship, i.e. which **he uses, influences and to which he adapts** (the definition of UNESCO). To put it simply, the whole biosphere is our environment today. Therefore it is in our interest to take care of our environment, i.e. the biosphere as best we can.

Enlightened rulers in the past were able to realise the importance of nature and natural resources. As long ago as in antiquity (in Egypt) and in the Middle Ages from time to time there appeared regulations of a ruler concerning the economic exploitation of the woods. But wildlife protection has been developing more systematically in Europe over about the last 170 years. We can distinguish several periods:

- the 1830's saw the beginning of wildlife protection; it was a period of individuals who were romantic revivalists and enlightened nobles; new "reserves" were established on private estates; by 1918 there were already 20 of these on the territory of the Czech Republic;
- from the 1870's to the 1920's club activities of various associations for wildlife protection were typical;
- the year 1872 was the first time the state was involved in wildlife protection (Yellowstone national park was established "for the good and pleasure of people"). The U.S.A. was followed by other countries that started to take responsibility for wildlife conservation. This process was completed in the advanced world after World War II.

Approximately in the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's the understanding of the concept "wildlife protection" was being extended. There was a need to protect and take care not only of species of plants and animals, but also of their "environment" - of whole ecosystems and the countryside. The concept "the protection of the natural environment", later "the protection of the environment" or "the protection and forming of the environment" is being implemented.

In the second half of the 1980's another qualitative change occurred. The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, called "Our Common Future" (2) defined the concept of sustainable development. The idea of sustainable development attracted great attention and as early as 1992 the so far largest conference in the history of mankind, the UN Conference on Environment and Development, took place in Rio de Janeiro.

Gradually there appeared dozens of definitions of sustainable development or growth (the concept of sustainable growth is often used by economists; on the other hand environmentalists and ecologists usually criticise and condemn it), a sustainable society, a sustainable future or a sustainable way of life. This dispersion and heterogeneity is logical. For instance, modern economics has been developing the concept of the market economy for 200 years, the concept of **sustainable development** (way of life, etc.) has been developing for 15 years. The point is no

longer a matter of biological or geographical disciplines, but **it is a real interdisciplinary matter**. Not only specialists in the natural sciences, humanities and technical branches, but also artists (an emotional component counterbalancing a one-sided rational view of science) and involved citizens (sustainable society is based on the increasing importance of participatory democracy) will take part in formulating and pushing through the conception of sustainable development and a sustainable way of life.

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The Third Global Revolution

It is likely we are approaching a **great qualitative transition on a global scale**. Eight thousands years ago man - hunter and nomad - became a settled farmer; it was the **neolithic revolution**. Three centuries ago we learnt to use the energy of fossil fuels, this technical and industrial development set the course of Euro-american civilisation; it was the **industrial**

revolution. Over the last three decades the most developed countries have moved into another phase which is called postindustrial. At first physical power (of individuals and armies), later money, was crucial and necessary to gain power and become a ruler. **Now knowledge and information have become vital.** Even the postindustrial era is understood by futurologists as a continuation of previous development, only the main conditions of development are not metal and energy from coal power-stations any more, but knowledge and the increasing contribution of non-material activities to gross domestic product.

According to Alvin Toffler, (1) the U.S.A. was the first state to enter the **postindustrial stage** in 1955 **when the number of intellectual workers** in the sphere of services **exceeded the number of manual workers.** (Today in the U.S.A. only 2 - 3% of the economically active population work in agriculture, 15% in industry and 87% in the tertiary sphere. But even in the tertiary sphere there is a process of **division into creative workers and service personnel.** For instance, as far as computers are concerned there are creators of software and operators. It means a **new “educated proletariat” is being formed.**)

The U.S.A. was followed gradually by other countries of the industrially developed world. Other states, which have gone through rough and rapid industrialisation not such a long time ago - South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, but also Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand - have recently joined this world. Naisbitt and Aburden (2) predicts at the beginning of the 21st century the most dynamic and developing territories will be the Pacific Regions (a vast territory including the west coast of North and South America, the coastal territory of China and maybe even the eastern part of Russia, Japan, South-East Africa, Australia and New Zealand).

Judging according to the coefficients of the growth of gross domestic product, cheaper labour and work efficiency in the Pacific Regions, Europe is likely to fall behind. But we think that the change, which has already started and will finish in the first half of the 21st Century, will be even deeper than “only” the transformation to a postindustrial society. The point will be a change of direction of our civilisation, a revolution in our aims, a new questioning of the meaning of life (“why in fact are we here?”) and a change in our value orientation. We are not only heading for a postindustrial society, but at the same time it will be probably a period of ethical revolution.

So the third global revolution is comparable in importance with the neolithic and the industrial revolutions. Next we would like to try to elucidate the very substantial, maybe **vital precondition of the third global revolution - sustainable development** and a sustainable way of life. Before we do so, we should go back to the industrial era and try to understand what was typical for it and what it bequeathed to us.

Alvin Toffler, in his famous book “The Third Wave” (1), describes an industrial era with the help of six main characteristics:

1. Standardisation or uniformity, which is a consequence of mass production.
2. Specialisation or professionalism. If people want to be in demand in the labour market and find their place in society, they must be more and more specialised. Michael Pertschule (former

chairman of the US Federal Trade Commission) said: “Our culture is controlled by professionals, who call us customers and speak about our needs.”

3. Synchronisation or work with time. Time is money - that, which should free us, paradoxically enslaves us. E.g. expensive machinery cannot sit idle and that is why there are the second and third shifts.

4. Concentration of production which also influences the concentration of settlement. At first big industrial centres appear, and later also trade, financial and other centres.

5. Maximalisation. We were stupified by size and growth. “Big” became a synonym of the word “effective”, “growth” was identified with “development”, or even with “progress”.

6. Centralisation of power. In the industrial era power was centralised as never before; the symbol of power became above all the sovereignty and inviolability of national states.

Toffler also defines some other characteristics of which at least three are interesting for us:

a) Mass education. Only the industrial era made it possible for education not to be a privilege of the nobility and monks in monasteries. We learnt the reading, writing and arithmetic. But at school we also learnt to be precise (lessons start every day at exactly the same time), to be obedient (towards authority - the teacher) and to be able to do monotonous, repetitive tasks (e.g. learning arithmetic by constant practice).

b) The nuclear family. In the pre-industrial period the extended family (including relatives) living together was typical. In the industrial era people often move to town and during their productive years they must be as free as possible to work in the factories. That is why preschool institutions for children, homes for the elderly and the sick etc. appear. Gradually the family disintegrates to the most basic unit - parents and their children.

c) The producer is separated from the consumer through the market. The market is an exchange network, a switchboard which contributed greatly to the growth of production. The separation of production from consumption, however, causes a deep conflict between demands for higher pay, profits and emoluments from the side of the producers (workers and management) and the opposite call for lower prices, demanded by the consumers (at the same time “producer” changes into “consumer” every day after leaving the factory). The consequence is the need to produce more and consequently also consume more. This is the origin of the consumer style of life, which is today “whipped up” to an extreme by advertisements.

The consumption of energy from fossil fuels, exponential growth and the consumer way of life, together with imperfect or bad technology and the methods of economic and political control have caused serious ecological and other problems, which for the first time in history have become really global.

Global problems will become increasingly acute and we will be confronted more and more with the necessity of finding a solution. It means **even time is an acute problem.**

How should we react to the increasingly acute local, regional and global problems? As individuals and also as a society we have at least three alternatives.

First, **we can underestimate and minimize the problems**. Many people believe that the situation is not serious and that it is not necessary to worry. They consider the threat of the greenhouse effect or the depletion of ozone in the stratosphere as so far not sufficiently scientifically proven and they ask for further measurements and investigation. They do not believe in the exhaustibility of non-renewable sources of raw materials and energy and believe that at the right time we will find the right replacement. They insist that the Earth has the prerequisites to feed tens and maybe hundreds of billions of people as if a scientifically given, hydroponically grown dose of food was enough for man to live on. This attitude means that it is not necessary to act, we can continue our previous economic growth. If we doubt it, we undermine in this way, according to these people, our previous understanding of development and progress and we cast doubts on the aim that is so tempting - to reach prosperity and the satisfaction of material desires at least to the extent in which we can see it in western countries.

Let us suppose that the supporters of this attitude sincerely believe in what they say. Let us also suppose that many phenomena which endangered the environment operate in the long term, they are not felt immediately; these phenomena are very complicated and it is difficult to prove they exist. But, even in this case, for individuals, society and political representatives who are responsible for the development of society there should be an authoritative **precautionary principle**, i.e. **we can only carry out such activities where we are able to estimate reliably the consequences of our behaviour**. Let us illustrate it by the following example:

Let us compare society to the occupants of a car that goes along the road without lights in the night. In front of us in the darkness there is a mountain. Some people believe that there is a tunnel through the mountain, i.e. it is not necessary to worry and we can go on. Other people are afraid that there might be no tunnel and they want to change direction or at least to slow down. The first group is willing to think of a change in direction only after it is totally clear that there is really no tunnel through the mountain. If the first group is wrong and there is no tunnel, things will turn out badly for us. If the second group is wrong and there is a tunnel, the car will only be delayed as a result of caution. In this comparison even time plays an important role. **The longer we discuss and investigate** whether there is or is not a tunnel, **the shorter time we have for slowing down and changing direction**. Applied to reality it means: freons have gone into the stratosphere for about 15 years or more and there they react with the ozone. The present depletion of the ozone layer is a consequence of freons emitted 15 years ago or more. Even if we stop their production and consumption today all over the world, for at least a further 15 but more likely more years the situation will not be better.

Another attitude is to admit the seriousness of problems without trying to solve them. This attitude is, in our opinion, wide-spread above all amongst the general public. We are afraid of a catastrophe, but we do not believe we ourselves can do anything about it. We stay passive, **“we cast our fate to the winds”**, we become, even unconsciously, fatalists. Or at worst we react according to the slogan **“Enjoy yourself”** as long as possible, snatch what is possible from the gifts of the Earth and life regardless of the future. In this way **we lose the instinct of self-preservation** and we behave in a very cruel way mainly to our children and to future generations. We think it is the attitude of weak people and these are people who are satisfied to be members of a herd which likes to be driven, if only it is possible to snatch at least a bit of something pleasant and comfortable for themselves. One can disagree with the people of the first group, but it is

possible, if they are sincere, to respect them. With the people of the second group it is simply impossible.

The third possibility is **to try actively to influence and change the present adverse trends** by formulation and implementation of sustainable development (sustainable way of life) in an active way. A frequent and natural question following the mention of a sustainable way of life is “what is the chance of success?”. We are afraid that nobody knows the answer. Even if the chance is only one per cent, it is worth trying it. In other words - we are not so much responsible for the final result, we are responsible for our effort.

The vision of sustainable development should be understood as a source of hope, a positive solution, a way out of more and more acute global (not only ecological) problems. Its advantage is that it could be acceptable for representatives of various religious and cultural systems (which is indicated e.g. by the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, in which 178 national delegations took part and also the adoption of “**Agenda 21**” at this conference).

According to **the World Commission for Environment and Development** (3) sustainable development is a development which satisfies the needs of the present without threatening the need of future generations to satisfy their own needs... In the widest sense the strategy of sustainable development is concentrated on the attainment of harmony among human beings and between mankind and nature.

This definition is the best-known but it is nevertheless orientated in quite an anthropocentric and narrow way.

Jan Topercer (4) defines sustainable development as a process which aims at changing the behaviour of human society towards itself and also towards its environment (the land and its resources), leading to an increase in the present and future potential to satisfy the needs of people and other beings within the limits of the land and its resources.

Topercer defines sustainable development more biocentrically (the right to satisfy needs relates not only to people but also to other living beings) and more positively - the stress is put on the increase in the present and future potential to satisfy needs, not simply on ensuring contemporary needs and “not jeopardising” the needs of future generations. We think this definition should be an ideal, a desirable aim for the 21st century.

Josef Vavroušek (5) thought that sustainable development, or a sustainable way of life should make an effort to find the ideals of humanism and a harmony in the relationship between man and nature. It is a way of life which looks for a balance between the freedoms and rights of each individual and the individual’s responsibilities towards other people and nature as a whole, including responsibility towards future generations.

From the above-mentioned definitions it is clear that sustainable development or way of life does not aspire to become an all-encompassing vision, a new “religion”, which would solve all the problems of the world and establish heaven on the Earth. A sustainable way of life above all means:

A demand that everyone on the Earth should be able to satisfy at least their basic needs. As basic needs we can consider food, drinkable water, clothes, shelter and also the possibility of satisfying these needs in a dignified way, i.e. by working. But we could also include here the right to a

hygienically acceptable environment of man. At the same time the understanding of basic needs should be extended to cover needs of a non-material character - i.e. relationships among people.

However particularly with **material needs** there is an essential problem - **where is the limit of their satisfaction?** When do we have enough? This was impossible even for once so ambitious communism to answer, even at the theoretical level: "To each according to his need, from each according to his ability." Is, however, a car a justifiable need? A yacht? A flight to the Moon? So far it seems that our desires, understood as needs (and these then as needs to which we have a right), far outstrip our ability to satisfy them. So we will have to change our attitude. Our needs could be satisfied only to the extent to which our planet, "a spaceship", from which at least in the near future there will be no escape, is capable.

A demand that even future generations of people could satisfy their needs and live dignified lives at least to the extent to which we can. This is a big challenge. Over the course of history more and more groups of inhabitants have gradually asserted their rights. Both slaves and serfs, then later "non-whites" asserted their rights; democracy as majority rule appeared, but later also on the contrary the right of minorities vis á vis the majority, the rights of women etc. appeared. But always these rights were acknowledged after a clash, under pressure, after a struggle which was led by violent or non-violent means. Maybe for the first time in history we are now starting to think of the rights of the generations to come, that cannot defend and assert themselves.

A demand for balance between the freedoms and rights of the individual and his responsibility. In the words of Josef Vavroušek: "**Freedom of the individual does not end only where the freedom of another individual starts, but it ends also where the destruction of nature begins.**" (5) The last century was, among other things, characterised by liberalism. But if our freedom and our constantly increasing opportunities are not counterbalanced by responsibility and also by the ability to foretell the consequences of our actions, then we will inevitably cause suffering to ourselves and to nature.

A demand to respect the rights of other living beings. It is again a challenge which was not here in the past, or which we did not admit when "conquering" the world. We have three possible ways of reacting to this challenge:

- a) to continue to claim that "**might is right**", to conquer the world and assume the role of "master of all living creatures";
- b) to become a **responsible custodian** of the planet and within the limits of the possible to take care of nature;
- c) to consider **other beings as equal** (a strictly bicentric view).

I personally prefer the second possibility. Even this "compromise", however, will put heavy demands on our behaviour, such as limitation of the consumption of food derived from animals, in the long term maybe even conversion to vegetarianism.

A demand for harmony (or at least an approach to it) of relationships between man and organic and inorganic nature. The point is not an extremist demand for change in the regularities and natural function of ecosystems and nature, but a consistent accomplishment of the heritage of A. Schweitzer: **a respect for life and nature.** In this sense it is for instance unacceptable to tolerate

the gulf between the rich and the poor not only inside a single state but between rich nations and poor nations.

A demand to learn from the future and the precautionary principle. In the past our learning was based on the process of **experiment - (mistake) - experience**. It is high time to adopt **anticipatory learning**, i.e. learning based on anticipating the possible consequences of our actions. For instance we are still not sure, whether the threat of the greenhouse effect is real and the model calculation right. In spite of this we must act as if it were absolutely real. The consequences of our making a mistake would be so far-reaching that they would threaten and maybe destroy the whole of civilisation.

In a similar way we will have to relate the **precautionary principle** to the consumption of non-renewable resources, above all of fossil fuels. These were formed on the Earth over tens of millions of years and we can deplete them in the course of several decades in the most primitive way - by burning. In reality they may one day be replaced by other sources of energy, but until that day comes, we must economise on fossil fuels in a sustainable way.

So the transformation of society to a sustainable way of life means essential changes in its functioning. But **is the vision of sustainable development applicable globally?** We think it is. On one hand, as was said, it does not have the aspiration to become “a new religion” or in the worst possible case an ideology that unites people and makes them happy, whether they want it or not. On the other hand we believe that the principles of sustainable development correspond to **“the law of naturalness”**. This law of naturalness is generally valid and the English philosopher C.S. Lewis (6) explains it in the following way: *“The ancient philosophers used to speak about the law of “right” and “wrong” and called it “the law of naturalness”. Its core was the idea that in the same way as solid bodies follow the law of the Earth’s gravitation or as organisms follow biological laws, also the being named man has his own law - of course with the essential difference that a solid body is subject to the law of gravity whether it wants to be or not, while man can keep or break the law of human naturalness according to his choice ...I know, there are people who will object that the idea of the law of the naturalness of decent behaviour as something familiar to everyone is not well-founded because in various civilisations and at various periods of time there have been different moralities. This, however, is not true. The fact that their moral principles differ from each other never means a total difference. If somebody takes the trouble to compare the moral precepts for instance of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Hindus, Chinese, Greeks and Romans he will be surprised how similar they are to each other and how similar they are to our precepts. We can differ as to whom it is necessary for man to be unselfish - whether only to his family or to his compatriots or to everybody. But they always agree that they cannot put themselves first.”*

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Towards Sustainable Development

The way of life of society is influenced by at least four basic factors:

- the value orientation of the inhabitants;
- the economic system;
- the political system;
- the legal system.

We will start from the assumption that a **market economy and a democratic political system are necessary preconditions for sustainable development**. The market and democracy - the two basic corner-stones of a functioning society - must be protected by **law and order**, which is itself influenced and created by **human values** and safeguarded by a **legal system**. But we can see that a market economy and a democratic political system only function in some countries of the world. They have taken root mainly where people could live in a long period of material prosperity. Facing the looming global and regional crises we recognize that **democracy and the market are fragile phenomena** and they may not last for ever. The frustration of people (above all from poor, non-industrialised regions), arising from unsuccessful attempts to better the conditions of life, supports the self-interested and corrupt actions of ruling elites. The whole population becomes positively prepared to look for an outside culprit - e.g. the industrial countries and the international economic order enforced by them. In this situation only those ideologies are successful that promise to solve all the problems - with a little bit of violence and an enlightened dictatorship. But it can easily be changed into a “hard” dictatorship, ultra-right-wing or ultra-left-wing, whether with a communist, nationalist, ecological or fundamentalist religious ideology.

Therefore we consider a democratic political system (parliamentary democracy with gradually increasing elements of participatory democracy) and a market economy (which gives preference to the functioning of society according to general rules and principles over the specialized distribution of means or advantages by those people who have these means at their disposal) to be necessary.

When putting into practice a sustainable way of life, priority should be given to the following sectors (1):

- education and upbringing;
- telecommunications;
- nutrition;
- the restructuring of energy industry;
- the restructuring of agriculture (including the strengthening of the landscape-forming function and social function of agriculture);
- the restructuring of industry;
- transport;
- tourism and recreation;
- the security of the state and its inhabitants.

These sectors were chosen on the basis of the expert evaluation of the mutual relationships and connections between 23 evaluated sectors (2).

Now let's try to describe the meaning and influence of four basic factors and nine key sectors for the **formulation and implementation of a strategy of sustainable development (sustainable way of life)**.

Human Values

We can consider **the value orientation** of people **as the most important but also the most difficult to define** of all the basic factors. They influence the functioning of the political, economic and legal systems, but usually they change in the course of long periods of time (over decades or centuries). Stanislav Hubík (3) says that the sphere of value orientation *“is subject to inertia, it changes as slowly as possible and a revolution in value orientation is in progress “inaudibly” (Nietzsche), although it is the most revolutionary revolution”*.

In a simplified way we can divide value orientations into three groups according to the attitude of man to nature and the environment: the **anthropocentric view** (man is superior to living beings and nature), the **biocentric view** (it assumes the equality of all living beings) and the **theocentric view** (it assumes the existence of God - the Creator, man is the custodian of entrusted gifts). According to S. Hubík (3) the anthropocentrically-orientated group represents in the Czech Republic about 45%, the biocentrically-orientated group 30% and the theocentrically-orientated group 25% of people.

It seems that in developed western countries there is a **shift of value orientation in the direction of postmaterial values** in the younger generation that has not experienced war. *“Among this generation the aim of material acquisition, consumption and performance has declined considerably and on the contrary - especially in comparison with the older generation - there is a strong feeling of solidarity, a sense of difference, a concern for present-day global problems, “green problems” etc.”* (3) In spite of the fact that in our country some people live a way of life which is an alternative to the consumer way of life, generally for the time being this tendency is not yet decisive. (4)

There is a **question whether our value orientation can shift in a “desirable” direction** in a relatively short space of time. Negatively it is surely possible for value orientation and the behaviour of inhabitants to change quickly. Many present-day armed conflicts, when neighbours who had lived together for many years became enemies capable of committing terrible bestialities, can be examples. It is more difficult to find positive examples of a change in value orientation but we think that even these are possible to find. **150 years ago in the U.S.A. slavery was normal. Today, of course, something like that is unacceptable.** 30 years ago in the Western countries it was difficult to imagine recycling on a wide scale, today it is totally normal and accepted by the population. So it is worth struggling for a positive change in the value orientation of inhabitants however small the chance is. The shift of value orientation can be caused by at least three factors:

a) Fear - a real fear of the consequences of our way of life can bring a change in the behaviour of man. But it is a forced, involuntary adoption of change.

b) Personal experience - our own experience with the negative influence of a certain factor (e.g. the depletion of the ozone layer in the stratosphere) can lead to a change of behaviour.

c) The vision of a positive solution -it is the opposite of the impact of fear, it gives hope from which the will to change our behaviour voluntarily can result.

Josef Vavroušek (5) defined the key values of present-day industrial society that stimulate the creation of global and regional problems (values of type A) and he tried to add alternative values which would be compatible with a sustainable way life (values of type B):

1. Relation of man to nature

A. Predatory, exploitative relation to nature.

B. Awareness of the relation to nature.

2. Relation of human individuals to society

A. One-sided emphasis on individualism and competitiveness (typical for “real capitalism”).

One-sided emphasis on collectivism (typical for “real socialism”).

B. Balanced emphasis on the individual and the collective, the supplementing of competition with cooperation.

3. Relation to the passage of time and a sense of history

A. Obsession with the idea of quantitative growth.

B. Emphasis on the qualitative development of human society.

4. Relation to the sense of our lives

A. Hedonistic orientation and a consumer life style.

B. Emphasis on the quality of life, deliberate modesty and the self-denial of superficial things.

5. Relation to freedom and responsibility

A. One-sided emphasis on human rights and freedoms, the erosion of common responsibility for public affairs.

B. Establishing of the symmetry between human rights and freedoms on one hand, and human responsibilities on the other hand and to develop both.

6. Relation to our knowledge

A. “Pride in reason”, resting on a one-sided emphasis on rationality and on the overestimation of the complexity, depth and reliability of our knowledge and our ability to foresee and shape future development.

B. Caution in all interference with nature and society.

7. Relation to our lives

A. Our alienation from our own lives, the weakening of the human instinct of self-preservation and of the feedback that makes the correction of our inappropriate or unsuccessful action possible.

B. Re-establishment of the human instinct of self-preservation.

8. Relation to future generations

- A. Preference for short-term goals over long-term and permanent goals, life at the expense of future generations.
- B. Awareness of the long-term consequences of human activities.

9. Relation to other opinions and to other civilizations

- A. Lack of respect for other opinions, ideological, religious, racial or other intolerance, and the attempt to solve problems by force.
- B. Mutual tolerance, empathy for the situation of the inhabitants of other countries, solving problems by negotiation.

10. Relation to common issues

- A. Withdrawal from common decision making.
- B. Development of participatory democracy unifying the advantages of representative democracy with self-government.

According to Josef Vavrousek to a great extent the future depends on how highly we rate type B values on the scale of our individual and group values and to what extent we suppress in ourselves type A values. It is a race against time.

The change of our value orientation and behaviour should be motivated by “**positive motivation**” - by a vision of hope, a positive solution and a way out. How much expectation and creative energy was released in Europe by the discovery and consequent settling of America. In spite of all the negative attendant phenomena it is admirable how the landscape of North America was affected and reshaped by human effort.

Similar hope and a vision of a positive solution releasing unsuspected quantities of energy can be brought about also by a well-worked-out strategy of sustainable development (sustainable way of life). It is an appeal to artists, scientists, politicians and interested members of the public at the dawn of the 21st century and the third millenium.

If we want the life of man to have even in the future a chance to be lived in a dignified and creative way, we must attempt an **essential change of value orientation and life-style**. For the time being we are still too “hungry” for a higher material standard of living and consumption. But let us try to compare the development of human society analogically to the development of an individual (in biology the Haeckel rule applies: ontogenesis is a repetition of phylogenesis). For the 40,000 years the species *Homo sapiens sapiens* has been on the Earth, mankind has tried to get out of a close dependance on its environment. We have always struggled with a shortage of food, with diseases and natural catastrophies, we have always felt endangered. Only in the last century did this (at least in developed contries) change. But in the same way as a man who has been starving for a long time tends to overeat, for us almost the sense of life is still prosperity, the acquisition of property and the opportunity to enter the long-desired “consumer heaven”. We really have become masters of the Earth to a certain extent. We have the ability and the opportunity to use and destroy the resources of the biosphere. But it is also possible that man will recognize his power but he will in time admit his dependence on nature and on his environment.

In the same way as individual develops from a child's dependence to rebellious puberty and then to adulthood, it is possible that our civilization is also going through the stage of "puberty". An individual wants to outgrow his parents, people feel a need to subordinate their environment. In this case, however, there would be a great deal involved at the present time. In puberty man can be easily hurt, he can hurt himself or others. And to cap it all at this age it is decided who he will be in the future. At best he will recognize his power which has outgrown the power of his parents, but after recognising this fact he will not misuse it. He respects his parents not as a child or an inferior any longer, but as an equal partner. So it may be possible to hope that the relationship between mankind and nature will be understood in a similar way.

Josef Svoboda (6) believes in **spiritual evolution**. For less than one billion years **inorganic evolution** was in progress on the Earth, transformations of the lithosphere, hydrosphere and atmosphere occurred. For a further almost four billion years **biological evolution** was in progress, from the simplest microorganisms, "the invention" of photosynthesis, the appearance of plants on land, through the development of invertebrates up to the development of vertebrates - mammals, primates and the first predecessors of man. For the last 40,000 years **cultural evolution** has been typical. "Wise man" (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) learnt to use more and more complicated tools and fire, agriculture, architecture, literature, philosophy, religion, science and technology started to develop, mankind headed towards more and more complicated socio-political self-organization.

Now we are experiencing (according to J. Svoboda) a problematic transformation, an ethical transformation, and we are heading for spiritual evolution. A renewed mankind will "awaken" into **cosmic consciousness**, it will be quite a qualitatively new stage in the development of mankind.

Economic System

*"Economics tries to find and formulate laws with the help of which the economic activity of people is controlled in society. ...The inconsistency of the modern era is that man has managed to impart a motion to his abilities (development has never moved so quickly ahead as in the last 200 years), but spiritually he has become incredibly wild. ... In economics it manifested itself in the form of one-sided economic liberalism (we have in mind one-sided liberalism decayed to the level of egoism, not liberalism as such). **Economics divided human life into economic and non-economic parts.**" (7)*

If the value orientation of people changes in the long term (decades), then the economic environment (conditions) can change relatively quickly. The change of value orientation is also an individual choice based on voluntary decisions and it will be typical for a more limited number of people (e.g. voluntary modesty, a shift from material values to post-material ones etc.). On the other hand if there is the political will to change the economic behaviour of society, firms and individuals with the help of economic tools, this change will affect essentially the whole of society and it will influence the direction of its development.

In the last century there used to be competition between two big economic systems. It was convincingly shown, how ineffective the system of central planning was in comparison with the market economy. Despite of the general characteristics of economics mentioned above, we must

say that in spite of all the imperfections of the market economy we so far do not know anything better.

The market economy, as it is so far understood, starts from the aim of **constant economic growth which supports a consumer way of life**. The best-known economic theories (the classical liberal monetarist market economy, the Keynesian market economy) also have other drawbacks (7):

- they are strongly anthropocentrically-orientated (which usually leads to egoism and a feeling of power over nature);
- they start from a strictly rationalist understanding of man (the irrational, or spiritual side of human personality can be left behind);
- especially with less developed countries (and with countries which went through a period of communist rule), the condition of the full “moral” development of society, which is a precondition for the functioning of a classic money-market economy, is usually not fulfilled.

Therefore we consider that only an environmentally oriented economy, which starts with a different index of the effectiveness and “prosperity” of the national economy, as opposed to an economy measured by gross national product, can be viable and offer hope.

The economist Herman Daly and theologian John Cobb (8) worked out an **Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare**, which tries to cover not only the effectiveness of the economy but also the quality of life and the state of the environment.

The gross national product which calculates the flow of money in the economy is regarded as the main indicator of wealth and progress. **GNP is however a highly confusing index if we consider the quality of people’s lives and the state of the environment.**

The Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW) is an indicator based on personal consumption, revised with regard to factors relating to social welfare and the quality of the environment. (9)

When ISEW was calculated in Great Britain (10) for the period 1950 - 1990, it was seen that “sustainable economic welfare” (per inhabitant) had risen only slightly (by 3%), while GNP had grown by 130%. Sustainable economic welfare reached its peak in the middle of the 1970’s and since then it has been dramatically reduced.

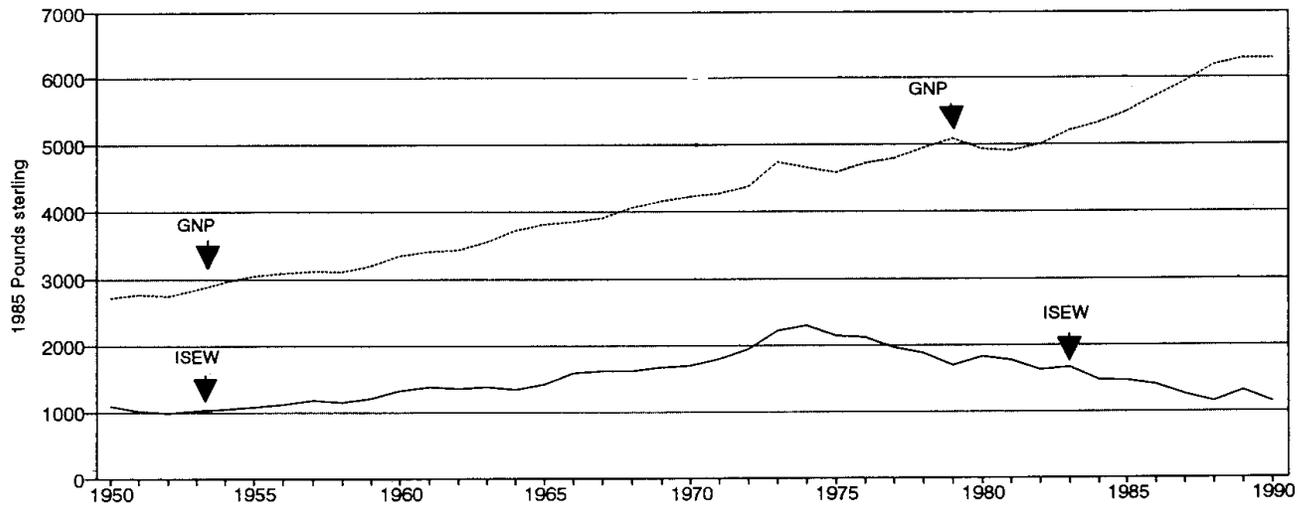
If GNP rises, it still does not mean that the quality of our lives is improving. Health, the satisfaction of the individual, the quality of the environment, personal and collective security, all these contribute to the general quality of life and cannot be at the same time described by standard economic statistics. Nor are the unequal division of incomes and the value of housework included in the calculations. (8, 10)

The increasing incomes of the inhabitants are more and more absorbed by covering environmental and social expenses. Some factors are not taken into consideration by the market at all such as the bad quality of the atmosphere and the devastation of natural resources, it is impossible “to buy” such items.

These reasons led to attempts to develop new indicators, which would better reflect the determination of sustainable welfare than is possible through the use of gross economic results.

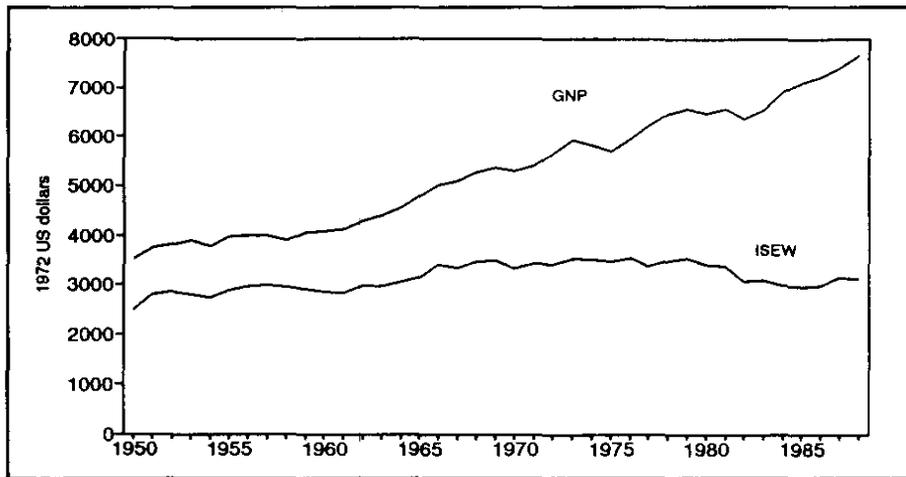
The formulation of The Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW) worked out by Herman Daly and John Cobb (8) is an extremely promising development.

Chart No. 1 - The UK ISEW and GNP per Capita, 1950-1990



Source: Jackson, Marks in: Mayo, Mac Gillivray, 1994

Chart No.2 - The ISEW for the USA, 1950-1990



Source: Daly, Cobb, 1989

Economic Tools

In economically developed countries the state sometimes intervenes in the free market. Partly because some parts of the biosphere cannot be owned by anybody and controlled responsibly (e.g. the atmosphere), partly because the market is not able to react to many phenomena from the field of the environment or its reaction is delayed (clean water in rivers has no “value”, because no human work was put into it, only when e.g. a certain firm contaminates the water and another firm down the river needs top-quality water is it necessary to put work and resources into the cleaning of the river and the water can be evaluated from the viewpoint of cost).

Environmentally oriented economy tries to react to these inadequacies of the free market and tries to find a way to express in figures these “**externalities**” in economic expenses.

Economic tools for the care of the environment should be much more effective than administrative measures (because they define clear rules whose keeping is checkable and enforceable).

OECD has probably the most worked-out classification of economic tools at the present time (11):

I. Payments

1. Fees for the contamination of the environment (water, air, waste etc.)
2. Charges for the consumption of natural resources (raw materials, water, soil, forest etc.)
3. Administrative fees
4. Tax for the protection of the environment
5. Tax differentiation

II. Subsidies and reliefs

1. Tax reliefs
2. Grants, appropriations, gifts
3. Low-interest loans

III. Advance payments

1. Deposit-refund systems (encouragement to collect products that after use become dangerous or difficult waste - batteries, packaging etc.)

IV. The creation of the market

1. Tradeable emission permits
2. Ecological insurance

V. Stimulation by compulsion

1. Payments for breaking the given limits
2. Fines

Taxes may become the most effective economic tool for the protection of the environment. Environment-orientated taxes could be much higher than ecological fees, which is why even the level of economic stimulation is higher. **Taxes**, unlike fees for contamination, **do not need monitoring and they are better accepted by the public than fees.**

Ecological Tax Reform

Ecological tax reform would concern first of all the taxation of fuel and energy. Now we use non-renewable natural resources (above all fossil fuels) in an unsustainable way. The sources of fossil fuels were formed over tens of millions of years and it is not important whether we will use them up in five, fifty or a hundred and fifty years. The consumption of fossil fuels is not only increasing exponentially, but these complex organic compounds are also used in the most primitive way - we burn them in a boiler or in an internal combustion engine, while in the future they could be used in the pharmaceutical, textile, food etc. industries.

Today the **price of fossil fuels equals practically only the expenses of their extraction and distribution.** We however should pay at least for three further elements: for **using a non-renewable resource** (and in this way the potential impoverishment of future generations), the **carbon tax** (through the burning of carbon, CO₂, the most important green-house gas, appears in the atmosphere) and a **tax for the contamination of the environment** (including the long-term use of soil when mining coal and consequent recultivation).

The taxation of fossil fuels and also other non-renewable resources would significantly **increase the price of these resources.** This however should be **compensated for by reducing the price of labour** (income tax and value added tax could be lowered). Hence the title "ecological tax reform" - **the state would neither lose nor gain on tax**, the total level of the tax revenue would remain the same. The non-renewable resources would become more expensive, mainly labour would become cheaper (it would positively influence the employment rate, above all in countries with a high unemployment rate). However also **renewable (energy) resources**

could become cheaper (or could be subsidised). If the money collected for the use of non-renewable resources was invested in the research and development of renewable resources, their technical parameters and price accessibility would be radically improved.

It would be interesting to compare, how much has so far been invested in the research and development of the nuclear power industry in our country and how much in the field of renewable energy resources. The implementation of ecological reform will be difficult, mainly because of the world price of fossil fuels. Above all the countries of OPEC are interested in extraction and exporting as much as possible (and having high profits), which is why the price of crude oil is kept low on the international market.

Ecological tax reform can also help to solve the basic problem concerning the consumption of non-renewable resources: how much non-renewable resources can we use, how much should be left for future generations? Strictly speaking, we impoverish future generations by mining each tonne, but it is clear that each generation will demand the use of natural resources. Herman Daly and John Cobb (8) defined **three basic principles for the sustainable exploitation of natural resources**:

1. The level of the use of renewable natural resources will not be higher than the level of their regeneration.
2. The level of the use of non-renewable natural resources will not be higher than the level of the development of substituting renewable resources.
3. The level of emission of injurious matter into the environment will not reach the limits of the ability of the environment to assimilate them.

Another possible attitude to an admissible level of the use of non-renewable resources is the **principle of at most one per cent use of known resources per year**. If we had e.g. 100 million tonnes of known exploitable resources of coal, it would mean that during the first year we could exploit one per cent, i.e. one million tonnes of coal, but the following year only one per cent of 99 million tonnes etc. If new deposits were discovered and the total known exploitable resources increased e.g. to 110 million tonnes, we could exploit at most one per cent of 110 million tonnes, i.e. 1.1 million tonnes in the following year.

In conclusion, I would like to mention three examples of economic tools whose introduction would be desirable:

Programmes of tradeable emission permits. In the U.S. the introduction of tradeable emission permits led to the saving of tens of billions of dollars, it led to great savings of energy and to use of modern technologies. The state issues the emission permits for a certain region which guarantee a maximum allowable limit of emissions. Firms can trade with each other the allocated emission limits. A firm able to reduce its emissions below the desirable limit (e.g. by buying progressive technology) can sell the emission credit. A firm, that exceeds the emission limits, can buy emission credits from other firms. The emission credits are gradually bought back by the state, in this way it gradually reduces the emission limit and the burden on the environment, and it forces the firms to behave better towards the environment.

The establishment of ecological banks. It would be necessary to establish e.g. ecological banks for depositing money in the state ecological funds. Among the basic duties would be the overall control of the funds of the environment, to provide help to polluters to trade in emission rights

and provide loans. They should also encourage firms to implement programmes for the protection of the environment and monitor and evaluate this implementation. Ecological banks should try to obtain international help for specific plans of ecological investment by establishing international consortiums.

The insurance of ecological risk. The development of the free market will create a new market insuring against ecological risk. New insurance investments should be carefully monitored so it would not be possible to conceal the responsibility of polluters. It would be necessary to consider the introduction of obligatory insurance for firms that deal with toxic material and waste.

Political System

We start from the assumption that a necessary condition of sustainable development is a market economy and a democratic political system. We saw the influence of democratic and totalitarian systems on the development of society in a divided Europe for four decades after World War II. A **totalitarian political system** that did not admit criticism and therefore **lacked feedback** collapsed. In our own way we really were a „light for nations“, as communists used to say. We showed which way is impossible and other countries (e.g. developing countries) have a chance to draw a lesson from our painful experience.

There is an interesting comparison of totalitarian and democratic systems to two types of ecosystems, e.g. to a maize field and a meadow. Maize grows quickly and has a big yield. But the field must be constantly supplied with large amounts of supplementary energy (fertilizer, the application of protective chemical elements against weed etc.). Without these things and maintenance a maize field stops producing and comes to nothing, it is “swallowed” by competitive plants. A meadow, on the other hand, at first sight looks very ineffective. Various species of plants compete with each other, they struggle for space and access to light. But even if the meadow is not worked (the supply of supplementary energy is stopped), it is able to function much longer than a maize field. Similarly a totalitarian system can be “nourished” in the beginning by a then attractive ideology, later only by power. But when there was nothing which could nourish the system, and disgust and apathy, and with smaller groups even active resistance dominated, the system came to an end.

A democratic system with all its drawbacks and the clashing of antagonistic interests is much more viable and so far we do not know anything better.

A monarchy with an **enlightened ruler** at the head could seem to be promising. If a country was ruled by a wise monarch in the past, the country was prosperous and this form of government appeared to be very effective. Earlier “a king by Divine right” ruled - i.e. a monarch, a manager who was responsible for a people and a country entrusted to him by God. The difficulty is how to prevent an enlightened monarch under the pressure of power, glory and money becoming unenlightened, or to prevent his successor becoming unenlightened. (Disregarding the fact that even tyrants, who on their way to the throne killed or had many people killed, were proclaimed monarch “by Divine right”). So **again there is no feedback**, no safety measure which would be an effective check on power.

Let us go back to democracy. Democracy is, according to the philosopher Erazim Kohák (12), “in the history of mankind a rare and transitory phenomenon that is above all an attempt to accept personal responsibility for common things”. A working democracy assumes a higher civil consciousness: the willingness and ability of all the citizens to question not only their own wishes, but also the needs and the good of the whole.

Erazim Kohák explains the fragility of democracy with the known example of the **tragedy of the commons**:

“Let us imagine a common able to feed a hundred sheep. On the common there are ten farmers grazing ten sheep each. But each of them only looks after his own sheep. He is not aware of the common as a whole. He only knows how much easier his life would be if he had at least one more sheep. And the common is so big! One sheep would make no difference. So he adds another. Each of the ten farmers thinks and does the same. But the common is not able to feed 110 sheep any longer. They overgraze the common and all of them die of hunger. Nobody wanted it. Everybody wanted just one more sheep - a modest wish.

The tragedy of the common is an unwanted, unforeseen consequence of modest wishes.

The possibility of social coexistence is based directly on a bird’s-eye view that is willing to take into account not only its own wishes, but also the need for the common good. Where there is no such bird’s-eye view, there a tragedy is going to happen.” (12)

In 1989 in Czechoslovakia, democracy, more precisely parliamentary (representative) democracy, was re-established. Parliamentary democracy is a way of governing where the majority decides. Jaroslav Kapr (13) says that one of the central problems of such a political system is the role of a representative. **How can we choose a suitable smaller group of people who would represent the interests**, have the power and speak on behalf of a great number of people?

When the majority decides there is also a danger, that this majority may not be always right and can misuse its power against a minority. Another problem is to a certain extent the **monopolised access to information and the monopolised right to make decisions**, which lower the possibility of the checking of professional representatives by the public.

What can be done about it? One possibility is to apply the participatory principle. The participatory principle as a way to increase the culture of power does not consist only in the fact that citizens - regardless of their professional roles - are involved in political events, but also in the fact that it represents a way of active social learning.

It means that efforts at consensus are important and this is possible where the point is the solving of actual problems. Fedor Gál (14) goes on to state that the **principles of tolerance and complementarity** are navigatory principles. And dialogue involving people of various identities, opinions about the world and nationality is an instrumental background for the application of the principles of tolerance and complementarity:

“In this way an open society appears, in which the fact of the autonomy of the nations, ethnic groups, communities and social groups is understood as a natural state. That is because the autonomy of each individual is also understood as a natural state. But openness, if it is not to be destructive, presupposes the certainty that it will not cause chaos. Stability in openness is

possible to characterise also by a necessary level of intolerance, with strict rules and the authority of the law and institutions. Democracy can be a dangerous weapon in the hands of a crowd if there is no respect for the authority of the law. In the end the law itself can be a weapon in a leader's or majority's hands. ... People who understand the jolly mosaic of living worlds are able to perceive also the complementarity of these worlds, they can be tolerant towards the attitudes, values, needs and aims of others."

So parliamentary democracy prevents a monopoly of power, which is very important. But at the same time it is not completely immune from potential abuse by a manipulated crowd and **there is a risk of the abuse of power by minorities of specialists or professional politicians.** Participatory democracy is one of the possible ways to eliminate this danger.

The participatory principle has been discussed for many years. It is a method of government in which the public in particular cases make decisions (or at least take part in making decisions) themselves. Participation in decision-making was questionable in the past because it was impossible to ensure the physical presence of citizens at a certain place at a certain time. But this is becoming less and less true thanks to the vast development of telecommunications and computer networks. Today it is technically possible for the inhabitants of a town, a region or even the whole republic to take part in negotiations and decision-making concerning questions which relate to them through the means of communication. So the **development of telecommunication** and the entry of society into the postindustrial (i.e. information) era enables and **supports the development of participatory democracy.**

Jaroslav Kapr (13) gives a simplified example of professional ("representative") and partner ("participatory") decision-making:

The government intends to make decisions about the energy policy of the country. The task is to analyze historically the actual conditions, to judge various solutions, to give some of them priority, to weigh the possibility of combinations of suggested procedures etc. The point is to evaluate their accessibility, economic, ecological and social utility in short-term and long-term perspectives, their mutual interchangeability etc.

The professional attitude: *The government sets specialists (e.g. from the ministry of the economy) to evaluate the task. They will compile a report that would after discussion in the government and after minor revisions be submitted to parliament as an expert opinion to be discussed. Here it would again, after small changes, be approved and the public would be informed about it. A citizen is understood here as a unit, that has fulfilled its role by the delegation of the discretion to make decisions to its representatives. The structure of solution has from the very beginning the character of an authoritative decision of a body accepted on the basis of consultations with specialists. The voice of a citizen is not regarded as contributory. The fact that he has no knowledge, experience, qualification, perspective and responsibility would be to the detriment of a thing. Therefore it is not usually the habit of the general public to ask to express suggestions or attitudes, but at the same time there are even no technical conditions that would make it possible. Channels of communication are constituted in such a way that only officially competent organizations have the possibility to use them.*

The partner attitude: *A government that wishes to make a decision about the conception of a solution to the energy problems of the country would invite the public as well. Because the majority of citizens lack the necessary specialist information, it would organize short-term free*

courses in which everybody who would like to take part in decision-making, learns about the advantages and disadvantages of different suggested solutions, or can suggest another variant. A plebiscite about the results of such a nation-wide event would be held. This time a citizen is understood as a unit which does not delegate its competence to make decisions but tries to use it directly. They assume that citizens have information and experience which can be reasonably used when making decisions. Their view is taken not as something useless but as the useful view of a person with a different profession.

Technical development in communications and the treatment of information have made it possible that a way of direct **participation in decision-making has become** one of the **regulation mechanisms which limits and checks the monopoly of professional minorities that decide** and also it motivates and creates the conditions for the democratisation of the access to and the treatment of information.

The development of the non-profitmaking sector and non-government organisations is typical for the increasing importance of participatory democracy and civil society. For non-government organisations and among them above all ecological and environmental organisations, that are very well-organised around the world and also in our country, the development of horizontal or net partner structures is typical, instead of hierarchical ones (applying the relationship of subordinate and superior) which is typical for government organisations. Non-government organisations today often manage to be more than equal partners to government institutions when negotiating important questions thanks to the effectiveness of their activities, professional background and personal involvement and all this despite very limited finance.

In spite of the fact that the concept of participatory democracy has been known for more than 25 years, its importance is not completely clear and we are not able to imagine what opportunities the adding of elements of participatory democracy into parliamentary democracy could provide, and in what other, non-traditional forms it can be done. In conclusion therefore we will give some thoughts and topics of the well-known American futurologist Alvin Toffler (15) who is interested in the transformation of society from the industrial phase into the postindustrial phase. This transformation, according to him, will bring, among other things, a great development of participatory democracy:

*The institution of representative government (one man one vote) is characteristic for the industrial era. It enabled the weak and the poor to call for concessions from the “technicians of power”. It was a humanising turn in history, however elites were not done away with. **Elections have become a ritual of the consolidation of confidence.** Representative government is the equivalent of a factory that produces collective integral decisions. In the U.S. each year there are 45,000 pages of new regulations, 27 government organizations monitor 5,600 federal regulations concerning the production of steel alone. It produces a huge bureaucracy. Legislation does not work and the sense of responsibility is lost. People do not feel angry but averse to and contemptuous of government. This brings the danger of calling for an authoritarian government which “will introduce order”.*

But civilisation in the postindustrial era needs a completely new quality of government (so a good feudal monarch would be a very bad representative of the industrial era). **The weakness of present-day leaders is not in their personal qualities, but a consequence of the disintegration of institutions** on which power depends. In the postindustrial era (Toffler calls

this era “the third wave”) not the power of the bulldozer but the power of the imagination will win through.

Governments are divided into sections, in particular departments or ministries. Then they are not able to clarify the relationships and mutual connections between departments, they are not able to create integrated programmes. Governments react by the further centralisation of power. Great acceleration of changes and decisions occurs. **The acceleration of changes has overtaken the decision-making capacity of our institutions.**

Also **national unity, the unifying idea of countries is being lost.** Thousands of interest groups (from local ones to international ones) appear.

In this way the third wave attacks the basic assumption of the political theory of the industrial era - the concept of representation. **The structure of institutions today was formed before Marx, Darwin, Freud and Einstein.** It is necessary to find new institutions, as was done by the founders of the U.S. more than 200 years ago, and it concerns not only the restructuring of government but also supranational organizations, local communities etc.

According to A. Toffler three political principles will be characteristic for the democracy of the Third wave (the postindustrial era) in the 21st century:

a) **The principle of the power of minorities.** In the Third wave the masses and classes (in Marxist understanding) lose their importance. The principle of minority starts from increasing variety.

It is necessary to find new attitudes for the democratisation of minorities. Voting with the aim of obtaining a majority says nothing about the quality of the opinions of particular people. During an election not only a “yes - no” decision, but also preference, intensity and the order of choices should be recorded. People may be (at least partly) chosen for representative authorities through voting or random choice (as in the U.S. army when being drafted).

Another variant is that chosen representatives will have 50% of power, the rest will be held by a randomly chosen sample of the public. With the help of computers and surveys of public opinion it is possible to update this sample and also decision-making from one day to the next. In this way the influence of the interest groups and lobbyists would be eliminated. Only when a law was created and approved would the classically elected board of representatives work on it.

b) **Semi-direct democracy.** It is a shift from dependence on representatives to dependence on oneself. (Toffler considers direct democracy to be e.g. a French commune, therefore he understands participatory democracy as a “semi-direct democracy”.) In the past the means of communication were not suitable for this method of governing. Today the means of communication enable us to take part directly in decision-making (e.g. with the help of two-way television, with the help of computer networks etc.). In the city Columbus (Ohio) the so-called “electronic city hall” was tested - with the help of cable television citizens can express their opinions on solved problems, they can even directly participate and they represent themselves in this way. The Swedish government, on the other hand, when formulating an energy policy, invited citizens to participate. It launched a ten-hour television course about the power industry and then each Swede could make a recommendation to the government. They expected the participation of 10,000 people but nearly 80,000 people took part.

Another possibility is to launch a referendum on a certain question. A decision would rest 75% on Parliament, the remaining 25% (or less, according to the strength of public opinion) would rest on a national referendum.

c) **Division of decision-making.** This is a shift of decision-making to where it should be (according to the principle of subsidiarity - the solving of the problem at the lowest level possible).

Today the system of decision-making is most worked-out on the national level. But a state is not able to cope with e.g. multinational corporations. Therefore **it is necessary to shift a part of decision-making power not only downwards** (to regions and the citizen), **but also upwards, to supranational groupings and global organisations**, supported by groups of non-government organisations.

The behaviour of institutions in the future may be changeable, depending on conditions. E.g. in the future the army may in peace-time be democratic and participatory but in war-time or a state of emergency highly organised and authoritarian. So **institutions can have a greater “repertoire” of organisational structures and roles.**

In conclusion we can sum up by saying that for an increase in the importance of participatory democracy there are many preconditions today in comparison with the past: developed communication systems, good education and material affluence (it refers to societies entering the Third wave, i.e. postindustrial societies). But **to change something, energy alone is not enough, also imagination and vision and a goal to aim at are necessary.**

A developed personality, a man able to create and make decisions independently and responsibly is a precondition and at the same time the target of participatory democracy.

Legal System

Revision of the law is one of the preconditions of sustainable development. It is not easy to outline what law and order, based on the principles of sustainable development, should look like. We can start from some commonly accepted principles (16):

1. Law is one of the basic tools of ecopolicy to establish the relations of sustainable development. It is necessary to understand **law as a way of defining new values** which are the result of the gradual recognition of the importance of nature, the environment and natural resources for the existence of man, human society and culture.

2. National law will be influenced by some conditions that will essentially determine its shape:

- global problems and the kinds of responsibility of particular states defined by the world's comity (e.g. the threat of a change of climate);
- regional problems and regionally defined responsibility;
- national problems and interests;
- local problems and interests.

3. The tasks of the law in connection with the environment should be determined by the orientation of ecopolicy (orientated towards applying the principles of sustainable development).

Legal regulations, economic tools and organisational measures are the basic instruments of ecopolicy.

4. National legal systems will be essentially influenced by the documents accepted at the UN conference in Rio de Janeiro (especially the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21) and further international activities and documents (such as the Earth Charter, Rio plus 10 conference in Johannesburg 2002 etc).

The precautionary principle, the preservation of biological diversity, the priority of sustainable development over short-term special interests, the participation of the public in decision-making, the responsibility of the state, the prevention of damage caused to other nations and the Earth as a whole must be stressed in environmental law.

It is possible to expect the **growth of conflicts between the traditional understanding of property rights and the postulates of sustainable development**. The basic legal definition of property as an unlimited ascendancy over things in modern society is not true any longer. **Property should be used for the benefit of a wider whole, it should not serve only the interests of the owner**. In this connection it will be necessary to develop a theory of “**the ecological function**” of property. The Constitution of the state should explicitly acknowledge that **nobody is a sovereign master over the natural resources which he owns**. The development of environmental law in the developed countries (and also at the international level) is heading towards the formulation of consistent codes for the protection of the environment.

5. The participation of the public in decision-making about environmental problems is of fundamental importance (especially the form of “hearings” of organisations before specialist boards of the legislature).

Key Sectors

When putting sustainable development into practice, some sectors are strategically important and deserving priority attention.

Education

Education conditions the development of human potential. It helps man to develop into a creative, developed and confident personality. It is of fundamental importance in determining how far our society will be prepared and able to enter the postindustrial, information era. It would be sad if we were determined to enter only as service personnel through our own fault.

So far education has been understood above all as a question of school. But this is not true any longer. Attention will have to be paid not only to pre-school upbringing and suitable forms of education but also to **“pre-natal” upbringing**. We still do not sufficiently recognise that life starts nine months before birth and the health and behaviour of both parents essentially influence their child, including how they think and how much they look forward to the child.

The next problem is the **excessive emphasis on the rational in education** and the neglect of the emotional side of upbringing. School is still reminiscent of an impersonal factory producing pupils and students. It seems that alternative schools, which try to counterbalance these disadvantages and lead pupils to individual, creative and spontaneous expression, will develop.

Above all, in the higher grades of school an **interdisciplinary attitude**, that would, at least to a certain level, abolish the present-day system of the compartmentalisation of subjects into individual disciplines should be effected. It will be difficult to find a balanced relationship between the necessary specialisation, that will enable a discipline to be studied in depth, and the generalisation, that will help to convey and understand the mutual relationships and connections between fields.

The support and the development of after-school activities for young people will be of great importance. Here at least a part of the responsibility should be taken over by the state. Until there is a much better opportunity for sensible and attractive out-of-school activities (e.g. through new sport facilities and cultural institutions), the young generation, for whom parents will have no time and society will make it clear that it is not interested in their problems, will fall into boredom and despair, it will be unable to answer the basic question - why am I actually here, and it will start to drink, to take drugs and to find other ways of escape from reality. Later it will begin to be felt, among other ways, in a rise in crime in society.

Non-government special-interest organizations can help essentially in after-school education and upbringing. E.g. The Scout Movement was founded in England to help to prepare young men for future service in army corps in the colonies. It is clear that today **the Scout should find a new role** which would be connected with different activities. Could one of them be, for instance, **the care for the environment**? But then it would not be important to learn Morse Code but to learn to understand how nature functions and how we should behave towards it. A good basis for this kind of understanding of the sense of the Scout Movement could be to follow up the heritage of the founder of the Czech Scout („Junák“), A.B. Svojsík, who as early as the beginning of the century concentrated his efforts on the protection of nature.

Telecommunications

Investment in telecommunications is of great importance for the future development of the national economy. Its importance for the functioning of society is **analogous to the importance of the nervous system in the human body**. It is impossible to calculate how many quality foreign investments have been lost and how many partners have been discouraged by our former out-dated and in many cases non-functioning telecommunication network.

Telecommunications condition the entry of society into the postindustrial, information era. There is quite a clear analogy with the development of railways in the industrial period. Towns, which had been important earlier and which were bypassed by the railways, lost their importance. A similar decision is being made in recent years, when the American former vice-president Albert Gore suggested the construction of “**an information super highway**” (a computer network that will enable practically anybody to get through to anybody anywhere), about whether we will be connected to the information super highway in time, together with other developed countries. The fundamental consequence, connected with sustainable development, will be the fact that the **functioning of society will more and more depend on non-material activities**, or at least on the activities which are not so demanding as far as raw materials and energy are concerned. A greater demand, however, will then be made on human resources, human skills, imagination and creativity.

The construction of a quality telecommunication infrastructure and the consequent involvement in the forming of the global information super highway will be financially demanding.

Nutrition

Nutrition is essential for human health (together with other factors, such as the environment, genetic predisposition, the physical and psychological state of an individual and social background). But the nutrition of the inhabitants is still not systematically monitored and its influence on the health of the inhabitants still has more the character of an expert guess.

Nutrition also essentially influences our agriculture. In the second half of the 1980's in Czechoslovakia about **12 million tonnes of wheat were produced every year, but out of this total only 2.5 million tonnes were used for feeding people**. About 8 million tonnes were used as fodder for animals (it is necessary to feed 5 - 7 kg of wheat to an animal to produce 1 kg of meat).

So if Zuzana Brázdová (17) suggests reducing the consumption of meat in 2010 to 65 kg per inhabitant per year (in comparison with 102 kg per inhabitant per year in 1990), it will also fundamentally influence agricultural production (and through it also the quality of the environment) and the importance of the non-foodproducing functions of agriculture.

The state should have its own nutrition policy and it should influence the individual eating habits of the inhabitants (as it does in e.g. Canada, the Netherlands, Finland etc.). It should first of all initiate and support **nutrition education** and upbringing **at all levels** of education. **If the**

inhabitants have no basic nutrition education, they will become very manipulable with the help of adverts (which do not guarantee the quality and suitability of the goods offered at all).

Eating habits are influenced above all by the price of food, its accessibility and marketing methods (especially advertising). According to Z. Brázdová, the state could accept some responsibility for healthy eating through the tax system (to give preferential treatment to the production and selling of healthy food), legislation (labelling food with respect to the protection of the health of the consumer, limits for extraneous elements in food etc.), or through price regulation or state subsidies for some commodities (fruit, vegetables, low-fat milk) and higher taxation for other commodities (alcohol, tobacco).

The Restructuring of Agriculture

In the past the mainly **productive function** of agriculture was understood and food was considered as “strategic raw material”. Many countries (especially former socialist ones) tried to be self-sufficient in the production of food at the cost of great investments and huge energy consumption. Enough food, especially meat and the products of animal husbandry was also felt as a coefficient of a satisfactory standard of living (so food to a certain extent replaced the unsatisfied demand for quality commodities).

Today in our agriculture there is an over-production of food although this sector is still going through a complicated process of transformation.

In the first years after the revolution, there was great pressure in the Czech Republic and some other former socialist countries to break up the cooperative farms. Today it seems to be certain, that in the Czech Republic **there will co-exist above all two organizational forms: private farmers and agricultural cooperatives** (which may be transformed into public limited companies). Transformed agricultural cooperatives function, at least in many cases, well beyond expectation. In comparison with private farmers they have several advantages, that are not usually stated:

- they make it possible for workers to work eight hours per day;
- the whole family is not tied to agricultural work;
- cooperatives are, as far as capital is concerned, much stronger and more resistant to unexpected changes, e.g. when there is a poor crop because of bad climatic conditions, to changes of prices on the market etc.;
- they have a stronger negotiating position with partners (e.g. with businessmen, with the food-processing industry) than single farmers.

Israeli “kibbutzes” are an example of working “cooperatives”, that could be an inspiration for us and that should be studied.

Working cooperatives could play an important role in the restoration of villages and the countryside.

Agriculture has besides a productive function at least two more functions whose importance is increasing: a landscape-forming function and a social one.

Landscape-forming function - a farmer or a farm-worker should be jointly responsible for the state and forming of the landscape, for how it is exploited. But this assumes that the state will contribute to farmers for the care of the landscape differentially according to natural conditions, and that it will consider them as “gardeners” who take care of the landscape (with the exception of the forests). It means for instance to provide subsidies for the mowing of meadows in the hills, subsidies for growing certain plants, for the planting and care of biocentres, biocorridors and inter-active elements (within the framework of the **territorial system of ecological stability**) or only for letting a certain plot in a certain period lie fallow. Working, aesthetically valuable countryside, suitable e.g. for the development of agrotourism, is an asset.

Social function - it is not possible to deny that the former political regime made a positive attempt to balance the standards of living in towns and villages. Nevertheless in many regions (especially in frontier and mountain ones) depopulation of villages occurred and is still occurring. People have neither enough work opportunities, nor enough possibilities of social and cultural life. This trend however should be stopped if we accept that we want a cultivated, functioning countryside and more decentralised settlement.

In the future it is possible to expect an outflow of part of the population (mainly educated people) from town to country - first of all to satellite areas, later even further. The value of a **quality environment, contact with nature and a way of life without urban rush and stress will be emphasised**. The advantages of towns - culture, access to information etc. - will be to a certain extent eliminated by the development of telecommunications and a good transport network.

In rural districts we should try to preserve and create new opportunities for work - whether in the form of sidelines as parts of cooperatives, or by the development of crafts and small businesses (food, wood-working industries etc.). In crop husbandry, the growing of crops with a technical or energy application (in the climatically suitable regions) such as flax, rape etc. will be intensified.

There may also be some important shifts between forest soil and agricultural soil resources (i.e. **more agricultural soil will be shifted to forest soil resources**). The non-timber producing function in the forest economy will be more important and a better natural age and species structure of wood will be intensified. But in chosen localities, timber species could be grown in very intensive plantations (including fertilising). It would be possible to grow in this way mainly biomass for energy reasons.

The Restructuring of the Energy Industry

The energy industry in Central Europe (esp. Czechoslovakia and former Eastern Germany) was developed after World War II in connection with the construction of heavy industry. If we give the size of the production of fuel and energy in Czechoslovakia in 1948 as 100%, then in 1981 this figure had risen more than twelve times (to 1240%) and in 1989 it was already 1530%. The mining of lignite in 1990 was about 90 million tonnes, the mining of bituminous coal was approximately 25 million tonnes. But since that time there has been an important fall in production.

Countries in transition still produce a disproportionately large amount of energy. Therefore the basic “source” of energy should be a cut in consumption. Czech Republic could cut the consumption of energy according to various calculations by 30 - 50% through the restructuring of industry, a change in its orientation, the introduction of modern technologies, by improving the insulating properties of building material and buildings etc.

Besides these most striking savings, there could be many other particular savings, caused e.g. by the fact that our agriculture has turned away from the intensification of production (based on high supplies of supplementary energy), and intensification is, at least partly, replaced by a qualitatively higher level of development, i.e. by ecologisation. The proof is the quick development of alternative (biological) agriculture and the demand for agricultural products grown without the use of chemical elements in the last couple of years.

In transport a broad-minded modernisation of railways, even to the detriment of the development of the road network and the problematic river transport, would again cut the consumption of energy.

Alternative Sources of Energy

Solar, water, wind, geothermal energy, the use of biogas, the processing of biomass and alcohols as a fuel are renewable sources, often considered to be unimportant and secondary. At the same time these resources are decentralised (there is no loss in transferring energy), accessible from the financial and capacity viewpoint to firms, and ecologically acceptable.

E.g. the growing of rape and the production of biological oils solves several problems at the same time: it makes it possible for farmers to grow plants with quite a good anti-erosion quality and a good sale, from an energy point of view it contributes to a higher representation of renewable resources and it ecologically influences the consumption of bio-oil and oils in transport - if it leaks into the soil, it is not a problem (unlike crude oil materials). Based on world experience and on calculations made in the Centre for the Effective Use of Energy (SEVEN) in Prague and also based on our own calculations, we think that it would be possible to cover 25 - 35% of the present consumption of energy with renewable resources.

The Use of Non-Renewable Resources

About one third of the consumption of energy, which we will not be able to cover by savings and renewable resources, is possible to get above all by the purchase of natural gas. When using quality technologies, it is the fuel with the best potential to replace lignite and also atomic energy. Besides the so far stable supplies from Russia and the central Asian republics it is also possible to negotiate with other partners in the Near East and in northern Africa.

We do not consider the consumption of nuclear energy as suitable and viable in the future. Among many other reasons for and against this resource, it is possible to give three reasons against nuclear energy which we consider to be fundamental:

a) The life of a nuclear power station is about 30 years, but spent fuel will be strongly radioactive for thousands of years. The problem of safe storage has not been solved in any country in the world yet, which is why we put a heavy burden on future generations.

b) The human factor. A nuclear power station can be technically the best, nevertheless personnel can always fail and endanger the best safety system. Therefore the risk of an accident

(even very small) is still there and in our conditions (geographical location, density of population) even a potential risk is considered to be unacceptable.

c) As a result of the construction of a new nuclear power station (in this case Temelín) there is for a time enough or even too much energy, which leads to the maintenance of the present state of industry, that is orientated towards branches with a high consumption of raw material and energy. Industry, orientated towards the primary processing of raw materials and their export, does not stimulate the need to develop “human potential” and ranks us among semi-developed countries that provide by their heavy industry a service to the developed, post-industrial countries.

The Restructuring of Industry

After World War II the Czech economy was orientated towards the priority development of heavy industry and for other, less developed socialist countries we, together with former East Germany, became “**the smithy of socialism**”. The physical volume of Czechoslovak industrial production in the first thirty years after the war grew 1.5 - 2 times quicker than in most industrially developed countries. At the end of the 1980’s Czechoslovakia had at its disposal the biggest industrial potential in the world per inhabitant.

The quantitative growth of industrial production, however, was accompanied by **technological backwardness** (as a result of the orientation of industry towards eastern markets and the lack of competition). Therefore even today the productivity of labour in industry is about 60 - 70% of the average in European countries. Not such a long time ago, the production sphere used nearly two thirds of all material production simply to keep working.

Another negative factor is the high concentration of industry in several regions.

The need for the restructuring and decentralisation of industry is therefore a big challenge.

In the Czech Republic there are the following main industrial branches: metallurgy, the chemical industry and the machinery-tool industry (including the armament industry).

Some branches that are more progressive for us (paper-making, polygraphy, branches of precision engineering, light chemistry etc.) are not represented enough in international comparison. Among other potentially successful branches, there could be the pharmaceutical industry, the food industry, the wood-working industry, the ceramic and glass industry, the building industry and maybe also the leather and boot-and-shoe industry).

Though nobody calls for the return of central planning through the State Planning Committee, **there is no fundamental strategic decision** concerning the role the state would like to play in control of the development of industrial branches with the help of economic tools. There is lack of expert decision on which industrial branches (if possible less demanding on raw material and energy and more demanding on skilled labour) will be supported and developed. These strategic decisions are common in the world and are of great importance for the development of society.

Then on the state and regional levels it is necessary to have worked-out strategies and programmes of regions which will be fundamentally affected by the restructuring of industry. There will be not only a great change in the professional orientation of workers, but also a **countryside that was devastated as a consequence of mining coal will change**. It is not

necessarily a disadvantage. With plenty of imagination and state and regional support, the countryside can be positively changed into a functioning and habitable countryside. The inspiration could be the countryside of the Trebon region in Southern Bohemia - in the Middle Ages it was a hardly habitable area of swamps, later changed by people and still habitable today and even proclaimed as a preserve and included in the network of international biospheric reserves.

Transport

Transport has for the functioning of society an importance analogous to the cardio-vascular system for the human body. The former Czechoslovakia was of **strategic importance in transport** from an international point of view **due to its geographical location**. To a certain extent it is true also about both succession states. We have from the past dense, well-constructed rail and road networks, in spite of the fact that this network has been technically neglected and is in need of modernisation and the quality of services provided is (above all on the railway) problematic.

Rail transport, either passenger or freight, is from an ecological point of view the most acceptable and it should become the basis of a new transport connection also on an international scale (on the European continent the rail network of highspeed trains will compete with air transport). The opposite trend is now true in our country and that is a pity. **From the viewpoint of sustainable development, the development of railways is a priority** in the field of transport.

Road transport since the revolution has been going through a stormy development and from a short-term point of view it seems to be the most suitable - it is comfortable, quick and relatively reliable. Nevertheless when taking into account the ecological cost to the countryside, the damage caused by accidents, the demand for parking lots in cities and other secondary expenses, its advantage is questionable (according to the research of Eurobarometer, carried out in Europe at the request of the Commission of the European Community, 54% of Europeans complain about immoderate road traffic and they consider it the most important problem at the local level).

The strategic decision in the field of road traffic will be, what basic networks of motorways we want and need. One possible suggestion is to finish constructing the network of motorways to former regional towns, with connections to the main international roads with two or three lanes in each direction. This state, however, should be considered final, otherwise a denser road network usually causes denser traffic, which again will cause an increase in the number of lanes and so on.

Some countries, that have gone through this process, realise it is a deadlock and they have started to limit road traffic, above all international lorry traffic (e.g. Switzerland, Austria). Even in our country, **fees for transit should be increased and international lorry traffic through our territory should be uncompromisingly transferred to the railway**.

Car traffic is (unfortunately) felt as a symbol of social position. But drivers should pay the full cost of road use - including a tax for using a non-renewable natural resource connected with petrol and diesel oil. The **development of auto-rental offices** (with the support of the state) could become profitable. For many people it could be an acceptable compromise between the comfort which is provided by a car and the financial demands and ecological aspects that are

against buying a car. But a sufficiently dense and good quality network of auto-rental offices is a precondition.

In towns, **public urban transport** should be supported and its stagnation should be overcome. It is true, that electrified public urban transport is not so clean as it seems to be at first sight (the electric power used is produced in another region in power stations, that contaminate the environment), nevertheless it is a better alternative than roads jammed by cars to which life in towns is subordinated. In connection with the attempt to have a healthier way of life in town (especially those towns situated on plains) **cycling will develop**. Its development, however, depends a lot on the willingness of local authorities to support the construction of cycling paths.

Tourism and Recreation

Tourism and recreation are the world's most important areas of the economy, only after them are there other branches, such as the car, chemical or armament industries, electrical engineering and machine-tool industry, that contribute to the growth of gross domestic product.

The development of tourism is very important for our country. Thanks to foreign tourists, it brings in international currency and it counterbalances what would otherwise be a severe deficit in the balance of foreign trade. **Tourism**, thanks to our natural beauties and cultural and historical monuments and also our geographical location, **is the branch with the greatest potential to produce wealth, provide employment and be acceptable from the viewpoint of sustainable development**.

But in the very near future it will be necessary to consolidate the infrastructure and quality of services - accommodation, catering, transport and telecommunications etc. It is also desirable and necessary to encourage and support the **diversion of a part of tourism into towns and regions that are not so well-known yet**, though nevertheless very attractive and with great tourist potential (this includes towns such as e.g. Kutná Hora, Olomouc and regions such as the Bohemian-Moravian Uplands). The language competence of the inhabitants is important for the development of tourism too.

Mainly in rural, border and mountain regions, soft tourism and agrotourism should be developed. These forms of tourism do not create a great anthropogenic pressure on the countryside, they lead to greater contact with local inhabitants and better recognition of their way of life (it can also hide some dangers - tourists trying to "fuse" with the local inhabitants for two weeks a year can appreciably damage their way of life, not only inspire and enrich themselves).

After forty years of "abstention" it is good to encourage our citizens to travel abroad, especially if these journeys are instructive or educational. By opening up to the world, young people especially gain self-confidence, they will be able to be more sensitive towards the present problems of the world and they will be more willing to take part in their solution. So far we are too wrapped up in ourselves (mainly because of the language barrier), we suffer from provincialism.

Internal Security

The function of the police is to protect the rights and freedoms of individuals, their physical and psychological integrity and the inviolability of their property.

The change of political system and the consequent opening of the borders led to a rise in crime. Various forms of international organized crime have started to come into our country.

Our territory is no longer only a transit for drugs, it is also becoming a market. White-collar crime is developing, especially in the area of economic frauds. There are more crimes against the labour laws and computer crime is spreading, the use of brutal violence is growing.

According to Pavel Křivka (18) it will be necessary to start a discussion about how much citizens would be willing to abandon their rights in exchange for an increase in safety and a decrease in crime. Besides the immediate damage, also trust in the functioning of and respect for law and order are damaged. And a democratic system is explicitly based on the functioning of the respect for law and order.

It will be necessary to look for a balance between the freedom and responsibility of the individual and to revise some humanist ideas. E.g. the wide application of the right to banking secrecy clashes with the right to ensure safety, property and health.

The police must fulfill two roles - repressive and preventive. The police fulfill a repressive role only towards about 3 - 4% of citizens. Towards the rest of the population, it fulfills the role of protection or a service role.

Crime prevention programmes should be developed, because prevention is much cheaper than the fight against the increase in crime. The results are, however, evident only after a long time - after five or ten years.

Family upbringing plays a basic role in crime prevention. As P. Křivka writes (18) with rise in the number of offences committed by young people there is the influence of the negative orientation of society towards hedonism and the consumer way of life. When parents are too busy and financially well-off, the children often get used to the fact that the overwhelming majority of their wishes are satisfied without trying very hard. If later it is not possible for them to do that in the same way, a young person feels it as an injustice and loses all inhibitions against crime.

Crime rate can be increased by a flood of **refugees from the East and the Balkans**, continuing unemployment and the criminality of gypsies.

It is likely that the former conception of punishment as educational and punitive will be replaced by the idea that it is more a fulfilling of justice (this view understands a man as a person capable of managing his own affairs, who, on the basis of his inner freedom, is able responsibly to determine his behaviour).

In prisons the situation is critical. Prisons are on one hand overcrowded, on the other hand some offenders admit that they commit crimes because they can live in better conditions than outside. **The reintroduction of the duty to work should be a fundamental measure.** Other possibilities are alternative punishments and town lock-ups for short-term punishments, but again with a duty to engage in work beneficial to the public.

The basic precondition of the protection of society against crime, however, seems to be the re-evaluation of the one-sided emphasis on human rights towards a balance with responsibility towards other people.

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Back to Natural Cycles (Recycling)

People use resources of raw material and energy that we can simply classify as inexhaustible and renewable (e.g. water), inexhaustible and non-renewable (e.g. solar power), exhaustible and renewable (e.g. forests) and exhaustible and non-renewable (e.g. fossil fuels).

It would be desirable for us to approach as closely as possible to the **economy of nature**. In ecosystems no wastage occurs, materials are re-cycled and only a part of the energy (its source is sunshine and the energy of the Earth's core) is lost irreversibly in the form of radiant heat. So far we are a long way away from it.

Special problem is dangerous waste. Waste dangerous for human health is defined as waste which shows at least one of the following features:

- a) acute toxicity;
- b) serious irreversible delayed effect;
- c) serious local caustic effect;
- d) the possibility of the transfer of serious infection.

Cement rotary furnaces in selected cement works, but only after technological modification, are one of the possible regional facilities to neutralise certain kinds of dangerous waste.

Above all the energy industry and industry as a whole suffer from the heritage of recent decades when we were unfortunately orientated towards heavy industry. Our consumption of energy and raw material per unit of gross domestic product is 2 - 3 times higher in comparison with developed western-european countries. It is also a reason for the high level of the exploitation of energy and raw material resources and consequently also a high production of waste. This situation is no longer tenable.

It is immediately possible with the help of state intervention to stimulate industry to introduce products which will be ecologically economical, **“from the cradle to the grave”**, and to prolong their service life.

An ecological machine-tool industry and ecological chemical industry should be supported (especially in Central and Eastern Europe this field is not so far fully covered by foreign competition and provides a chance for a viable, export-orientated development in these branches).

Similarly, through state intervention and with the help of economic tools, **we should support the introduction of ecological technologies**, first of all:

- technologies that are more economical as far as raw material and energy are concerned;
- technologies using renewable resources;
- technologies with small and recyclable waste;
- cleaning technologies.

An example of the practicality of these ideas is Japan that has made a successful export article from environment-orientated industry and technology. On the other hand our country is periodically threatened by the accusation of **ecological dumping** from the European Union (e.g. in the field of metallurgy). The orientation towards “comparative advantages” on international markets - on cheap labour and ecological dumping - ranks us among the less developed countries.

Natural ecosystems are examples of an economy without waste. Professor Straskraba (1) identified **what principles can be taken over by ecotechnology from the functioning of ecosystems** and what lessons we can draw from the **behaviour of ecosystems**. These are:

- minimalized energy waste;

- a closed cycle of matter;
- the preservation of structures;
- the preservation of genetic information which enables anti-entropic growth;
- ecosystems are more sensitive towards outside influences (they are open systems);
- the influences of one part of a system have unexpected consequences in a distant part of the system;
- they do not exceed the ecosystemic homeostatic assimilative capacity;
- they use ecosystemic adaptation for strategies of control (self-organization of ecosystems).

We are used to infinitely trusting science and technology and the perfection we have achieved in processing and using matter. But in comparison with what is happening unostentatiously, almost invisibly but more effectively in nature, we are only at the very beginning with our science and technology (and our respect for organic and inorganic nature should correspond with this fact). Finally one example for illustration (2): *“In nature we could find everything. The turbo-jet engine? Octopuses “have used it” for millions of years. Ultra-sonic radar? This is „owned” by bats. Perfect thermoisolating material? What else but ordinary orange peel. Night vision is used by totally unerring cockroaches during the night and no computer is able to create a more perfect aerodynamic shape than has been made by Mother Nature herself in the shape of the winged sycamore seed... .Or, not such a long time ago, we e.g. did not yet know that the ordinary human muscle is the most perfect engine which it is possible to create. Its perfection is represented by its 95% efficiency, while the most perfect internal combustion engine is only 35% efficient.”*

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The Implementation of Sustainable Development

We have tried to formulate the strategy of sustainable development. It may be an imperfect attempt, nevertheless it can be a challenge to us to work out **a positive and democratic alternative** to the contemporary way of development in a better and more perfect way. But it is not enough simply to formulate a strategy of sustainable development, it is necessary to push it

through as well. Who and how can one accept the implementation of this strategy and how can one help?

Bill Moyer (1992) distinguishes three groups of **actors** who are necessary for implementation of fundamental change in society: rebels, architects of change and reformers.

Rebels are trying to attract attention by protests, demonstrations etc. They are the most attractive from above mentioned groups for mass-media.

Architects of change see their mission in education and search for **constructive alternatives** to present situation. They try to get not just attention but also support of the public for implementation of change.

But also **reformers** are necessary for implementation of fundamental change, who work in official executive and parliamentary structures and who are able to implement desirable solutions into official political and law documents.

First of all, we are **citizens**, individuals. Although it seems that the majority of inhabitants are apathetic towards environmental problems, in reality a great shift in the attitudes and interest of the inhabitants has taken place in the last twenty years. Even at the beginning of the 1980's, environmental problems were understood by the majority of citizens as the concern of a small number of specialists and somewhat eccentric "lovers of plants and animals". Today the situation is different and the sensitivity of the inhabitants towards the environment will increase. But it is important that the motivation is not only a negative one, caused by the fear of a coming crisis. To stimulate the activity of the inhabitants, hope, a vision of the way out is necessary and sustainable development should become a kind of hope. If sustainable development is understood and accepted by the citizens, it is clear that it will be reflected very strikingly even in the interest of political parties which compete for the support of voters.

Educational institutions and the mass media can help the most to influence public opinion. Mainly schools and teachers have a great power and responsibility. Unlike adults, children are very sensitive. If a teacher manages to interest them and win them over to ecological environmental policy, it is practically sure that when these young people grow up and some of them occupy important positions, they will behave in a much more responsible and conscious way, than our generation is able to. In addition, **children are able to influence their parents the most**. We, adults, are often inwardly ironclad against other people's arguments and we take our fellow-workers as potential rivals, as somebody who casts doubt upon our opinion and threatens our authority. But we are sensitive, receptive and open towards our own children. So a teacher can indirectly, through children, influence the opinions and activity of adults.

It is not necessary to stress how **the mass media** can influence public opinion. A newspaperman has a great influence and also responsibility which is totally comparable with the influence and responsibility of politicians. It is a mistake that ecologists and environmentalists are often able and willing to publish their attitudes and opinions only in professional magazines or newsletters of various movements where the converted preach to the converted. According to sociological research, **television has unquestionably the greatest influence on public opinion**. A little less influence is typical for national newspapers and radio. The influence of professional periodicals on public opinion is practically negligible. In the present period of "the information

revolution”, it is advisable to keep in mind all the time, that it is not the quantity of given information which is important, but what is more important is **information** that because of its content, layout and arrangement leads to **recognition** which consequently helps **understanding**.

Political parties and movements campaign for the support of the citizens (especially before an election). The point is when and what kind of real political power will be formed, the power, one of whose main tasks will be the introduction of a strategy of sustainable development.

The activities of **non-government organizations** are irreplaceable and their activities will grow with the development of civil society. But it would be possible to compare the opportunities and the means which they have at their disposal, to a shovel, which is used to turn over sand heaps. A political party that participates in government has means of a totally different level, in this comparison let us say corresponding to a bulldozer; so it can make the fundamental changes quickly and effectively. And the speed of change, or time is involved here as well.

Winning political parties are given two key positions for one period of government - a government and (partly) Parliament. Their **fundamental disadvantage is mainly the short-term perspective of deliberations** - till the next election. If the politicians do not want to commit political “suicide”, they are often really limited by this perspective, at the same time the implementation of sustainable development needs necessarily also a long-term perspective of deliberation. Already from the definition it is clear, that the matter is the rights of future generations. How can we get out of it? It needs a strong and worked-out vision and politicians - personalities, who will have the courage to push through what they think is right, though for them personally it is disadvantageous in the short term.

The **president** is above direct political rivalry. It may be better to emphasise and strengthen his powers (moving closer to the U.S. model), he should be elected directly by the citizens for periods of fundamental social change. But this is not a topic for our consideration.

We think that one of the most important things for the head of state is to point out the threat of global (not only ecological) crisis and with the help of this authority he can help us to look for and indicate possible ways out. For example - in 1992 the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation at The World Conference on Environment and Development was the federal Minister of the Environment Josef Vavroušek, an immensely qualified man, but “only” a minister. This delegation should have been led by the president and he was expected in Rio de Janeiro to address the world comity and to help to better the relationships between the countries of North and South and these countries towards the Earth. The conference was at the same time as elections in our republic; this might be the reason why president Václav Havel did not go to Brasil. Fidel Castro “adopted” his role and it is said he even got a round of applause for his speech. But in his presentation all moral appeals must have sounded false. It will be the same here in our country - it will be a wasted chance if there is no moral appeal for a responsible relationship towards future generations, towards living beings and nature as a whole as soon as possible from a state and moral authority - i.e. the president.

Also the **business community** is indisputably of great importance. Businessmen and their firms are sometimes considered to be “the greatest enemies” of the environment, mainly because of their strategy “**to be equals to grow**” and the resulting attitude to the environment and resources. But this is a simplified view. On the supranational, national and regional levels there are many firms and corporations that try to behave responsibly (for some of them it is of course

only a game, the creation of a better business “image”). The business world can be influenced by the (political) adoption of the principles of environmental economics and the adoption of appropriate economic tools. But it can also be influenced by culture and the knowledge that it is possible to make money from the environment, both from ecological engineering and from an emphasis on the greater longevity and utility of products. An immense economic influence will be concentrated in the hands of businessmen and above all in the hands of multinational companies. Multinational companies are not under state control and this has been recently intensified by the further deregulation and liberalisation of international trade. So the role of business community is still rather controversial. Profit oriented companies can be very dangerous enemies to sustainable development, with short term horizon of thinking, planning and decision making, on the other hand they can become valuable allies.

Also **trade unions** could have their role in the implementation of sustainable development. For many decades they struggled for the rights of working people, for better working conditions and dignified social security for workers. As with human rights, **the right to a healthy environment started to be understood as one of the basic rights only recently**, so trade unions could also accept their task to aim at a quality environment and the responsible behaviour of employers towards future generations and towards nature and natural resources. It should be a new impulse for their activity and role, above all in developed countries.

Churches will have an irreplaceable role. Churches everywhere, in our country mainly Christian churches, face, at the turn of the millennium, many serious challenges to which they should react, **from environmental problems to questions of genetic engineering** and biological revolution.

Generally and publicly churches adopt a very responsible attitude towards the environment resulting from the responsibility of man - the custodian of the Earth for his Creator. But in real life churches give the impression in the field of environmental problems, as if they were sleeping or at least as if under the weight of other problems (restitution, charity, evangelical activity etc.) they did not have enough energy to fight for a more effective, responsible attitude not only towards human life, but also towards organic and inorganic nature.

However even from a secular point of view, churches have two excellent prerequisites for pushing sustainable development through:

- **their perspective of deliberation is** (unlike politicians and businessmen) **long-term**, the sense of our existence is to aim at eternal life and if we have this Earth, entrusted to us by God, we have a duty to take care of it as best we can;
- **churches can** very effectively **influence** the thought, behaviour and actions of their congregations in **all layers of society** and in all regions of the republic (unlike ecologists - specialists who are mostly able to address mainly educated people and particularly in towns, they usually fail to address people in villages).

Nevertheless we believe that people involved in trying to make a change through **non-government organizations and social movements** will have **the most important role** in pushing sustainable development through. The non-government and also non-profitmaking sectors are only starting to develop, but it will be more and more important, as it is in developed

countries. It is a **symbol of the readiness of people to take part in creating the future** and to take joint responsibility for the development of society. Social movements have the power to bring great social changes to pass. However to achieve this aim takes years and sometimes even decades and the results of one person's efforts are often adopted by another.

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Global Governance – Precondition for Sustainable Development

The 20th century finished and we have entered the third millennium. The 20th century was one of violence and anarchy - two world wars, communism, fascism, later the manifestations of ecological crisis, organized crime etc., but at the same time it was a century of marvellous scientific discoveries, of flights to the Moon. It was a period of emancipation and the granting of equal rights to people in many parts of the world. In the developed world a civic society is in the process of development, i.e. a society of citizens who are able and willing to take responsibility for the administration of common affairs into their own hands and to participate in the controlling, or self-controlling, of society.

A new quality is being born. We discussed in former part of this study the vision of development for the 21st century - the vision of sustainable development, or a sustainable way of life. We share the conviction that there lies before us another fundamental qualitative change - the transformation from a world order based on the strength of individual nation states to **global governance**.

Great ideas appeared and were implemented at certain moments of change. These include e.g. the foundation of the United States of America, the abolition of slavery in the same country, the foundation of the United Nations Organization after World War II, and the reconstruction of Europe and Japan through the Marshall Plan. It is necessary to have **courage for great visions and to be prepared for them**.

It is very important for the coming changes to happen in **an evolutionary not a revolutionary way**. The treachery of the revolutionary way was clearly expressed by Joseph Conrad in his novel *Under Western Eyes*:

In a real revolution, it is not the best ones who come into prominence. Violent revolution first comes under the control of fanatics and tyrannical hypocrites. Then it is the turn of arrogant intellectuals, who never get anywhere. They then become the leaders and heads (compare this with the example of Slobodan Milošević in Yugoslavia and Radovan Karadžić in Bosna - note by P.N.). You must have noticed I have not mentioned mere rogues. At the beginning there can be high-principled and just, noble and faithful, unegoistic and intelligent people, but the movement slips out of their hands. They are not the leaders of the revolution. They are its victims: disgusted, disillusioned victims, often the victims of bad conscience. Grotesquely born hopes, caricatured ideals - thus is the success of the revolution defined.

The problem with global governance is that the **representatives of supranational organizations feel even less responsible towards the citizens than the politicians at local, regional or state levels**. Then in the UN there is great corruption and ineffectiveness, which we will mention in the chapter on UN reform.

In the past, governance and law were nearly exclusively in the sphere of national interests. The **system of nation states has functioned for about 400 years** and it was, above all, a system for the balance of colonial powers. In the course of the last fifty years there has been an artificial bipolar system, East - West.

Democracy was defined, above all, in the sense of the role of national government and regional self-government and the enforcement of the rule of law was perceived as the duty of national justice. This is not enough any more. Today the most obvious trend is **globalization** (the creation of a "global village"), which is accompanied by individualization and the atomization of society. Not even the United States of America is able today to control the movement of its currency, and of course also ecological problems (ozone layer depletion, the greenhouse effect, ecological refugees etc.) contribute to the necessity to find a solution at the global level.

Global governance is usually perceived as the relationship between governments. This, however, is not enough. Global governance must also include the activity of non-governmental organizations, civic movements, churches, supranational corporations, academic bodies and the mass media. Sovereignty is the corner stone of the present international relationships. However, considering the **global commons**, it is necessary to limit sovereignty or to apply it collectively. **The most serious threats to national sovereignty** and territorial integrity **have** today not external but **internal roots** (tribalism in African states, tyrannical regimes etc.). Therefore it is necessary to adjust the understanding of sovereignty in such a way that the rights of individuals, of citizens, would be balanced against the rights of the state, and the interests of nations would be balanced against the interests of the global community.

The sociologist, Arnold Toynbee (1), stated that **in the atomic age national sovereignty equals mass suicide**. National or state sovereignty represents too often the narrow egocentrism of leaders, who protect mainly their own positions. We can confirm this observation with our own experience with the division of Czechoslovakia in 1992.

The recognition of the responsibility towards something higher than one's own country is difficult. The instinct to own territory is common to all animal species. However, with Man the ability to recognize responsibility has gradually broadened in the course of history - it was a responsibility towards family, relatives, towards a community, later towards a country and now we are at the threshold of the recognition of our responsibility towards Mankind.

To manage the acceptance of global responsibility and the resulting global governance we will need a **leadership which will be able to see beyond the next election period and also beyond the nearest state border**.

We need a government which will be **proactive not only reactive** (reacting only to current events), which will be capable of **innovative learning** (learning from the scenarios of possible futures), not only learning from former experience.

If individual states are going to fight for power, for primacy, when everybody considers the satisfaction of national interest, even at the expense of others, to be a main virtue, there will be no winners. All of us will lose and egoism will make an instrument of self-destruction out of the human spirit.

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United Nations Reform

The UN is the favoured instrument for global governance, despite all the shortcomings and mistakes for which it is rightly criticized.

The United Nations Organization laboured under a great handicap from the very beginning - it was born into a world which was divided into two hostile blocks, which were fighting (fortunately only) a cold war.

The UN Charter was proclaimed in the name of the peoples of the world: *We, the peoples of the United Nations* ... The UN was intended as a common platform and the central institution for the global governance of the citizens of the planet.

However, **people never gained the feeling** (because of the bipolar world) **that the UN was theirs**. They did not identify themselves with it and it did not belong to them. It belonged more to the governments of the nation states, which used it and misused it to enforce their own aims. It was an instrument for the application of national interests.

Even today, 55 years later, people and governments understand the UN as an institution which belongs to itself (and so does not belong to anybody else) and its own clerks.

Nevertheless, **the United Nations Organization has achieved many successes** in the course of the last fifty years. **Decolonization** is the most important of them. Thanks to it the number of UN members increased from 51 in 1945 to 113 in 1963. Today almost 200 states are represented in the UN.

Another success, according to the Commission on Global Governance (1), is progress in the assertion of **human rights, maritime law** and the results of great world conferences on various questions, from the position of women to the environment and sustainable development. Also some UN programmes, focused on particular projects, rank among the important successes. These are e.g. UNICEF - the UN Children's Fund, UNHCR - the UN High Commissioner for Refugees) etc. The UN has been successful also in agriculture (FAO - the UN Food and Agriculture Organization), health care (WHO - the World Health Organization), meteorology (WMO - the World Meteorological Organization) and labour (ILO - the International Labour Organization).

The main failure and shortcoming is the fact that the **founding states did not grant the UN the powers which would concern national sovereignty**, the main powers are still in the hands of the member states. The opinion is even heard that the United Nations Organization should be abolished to make room for a new institution.

There are four possible ways of dealing with the UN:

- 1) to give up and wash our hands of it;
- 2) to try to reform it fundamentally;
- 3) to attempt only small, cosmetic changes;
- 4) to support selectively only certain activities of the UN and to link our contributions to them.

We consider a combination of the second and the fourth attitudes to be the best.

The UN does not have at its disposal large funds. If it is supposed to transform itself into an institution for effective global governance it will, on the contrary, be necessary for it to have a substantially greater budget and it will have to have its own income, gained through a "global

tax", so it will not depend only on the contributions of the member countries (which often have bad payment ethics).

The current UN budget (the budget for maintaining the administration and long-term activities) is about \$1.25 billion. This is a great deal, but more money is spent e.g. on the fire brigade in New York. The current UN budget would financially not even cover 12 hours of the world's arms expenses.

The expenses of the UN system represented only 0.05% of the world's GDP, and only 0.07% of the GDP of 24 industrial countries. They equalled \$1.90 per human being living in 1992.

The United States of America is the biggest contributor to the UN budget, to which it contributes 25 per cent. This sum is about 1 dollar and 20 cents per American citizen per year. If we add to it the costs of all the other specialized organizations, the costs of humanitarian aid, development programmes and of the most expensive UN activity, peace-keeping, we reach the sum of 6 dollars per person, which in the USA is approximately the price of one ticket to the cinema.

*The UN is not a world government, it has none of the powers of a sovereign state, it **does not even have the power to establish its own agenda**. It is only an instrument in the hands of a "council of governors". **The UN is a reflection of the world's affairs and their participants**. The criticism and the call for the reform of the UN thus also has to be a call for the reform of the policy of the member states of the UN towards this organization.*

Andreas Nichlitzch

The proposals for UN reform

The need for a fundamental reform of the UN is generally acknowledged. The question is what the will of the states of the world to implement the reform and to surrender part of their national sovereignty will be. **Without "breaking" the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs, the effective control of global affairs is not possible.** Thanks to "non-intervention" even the most terrible bestialities committed against our own people and against the environment are still not punished. Today the worst are not the wars and conflicts on the international scene but the ones within a particular state. It will be the states which do not have a clear conscience (or their rulers) which will resist global governance the most. Therefore it is necessary to take into consideration **the two- or multi-speed structure of global governance**. According to the ability and willingness to accept and apply certain human values, human rights, principles of market behaviour, ways of behaviour on the international scene etc., the states would have access to the advantages resulting from global governance, such as the projects and investments resulting from a global Marshall Plan (see the following chapter).

Among Czech politicians, the reform of the UN has been systematically considered, as far as I am aware, by three politicians: Václav Havel; the deceased Minister of the Environment, Josef Vavroušek; and a member of the Commission on Global Governance, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jiří Dienstbier.

Václav Havel considers it suitable for the General Assembly to resemble one day a **world parliament**. The Security Council could become the main centre for operative decision-making. The condition is that the permanent members will be, in a more balanced way than today, the most populous and the most influential states of the world, which will represent various continents and circles of civilization, or also some integrated groupings of states, which will apply a common foreign policy.

There could be established a unit able to take action against aggressors, as well as permanent units supervising the keeping of peace, i.e. units of a more police type.

Every person on the planet should one day contribute to the UN a microscopic part of their income in as direct a way as possible, so it would be clear that this organization has been established by Mankind for itself.

Václav Havel envisages a UN which will not be an organization of separate nations and above all separate states, but an organization of the citizens of the world, which is itself endangered and which is possible to save only through the unification of all human power.

Josef Vavroušek tried to create an **alternative model of the UN** which he presented at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and which he published in the book, *Threats without Enemies* (2). However, Vavroušek did not find political support at home for his proposal and his subsequent activities were brought to a halt by his tragic death under an avalanche in the High Tatras in spring 1995.

According to Josef Vavroušek, the UN reacts to new problems by creating new commissions and programmes. This, however, has gradually led to the fact that there have been established too many various institutions within the UN whose activities are only minimally connected and co-ordinated. The existing structure of the UN has thus become ineffective and overexpensive. The result is that today the opinion *no new institutions in the UN* prevails. So it is suitable to establish a new, more decentralized UN structure.

The future structure of the UN should be created by four specialized subsystems which would increase the effectiveness of the UN without creating a highly centralized bureaucracy with a monopoly of power. These four subsystems are as follows:

- a) **UN security system**, whose task would be to resolve international conflicts by peaceful means; it would be controlled by the UN Security Council;
- b) **UN economic system**, which would support balanced global economic development with the help of suitable financial, trade and other measures, carried out by the UN Economic Council;
- c) **UN social system**, concentrating on the support of culture, education, health care, social insurance and similar activities, realized through the UN Social Charter;
- d) **UN environmental system**, orientated towards the protection and regeneration of Nature generally and the environment of Man in particular. The environmental system would be controlled by the UN Environmental Council.

Each of these four specialized cornerstones should be autonomous because they concentrate on different aspects of the sustainable development of our planet. At the same time, however, they should closely co-operate because the actual problems are connected with each other.

This proposal is of an evolutionary nature not a revolutionary one, because the UN security system exists already, the economic and social questions are within the competence of the ECOSOC and thus only the environmental system is a new proposal. This new proposal for UN structure would absorb most of the existing UN bodies, programmes and commissions (the environmental system would absorb e.g. UNEP, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, etc.).

The demand for the decentralization of the system of UN activities in order to increase effectiveness on the basis of the knowledge of the situation in the regions led J. Vavroušek to propose a "secondary", regional UN structure (the primary one is the UN structure of its branches). This secondary structure should be organized on a continental or regional basis. The present UN regional commissions, whose number should, however, be increased, could serve as their bases. (Today there are five UN regional commissions: the Economic Commission for Europe - ECE, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean - ECLAC, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific - ESCAP, the Economic Commission for West Asia - ECWA and the Economic Commission for Africa - ECA).

There should be a UN Commission for Africa, Europe, North America, South America and the Caribbean, East Asia, West Asia, Australia and the Antarctic. Each of these commissions would cover four principal branches: security, the economy, social affairs and the environment, which corresponds with the UN primary structure. The primary and secondary structure of the UN would thus create a matrix structure, which would make it possible to react to the global consequences of specific problems as well as to their regional aspects (see Chart No. 3).

Chart No. 3: Main areas of co-operation between the two proposed structures of the UN system:

Primary structure	Secondary structure	Secondary structure	General mission
	UN system for Afrika	UN system for Europe etc.	(UN global system)
UN security system	African security	European security etc.	Global security
UN social system	African social and cultural development and health care	European social and cultural development and health care etc.	Global social and cultural development and health care
UN economic system	African economic development	European economic development etc.	Global economic development
UN environmental system	African protection of Nature and renewal of environment	European protection of Nature and renewal of environment etc.	Global protection of Nature and renewal of environment
General mission (UN global system)	Sustainable development in Africa	Sustainable development in Europe etc.	Planetary sustainable development

Josef Vavroušek considered it necessary to strengthen the fourth (environmental) cornerstone of the proposed UN system. A *UN World Environment Organization (UNWEO)*, which would coordinate environmental activities at the global level, should be established. This organization could be based on the present structure of the current UN Environmental Programme (UNEP).

Today the proposal to establish UNWEO is not, in my opinion, so topical, because its mission to a certain extent is fulfilled by the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD).

The UN Commission on Global Governance has made many proposals. The most substantial proposals concerning UN reform are as follows:

- in the UN Security Council there should be established a new class of five "standing" members to serve until a further review around the year 2005;
- the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, the USA and Great Britain) should agree to forgo the veto except in circumstances they consider to be of an exceptional and priority nature;
- the General Assembly should enforce the rights of its members to approve the UN budget and allocate contributions;
- the General Assembly should be revitalized as a universal forum for the nations of the world and its agenda reduced and rationalized;
- the Trusteeship Council should be given a new mandate to exercise trusteeship over the global commons (previously it exercised trusteeship over the trusteeship territories);

- before the annual session of the General Assembly, a Forum of Civil Society (unifying the representatives of the important non-governmental organizations, entrepreneurial communities, churches etc.) should be convened;
- a new "Right of Petition" should be made available to international civil society;
- ECOSOC should be abolished (or transformed into an Economic Security Council);
- UNCTAD and UNIDO should be abolished;
- the procedure for appointing the Secretary-General needs to be radically improved, the appointment should be restricted to a single term of seven years;
- it is necessary to consistently apply the provision of the UN Charter for depriving countries that do not fulfil their financial obligations of the right to vote;
- UN budget assessments should be adjusted so that the organization is not dependent on too large a contribution from any one country;
- UN reform must reflect the changed facts, including the increasing ability of a global civil society to contribute to global governance.

The above-mentioned proposals have one thing in common: **the call to entrust the UN with more powers** without which effective global governance is not possible. However, entrusted powers should be under the effective check of the member countries and they must be balanced by an adequately increased level of responsibility towards member countries and civil society as a whole.

It is possible to find here an analogy with the development of the European Union. After World War II Winston Churchill supported the idea of a United States of Europe, however it took fifty years for the European Community (European Union) to develop into its present shape, and the process is far from complete.

So far we have consistently avoided the concept of global government. In the present state and variety of the world it is something which would not have a chance of being successful and even if it were, the risk of misuse is too great. Nevertheless, we cannot avoid a certain analogy with governance at the level of the nation state.

Jiří Dienstbier claims that the contemporary representation of the member countries of the UN is not equal in the sense that the **representatives of totalitarian states cannot be the representatives of democratic decision-making. Various nations live in different historical times.** Not only former Yugoslavia, but also the war of the North against the South, when 20 per cent of the population of the United States died, are examples. This is, however, being changed. Today states such as South Carolina and New York are not in conflict because they live in the same historical time.

This is a challenge to global governance - nation states should, if possible, bring themselves into the same historical time. It would then be possible to enforce some of the vitally important principles of effective global governance. This means, above all, the great problem of curbing the bureaucracy. There is a necessity for the classic division of powers (legislative, executive and judicial) and in every case the responsibility of one person to another (e.g. the executive to the legislative). If at a national level one of the points of this triangle does not work, the whole

system is unstable. Similarly this is true also at the global level. The function of a global parliament thus could be fulfilled by the General Assembly. There will, however, be a problem with mandates. Today there are nearly two hundred UN member countries, but is it realistic for the vote of e.g. the representative of China with 1,300 million inhabitants and the representative of Estonia with a million inhabitants to be of the same weight? Similarly it is not realistic to allocate the weight or number of votes according to the size or economic effectiveness of a country.

Today it is paradoxically true that economically strong countries are unofficially more influential in enforcing their interests than the other countries e.g. because of their larger financial contributions to the UN. This, however, must be changed. It will be necessary to look for a solution which would allocate a certain number of votes to individual regions. Today there are five UN regional commissions. J. Vavroušek suggested an increase in the number of regions to eight, but even this is not enough. For instance, Africa is a large and heterogeneous continent. There is a great difference between the Arab states of North Africa, black sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa there is a great difference e.g. between East and West Africa. When establishing the regions, not only the geographical location and natural conditions should be taken into consideration, but also the coefficients of economic maturity and the cultural and religious orientation of a region. Therefore I think that eight regions is not enough and I suggest the establishment of the following fifteen regions: **South America, Central America (including Mexico), North America, the Arab region, Equatorial Africa, Southern Africa, Australia and New Zealand, the Pacific, South and South-east Asia, Russia with Mongolia and the Central-Asian countries - former members of the Soviet Union, China, Japan and South Korea (in the long term Korea as a whole), Central and Eastern Europe, the European Union and the other states of Western Europe, and the vast desert territories (the Antarctic, or also Greenland and the Arctic).**

Even these regions are, however, still very heterogeneous and therefore the UN structure should go one level lower and within the regions there should be created sub-regions (within the region "Western Europe" there could be e.g. the Scandinavian sub-region).

The sub-regions should be linked to the states - the member countries of the UN. Here too we face many problems. Some of the states have problems with defining themselves as nations. These are e.g. African states, but also e.g. Ukraine. In large states such as Russia there live dozens of nationalities and hundreds of ethnic groups, so why could there not be e.g. a Siberian sub-region of the UN to which Yakuts, Buryats and other Siberian nations would link up? There would be a similar situation in China and other countries.

Unlike the nation states, these regions and sub-regions would be new, therefore the strengthening of regional integration demands time, political resolution and the creation of a legal and institutional framework. I believe that, despite all the problems, development will take this direction and that today's mostly economic groupings such as the EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, MERCOSUR etc. are the germs of future functional, supranational regions.

In other regions, such as Southern Africa and the Middle East, the common management of rare resources (of water) could become the initial impulse for regional co-operation. If we do not succeed, these places will become probably centres of conflict in the first half of the 21st century.

The problem of the division of powers among global, regional, sub-regional and state levels, plus the division of powers within a state from the regional level down to the local community, is connected also with the position of ethnic and national groups for whom it is difficult to "get into" the UN. These are e.g. the Kurds, a large nation which is unlucky because most of the Kurds lives on the territory of three states - Turkey, Syria and Iraq. There may be no real chance for them to have their own state, however they should be awarded a special statute within the UN, with the possibility of participating in the General Assembly and other institutions. The UN should attempt to establish an autonomous region with the possibility of co-operation with other regions, where the historical and culturally specific features and economically dignified conditions of the Kurds' lives would be respected. Similarly, the question of the original inhabitants on the American continent has not been solved yet. For instance, the Navajos have started to call themselves a nation, and the Mayas are calling for the rectification of five hundred years of injustice and occupation.

The situation is even more complicated. People identify themselves not only with their country, nation or region, but also with the church or non-governmental organization they become involved with, or with their entrepreneurial community. Many people would certainly confirm that their allegiance to, for example, the Catholic Church or to the Greenpeace Movement is for them more important than the fact that they were born German, French or Czech. Thus even these institutions should have the possibility of participating in global governance and within the UN they should have e.g. the status of observers and consultants.

The UN General Assembly should be a global parliament even though we are not able to define its formation and the representation of the citizens of this planet more specifically. This "parliament" should aim to work on a **global constitution** - on the **fundamental and common values and rules which are acceptable to the nations and citizens of the planet**. It should have the possibility of passing laws concerning global governance, including the regulation of a global tax.

The UN General Assembly should have the possibility of approving the **deployment of UN military units** when observing the accepted rules of global governance and preventing or resolving conflicts (nevertheless it is probable that this power will continue to be retained by the Security Council for a long time).

Concerning global "laws" and the position of non-governmental organizations, entrepreneurial communities etc. in this process, a procedure accepted within the European Union when accepting "European" laws can serve as a good inspiration:

*A proposal will be prepared by the **European Commission**. The Council of Ministers of the member countries, which has first to consult the proposal of a law with the **European Parliament**, has the power of decision-making. Then the **Economic and Social Commission** is consulted (it has 189 members representing economic and social partners: trade unions, employers' federations and consumer groups etc.). After these consultations, the **Council of Ministers** will make a final decision and the law is passed or rejected. After the law has been passed it must be applied in all the member states.*

The establishment of a "**global executive**", i.e. the institution of an executive for global governance, will be even more difficult than a global "legislative". Maybe the most logical thing would be for the UN Secretary-General to become "the chairman of global governance". Even

today his position and function is dominated by political functions and not by the role of main administrative clerk of the UN. However, it is very important for the UN to manage to look systematically for candidates of the highest professional and moral calibre and not to look just for someone who is an acceptable compromise for all interest groups.

The leading representatives of the four branch cornerstones mentioned in Vavroušek's proposal (the UN security system, the UN economic system, the UN social system and the UN environmental system), should be its deputies, or "deputy-chairmen of global governance". The representatives of the fifteen regions of the UN would be the individual "ministers of global governance". So they would not be ministers in the sense of national governments, in which each of them is responsible for a certain department. Here each "minister" would represent a certain region and the governance of individual branches would be entrusted to civil servants one level lower - i.e. to the leading representatives of the UN special authorities - commissions, programmes, organizations (e.g. the World Health Organization, the Commission on Sustainable Development etc.) They would prepare the agenda of global governance for the representatives of the regions - "ministers".

The UN could function in a similar way in the regions. The head of a regional authority of the UN would be a "minister" at the global level, but "the chairman of regional governance" at the regional level. The leading representatives of the four cornerstones at the regional level would be its "deputy-chairmen of regional governance". The representatives of the sub-regions, or directly the representatives (or accredited representatives) of a state would be individual "ministers of regional governance".

In the field of "legislative power" and the power of scrutiny (the General Assembly) every state would thus be directly represented, in the field of executive power the structure would be more hierarchical.

A representative of the third point of the triangle of global governance, i.e. **judicial power**, already exists. It is the **International Court in the Hague**. The question arises as to whether the number of independent judges should remain fifteen, whether their judicature should be nine years with one third of the judges being replaced every three years etc. This should not, however, be a fundamental problem in a general reform of the UN and the establishment of the structure of global governance. The more substantial point is that the International Court must remain a really independent body and that its decisions must be respected. More precisely, **its decisions must be enforceable**, even with the help of UN military units.

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Global Civic Values

Global civic values are a basic precondition, a cornerstone of functioning global governance. The quality of global governance will be conditioned by several factors, amongst them, above all, **the acceptance of a global civic ethic**. It is necessary to achieve the acceptance and respect for several basic values which are able to unify individuals of all cultural, political, religious and philosophical persuasions. This might seem, at first sight, to be unrealistic, but it is an achievable aim.

There are moral imperatives which you can find in various forms from Confucius up to Christ: we should not steal, the family should be respected, we should welcome with kindness a guest who comes with good intent, we should respect Nature, we should perceive the world from the viewpoint, not that death ends everything, but that there is a higher order of being, where everything is given a higher value.

Václav Havel

It is indisputable that the **will to look for the meaning of life is a universal value**, probably even the primary one which is common to all human beings.

The whole of Mankind is able to support the basic values of respect for life, liberty, justice and equity, mutual respect, caring and solidarity.

The acceptance of civic values and ethical rules at the global level means the enforcement of a global civic ethic which expresses certain basic rights and duties which are shared by all citizens and supported by institutions. It is also necessary *to embody a global civic ethic into a developing system of international norms and adapt the present norms of sovereignty and self-determination to changing realities.* (1)

The Commission on Global Governance (1) names and defines the values which should be accepted and respected as inevitable preconditions for rational global governance:

- **Respect for life:** *respect for life and the consequent non-violence are the basis for global governance. Violence against the person is a denial of the inherited dignity of all human beings. The culture of violence (and the culture of death, as Pope John Paul II warns us - note by P.N.) has resulted in a loss of respect for human life. The sanctity of life is a concept shared by people of all faiths as well as by secular humanists.*

- **Liberty:** *all human beings are born equal in their right to human dignity and are entitled to certain basic liberties - to define and express their own identity, to choose their form of worship, to earn a livelihood, and to be free from persecution and oppression. Basic liberties also include free speech, a free press, and the right to vote. ...Next to life, liberty is what people value most.*

- **Justice and equity:** *equity is not identical with an insistence on equality, but it does call for deliberate efforts to reduce gross inequalities. Equity needs to be respected as well in relationships between the present and future generations. The principle of intergenerational equity supports the strategy of sustainable development.*

- **Tolerance:** *it is an indispensable precondition for peaceful relations in any society. Mutual respect offers a basis for making a plural society, not only stable, but also one that values and is enriched by its diversity.*

- **Mutual caring:** *the quality of life in a society depends to a great extent on its members accepting a duty to care for their neighbours. The instincts of caring and compassion provide the impulse for humanitarian action and for willingness to share with those who are somehow disadvantaged. In the global neighbourhood, the instinct of care must be given a global reach.*

- **Principledness:** *is the basis of trust. The importance of principledness is underlined by the expanding evidence of fraud and corruption of many kinds among persons in high positions in both public life and the private sector. Corruption, ranging from bribery through selling confidential information to money-laundering, is a form of social pollution that weakens democratic governance.*

In the present understanding rights are almost entirely defined in terms of the relationship between people and governments. It is important to begin to think of rights in broader terms by recognizing that governments are only one of the possible sources of threats to human rights and, at the same time, that government action alone is not sufficient to protect many human rights.

One of the aims of the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 was to accept the Earth Charter, "the whole-planet constitution". This, however, proved to be impossible and at least as a compromise there was accepted a legally not binding "Rio Declaration", which approaches the idea of a whole-planet constitution but is orientated in a slightly one-sided way towards the problems of the environment and sustainable development. The Earth Council, international NGO based in Costa Rica, is working since Rio on new version of the Earth Charter which should be submitted to the Rio plus 10 U.N. conference in 2002.

Today it is increasingly obvious that to "classical" human values must be added the value of respect for life and Nature in the future, respecting the rights of future generations. It is necessary to identify in detail the key values whose assertion would support better relationships between people, respect for Nature, for their own health, and for honest work. We can generally say that the point is to seek values compatible with a sustainable way of life.

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Global Civil Society

The creation of a global civil society is an important precondition for democracy at the global level. More and more people are forming relationships across borders and they are developing relationships based on common interests and questions concerning the environment, human rights, peace, the role of women etc. New possibilities of communication (the Internet, e-mail, video-conference etc.) gives civil society new strength.

If a reformed UN wants to be an effective instrument of global governance, it must pay greater respect to the creation of a global civil society. International civil society includes non-governmental organizations, international humanitarian organizations, voluntary bodies serving to create the rules, groups of scientific professionals etc. These structures have many advantages - flexibility, readiness and enthusiasm for the subject under discussion.

The Commission on Global Governance (1) states that **global civil society is best expressed by the global non-governmental movement**. Non-governmental organizations often provide **independent monitoring** as well as **early-warning and information-gathering** services which can be especially useful in **preventive diplomacy**. They can serve as unofficial or alternative channels of communication.

We mentioned the three points, legislative power, executive power and judicial power, which are preconditions for a stable political system, and we can similarly state that for the general functioning of a society it is necessary for the state sector, private sector and public sector (the so-called "third sector") to be mutually balanced. The support of the public sector from the side of state power and the private sector is a precondition for the development of a civil society.

Therefore it is necessary to find, the Commission states, ways to provide more space in global governance for citizens and their organizations, i.e. for civil society as distinct from governments.

One structure, however, should be preserved for the health of the individual and society even in the era of the "global village". It has survived for thousands of years and when its functioning is threatened, the whole of society shakes to its foundations. It is the **family**. *The future of Mankind comes through the family*, says John Paul II in the encyclical *Evangelium Vitae*. (2)

The Commission on Global Governance has several suggestions concerning the support and development of a global civil society. One of the widely discussed proposals is to establish a **People's Assembly as an advisory body to complement the General Assembly**. What is generally proposed is the initial setting up of an assembly of parliamentarians, consisting of representatives elected by existing national legislatures, and the subsequent establishment of a world assembly through direct election by the people. It has also been suggested that the assembly of parliamentarians could function as a constituent assembly for the development of a directly elected people's assembly.

Another proposal of the Commission is the establishment of a **Forum of Civil Society**. Pending the development of a forum in the form of a parliamentary people's assembly within the UN system, a start should be made by convening an annual Forum of Civil Society. This should consist of representatives of organizations accredited to the General Assembly as Civil Society

Organizations. However, we think that this Forum should consequently be expanded by other non-governmental organizations, the representatives of churches and representatives of the entrepreneurial community.

It is also necessary to hold **regional forums**, which would enable a greater number of organizations **to provide an input to the global forum at the UN**. This intermediate stage is necessary from the viewpoint of effective functioning because e.g. at the Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992 there were accredited more than 1,400 non-governmental organizations at the official conference and thousands more took part in the Global Forum, which was held in parallel.

At the level of the UN a forum of 300 - 600 bodies of global civil society would be desirable and practical. The forum would enable international civil society to have direct access to the UN system.

The Commission on Global Governance also suggests a so-called **Right of Petition**. One of the fields in which it is evidently necessary to expand the ability of civil society to make the UN act is a threat to the security of people. In the UN Charter the right of the international community to respond to grave threats to the security of people without considering so-called "interference in internal affairs" in the present-day understanding of the sovereignty of states should be acknowledged. Civil society must have a direct means of making the international community act in such cases. This could be made possible through a Right of Petition available to civil society. It would be desirable to form a **Council for Petitions** - a high-level panel of five to seven persons, independent of governments, who would evaluate the petitions and make recommendations on them. **In the UN system there must be a place where the individuals and institutions can submit their petitions and applications concerning protection against injustice.**

By all these actions civil society should be able to revive the UN potential concerning preventive diplomacy and the solution of disputes.

It is possible to see the importance of civil commitment and solidarity in the example of World War II. **In Denmark**, thanks to civil commitment and solidarity, **nine out of ten Jews were saved from the holocaust**, while in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia only one out of ten Jews survived! By his courage and resolution, the Swedish diplomat, Wallenberg, saved tens of thousands of Jews from deportation from Budapest by the issuing of passports. Thus the Jewish community was not so devastated as in other countries (e.g. in Bohemia or in Slovakia) and, thanks to Wallenberg and some of his associates, after the war there were 100,000 Jews in Budapest.

Such people are necessary in all regions of the world even today - responsible and independently thinking personalities, who listen to the voice of conscience.

A mature civil society can, uniquely in society, face new, treacherous threats. One example is the influence of aggressive advertising and scenes of violence on television. It is difficult to ban advertising, it is dangerous to censor it, in addition in a democracy it is almost impossible. Taxing advertising is ineffective - increased costs will simply be reflected in an increase in the price of the products. It seems that the only real possibility is a strong civil, open society which will manage to boycott products which are advertised in unsuitable programmes. This assumes supporting campaigns by non-governmental organizations. Firms themselves could accept a sign

which would be printed on their products - *I do not support scenes of violence in the mass media in my advertising* - would be a mark of social responsibility. This sign would be issued by a recognized organization which would also check possible violations of the obligation and misuse of the sign.

In the modern world it is simply impossible to cover everything by legislation, disregarding the fact that it is not possible to monitor and enforce the observance of the law one hundred per cent. In such a case the only solution is a functioning civil society and such a "social climate" which will lead to a balance between our rights and freedoms on one hand and our responsibilities on the other, even on a global scale.

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Global Economic Governance

The differences between the rich and the poor are increasing and tension is appearing, which warns us that it will throw whole regions into chaos and violence. If the world's 360 billionaires (in US dollars) own the same amount of property as 2.5 billion people living in poverty, something wrong is happening.

The differences between the inhabitants in the developing countries are even more striking. A narrow élite has too often only one aim - to rake in as much as possible as quickly as possible and put the profit into banks abroad. There is no stabilizing element - a middle class. The poor refuse to go on fatalistically bearing their lot. The culture of violence snowballs in the towns of West Africa, South and Central America and also in some towns of South-East Asia.

The problems of corruption and poverty are far from being the only ones which call for a certain form of global economic governance. International drug trafficking today determines the state of the economies of many countries (Columbia, Cambodia etc.). The value of this trade reaches the annual value of the international trade in food. The illegal as well as legal trade in arms, the disposal and export of waste and the "white slave trade" (prostitution) have become global businesses which are difficult for nation states to check on and cope with.

An **increasingly large part of the world's economy is connected with multinational corporations**, which make their presence felt, above all, in telecommunications, information, multimedia, car manufacture, banking and other financial services. They operate on an international basis and usually private firms are involved. Thanks to the transfer of production from one country to another they are able to escape stricter legislation if necessary. **In the economic sense the multinational corporations are the real rulers of the international scene.** They are not subject to state power and the continuing liberalization and deregulation of world trade is to their benefit.

In the world today there are approximately 37,000 multinational corporations. Under their control there is one third of all the assets of the private sector and their turnover is 5.5 trillion US dollars. This is comparable with the Gross National Product of the United States.

The Commission on Global Governance

Thanks to multinational corporations, world-wide investments abroad are increasing quicker than trade. It is therefore necessary to form a system of competitive regulations for world-wide competition. This is a task for the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Commission on Global Governance (1) proposes that there should be established an *Institution for Global Competition*.

One great **problem is corruption in these practically uncheckable corporations**. The discovery of corruption and its exposure in the mass media can be a certain protection. This is the task of the independent media and also of non-governmental organizations (e.g. Transparency International). At the level of global governance, however, help could again come from the World Trade Organization, which would create a system of investment regulations and which would, for a moderate fee, provide accreditation to those firms which accept the basic principles of good behaviour.

The situation in the securities market is even more radical. In recent years there has been a boom in investments in inscribed stock made by institutional investors - insurance companies, pension funds and investment companies.

In the field of finance, national borders are of very small importance. Considering the fact that today they pass from one end of the world to the other electronically, it is possible to transfer unlimited sums in a moment.

It is possible to find the fundamentals of global economic governance as early as the beginning of World War II. At that time, North-American and British specialists started to deal with the creation of a system of international institutions to support post-war economic restoration to health, full employment, free trade and economic stability. **UNRRA, Bretton Woods institutions, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Marshall Plan made it possible to lay the foundations for the quickest and most permanent expansion of the international economy in history.**

Today there is an extraordinarily suitable opportunity to prepare another stage of the transformation to global economic governance in fields where the nation states cannot manage.

The Commission on Global Governance (1) proposes that among the basic international public commons which would ensure global economic governance, there should be: system fiscal stability, the rule of law, infrastructure and investments, common norms for weight, measurement and time, care of the environment, the protection of the global commons, the ensuring of a necessary framework of measures to enforce sustainable development, justice and social solidarity.

Formulated in this way these aims are difficult to criticize with one exception - they are rather vague (e.g. social solidarity). However, this is not a reason to abandon the formulation and enforcement of a qualitatively new phase of global economic governance.

At the global level it is not possible to leave the market system to develop on its own. This does not function on the national level either. According to Josef Vavroušek, a market economy is based on four preconditions:

- 1) it works only where is the free movement of capital (money);*
- 2) it demands the free movement of goods;*
- 3) it demands the free movement of labour (people);*
- 4) it demands a competitive environment, where all the people have the same chance to assert themselves.*

Let us say that the first precondition - the free movement of capital - is fulfilled in the present. The fulfilment of the second precondition - the free movement of goods - is problematic (e.g. the problems of the trade in agricultural products), but possible to realize. We can see how the countries of the European Union are closing against the flood of immigrants, how xenophobic feelings are appearing. The free movement of labour is possible only between countries which are relatively at the same stage of development e.g. within the European Union, and even there it was a very long and gradual process. The fourth precondition - a competitive environment - has not

been fulfilled either, "the rules of the game" are determined today by monopolies (above all by multinational monopolies).

There even arises the question of whether it is a good thing to attempt the fulfilment of the second precondition - the free movement of goods. There should be the possibility of the free movement of goods, but with the help of economic instruments. The nonsensical, non-ecological transport of raw material and semi-finished articles over long distances should be restricted if there is no need for it.

The impossibility of fulfilling the four preconditions of a global market economy again shows the need to accept a form of global economic governance.

Economically strong countries, which have the main say in supranational organizations (the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, UN etc.), have forced the international scene to be played according to rules which above all suit them and which they know and have mastered. Even they themselves, however, sometimes break these rules when it is profitable. The developed countries import raw material duty-free from the developing countries. However, if the developing countries process the raw material and agricultural products, which economically raises the value of a product most, a duty is imposed on such imports because otherwise it would compete with the goods produced in Europe, Japan, and the United States.

Trade is regulated by tariffs (duties), therefore the developed countries will impose a duty, not on the raw material, but on the processed goods. Therefore the **reduction or "financing" of these tariffs should be a part of global economic governance and a global Marshall Plan**, so that the developing countries would be encouraged to process their raw material into upgraded products.

At the same time the developed countries should not be forced to give up their powers in supranational organizations (the UN, Bretton Woods institutions) because the enforcement of such proposals would be impossible. The powers of decision-making should be gained gradually by those countries which accept the obligations of global governance and achieve the position of a developed country (e.g. according to their contributions to global development funds). It is possible to share the powers and responsibility out only among developed, self-confident and equal partners, otherwise there will appear only chaos, enforcement and extortion.

On the other hand, the most developed countries should have the heart today to concede some importance to the developing but economically strong states and invite them to accept greater responsibility within supranational institutions.

Among the ten biggest world economies on the basis of purchasing power parity are China, India, Brazil and Russia, which are followed with a short interval by Mexico, Indonesia and the Republic of South Korea. Nevertheless, none of them participate in the G7 group (only Russia has been invited to become the eighth member - note by P.N.).

The Commission on Global Governance

What should the actual structure and institutional assurance of global economic governance (including the implementation of a global Marshall Plan) look like? And how should all this be financed? The Commission on Global Governance has submitted the most elaborate proposals, from which we present a brief extract:

The Economic Security Council

We propose the establishment of an Economic Security Council - ESC (it was mentioned also in the chapter concerning UN reform - note by P.N.), which, in terms of international economic matters, would gain the same position as is given to the Security Council in peace and security matters. The ESC would work closely with the Bretton Woods institutions. The ESC would deal with economic instability, the rising rate of unemployment, the problems of transformation in the former Soviet Union, mass poverty, as well as the overall state of the economy and the support of sustainable development. It would have deliberative rather than executive functions. (Here on the contrary I would intercede, in terms of Vavroušek's proposal, for executive functions. - note by P.N.).

The ESC would work by consensus, without vetoes. (If the ESC has executive functions, a system of majority voting should be accepted. The necessity to reach a consensus could render the ESC moribund and toothless. - note by P.N.). Various legal options are available for establishing the ESC within the overall UN structure, including a UN Charter amendment.

The sensitivity of the ESC to outside ideas would be ensured by inviting competitive bidding from UN and private organizations for any significant task done on its behalf (i.e. the obligation to put out to public tender any important ESC project - note by P.N.).

Financing global governance

Even the European Union has not advanced far in tax-raising programmes. Previous reports recommending globally redistributive tax principles have received little attention. The notion of expanding the role of the UN is now accepted in relation to military security.

There is, however, a widening gap between the financial requirements of UN programmes and the money which is actually made available through traditional channels. A start should be made in establishing practical schemes of global financing to support specific UN projects. Several general principles should be adopted:

- 1) it would be appropriate to charge for the use of some common global resources on straight economic grounds, using market instruments;*
- 2) it would be just if the whole burden did not fall on a small number of industrial countries but was spread, albeit with an element of progressivity;*
- 3) it would be useful if the new revenue systems did not replace domestic taxes or charges but represented additional sources.*

Because taxes are not popular, it would be possible to introduce user charges which provide a more direct link between the user and the service than taxation and government expenditure.

Any system of global taxation requires the identification of a tax base. One of the proposals is a tax or charge on foreign currency transactions. The proposals for such a tax have been put forward by an American professor, James Tobin, a Nobel Laureate. Their substance is that the tax is based not only or even primarily on revenue grounds but on the need to improve the efficiency of the largest global market - i.e. foreign currency transactions. This encompasses a

great deal of speculative trading, which is too short-term to reflect fundamental economic factors.

A variant of the Tobin proposal envisages a computer-based network of foreign currency exchanges to gain a flow of income for the operating agency through user charges. This mechanism, suggested by Professor Reuben Mendez, would avoid the need to track individual transactions.

According to another proposal, the taxation of multinational companies could be the tax base. In a world where more and more companies are truly global it makes little sense to identify tax domains in a narrow, national manner.

The idea of charges for the use of the global commons has broad appeal on the grounds of conservation of resources and economic efficiency, as well as for political and revenue reasons. We encourage consideration of several possibilities for user charges:

- a surcharge on airline tickets for the use of increasingly congested flight paths, with the collection of a small charge, a few dollars, for every international flight;*
- a charge on ocean maritime transport, reflecting the need for ocean pollution control and for keeping sea lanes open to all legitimate users, with special fees for the maritime dumping of non-toxic waste;*
- user fees for ocean, non-coastal fishing, reflecting the pressure on many stocks and the cost of research and surveillance;*
- special user fees for activities in Antarctica, such as fishing, so as to fund the conservation of resources on the basis that the continent is part of the common heritage of mankind;*
- parking fees for geostationary satellites;*
- charges for user rights for the electromagnetic spectrum.*

Most of these have rather small, specific revenue implications. Some charges could, however, have enormous implications. A carbon tax or a system of traded permits for carbon emissions would yield very large revenues indeed.

If global governance is to be effective and efficient, one *day* it will be necessary to accept a certain form of global taxation. Even today e.g. the costs of peace-keeping operations are increasing and especially the number of these operations is rising.

The taxation of airline tickets, parking fees for geostationary satellites etc. are a good start, but they themselves are not enough. It is desirable for every inhabitant of the planet to participate in a certain, maybe small way, in a **global tax**, either in the direct form of income tax or e.g. by the contribution of a small percentage from value added tax into a "global cash register". This would strengthen the feeling that global institutions are also, like state institutions, ours and **global governance would be exposed to greater scrutiny and control by citizens.**

The global level would be suitable for the enforcement of ecological tax reform and ecological taxes. We mentioned them in the chapter on sustainable development. Ecological tax reform and ecological taxes are difficult to introduce at the national level. The taxation of fuels and raw materials in a situation where borders are open and trade is liberalized would lead to a tendency to purchase abroad in a country which has not accepted these measures yet. The ecological taxes

could be applied at the global level, above all in respect of multinational corporations. To avoid permanent discrimination against the corporations, the target aim is the enforcement of ecological taxes in all countries, from which a small part would be contributed at the global level.

The first step is a **carbon tax** - the taxation of fossil fuels, which are the main producers of greenhouse gases. Another step is the taxation of other non-renewable sources of energy and raw materials which, however, should be compensated for by the reduction of income tax and value added tax. Thus the raw materials would become more expensive and labour would become cheaper, which would help to support the rate of employment. There should also be a tax not on savings but on the above-mentioned sources of energy and raw materials. It is desirable both from the social point of view and it stimulates investment.

It is worth considering also the **taxation of advertising**, with part of the income being contributed to UN funds. Advertising is a huge business and it may not be appropriate if the expenditures on it are simply calculated into the costs of the goods advertised. In addition, the present way of advertising invites unlimited growth in consumption, which is not sustainable from the long-term point of view. The present six billion people have obviously no chance of achieving the material level of the richest countries, and advertising, which offers and publicizes the dream of a consumer's paradise, leads only to frustration. Therefore the considerations about its taxation may be justified.

Another proposal is **the taxation of energy on the basis of the energy demands of products** (taxation of energy according to the consumption of energy of gross domestic product), so the tax would not be derived from the profits. As we well know, it is possible to minimize the profit even with a prospering firm.

The collected global taxes should serve, among other things, as a source of finance for the research and development of the use of renewable sources of energy (above all regarding developing countries) and the subsidizing of the life of products. The taxes should also be used primarily to finance specific projects. The administrative machineries of global institutions should have a maximum possible percentage determined for their overheads (as is usually determined e.g. for many non-governmental organizations).

If we agree on the need for global taxation, how should it be realized? Today we think about taxation above all as the flow of money into the state treasury. The taxes, however, should be paid on a supranational level (the European Union, UN etc.), but of course also on a subnational level - with the aim of developing regions and communities. The search for the right level of taxation and the right instruments for the implementation of the tax from the level of communities up to the global level will certainly be a demanding and long-term process. However, we can find a certain inspiration in the tax system of the USA. If we can consider the federal government to be a certain "global government", what does the general tax system looks like? (2)

At the federal level the only source of income are taxes and charges. It is approximately fifty per cent covered by income tax and about twenty per cent by profit tax.

Sales tax is the main source of income for individual states of the Union. The other sources are income tax, profit tax, property tax, inheritance tax, gift tax and charges for licensing. The individual states are also provided with contributions from the federal treasury and from the

management of state firms. The contributions from the federal treasury are structured and the Union can lay conditions on them.

Regions, towns and villages collect a local tax and their biggest source of income is a general property tax - it represents about half the total income of the local authorities. Also sales tax is collected, as well as the charges for licensing and permits. At the local level, assistance from the state treasury and the income from controlling municipal services are also a source of income.

Taxes are sometimes duplicated, for the federal and state governments can impose a tax on the same thing.

A great part of the income of the Union goes on matters of defence, the health services, education, social care and job-creation programmes, then also on the operation of the federal authorities, on transport and telecommunications.

The states and local governments cover a much wider territory than the Union. The states pay for social care, schools, roads and debt repayment. Local authorities provide funds for education, social care and roads. In towns a substantial part of expenditure is represented by financing the police and fire brigades.

At all levels taxes are collected separately. How the taxes are used is decided by elected bodies, so the electors have the possibility of influencing the use of the taxes in the elections.

Besides taxes there is another key economic factor which should be used at the global level. It is the creation of an alternative coefficient complementing gross domestic (or national) product. In the western countries this macroeconomic coefficient is today, together with inflation and the rate of unemployment, observed "under the microscope" and its reduction can lead to the government falling. GDP measures the efficiency of the economy and economic growth. This, however, is not enough. GDP does not reflect the quality of life of the inhabitants and the state of the environment. When e.g. an oil tanker has an accident and it is necessary to spend enormous sums on clearing up, it will influence GDP - larger amounts of money flow through the economy, so the economy is "stronger". It is evident that we need to find an alternative coefficient complementing GDP which would more precisely reflect the quality of life and the environment.

The UN Development Programme (UNDP) has introduced into its yearbook (Human Development Report) the observation of a so-called **human development index**, which is a combination of the following coefficients: life expectancy, adult literacy, students at basic and secondary schools and universities, and gross domestic product according to purchasing power parity. Through the combination of the coefficient GDP/per capita according to purchasing power parity and the coefficient of the human development index it is possible to prove in many countries a disparity between the strength of the economy and the quality of life.

Another coefficient that has not been used by the official institutions was worked out by a former economist of the World Bank, Herman Daly, and by a theologian, John Cobb. They called it the **Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare – ISEW** (see pp. 37 - 39).

At the level of global economic governance, the ISEW or a similar complex coefficient should become a **key indicator for the state of the world, regions and individual states**. Such an alternative coefficient complementing GDP will influence the billions of every-day decisions of the inhabitants of the planet and thus it represents a key factor for changing the course of our civilization.

Let us return now to the proposals of the Commission on Global Governance. (1) Within global governance it is proposed **to strengthen the importance of Bretton Woods institutions**, which is, however, conditioned by a reform of their decision-making structures (the voting power of the states or regions should be determined according to the data about GDP based on purchasing power parity). Above all, the role of the International Monetary Fund should be strengthened, because for many years development assistance will still be for many countries the main way of escaping the **trap of low incomes, low savings and low investment**. It is necessary to make it possible for the heavily indebted countries to radically reduce their debt, but under the proviso that they accept the conditions of global governance. This is connected with the certain protection of citizens and governments, above all in the developing countries, against the immoderate concentration of economic power in private hands.

It sounds surprising but the economic power of large supranational companies is today comparable or higher than the economic strength of middle-sized, developed states like Belgium, not to mention the economies of the developing countries. Therefore it is necessary for the states and also the institutions of regional (the European Union etc.) and global (the UN) governance to protect the public with the help of effective anti-trust and competition policies.

The summary of the most fundamental proposals of the Commission on Global Governance concerning the economy is as follows:

- *within the UN there should be established an Economic Security Council (ESC) which would enforce a compromise in questions of the international economy and balanced sustainable development;*
- *the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization should be regularly invited by the Economic Security Council to report. Other institutions, such as the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, should report on particular matters;*
- *in the World Trade Organization it is necessary to improve the methods of solving problems in order to limit conflicts between the interests of free trade and especially social and ecological interests;*
- *the World Trade Organization should introduce new rules to strengthen international competition, and there should be established a World-Wide Institution on Competition to supervise them;*
- *the World Trade Organization and the UN should introduce firmer rules governing international investment, comprising also a system for the accreditation and registration of multinational companies which accept the rules of good behaviour;*
- *the decision-making structure of the Bretton Woods institutions have to be reformed and democratized. This also concerns the use of data concerning gross domestic product, based on purchasing power parity to determine the number of votes of individual countries;*
- *governments should respect the aim of 0.7% of GDP for official assistance in development;*
- *the World Bank should be equipped to play a greater role in financing through a reformed IDA (International Development Association);*

- *official funds provided as assistance should not be bound by conditions so that the receivers can use these funds to buy from the cheapest sources;*
- *there should be greater joint financing between governments and non-governmental organizations* (which is an appeal for the Czech Republic and other former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe - note by P.N.);
- *it is necessary to strengthen the ability of insurance markets to cover the economic costs of catastrophes in poor and small countries;*
- *it is necessary to support the EU proposal on a carbon tax.*

As at state level, at global level the economy will be the most important factor for the successful working of global governance. We still face more problems and questions than answers.

In the developed countries 80% of economically active inhabitants work in the spheres of intellectual activity, services, information, art etc, but what about those who have no education or ability in such activities? In society there is increasing polarization, not only in the sense of the haves and the have-nots, but also in the sphere of intellectual ability between those who work on their education, their specialization and the development of their personalities and between those who "have given up" and spend their time watching television programmes and soulless mass entertainment. How will the situation develop in the present-day developing world? I do not dare to formulate even an approximate answer.

Global economic governance will one day be exposed to a very serious problem which the nation states have not admitted to yet (or they do not want to admit to it). **The dream of consumption** or material welfare **as we understand it today is not possible to realize for the majority of the world's inhabitants.** At the same time, not only advertising, but also government representatives of developed and developing countries create the illusion that it is possible to achieve it (preferably under the leadership of those who create this illusion). There arise expectations and the poorer the people are the more they hope and believe in a better future. Frustration deriving from the inability or impossibility of achieving this aim gives birth to fanaticism, extremism, terrorism etc.

The transformation into an industrial and consumer society was very difficult and violent even in the West and it marked several generations with suffering, it may even have conditioned the creation of Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist regimes.

How would a similar development look today in the developing countries, when on the planet there live more than six billion people, non-renewable resources are to a great extent extracted and the biosphere is seriously damaged? As an alternative to this joyless vision we are proposing the idea of sustainable development. By all accounts, however, the enforcement of global governance will be exposed to many difficult trials, above all in the economic sphere. It will unjustly reap the bitter fruit of many problems which were sown in the past, in the era of strong nation states. These problems can discredit and destroy the idea of global governance, but if it overcomes the problems, **global governance will become a recognized and necessary element of a self-governing society** and the development of Mankind in the third millennium.

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Is it humanly possible to manage the world without war and with permanent peace or is it a desirable but nevertheless unrealistic aim? Only when people are involved in a war personally are they able to realize what it means and everything it takes away from them.

In this century two of the bloodiest and longest wars in history have taken place and for several decades of the second half of the 20th century the cold war determined world events. Now, after the fall of communism, we are surprisingly finding out that the world is not much safer. It is true that there is no threat of direct nuclear conflict on a global scale, but there are many very cruel regional conflicts. In global governance **security will play a key role**, especially in cases of regional crisis.

It is possible that the world is on the brink of a new arms race involving weapons of mass destruction. Now also non-state organizations - drug syndicates, political movements, terrorist groups - could take part in these new competitions in armaments.

In the period of the cold war the situation was dangerous but quite clear. This is not true any more. Especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, many top scientists and probably also nuclear materials have escaped abroad.

Today the **five permanent members of the UN Security Council are responsible for 86% of the weapons which are imported into the developing countries**. The risk of death in the developing countries as a consequence of poor nourishment and illnesses is 33 times higher than the risk of death in war (according to the UNDP's data). So a **war** can be, and usually **is, seen as a way out of the problems of survival**.

In recent years there have been annually about 30 armed conflicts - i.e. conflicts which are defined by more than 1,000 deaths a year.

There may come a period when the world will be divided into a prospering and relatively safe part, which would be enclosed in a protective shield and to which would belong most of Western and Central Europe, East Asia and North America, and the majority of impoverished territories without stable governments, which would be vast territories in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and maybe also parts of Central and South America.

It is necessary to face this problem by supporting democratic transformation everywhere the opportunity appears. However, it is not possible to cease this support and to leave the democracies which come into the world after the announcement of the first election results obtained in a democratic way. Otherwise there is the threat of a return to instability and chaos, as happened in Angola or Haiti. The rudiments of emerging democracies should be supported and this is a task for global governance or for supranational institutions of the European Union type.

Security is a key concept for enforcing peace on the Earth. It is far from being understood only in a military sense but the point is more a complicated intertwining of economic, social, political and military aspects. Since the 17th century international security has been defined in terms of national survival needs. Security has meant the protection of the state - its boundaries, inhabitants, institutions and values - from external attack. The concept of state sovereignty in security matters has often justified creating powerful national military systems and encouraged measures which outrageously restrict the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Today there are new, previously unknown problems, which arise from **the threat to the Earth's life-support systems, extreme economic deprivation, the proliferation of small**

conventional arms, from the terrorizing of civilian inhabitants by domestic factions and from outrageous violations of human rights. The Commission on Global Governance (1) distinguishes four types of security:

- **Collective security** - is based on the idea that the members in a particular group renounce the use of force among themselves while pledging to defend any member of the group attacked by external forces. It is inherently militarily focused.

From such an understood collective security we could derive for the future a global collective security which would be shielded and guaranteed by common UN military forces. States - the participants in global collective security - could restrict their own expenditure on armaments and concentrate on building comprehensive security.

- **Comprehensive security** - emphasizes changing the present military-based concept of security. It is based on co-operation, confidence-building, transparency, gradual disarmament and conversion, demobilization and demilitarization.

- **Human security** - this is a people-centred approach which is concerned not so much with weapons as with basic human dignity. The notion of human security includes security against chronic threats such as hunger, illness, and repression, as well as protection against sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. It is necessary to consider the security of people as a goal equally as important as the security of states; states cannot be secure for long unless their citizens are secure.

Fear of death during a conflict frees a man in poor countries from the oppressive problems of his existence, **for millions of desperate people in this world, war represents even a certain prospect. Natural human aggression is overcome only after reaching a certain economic, education and cultural level** and thus, if we take into consideration demographic development, the question today is not whether there will be wars, but what kind of wars we can expect.

According to Robert Kaplan (2), wars will not be locally restricted because moving "organisms" (e.g. groups of terrorists) can freely cross non-functioning borders. It will be an analogy with the battles of primitive tribes which (equipped, however, with modern technology) will fight for collective cultural or physical survival. Many a states (Lebanon, Sri Lanka, Salvador, Columbia etc.) has been deprived of the legitimate right to armed power, and the borderlines between war and crime merge together.

- **Security of the planet** - the losses of forest cover and of biological diversity are changing some of the basic balances in Nature which are necessary for human life and well-being e.g. the carbon cycle, the process of photosynthesis, the water cycle, food production systems and genetic resources. We cannot wait until the scientific evidence of negative influence is complete and therefore it is necessary to accept the "**precautionary principle**". We could call this type of security **environmental security**.

What in fact will war look like in the future? What peace initiatives have a chance of being successful? What can prevent wars, or at least limit them? If we want within global governance to aim at a safer world it is necessary to look for the answers to these questions and to prepare ourselves for possible scenarios of future events.

It is necessary to know what course future conflicts can take and to prepare even at the global level an adequate response. It is not possible to economize and there must be a common will to see things through to the end. Every partial solution only encourages future aggressors.

It is possible to describe the nature of future conflicts and the possibilities of dealing with them by the following characteristics (3):

- In the industrial era, in the same way as mass production was a basic principle of industrial economies, mass destruction became a basic principle of waging war. In the most highly developed countries the economy is based on the efficiency of the brain. Therefore warfare too is based on knowledge and recognition.
- Every year around the world there will be approximately 30 armed conflicts of various intensity and extent. The scenario of many small wars forces military planners to support the so-called "**special operations**" or "**special units**" - these will be the warriors of the future.
- Drug wars will be an escalating global problem, but conflicts will occur also because of the resources of energy, disease, pollution, population explosion etc.
- Within the next 10 - 15 years it is possible to expect an intense growth in **robotic systems**, including in the military sphere. With the increase in the price of labour in the developed economies, automation and robotization are becoming an advantage of competition. This affects the army.
- There is a danger of genetically influenced "super-epidemics" which could very quickly destroy e.g. half a city.
- There are also **ecological "weapons"**. The burning of the Kuwait oil fields by Saddam Hussain is an example. In the future, however, it will be possible to provoke earthquakes or volcanic eruptions from a distance by using electromagnetic waves, to change the direction of the wind, to plant out genetically transformed insects in order to destroy crops, to use lasers to "cut out" the ozone layer and to change the weather.
- In the future the most developed countries will develop so-called **non-lethal weapons**, i.e. they will not kill the enemy. A world empire or an institution of global governance, if it is supposed to deserve a reputation for a humane attitude, should enforce the principles of non-lethal defence. We might not be able to stop wars in the future, but it is possible to limit the bloodshed.
- **Information or knowledge can win wars.** Among the matters under discussion by armies there is false information, disinformation, propaganda, truth (if it suits them) and the creation of an image with the help of the powerful mass media.
- Government and commercial computer systems are today so poorly protected that we can consider them to be undefended. **An electronic Pearl Harbor awaits us.**
- **The media** is starting to create a feeling of unreality about real things. The new media system creates a completely "fictitious" world to which governments, armies and whole populations react as if reality was concerned.
- It is more and more difficult to separate parts of the global system from convulsions or destruction in other parts of the world. Crowds of **immigrants** spill over the frontiers and

sometimes they bring hatred, political movements and terrorist organizations. Pollution and catastrophes do not respect frontiers.

- In the following decades we will witness a gradual transformation into a **trilateral world** system, which will be divided into agrarian, industrial and postindustrial (information) civilizations. Each of them will have its own interests, its own governing elites and its own crises and ways of governing its country. In the same way as we have devised new forms of warfare, **it is necessary to devise new forms of peace enforcement.**

- If **nations have lost their monopoly of violence** (which they "share" with terrorists, drug traffickers etc.), why not consider forming **mercenary forces**, organized by private corporations, **which would fight in wars for the UN** on the basis of a paid agreement. Governments which are not willing to send their people into battle against Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian irregular units and criminals committing rape and bestialities or genocide should make it possible for the UN to conclude an agreement with a non-political, professional military force - a mercenary unit which could be quickly deployed.

- It is also possible to create **international authorized "Peace Corps"**, each of which would be responsible for a certain region of the world. Instead of being paid to wage war, their only source of profit would be to keep the peace in the area.

- The UN has suggested the creation of **"a register of weapons"** which would officially observe the import and export of weapons. Why should there not be publicized an award to the value of one million US dollars for anyone who provides reliable evidence of the smuggling or spread of nuclear weapons?

- No strategy for the application of knowledge when enforcing peace can ignore one of the most important sources of information and disinformation, the **mass media**. The UN can e.g. provide in specific region broadcasting time on television or radio, which would replace the silenced voices calling for a peaceful solution.

- Included in preventive efforts it is possible to create **television mini-series which would create**, instead of drug dealers, gang members and corrupt policemen, **heroes who are members of the UN blue helmets, or who face ethnic purges** and who risk their lives.

- In the interests of our security **it is necessary** to use knowledge **to bring prosperity to other parts of the world before all the people living there become migrants**, refugees or social cases in the western world.

In situations **where the security of people is endangered, the international community should be obliged to take action** in co-operation with non-governmental organizations like the Red Cross etc. **Poverty is the main reason for the majority of conflicts.** It is possible to prevent conflicts by the elimination of poverty, providing a trustful hope for a better future. This is the mission of a **global Marshall Plan** which should become an effective prevention against violent solutions. *International military forces should be used only in cases of a direct threat to people's security.*

Today it will seem to be unrealistic, but the **production and trade in weapons should be under the control of the international community and it should be taxed at the global level.** Because the solution of conflicts at the global level, including peace-keeping operations, costs

and will cost a lot of money, there should be a source of income which would cover this expenditure. To obtain these funds by the taxation of the production and trade in weapons is the most logical solution.

There will be a complicated question concerning the UN's right or even obligation to negotiate in cases when, inside a state, the people's security is violated and when, in the case of intervention, the principle of national sovereignty will be violated. States which want to use the advantages of global governance (for example a global Marshall Plan) should acknowledge the possibility of such intervention. I also think that where the rights of people are trampled on and the security of people or the security of the planet is endangered, there should exist the possibility of intervention in every case because **the security of people and the security of the planet should be elevated above the security of the state.**

In Somalia there was no government to exercise sovereign functions and humanitarian needs could be ensured only by the international community, therefore intervention was right. If there are some contradictions in its present evaluation, it is caused more by its partial execution and the unreadiness of the international community for this type of action. One example - bandits stole nearly four million dollars from the UN safe during the operation. It was enough simply to lever off the lock. These stolen millions were probably used for purchasing weapons which were then used against the military forces.

The Commission on Global Governance (1) points out that if the UN Security Council is to have the possibility of not taking into consideration the ban on intervention in internal matters, which has its basis in Article 2.7 of the Charter of the United Nations, it will have to do so under conditions which are clearly defined and accepted by the international community to reduce to a minimum the possibility of the misuse of international intervention. However, **the possibility of intervention is in itself a good deterrent against the occurrence of conflicts.** The awareness that it is not possible to use national sovereignty as a protection against an international action when the security of people is severely violated should in itself discourage people from such a violation.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine exactly the line separating national and global affairs. Nevertheless, in cases such as Amin's reign of terror in Uganda, apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, the rampage of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, the events in former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Rwanda and other places, it is clear that the limits of the internal affairs of a state were crossed.

In such cases non-governmental organizations which can point out similar situations and can help the UN to monitor the state of affairs play an irreplaceable role. However, it is important for them to have somewhere to turn to with their suggestions and to be given a hearing. Therefore it is necessary to create a **UN Council for Petitions**, in which non-state organizations can use the right of petition at the global level.

If we wanted to accept the idea of the creation of a UN security cornerstone (Vavroušek's suggestion – see pp 68 - 70), it is possible to go a little further in global governance. In the same way as the states agreed e.g. on intervention into Kuwait, there should be certain given rules (best in the form of "a planetary constitution"), which would ensure the observance of basic rights at the global level, whose enforcement then could not be blocked in a particular conflict by the momentary interests of one power or power group.

The aim of the UN when it was established fifty five years ago was to create social and economic preconditions under which peace and security could flourish. Today these preconditions can be ensured, among other things, by the restriction of national sovereignty and the existence of supranational security forces. In former Yugoslavia and above all in Bosnia and Kosova there might not have been so much bloodshed and suffering if they had existed there. In this and in future similar cases, the international community should strictly adhere to the principle that **changes in territory which are gained in any way other than as a result of negotiation will never be acknowledged.**

Supranational security forces could and should carry out not only military operations. They should take part in the **ensuring of humanitarian aid, assistance during natural disasters** etc. The use of the forces for other purposes than military operations is not unrealistic - it has even become part of the new doctrine of the US Army.

National and supranational forces can have two functions. In a period of threat it is, of course, a defensive function. In an army at this time there is applied a "non-democratic", hierarchical method of control which is effective in the short term. In peaceful periods then an army can fulfil social and developmental functions (at the level of global governance it would be, above all, in the developing countries). In Algeria, in the period when it was a politically stable country, soldiers participated on a large scale in planting trees which prevented the desert spreading.

A great obstacle to timely preventive actions is the fact that governments in democratic countries have problems convincing the people about the need to support risky operations without convincing evidence of humanitarian catastrophe. It is more and more difficult to obtain the support of national governments for international intervention if there is a risk of casualties. When this evidence comes to hand, it is usually too late for prevention. This turns our attention to the **problem of refugees.**

The problem of refugees is escalating critically. If at the beginning of the 1980s around the world there were 20 million people who were forced to leave their homes for political, religious, economic and other reasons, in the half of the 1990s it was already about 100 million refugees, many of whom left their homes because of a totally devastated environment.

At the UN level there are six stages for the solution of a security crisis:

1. early warning; 2. fact-finding missions; 3. responding to crises; 4. peaceful settlement of disputes; 5. peace-keeping operations; 6. actions under UN Chapter VII.

Early warning

The UN should develop a system to collect information on trends and situations that may lead to violent conflict or humanitarian tragedies. The Commission on Global Governance (1) proposes the establishment of a non-governmental **Early Warning Service**, in which the United Nations would work with relevant non-governmental organizations.

Fact-finding missions

The task of fact-finding missions is to sift and assess information received.

Responding to crises

Nations and organizations should respond to crises much more than in the past. If this happens, it will prove a growing understanding of the idea of the global governance.

Peaceful settlement of disputes

There are still little used opportunities resulting from Chapter VI, Articles 33 - 36 of the Charter of the United Nations, above all concerning the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Peace-keeping operations

Expenditures on peace-keeping have increased in the last couple of years and they will go on increasing, especially if the United Nations ensures, not only the keeping, but also the enforcing of peace. Therefore it is necessary to strengthen the UN resources for commanding and controlling peace-keeping operations and it is necessary to accept and respect the integrity of the UN command.

The number of demands for peace-keeping which are addressed to the UN has increased to such an extent that the unwillingness of the member states to provide the necessary resources has hampered the UN capacity for action. This is a serious reason for the enforcement of its own income in the form of a "global tax".

Nothing in the UN Charter precludes the existence of regional agreements for dealing with matters on the maintenance of peace and security. NATO, the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity and also the Arab League for the time being restrict themselves to quite minimal activity in the maintenance of peace and security. Their **greater commitment is possible and desirable**. They have the potential for it as we can see in the examples of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in Cambodia, OAS and the Contadora Groups in Central America, and the European Union, OSCE, NATO and the Western European Union in former Yugoslavia.

Actions under Chapter VII

Sanctions are a legitimate tool to bring about change, but they have many (sometimes also counter-productive) consequences. An **arms embargo** is usually one of the first steps. The second step is usually **comprehensive economic sanctions**. These often entail great risk for vulnerable groups. Those who are mostly or wholly innocent are usually affected most severely. Sanctions usually also have an impact on neighbouring countries, so **economic sanctions should be focused on target groups**. These could include e.g. action to stop certain types of economic transactions, to freeze assets abroad, and to suspend air links and other means of communications. The **use of force** - the threat to use force is **neither credible nor effective if there is no ability or readiness to actually use it**. Some countries are taking steps in this respect and are training special forces for UN service.

The Commission on Global Governance (1) proposes the establishment of a **UN Volunteer Force** to maintain security at the global level. If the Volunteer Force is to be effective it must gain respect on the international scene, as through its deployment e.g. the French Foreign Legion gained respect (this **respect itself often prevents a bigger conflict and spares victims on both sides**). The Volunteer Force will gain respect only when it has high standards of training, arms and equipment, when it has at its disposal the most up-to-date technology and when it shows

itself capable of carrying out operations decisively. If the UN decides to establish it, it is not possible to stop halfway and it must be provided with the necessary political and financial support, otherwise its usefulness will be doubted and its preventive influence on potential aggressors will be minimized.

The UN today has no possibility of deploying immediately a well-trained force. This has renewed interest in an idea which was originally suggested in 1948 by Trygve Lie. He called for the establishment of a small UN "**guard force**" that would be recruited by the Secretary-General and placed at the disposal of the Security Council.

In many of the present crises it is evident that early intervention could have prevented later negative developments, and might have saved many lives. The Volunteer Force would be under the authority of the Security Council. It would not take the place of preventive action, traditional peace-keeping forces or large-scale enforcement action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, but it would fill an existing gap by giving the Security Council the ability to **back up preventive diplomacy with the help of immediate and convincing deployment on the ground**. The size of this force would be strictly limited to a maximum of 10,000 personnel. The UN Volunteer Force, intended for immediate deployment, would, however, be almost completely paralyzed if it was dependent only on uncertain national contributions and the endless problem of arrears. With the increase in the experience and reputation of the UN Volunteer Force, it is probable that the need to use this force would be reduced.

In mid-1994 the UN was running 17 peace-keeping or peace enforcement operations. More than 70,000 soldiers were involved. The cost of peace-keeping in 1993 was estimated at \$3.2 billion. For every \$1,000 that member states spent on their own armed forces, they spent only \$1.40 on average on peace-keeping (i.e. 0.14%).

After the collapse of communism and the bipolar world order, there was a general reduction in military expenditure. In 1989 expenditure on armaments reached the level of nearly \$1,000 billion, since then it has been reduced by nearly one third. This was caused especially by the reduction in armaments in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The Commission on Global Governance considers it possible for governments to reduce their expenditure to \$500 billion, as against the \$640 billion towards which it was heading in 1995. In my opinion, however, a further reduction is now improbable, above all because of the military ambitions of Russia. A decline in the longing to arm could be brought about by security guarantees provided at the global level (the UN) which, however, would have to be supported by the establishment of an effective armed force that would be able to enforce global security effectively. Then it would be easier for multilateral lending institutions (the World Bank etc.) and governments providing development aid **to evaluate a country's military expenditure, especially to see whether the high expenditure on the armed forces is in proportion to the expenditure on health care and education**.

The Commission on Global Governance proposes the establishment within the UN of a **Demilitarization Fund to provide assistance to developing countries in reducing their military expenditure and to encourage them to come under the protection of a global security system**. It could be controlled by the World Bank. The Fund would reward the efforts of developing countries to demilitarize their armed forces and to reintegrate military personnel into civilian life.

Arms export is a great security problem. It concerns not only the above-mentioned Russia, but all five permanent members of the Security Council and other, above all economically developed, states. The Third World is still the main buyer of arms. Irresponsible and non-democratic governments are able to plunder their natural resources (tropical rain forests, non-renewable raw materials, etc.) and to keep their inhabitants in unbelievable poverty just to have enough funds for modern arms.

In 1993 the **UN Register of Conventional Arms** was established. It is necessary to observe much more consistently the rule that arms should not be sold to countries which are involved in aggressive military operations, or which violate the rights of their inhabitants. The covert arms trade in addition makes advanced weapons available to terrorists, drug traffickers and other unconventional armed groups. The security of people means the world needs to start actively facing the culture of violence every day.

If we do not manage to agree on effective political action leading to real peace, we are simply forced to accept as an axiom that a balance of terror is more acceptable than a monopoly of terror.

Jiří Dienstbier

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The Care for the Global Commons

In the world there is the category of the commons which, by their nature, cannot be taken possession of by the nation states, because these commons are of a global nature. Among the global commons we rank the **atmosphere, the nearest reaches of space, the oceans beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and global life-support systems.**

It is in people's interest, including future generations, to find a way to control these commons globally. It is, for instance, necessary to have some instruments to prevent excessive and, in the long term, unsustainable fishing in the seas and oceans. Another example: states which today have no access to space demand that it should be "the common heritage" of Mankind and that there should be established a **UN Space Agency**, which would control activities in space and re-distribute the benefits from those activities.

The Commission on Global Governance (1) speaks about the rising consciousness of the global threat to the environment and about the need *to convince governments to create co-operative forms of control which would deal with the problems of excessive fishing in the oceans, the extinction of certain animal and plant species, the commercial threat to Antarctica, the reduction of the ozone layer and the risks of a climate change caused by the accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.* It was the problem of the environment which forced governments to recognize the level of mutual dependancy of their countries.

There is a firm **relation between anthropogenic pressure on the environment and poverty.** Poor people e.g. will cut down the last trees and bushes in their surroundings to be able to light a fire on which they can prepare food and which will protect them at night against cold. Poor countries are also the most vulnerable to natural catastrophes (earthquakes, floods, volcanic activity, epidemics, drought etc.). Natural catastrophes do not respect national borders and again it is clear that there is a need for global governance and mutual assistance. As a preventative measure there could be the acceptance of **insurance against natural disasters.** In the developed countries most damage caused by catastrophes is usually covered by insurance. Poor countries either cannot manage the "luxury" of insurance with the international insurance companies or they do not give insurance priority importance. Therefore it is worth considering whether the institutions of global governance (most probably the UN, which would cover the costs from the global tax yield) should take over this financial burden.

In connection with changes in climate, the frequency and intensity of natural catastrophic phenomena (hurricanes, floods etc.) will increase, even in places where these phenomena were unknown or very unusual in the past. Therefore the importance of such insurance will increase. For the industrial states which have contributed most to the greenhouse effect (which is the reason for global climatic changes), the finance for the insurance could be gained from a carbon tax, imposed on burning fossil fuels.

At the global level today there are valid agreements (or agreements which still have to be ratified) concerning the atmosphere, oceans, endangered species, the Antarctic and the trade in toxic waste. Despite this, the most immediate task of global governance is the immoderate use of common natural resources. The Commission on Global Governance points out that ***there are neither secure property rights nor collective responsibilities for the care of common resources.***

Nevertheless, the commons represent a great opportunity - for instance, the unrealized potential of the use of the energy of deep-sea currents, of hydroponics and of space research and exploration. Here the UN Commission on Sustainable Development could play a certain role, at least that of co-ordination.

The Antarctic has become one of the first generally recognized global commons. the **Antarctic Treaty** is considered to be of high quality, in terms of the assurance of the care of the protection of Nature there. It is not justifiable to refuse states which do not fulfil technological criteria a share in the profits from international co-operation in this field. Other commons which are of a global character, but are today under the control of nation states, could be "purchased" from these states or from private ownership into „global ownership“ or into the global commons. Alternatively they could stay in state or private hands but they would be liable to global management, including financing, and national sovereignty would be limited in these cases. These would include, for instance, part of Siberia, the Galapagos Islands, the Amazonian rain forest and other globally important ecosystems. This idea may seem to be unrealistic but this is not the case. Similarly today in Germany there is enforced a **restriction of property rights from the viewpoint, not only of the social, but also the ecological function of property** (e.g. natural resources in private ownership).

We could go even further and agree that we consider also the stability of regions which are problematic in the long term to be global commons. For instance, the region where the Kurds live (i.e. above all the eastern part of Turkey and adjacent parts of Iraq) are a centre of instability, drug smuggling and poverty, and a threat to the environment. Development, the construction of an infrastructure and a flood of investment could come from global resources (through a global Marshall Plan for example), which would be profitable even for the above-mentioned states. If there is a real chance that this region will find a way out of permanent poverty and start to prosper and if the nation states are willing to take a step forward by the recognition of the status of autonomous territory with the possibility of self-government and respect for the cultural specifications of the Kurds, this could be an acceptable compromise and a way out of the present, seemingly insoluble, situation.

The custody of the global commons could be entrusted to a **UN Trusteeship Council**, as is suggested by the Commission on Global Governance. The Trusteeship Council is one of the six main UN bodies which **played** an irreplaceable and **highly positive role in the process of decolonization** after World War II. However, the original mission is now practically completed, so the Trusteeship Council could be granted a mandate to have custody over the global commons. It should become the main forum for the problems of the global commons, including the administration of environment treaties in regions with a climatic change, biodiversity, space and maritime law.

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Development Aid and Co-operation

If we do not try to solve the escalating tension between the economically developed and developing countries, we risk our Euro-American civilization being wiped out. **If we do not help the developing countries to break the vicious circle of poverty, high population growth and the devastation of the environment, the result will be chaos and violence** - first in the developing countries and then also in the developed countries. Despite all the proclamations and often also sincere efforts to change the situation, the so-called "South" is still for the "North", above all, a source of cheap labour, an outlet for unmarketable goods, an opportunity for "soft" enterprise (e.g. because of the prohibition of trade union activity) and an outlet for old-fashioned technology and toxic waste.

Africa (especially sub-Saharan Africa) is the poorest continent and is most in need of assistance. Today it is even poorer than it was at the beginning of the 1970s. In sub-Saharan Africa together with South Asia 800 million people suffer from undernourishment and hunger.

It is important, not only for cities and towns, but also for farmers to be given the funds for the development of the South, to be stimulated to stay in the country and to produce more.

Ryzsard Kapuscinski (1) mentions a **life in the dark in the tropics as one of the aspects of the "tyranny of poverty"**. Approximately one third of Mankind still has no electricity at their disposal. **Poverty means for an individual, above all, insufficient opportunity to develop and find their place in modern society.**

When I travelled across India I had a feeling that what most ruins people is that they are condemned to idleness, leading to listlessness and apathy. Nobody cares about the work of these people - "they are useless". In India people in the slums think that God is angry with them. This is connected with Hinduism, with the question of reincarnation and the fate which Man deserves on the basis of his previous life. The whole attitude leads to fatalism and a lack of will to change the situation. At least, it seems to be the case to me as a layman. But is not God, above all, merciful and not cold and impersonally "just"? Does he really want children to be born into the terrible conditions of the slums?

A possible approach to this problem is to provide children with an education (which would be partly financed by the international community, but with the help of local governments and, above all, the parents themselves). **The children would be rewarded for their attendance at school** (not for their results) e.g. by breakfast, after two hours of teaching by a snack, after another two hours by lunch, after a period of attendance e.g. by clothes. So they would be "paid" for their time, effort and work on themselves. School should be focused, not only on obtaining basic literacy, but above all on practical activities, creativity and activities, including sports, which would support their physical development and "discharge" the children's energy.

Parents too should be rewarded for their responsible attitude to their children e.g. child allowances should be paid, not for the number of children, but for responsible upbringing. To produce children is not in itself necessarily responsible, responsibility will manifest itself in care and upbringing.

The countries in the tropics and subtropics need to have at their disposal energy from renewable resources and conditions for people to be able and to work in a creative way and develop themselves, unlike the present dull work or idleness and inactivity. These countries have potentially at their disposal solar energy, which could be used for irrigation, air-conditioning etc. Technology should be provided by the countries from the North (or they should help the countries of the South with the development of these technologies). **It is finally also in our interest not to create a ghetto for rich minorities, surrounded by the anger and frustration of the poor** which is now also reinforced by aggressive western advertising and films. There is the question of to what extent today western commerce negatively contributes to "**rising expectations**", which in the present way of development cannot be fulfilled. Poor people are then perceived as "redundant", nobody will hurt them but nobody will help them either, nobody cares about them. The present development assistance will "drown" in an ocean of urban poverty. Annual development assistance of \$1.70 per Indian for example is insufficient for the preparation and realization of long-term programmes and projects which could change the situation.

Even among the luckier ones, who have at least some work, such as street sellers of books or water, boot blacks, hotel accommodation touts etc. there is great competition and this leads to their ingratiating, humble behaviour towards the customer, changing even into intrusion. The classic market economy cannot react to such conditions, and help in the form of global governance is necessary. A small example: disposal of waste in towns, provision of dustbins and permanent education to observe the basic principles of hygiene could be one of the programmes. This would both give many people work and would eliminate the risk of epidemics e.g. the epidemic of the plague in India which started in autumn 1994. At that time the towns were quickly cleaned (rats were the carriers of the plague), but several weeks after the fading of the epidemic, the situation went back to normal.

Whereas previously the waste was at least organic (i.e. it was a hygiene risk, smelly but in the course of time it decomposed or was washed away by rain), now there is more and more nonbiodegradable waste, such as plastic bottles, which threatens to turn the towns into real rubbish tips.

More than 80% of the world trade, 85% of direct foreign investment and 95% of all research and development is undertaken by the rich countries. **It is necessary to create a market and demand directly in the developing countries.** This is where more than 80% of the world's population lives. In the developed countries the blame for unemployment is often put on cheap imports and immigrant labour. There is a danger that when the developing countries and former socialist countries open themselves to free trade, which the West has demanded for a long time, the rich countries will close into themselves.

Western Europe loses everything that could have been produced by one tenth of its labourers, idling unemployed, which has destructive effects on individuals, families and communities. In the developing countries the unemployment rate is a large percentage, often over fifty per cent, not to mention the abject conditions of the unskilled employed. **Social policy thus becomes a matter, not only of national, but also of global governance.**

Development aid should not be understood as a gift (which can be humiliating) but should be based on an agreement in which governments which are given aid are obliged to develop in the long term and the community of donors will promise to provide aid.

The Commission on Global Governance (2) is convinced that the world is approaching a new philosophy of aid. It has several elements:

One of them is the idea of solidarity among people, which can be lost in a situation when assistance is a mere transfer from one bureaucracy to another. This is connected with the idea of the active participation of people in the recipient countries in the shape and implementation of the projects. There are many examples of fundamental contributions by non-governmental organizations at the local level - from the development of crafts in Mexico to the support of energy effectiveness in Jamaica. We strongly support the idea of the automatic linking of the assistance of non-governmental organizations with a determined part of official assistance, with the aim of broadening the extent of the first and the effectiveness of the second.

*A change in the relationship from charity and dependence into mutual dependence and a common **employment contract** is another feature of the new philosophy.*

The idea according to which assistance is a form of inter-government charity will have to give way to the notion of assistance as a form of payment for services rendered, when the developing countries work e.g. as protectors of rare animal species, biological diversity and tropical rain forests.

One of the mechanisms of the new attitude which is based on mutual interest is a system of contracts between the donors and recipients, where a block of debt relief is agreed for various services in the sphere of the environment. ...

The debt burdens of more than 20 African countries are considered by the World Bank to be unsustainable. Countries such as Mozambique, Sudan and Somalia have a value of debt service in relation to their exports of 1,000 and more per cent. The growth in the interest makes the debt service worse. This leads to a serious reduction in imports, to a loss of access to business credits or to an increase in their costs. The key government officials are sunk in the discussion of the debts for a long time. ...

*It would also be possible to justify the **establishment of a formal statute of bankruptcy similar to that in the business sphere, through which a state would accept that its affairs will be entrusted to the management of the representatives of the international community for a certain time**, which would mean that the majority of the problems would be wiped out and a new start would be possible.*

The last proposal would be very effective if it was possible to put it into practice. However, even the idea that government representatives of any country would declare bankruptcy and place their country under the management of a supranational institution for a certain time must make the flesh of the people concerned creep.

The more debased and incompetent the regime is, the more false self-confidence and arrogance towards its own people and usually also towards international institutions it has. There are, however, certain pressure mechanisms. It is e.g. improbable that large-scale projects in the infrastructure of the developing countries (the energy industry, transport, telecommunications) will be initiated without technical support and the obligation to finance them in conjunction with an institution such as the World Bank.

For many developing countries, assistance is the only opportunity to escape from the trap of low incomes, low savings and low investment. It is necessary to broaden the donor basis.

Therefore it is necessary for the medium-developed countries to start to provide assistance to the countries whose position is worse than their own, which concerns, above all, the countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

This appeal is absolutely right. Poverty in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is, in comparison with African countries, entirely relative. In the same way as we expected at the beginning of the 1990s assistance from the most developed countries, now we are expected to provide this assistance, because in the global perspective we certainly rank among the developed, industrialized and rich countries, in comparison with the absolute poverty of countries in the South. There are forms of assistance besides finance which can be useful and highly helpful, not only for the receiving country, but also for our society. If we are not willing today to provide financial or material assistance on a level comparable with western countries (0.2 - 0.4% of GDP), we could share our talent and expertise. Governmental and non-governmental organizations in the Czech Republic could participate more in the present international development programmes and we ourselves could create other projects. Our specialists, above all young people who are willing to travel abroad just for their travel costs, could teach, treat etc. It is possible that we are able to imagine ourselves in the position of the real needs of people who live in different cultural, natural and socio-economic conditions better than our industrially and technically more advanced western neighbours. Such assistance can be effective and at the same time financially not so demanding. To those who provide the assistance, **it will** in addition **bring language and professional improvement, a greater range of knowledge and better understanding of the variety of the world.** Our society then will better understand global mutual dependence, it will easily rid itself of complexes derived from the fact that we are a small nation, provincial and closed in on ourselves, and thus it will become more sensitive towards the whole world, not only towards the West. The Czech Republic (and similarly also the other Central- and East-European states) can in this way cheaply gain high international reputation and contribute to what the whole planet needs today and which is neglected so much: **to mutual respect, tolerance and solidarity.**

In the period 1996 – 2000 there were set aside from the state budget of the Czech Republic funds of about 0.02% of GDP (i.e. a 5 - 10% of that in West-European countries) for multilateral and bilateral development assistance. (3) This sum should gradually increase.

The former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe are today a laboratory where it will be shown whether political, economic and partially also cultural transformation from one system to another is possible. That it will be successful is not still certain but despite this it is very important, even for the developing countries, for the transformation from a totalitarian political system and centrally planned economy to a democratic market system in Central and Eastern Europe to be successful. Then we will be able to offer others our experience and our voice will be trustworthy and will be of importance on the international scene.

If assistance is to be effective, with the prospect of reducing the enormous difference between the North and the South, it should be **orientated towards programmes and projects compatible with sustainable development** (sustainable way of life).

Today industrial development is no longer considered to be the only possible solution to economic development. This leads us to the question of a certain overestimation of the philosophy of development aid and co-operation. Is it the mission of our Euro-American

civilization to improve the processing of matter, to approach the "mastering of matter" (biotechnology, the instant transfer of information to any distance on the Earth etc.)? If it is, we should not force other countries to go through the whole process which has led to our present possibilities. In our own interest these **countries should not follow the classic path of industrial development, because** with the present number of inhabitants **there are not enough raw materials, energy, space and also possible places for storing waste.** Therefore let us provide everything good which we have achieved when "mastering" matter in a somehow "non-market way", and let us think together how, on the contrary, other cultures e.g. even so-called "primitive" ones, can enrich us. Maybe we will be surprised what abilities we have lost, or maybe just lost sight of, in our technically orientated way of development and what other cultures can help us to discover. For instance, Africa, a continent which seems to be in deadlock, needs the assistance of the international community and also of Europe which is closest to it. The Africans can influence "old" Europe with their vitality, emotionality, art etc.

From the side of the developed countries we may not, nevertheless, avoid a reduction in material consumption. This does not mean a lowering of the standard of living, it is only an attempt, with the help of economic instruments (especially ecological tax reform), to **turn our attention to needs that are less demanding in terms of raw materials and energy, and that are less of a burden on the environment.**

In the developing countries, basic needs have to be satisfied and there has to exist a vision of a better way. If the development programmes are carefully prepared with the participation and co-operation of local people, it will be possible to use enormous resources of human energy and invention. Access to the technologies which **increase the productivity of traditional agriculture** and are suitable from the viewpoint of the conditions of the environment and availability of labour is the key.

In conclusion, let us give several examples of interesting projects of development co-operation, without claiming any systematic classification.

- Under an agreement between the Costa Rican non-governmental organization, INBIO, and the North-American firm, Merck Corporation, the chemical composition of Costa Rican plants is being studied to **identify their medical potential.** Merck Corporation annually funds projects for the protection of tropical rain forests with \$1 million. The agreement between the non-governmental INBIO and the private Merck Corporation is considered to be an example of mutually beneficial co-operation.

- In Great Britain, the **Charity Holidays** organization has been set up. It is a travel agency which, with the help of Oxfam (a non-governmental organization for development aid) organizes trips in the developing countries such as trekking to Kilimanjaro in Tanzania. Part of the price, which is slightly more expensive than normal, is devoted to charity or development purposes in the given country.

- So-called **triangles of co-operation.** There was a project of development co-operation between Holland, the Czech Republic and Nicaragua. Holland provides financial support, the Czech Republic launches the projects because it has cheaper labour and lower costs and Nicaragua is the receiver of the assistance (e.g. electrification or the introduction of a drainage system). These projects are prepared at the community level, therefore the co-operation is real and not too bureaucratically based.

- The **planting of trees** in the developing countries e.g. in the Sahel region. Local people are paid for planting and keeping trees; however, this pay is received not when a tree is planted but when it is big enough to be able to survive.

- **Adoption at a distance.** A couple, or even an individual, in the developed country promise that they will send twelve dollars every month to a non-governmental organization (e.g. Children International) for a period of at least a year, preferably, however, for many years. This makes it possible, through the above-mentioned organization in a chosen region (e.g. India), to "adopt" at a distance a child for whom the sum would cover food, clothes and education. The child, of course, still has its real parents. The child is only obliged to send at least twice a year a letter or card to its adoptive parents. It is, therefore, real assistance to an actual person, the non-governmental organization only mediates it and controls the correct use of the money.

- In the Czech Republic there is a foundation, **The Eradication of Leprosy** - it is a small foundation with one part-time worker. Despite this, it is able to obtain annually financial gifts of about 200.000 US dollars, from which it sends medicines to nearly thirty leper colonies in Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

- **Programmes for the immunization** of inhabitants, above all children, are a great challenge. Immunization is the best means of protecting inhabitants against infectious diseases. The UN could renew and gain great respect by the enforcement of a global programme of immunization, as in the past it gained enormous credit from its health programmes and by the liberation of colonial countries. Immunization programmes, of course, concern also the activities of bilateral aid and co-operation between states.

- Some private firms have started to allocate **stamps which prove their responsible relationship to tropical rain forests.** The stamps are allocated by a prestigious and acknowledged independent organization. Similarly there is allocated a stamp with the inscription *For the support of tropical rain forests* on the basis of a voluntary extra tax on a product, which is used for the protection of the rain forest. With the growing ecological awareness of the inhabitants, the firms thus assume that they will gain in the future an "environmentally friendly" face and an advantage in competition.

- In the past Cuba provided quite generous assistance to some African countries (Angola, Ethiopia etc.). This assistance was not unselfish in most cases, it was an attempt to export Marxist revolution as well as assistance. It is interesting that many people in Cuba (as well as in other countries of America) are **descendants of former slaves and they provided assistance to their native lands.** There is the question of whether Africa could be provided more of this assistance by the developed countries in which the black population is highly represented (above all Afro-Americans in the USA).

- The last example we would like to mention is from history, but it is an appeal and inspiration for today. **In the period when** Golda Meir became Prime Minister of Israel and **the Jews had enough problems defending their own existence, Israel provided important development assistance to poor African countries.** A state with the problem of simple survival provided assistance to countries which had problems with the survival of their inhabitants.

Poverty is above all the misery of neighbours and this leads us to the need for solidarity with those suffering.

R. Kapuscinski

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Global Marshall Plan

In view of the complexity of global problems and escalating tension in the developing countries and between the developing and developed countries mutually, the situation seems to be desperate, even precarious. However, **during the course of history there has appeared many times an idea which is ingenious in its simplicity, which, when it was realized, became a catalyst for positive far-reaching changes.** The implementation of the *Marshall Plan* is an excellent example.

After World War II, Europe and Japan were in ruins. It would have taken them decades to extricate themselves from this situation by their own efforts. For that whole period Europe and Japan would have been centres of instability and conflict. The United States, which was not strikingly affected by the war, decided to provide **vast investments which made a quick reconstruction of the countries destroyed by the war possible.** Thanks to the Marshall Plan, **Europe and Japan have lived through more than fifty years without a war** (disregarding the war in former Yugoslavia). Nations which thrive are less likely to wage war because they have a great deal to lose by conflict. Those who are poor and in deadlock will be more inclined to accept a violent solution.

The Marshall Plan, which was known as **A Programme of European Revival**, shows how a grandiose vision can be successfully transformed into the shape of a particular activity. (1)

The Plan concentrated on removing the obstacles which prevent the development of national economies - the revival of the infrastructure and removal of trade barriers. It was long enough to contribute to a fundamental change in the orientation of development, it was not just one of many "development" programmes.

The former US senator and current vice-president, Albert Gore, in his book „Earth in Balance“ (2), set forth the idea of a new, this time global, Marshall Plan which would help to solve the present, above all ecological, problems and mitigate the tension between the developed and developing countries. He assumes that the economically strongest states, above all again the USA, would be donor countries. However Europe, today stabilized and strong, and Japan should participate as well. Al Gore does not believe in co-ordinated global efforts (global governance) when he insists:

Many supporters of common global efforts tend to consider the existence of a supranational authority to be inevitable. This idea, however, is not only politically impossible, but nearly impossible to realize. A political problem is evident: this idea causes such resistance that the aims themselves of our efforts stop being discussed. This is true especially in the USA, where they frantically protect their individual freedoms. The administrative problems with such efforts would have to be gigantic.

Despite the above quotation I am convinced that a reformed UN should be engaged in a global Marshall Plan, that a global Marshall Plan should be part of global governance. (Neither do I know why the institutions of global governance should be more dangerous for the individual freedoms of citizens than state institutions). This does not, of course, exclude the activity of nation states. On the contrary, it would be suitable for a global Marshall Plan to have more levels and to be co-ordinated. Part would be realized at the global level, where the source of income would be part of a future "global tax" (in the European Union the member states also return a part of their revenue into a common purse and from it then mainly the development of less developed regions of the European Union is supported). Part would be used at the national level, as is

suggested by Al Gore, or at the supranational level (e.g. the European Union could prepare its own "Marshall Plan"). Part of a global Marshall Plan would be realized at the level of towns and villages (even today e.g. Sheffield in England finances a school education project in a partner village in Malawi), non-governmental organizations, or also churches etc. **The decisive point will be whether the particular levels will be purposefully co-ordinated** (not vertically and hierarchically to control, only horizontally to co-ordinate).

Now there is a good opportunity for a global Marshall Plan. On one hand, it can become a nice entry into a new century and millennium, on the other hand, after the victory of western democratic principles over communism, the acceptance of a global Marshall Plan has become realistic.

The **risk** of a global Marshall Plan is that the countries which should participate in it are well-known for their great **cultural, political and economic diversity**, so the situation will not be as easy and clear as in democratic and culturally almost unified Europe. In addition it is necessary to take into consideration the existence of extra-state units, such as Kurdistan etc.

Briefly, Al Gore's specific proposal for a global Marshall Plan is as follows (2):

The efforts of the world to save the environment must be concentrated around strategic aims, which on one hand represent the biggest changes and on the other hand enable us to recognize, measure and evaluate our progress when achieving them. There are five strategic aims.

1. Stabilization of the world's population - the creation of the preconditions for demographic change - a transformation from the dynamic stability of a high birth-rate and mortality-rate to a stable balance which is typified by a low birth-rate and mortality-rate.
2. The quick creation and development of ecologically economical technologies - this concerns above all transport, the energy industry, agriculture, the building industry and industrial production.
3. A complete and general change of the economic norms used for the evaluation of the ecological impact of our decisions; the price of the ecological consequences of our activities must be properly determined.
4. The negotiation and ratification of a new generation of international agreements.
5. The creation of a new plan for the education of the citizens of the world concerning the environment of the planet.

At the most general level, the integrating aim of the whole plan should be the creation of such social and political conditions which would - especially in the developing countries - contribute most to the creation of a sustainable society, i.e. social justice (including equal ownership of the land); the observance of human rights; the ensuring of adequate nourishment, shelter and health care; higher literacy, greater political freedoms, participation in the control of political life and the responsibility of governments towards their citizens.

In the 19th century the flow of British capital enabled the development of the United States. After World War II a similar role in Europe was played, on the contrary, by the Marshall Plan. Now it is time for a new, global "Marshall Plan".

There are **three preconditions** which qualify the development in all the countries which a global Marshall Plan should concentrate on. These are **education and skills** (crafts), **infrastructure** (transport, telecommunications, etc.) and **effective public administration** (state authorities).

One of the main aims of a global Marshall Plan is **to employ people**, the most valuable resource of a country, especially in jobs beneficial to the public. In this way, among other things, there will be a strengthening of the ability of the market economy to create jobs and absorb labour.

Assistance to the developing countries within a global Marshall Plan **should be provided selectively**, after their acceptance of the basic conditions of global governance (respect for democratic rules and human rights, the acceptance of the principles of a market economy, ...) and with the precondition (obligation) that these countries will operate as **catalysts** for assistance and will be later willing to help others.

A global Marshall Plan would be orientated, above all, towards the moderation of the abyss-like differences between the North and the South. Former communist countries accepted and still accept limited development assistance. There is nothing wrong with this. After several decades of communist rule, whole regions are devastated (above all environmentally) and in addition our experience with "real socialism" might have warned and discouraged other, now rich and developed, countries from such an experiment. If there had not been the events in Hungary in 1956, if there had not been the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, could e.g. France or Italy have become a country with communist government? Who knows.

Former socialist countries should, however, definitely build up their own resources and institutions for providing development aid and co-operation. For a peasant from Somalia the difference between the standards of living of a Czech and a German will be seen as completely unimportant, but the difference between his standard of living and that of a Czech or a German is enormous.

Why should the industrialized states help within a global Marshall Plan? Naturally because of simple **human solidarity**, and also in their own interests. The idea that we fortify ourselves behind a new iron or electronic curtain, that we create "a ghetto of the rich" and nobody will be allowed in and we will live satisfactorily is naive, wrong and dangerous.

Another reason is the fact that the industrialized countries colonized the rest of the world, they took from there the resources of energy and raw material (this is true to the present day) and cheap labour, they polluted the environment and destroyed the culture. There is now no sense in forcing the developing countries to follow the same path of development, the opposite is true. It would be fair to offer the developing countries education and developed technology (the UN could buy it from the developed countries through a global tax within the global Marshall Plan) so that they could avoid the phase of primitive industrialization.

Another reason for assistance is to help in providing a **feeling of self-confidence**. Poor people and poor states usually take their poverty (even unconsciously) as their own fault. The inability to extricate themselves from poverty leads to frustration and this then leads to extremist feelings, aggression, violence and chaos. If we help them to succeed we will help them, above all, to regain a feeling of dignity and self-confidence, and **those who trust themselves are broad-minded and**

tolerant towards others, while those who have many complexes kick out at those around them. So one of the missions of a global Marshall Plan should be to help people and nations to regain self-respect and self-confidence. According to Laszlo and Biermann (3), the Arabs were developed, self-confident and broad-minded in the past. At that time, a couple of centuries ago, the handshake of a man was of a higher value than a written agreement. After the confrontation with western technology (above all military) they have become frustrated towards Europe and America. Today it can often happen that, not only a handshake, but also a written agreement is less than nothing.

In 1948, when the Jews and Arabs fought for Jerusalem, the Arab Legion behaved decently towards captured Jews. The Arab Legion was the best-trained military unit and quite disciplined. During the capture of the historical part of the town, the Arab Legion even tried to protect the historical monuments, including the temples of religions other than Islam. On the other hand, the Arab volunteers, who formed irregular units, were well-known for their cruelty to their captives and they plundered where they could. It was the same on the Jewish side - the regular units of Haganah behaved much better than the terrorist groups of Irgun and the Stern Gang who even ran away from battle. They were more used to planting bombs in bus stations and restaurants. (4)

So dignity, self-respect and self-confidence are very important and it is necessary to give people a chance to apply and develop these abilities.

If the developing countries gain real access to education and high-quality technology, the strategy of development through a global Marshall Plan may be successful. In the past art and culture were developed in hotter and more favourable parts - the Great Rift Valley in Africa is the cradle of Mankind, the Mediterranean is the cradle of our European civilisation, or the development of civilisation in India 900 - 1,000 years ago.

In more northern parts we were engaged in a "fight" for survival with Nature. However, this disadvantage gradually changed into an advantage - we learnt to be hard-working, creative, efficient and we cultivated land and adapted it to our needs. Thanks to science and technology we were able to master matter to a high degree and this enabled us to go on developing. We should make these preconditions for creative work and "mastering matter" available to the countries of the South. We can rank here achievements such as air-conditioning, irrigation, or generally the transformation into a post-industrial stage of development.

A global Marshall Plan assumes vast investments. At the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 in Rio (5), the developing countries asked annually for \$125 billion, which is 0.35% of the World Gross Product, just for the implementation of Agenda 21 (an action plan for transformation to sustainable development). This demand was not fulfilled, but it would not even be a good thing to fulfil it without further preconditions. **Such aid, provided generally and without other conditions and control, is tempting and easy to misuse.** The siphoning-off of capital, thanks to which rich elites have enormous financial sums in their accounts abroad, is a great problem in the developing countries. Usually this siphoning-off of capital increases proportionately to the assistance provided from abroad. Another problem is that half of the debts of the developing countries are a consequence of the purchase of arms and military technology.

So a global Marshall Plan has to enforce co-operation through contracts rather than aid. One great idea comes from Tom Lovejoy from the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. - to exchange "**debts for Nature**". Most of the countries are not able to pay back their debts, often

not even their interest (30 - 50% of the total exports of most developing debtor countries is used to pay interest), so the debts are irrecoverable. The debts will not be forgotten, but a **country in debt will promise in a contract that it will use the equivalent of the debt in its own currency to take care of Nature and the environment**, primarily to save ecosystems of global importance. In Brazil this means, above all, the Amazonian forest. Its protection is in the vital interest of all the inhabitants of the planet and the Brazilians would do this service for themselves and also for us as a part of this agreement. This is logical because in Europe and North America we have cleared a large percentage of forest and the developing countries sometimes object that we have no right to ask them to behave in a different way than we did in the past.

An exchange of debts for Nature is an example of a simple but wonderful idea which can help to solve the present strained relationship between the North and South. **It is also much more dignified to conclude a contract than to be entirely dependent on gifts** in the form of development aid.

In the developing regions the payment of allowances (e.g. because of unemployment) should thus be conditioned by participation in jobs beneficial to the public. There could also be e.g. the planting of trees suitable for the regions considered. However, again it is important to complete the task, it is not enough to pay only the money for planting. At the moment of payment the people will probably stop taking care of the trees, or they themselves will use them as firewood, so a contract has to be concluded on maintenance and treatment, and the main sum should be paid when the trees are able to survive independently, without attendance and protection by Man.

Preferential attention within a global Marshall Plan should be paid to Africa - a continent whose position seems to be nearly hopeless. Here it will be necessary to discover a new, so far unknown, attitude which will become the key to the development of Africa. Maybe the Republic of South Africa will become the motor for Southern and later also Central Africa, if it is able to cope successfully with the very difficult task of the transformation from apartheid into a democratic society. Today some of the white farmers are leaving for neighbouring countries (e.g. for Mozambique or Angola) where they rent land. They, with their abilities, could become a catalyst for changes which at least would bring self-sufficiency in food to this region.

The Africans are looking for a new system which would be in agreement with tradition and this system is **tribal organization**. The attitude of the West does not satisfy the needs of tribes and rural communities. Therefore a restructuralization of the heritage of the colonial organization of Africa will be necessary. The countryside is too often bled by the corruption of elites and by paying back debts to the state. There is no suitable technology for rural communities such as cooking stoves using solar panels. Therefore tribalism should be accepted as one of possible instruments of positive change in Africa.

The most terrible famines are usually in sub-Saharan Africa, but it is not a region which should be unable to feed its inhabitants. It is a question of the **ownership of the land** and the attitude to it in fertile regions.

The last example we will mention is **Siberia**. It is a **region with enormous natural resources**, almost inaccessible, which even the ambitious Soviet power did not manage to cope with (though it managed to seriously damage the Siberian ecosystems). Today people live in poverty, without prospects. The factories for processing wood and fish are closed down, deserted

and deteriorating. Russia does not have and will not have in the near future the investments for renewal, which would allow a dignified life for the peoples living here.

For multinational companies it is not a sufficiently lucrative place to invest. Crime, alcoholism and hopelessness are on the increase. Is this not a challenge for global governance and a global Marshall Plan, of course in co-operation with the Russian government? Siberia is, like the Amazonian rain forest, an ecosystem of global importance and within global governance there should exist the possibility of investing and employing people in certain, above all „environmentally friendly“, projects.

Today most of the nation states (including Russia) do not protect themselves against the entry and influence of multinational companies. On the contrary, they often lure them into a region and provide them with a tax holiday and other advantages. Why could there not be similar activity at the level of global control, through a Marshall Plan, if the projects are important for the whole planet?

One of the great difficulties of a Marshall Plan is that **it will require a fundamental transformation, not only from developing, but also from developed economies.** If the developed countries are not going to set an example, the developing world will not be willing to accept and introduce the necessary changes.

Europe today is again behind in its economic growth because of social gains which are inconceivable e.g. in South-East Asia, and in addition a substantial part of its energy may be absorbed for a long time by the process of the unification and expansion of the European Union. It could, therefore, be more sensitive to the challenge for sustainable development and global governance. Otherwise **there is the threat that Europe, or the whole developed world, will economically "dissolve" under the pressure of competition - cheap labour** working in inhuman conditions **in the developing** or just industrializing (South-East Asian) **countries.** Another alternative would be the closing-off of the markets and borders, but this is not good and, above all, impossible to implement. Therefore the only solution will, most probably, be global governance and a global Marshall Plan. This is true both for developing and developed countries, this is true also for former communist states, which created the so-called "second world" until recently.

I proposed in February 2000, as representative of the Central European Node of the Millennium Project, to develop the idea of the Global Marshall Plan and explore the possibilities of effective policies and implementation through two-rounds questionnaire. According to former Millennium Project results the most important global challenge today is *How to achieve sustainable development for all.* Therefore we call this subproject „**Partnership for Sustainable Development Study**“ (name Marshall plan can be confusing because it concentrated more than 50 years ago at huge investments of money to revive European economy).

Respondents identified and rated importance of motivations, goals, potential involvement and projects for recipient countries. Principal findings are shown in the appendix.

References:

1) On June 5, 1947, Secretary of State George Catlett Marshall proposed in speech delivered at the Harvard University commencement a solution to the wide-spread hunger, unemployment, and housing shortages that faced Europeans in the aftermath of World War II. Marshall suggested that the European nations themselves set up a program for reconstruction, with United States assistance. The plan had two major aims: to prevent the spread of communism in Western Europe and to stabilize the international order in a way favorable to the development of political democracy and free-market economies. European reaction to Marshall's speech was quick and positive. Sixteen of the invited countries accepted in July 1947 – all except the Soviet Union and areas under its power.

Over the four-years during which the Marshall Plan was formally in operation, Congress appropriated 13.3 billion USD for European recovery. The United States also benefited from the plan by developing valuable trading partners and reliable allies among the West European nations. In the short run, it relieved widespread privation and averted the threat of a serious economic depression. In the long run, it enabled the West European nations to recover and maintain not only economic but political independence. It also paved the way for the other forms of international cooperation such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and today's European Union.

The history of the Marshall Plan can be briefly summed up:

- The victor of World War II took pains, through generous aid, to prevent starvation among people in the principal war areas, to eliminate the devastation of those areas as quickly as possible and to begin economic reconstruction immediately.
- The victor included – not excluded – the former enemy, Germany, in his plan.
- He prevented thereby a repetition of the world-wide economic depression of 1929 – 1931.
- He laid the foundation, simultaneous with the reconstruction program, for the unification of the countries of Europe and close Atlantic partnership.

Sources: <http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/mars0.html>

<http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/m41.html>

2) Gore, A. (1994): Země na misce vah. (Earth in Balance) Argo. Praha

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Conclusion

We have tried to formulate the principles of sustainable development and global governance. Is it challenge for today or is it still just vision for the long term future? It seems that we are still too absorbed in the ideal of a consumer-orientated society. The postrevolution idea of some environmentalists (including the writer), that our country would not have to repeat all the mistakes which were made by western societies in taking care of the environment, is still not being fulfilled. And even if it is possible to find a real political power that will manage to push this vision through by democratic means, what will the results be?

Because sustainable development was defined only in 1987 and because its implementation means a lot of gradual but fundamental changes not only in the economic and legal systems, but also in other fields, we can expect a lot of problems which we are not able and which are maybe not possible to foretell. It is even possible that a country, which accepts a strategy of sustainable development and starts to implement it, can expect resistance to it. **Society can be taken by surprise by the number and size of problems and** after a certain time it **can** (through election results) **decide to abandon this strategy of development.** This, however, is a risk which is taken by those who go first.

Are there in the world some countries which could act as initiators of change and as catalysts of these processes? Maybe there are.

The U.S.A. had as vice-president a man who declared his support to the transformation of his country and the world to a sustainable way of life. Albert Gore devoted to this question a book which became a bestseller in many countries: "The Earth in Balance". (1) He suggested a new, ambitious global Marshall plan which would help to save the environment and the dignity of the lives of all the inhabitants of the planet. On the other hand, Albert Gore was U.S. vicepresident eight years and U.S. policy could not be labeled as „environmentally friendly“ during this period. Especially speaking about CO₂ emissions (greenhouse gas), United States are the biggest world polluter and their role in international scene is negative or at least controversial (Kyoto protocol, 1997, Hague, 2000, Ottawa, 2000 negotiations). When U.S.A. government have to decide between global environmental responsibility and domestic economic growth, then growth wins. This situation most probably will not change considerably under new U.S. president, George Walker Bush.

As an integrating aim of the whole plan there should be the creation of such social and political conditions which would - especially in developing countries - most contribute to the forming of a sustainable society, i.e. above all social justice (including equal ownership of the land); the upholding of human rights; a guarantee of adequate nutrition, housing and health care; higher literacy; greater political freedoms, taking part in controlling political life and the responsibility of governments towards their citizens.

A traditionally good attitude to the environment is typical for the inhabitants and governments of Canada and the Scandinavian countries. The Scientific Council of Canada as early as 1975 stated: *"If there is a priority matter, which should determine the orientation of scientific policy in the coming decade, it should be an essential **deviation from present-day consumer society,***

especially in the sense it is understood in the industrialised world, in the direction of what we call a conserver society.” (2)

Norway and the Netherlands are examples of very good cooperation between environmental non-government organizations and government institutions. For the time being we can only dream about the healthy self-confidence and the involvement of the citizens in the relationship to state authorities. The Netherlands and Scandinavian countries also rank among the most generous and active countries in aid for and cooperation with the countries of the developing South.

Even among less industrial countries it is possible to find “**signs of hope**”. **Costa Rica** has worked out plans for the protection of the environment, above all its tropical rain forests. This country is surrounded by politically unstable states and in spite of this it has no army and is a democratic country. Costa Rica has a chance to be a model for other not too rich countries in pushing sustainable development through.

The well-known example of the **Indian state Kerala** has become famous all over the world. India is a poor developing country and Kerala is a poor South-Indian state. The government of the state implemented ambitious social, health and educational programs. People have a chance as in hardly any other developing country to **develop their human potential**.

Israel is a country exhausted by constant tensions and quarrels with surrounding Arab states. But Israel has possibly the best agriculture in the world (at least in some branches, as for instance irrigation and cattle rearing) and **enormous human potential**. After a 2,000-year exile, Jews have brought the experience and inspiration of many cultures into their country. They are a nation with a several thousand-year history. They have changed the countryside, in which they live, from deserts, swamps and rocks into a country with a western European standard of living in the course of nearly one hundred years. If they were not forced to spend so much energy on the defence of their country, it would be they who could find the key to effective aid and cooperation with non-industrialised poor regions.

There are other countries or groups of countries. **The South African Republic** where in the next few years chaos may rule or, if they manage the transformation from apartheid to democracy, the South African Republic **may become an “engine” in changing southern Africa** into a prosperous region.

An enlarged **European Union may find its mission in sustainable development**. Development, traditionally understood as an increase in the standard of living and measured by an increase in gross domestic product, will not be tempting for Europe any more. Partly because of competition with cheap labour and work efficiency in the countries of the Pacific Regions, we do not have a chance in a long-term perspective, partly because the present efficiency of production may already be sufficient and its only further quantitative increase will not satisfy us any more. **It is necessary to look for new quality**. Maybe in this way Europe will be able to start cooperating with the African continent again. But not any more as with dependent and colonised countries. Europe can enrich Africa with technology and knowledge connected with the mastery of matter and the production of material products. Africa can enrich the old, good but tired and too one-sidedly rationally-orientated Europe by its emotionality, vitality, and ability to make direct contact with nature.

Great power is in the hands of **supranational financial institutions**, above all **the World Bank** and **the International Monetary Fund**. Projects, which have been so far supported in developing countries by these institutions, have been problematic and the conditions imposed were often hardly acceptable for social reasons to the receiving country. Nevertheless even here a change is desirable and possible.

In the 21st century a key role will be played by important religions. They have a lot in common and a lot of differences. However at least three aims should bring members of various religions together - love, desire for knowledge and creativity.

Love and knowledge lead us to the need to create, to become “Homo creator”, creative man. The thing is not what we will do here on the Earth but more the efforts, intention and desire with which we work, try hard and create.

The world's religions, unlike political and economic organisations, **think in a time perspective of several generations**. The change of our way of life will demand foresight, time and a huge amount of energy. Not energy, as Gerald Barney (3) says, which comes from coal, gas, crude oil and nuclear fuel, but **spiritual energy**, of which there would be enough to change the thinking and lives of six billion people on this planet.

References:

- 1) Gore, A. (1994): Země na misce vah. (Earth in Balance) Argo. Praha
- 2) Laszlo, E., Biermann, J. (1977): Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of a Global Community. Dutton. New York
- 3) Barney, G., O., Blewett, J., Barney, K., R. (1993): Global 2000 Revisited. Millennium Institute. Arlington

Appendix

The Millennium Project – Central European Node **Lookout Study**

Partnership for Sustainable Development

Results of Round 1 and Round 2 Questionnaire

Part I:

1. What do you think are the motivations for PSD?

This question asks your views on the motivations that might engender such a program now. Listed below are several examples; we ask you to assess each and add to the list, using the following scale:

- 5= Unquestionably a key motivation*
- 4= May be an important motivation*
- 3= Possibly a motivation, possibly not*
- 2= Would detract from the attractiveness of a program*
- 1= A reason not to pursue the program*

POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS	Importance
Improve the environment for the benefit of mankind	4,60
Improve development alternatives for developing countries	4,16
Human solidarity	3,91
Danger of North becoming "a ghetto of the rich" (surrounded by the sea of frustration and anger, immigration waves, etc.)	3,50
Provide a feeling of self-confidence, self-respect and dignity (those who trust themselves are broad minded and tolerant towards others)	3,18
Correct historical "wrongs" (colonization, cheap labor, import of energy and raw materials) to avoid the phase of primitive and environmentally dangerous industrialization	3,09

NEWLY SUGGESTED MOTIVATIONS (ROUND 2):	
<i>To secure global equitable development in peace</i>	4,23
<i>Provide a feeling of self-confidence, self-respect and dignity (those who trust themselves are broad minded and tolerant towards others)</i>	3,64
<i>Prevention of possible conflicts between the North and the South and within the regions (it is the own interest of the rich to prevent outbreak of conflicts in the poorer regions of the world). Uncertainty about character of possible conflicts in the 21st Century</i>	4,14
<i>Improve the involvement of the business sector in achieving sustainable development goals</i>	3,82
<i>Nonsustainable development may give rise to "development" (ecoterrorism, riots, wars over scarce natural resources, ecological refugees)</i>	3,57
<i>Collaboration between downsized governments and emerging civil society</i>	3,50
<i>Narrowing a gap between rich and poor countries</i>	3,77
<i>Need for global politics and rules in the age of globalization</i>	4,05
<i>Development of common infrastructures (information, financial, transport)</i>	3,59
<i>Spiritual advancement (transformation) of Mankind</i>	3,14
<i>National governments understanding of environmental problems and taking decisions to assign high priority</i>	3,77
<i>Involve private firms and corporations</i>	3,55
<i>Ensuring of survival of humanity</i>	3,86
<i>Forge durable and sustainable development partnerships based on equality and mutual respect between developed and developing countries</i>	4,05
<i>Need for a supranational authority to enforce the program with loss of sovereignty</i>	2,64
<i>To promote the principles of global tolerance and universal ethics</i>	3,64
<i>Peace keeping both on the local and global level</i>	3,91
<i>Promote a feeling of global responsibility for all forms of life</i>	3,71

2. If the money were easily available, what could, in your opinion, be the long-term most appropriate goals of the project?

Clearly the overall strategic goal is progress towards a sustainable and compassionate society. Please review the following list of goals that might be associated with the project and provide your views on how important it is to include the goal in a final statement of the objectives of such a project. Please use the following scale:

5= Essential; must be included as a project goal

- 4= Important
 3= Useful to be included
 2= Detracts somewhat from the essential objectives
 1= Counterproductive

POSSIBLE GOAL	Importance
Eradicate the extreme poverty and most dangerous diseases	4,55
Save the global environment	4,39
Encourage ecologically economical technologies	4,25
Provide better access to efficient and environmentally friendly technologies	4,09
Concentrate on global and acute regional ecoproblems	3,91
Establish a world program for ecological education	3,89
Stabilize the world's population	3,82
Enhance research and development capacities in developing countries	3,82
Employ people (the most valuable resource of a country)	3,70
Mitigate tensions between developed and developing countries	3,66
Induce a change of economic norms for evaluation of ecological impact	3,64
Remove the obstacles which prevent economic development	3,59
Establish mutually beneficial terms of trade	3,48
Revive the infrastructure	3,41
Create a new generation of international agreements	3,28
Create middle class (stabilizing element of society)	2,93
NEWLY SUGGESTED GOALS (ROUND 2):	
<i>Encourage and support movements of selfhelp on a local level (e.g. tree planting, conservation of rare habitats etc.)</i>	3,82
<i>Global poverty alleviation, elimination and prevention (first critical step: write-off the Third world debts completely)</i>	4,14
<i>Ensure the involvement of the business sector in sustainable develop.</i>	3,52
<i>Create economic incentives to promote sustainable development</i>	4,09
<i>Ensure a public process for a broad range of stakeholder involvement in sustainable development</i>	3,73
<i>Create strong international (regional and global) institutions to monitor progress and failure in sustainable development (and not just assessments of the state of the environment)</i>	3,82
<i>To promote sustainable production and consumption patterns</i>	4,00
<i>To search for values compatible with sustainable way of living</i>	3,70
<i>Dismantle the vicious circle as how economic growth, population growth (explosion and implosion) and environment degradation are tied at present together</i>	3,95
<i>Promote development of genuine partnerships among different global actors</i>	3,77
<i>Mitigate waste</i>	3,68
<i>Introduce economic instruments protecting the environment</i>	3,82
<i>Introduce legal instruments protecting the environment</i>	3,95
<i>Integrate ecological and economic development</i>	4,23
<i>Explore new ways of inducing cooperation</i>	3,59

<i>To protect local cultural and religious tradition</i>	3,65
<i>To promote universal human rights awareness and education</i>	3,82
<i>Encourage individuals to take a more responsible attitude to life</i>	3,64

3. If the goals in question 2 were set, what would be the role of different groups of countries for the project?

Various regions of the world could be involved in this project in various ways: as financial donors, as donors of information and on-site assistance, as sites for testing of program prototypes, as recipients, etc. Consider the following types of countries and provide your judgments about the contributions they might make:

- A. Highly developed countries such as the US, Japan, and Canada
- B. Emerging donor countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, and South Korea
- C. Countries in deep economic trouble such as the Sub Saharan countries
- D. Countries with massive populations such as China and India
- E. Resource rich countries such as Saudi Arabia
- F. Countries that are not concerned about the world interests

Please rate each suggestion with respect to each country type using the following scale, and add to the list.

- 5= The stated means of involvement is completely appropriate*
- 4= The stated means of involvement is somehow appropriate*
- 3= The stated means of involvement is questionable*
- 2= The stated means of involvement is inappropriate*
- 1= The stated means of involvement is impossible*

POTENTIAL INVOLVEMENT	A	B	C	D	E
1. Direct financial grants	4,86	3,73	1,63	2,63	4,21
2. Technical assistance programs	4,76	4,11	1,94	3,19	3,36
3. Site for program experiments	3,21	3,77	4,16	4,31	3,24
4. Recipients of large scale financial aid	1,84	2,50	4,62	3,64	2,06
NEWLY SUGGESTS AREAS OF INVOLVEMENT (ROUND 2):					

<i>Peace keeping operations</i>	4,60	3,67	2,30	3,50	3,43
<i>Educational programmes</i>	4,76	4,43	2,86	3,95	3,45
<i>Direct foreign investment</i>	4,50	3,52	1,55	2,90	4,09
<i>Promoter of unilateral or regional agreements and policies for sustainable development</i>	4,45	4,18	2,76	3,91	3,73
<i>Schooling of experts</i>	4,81	4,43	2,30	3,02	3,60
<i>Students teacher exchanges large scale</i>	4,62	4,43	3,29	3,86	3,62

4. Potential projects for recipient countries/regions and their importance

There are many types of projects that are potentially beneficial to recipient countries. Please add to the list and provide your judgments about the level of benefit the project will provide and the likelihood that such projects will be implemented.

Importance

5= *Extremely beneficial*

4= *Beneficial*

3= *Generally positive but must be accompanied by other actions*

2= *The positive and negative consequences balance*

1= *Counterproductive, will do more harm than good*

Likelihood

5 = *Almost certain*

4 = *Likely*

3 = *As likely as not*

2 = *Unlikely*

1 = *Almost impossible*

PROJECTS FOR RECIPIENT COUNTRIES	Level of benefit	Likelihood
Develop and support ecologically based agriculture to reduce large consumption of water, energy, and other material inputs in agriculture	4,38	3,65
Include environmental costs in the pricing of natural resources and products	4,12	3,59
Immunization programs	4,05	4,20
Increase national and international efforts to build communities that provide models of sustainable economic development	4,00	3,59
Continue to support and promote all modes of family planning by subsidizing and distributing contraceptives and by	3,95	3,94

promoting programs to improve health care, diminish infant mortality, improve literacy, and involve women in the monetary economy		
Triangles of cooperation (donor country provides financial support, emerging donor country provides cheaper labour and lower costs of the project and recipient country is the receiver of assistance)	3,90	3,53
Create taxes or fees for the most environmentally damaging activities with revenues collected to be used to subsidize the acquisition of environmentally safe technologies	3,83	3,41
Establish an international technology bank, funded by country pledges, that could acquire the rights to innovate „green“ technologies so as to make them more easily available to environmentally less advantaged countries	3,79	3,06
Disaster relief programs and insurance of developing countries with international insurance companies	3,74	3,12
Jobs beneficial to the public (planting and maintenance of trees,...)	3,66	3,71
Create institutions for increased global environment protection (for example the International Court of Environmental Arbitration and Conciliation)	3,63	3,12
Create (via UNEP, WTO, other international organizations) international teams to define terms, standards and measurements necessary for commonly applied environmental policies (tax incentives, labels, etc.)	3,63	3,53
Create tradable pollution permits that regulate global emission limits for countries or industrial sectors	3,21	3,53
Pursue policies to minimize the need for travel, such as local production and telecommuting	3,20	2,94
Adoption at a distance (Children International)	2,95	3,18
NEWLY SUGGESTED PROJECTS (ROUND 2):		
<i>Facilitating access to information technology – Internet</i>	4,14	4,06
<i>Establish systems of environmental statistics, indicators and accounting</i>	3,95	3,89
<i>Evaluation of real steps from countries which are on the route to sustainable development and making them public (a kind of the state of the art)</i>	3,91	3,83
<i>Promote fair trade practices</i>	4,05	2,89
<i>Encourage foreign direct investment in least developed countries</i>	3,68	3,06
<i>Special programmes for preserving cultural heritage</i>	3,86	3,17
<i>Promotion of international cultural educational and scientific exchange</i>	4,32	4,00
<i>Diminish subsidies to environmentally damaging activities</i>	4,41	3,28
<i>Identify international projects to which both rich and poor countries can contribute in areas of their competence</i>	4,10	3,56
<i>Find programs that encourage reverse brain drain</i>	3,86	2,94

Part II:

1. What do you think are key preconditions for successful implementation of PSD?

Listed bellow are several examples, we ask you to assess each and add to the list, using the following scale:

Importance:

5 = *Unquestionably a key precondition*

4 = *May be an important precondition*

3 = *Possibly precondition, possibly not*

2 = *Unimportant*

1 = *Doesn't have significance at all*

Likelihood that such a precondition will exist within the next decade:

5 = *Almost certain*

4 = *Likely*

3 = *As likely as not*

2 = *Unlikely*

1 = *Almost impossible*

PRECONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION	Importance	Likelihood
Projects long enough and intensive enough to contribute to a fundamental change in the orientation of development	4,41	3,69
Active participation of NGOs in the recipient countries	4,18	3,84
Functioning democracy in recipient countries	4,27	3,26
Respecting human rights and international law in recipient countries	4,45	2,90

2. What are potential resources at global level to finance PSD?

During World Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, 1992, developing countries demanded 125 billion USD/year (0,35% of Gross World Product) for Agenda 21 implementation. In 70's Nobel Prize winner Jan Tinbergen and later U.N. suggested transfer of 0,7% GDP/year from developed to developing countries through bilateral and multilateral development aid. These suggestions have not been realized.

Is it possible to identify potential resources not at national but international (global) level to finance PSD? Listed bellow are several suggestions. Please rate them and add to the list, using following scale:

Importance as a source

5 = Essential; must be included as financial resource
 4 = Of great importance
 3 = Of modest importance
 2 = Unimportant
 1 = Counterproductive

Likelihood that source will be used

5 = Almost certain
 4 = Likely
 3 = As likely as not
 2 = Unlikely
 1 = Almost impossible

RESOURCES TO FINANCE PSD	Importance	Likelihood
International carbon tax and/or tradeable emission permits on CO ₂	4,05	3,33
Tax or charge foreign currency transactions ("Tobin's tax")	3,77	2,89
Computer-based network of foreign currency exchange to gain flow of income for the operating agency through user charges (R. Mendez)	3,29	2,94
Taxation of multinational corporations (MNCs)	4,09	2,84
Charge (tax) for the use of some common global resources (surcharge on airline tickets for international flights, ocean maritime transport, fishing in Antarctica, parking fees for geostationary satellites,...)	4,05	3,00
Taxation of MNC's commercials	3,44	3,00
Direct global tax (every person on the planet should contribute a microscopic part according to his/her income)	3,68	2,37

3. Who should coordinate Partnership for Sustainable Development ("global Marshall Plan")?

Despite all of the controversy surrounding the United Nations and its programs, the UN is probably best candidate to coordinate PSD. Within existing UN structure perhaps UN Trusteeship Council is the best candidate because of excellent reputation in developing countries for successful decolonization and previously exercised leadership over the trusteeship territories. Can you suggest other candidates within or outside UN Structure?

See "PSD evaluation"

4. Examples of "success stories"

During the course of history there has appeared several times an idea which is ingenious in its simplicity, which, when it was realized, became a catalyst for positive far-reaching changes. The

Marshall Plan (Program of European Revival) shows how a grandiose vision can be successfully transferred into the shape of particular activity. Perhaps other examples could be found – investments to railroads and following development of North America; or investments to cosmic exploration. In both cases investments approximately equals one percent of U.S. GDP; investments to the Program of European Revival (Marshall Plan) were for several years equal two percent of U.S. GDP.

Can you identify other examples of “success stories” which became catalyst of significant positive changes? Please write them bellow:

See “PSD evaluation”

The Millennium Project – Central European Node
Lookout Study

Partnership for Sustainable Development

Evaluation

The first round of the Partnership for Sustainable Development (PSD) questionnaire, received in May 2000, involved 47 people in 17 countries who identified potentially effective policies for the achievement of reasonable and sustainable development. Respondents identified and rated importance of motivations, goals, potential involvement and projects for recipient countries. Here are results.

Question No 1: What do you think are the motivations for PSD?

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – unquestionably a key motivation; No 1: a reason not to pursue the program)

The highest rating received motivation „Improve the environment for the benefit of mankind“ (4,6) and „Improve development alternatives for developing countries“ (4,16). To our surprise the lowest rating received motivation „Correct historical wrongs (colonization, cheap labor,...) to avoid phase of primitive and environmentally dangerous industrialization“ (3,09).

Respondents suggested some additional motivations which were rated in round 2. The highest rating received motivation „To secure global equitable development in peace“ (4,23) and „Need for global politics and rules in the age of globalization“ (3,77).

Question No 2: If the money were easily available, what could, in your opinion, be the long-term most appropriate goals of the project?

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – essential, must be included as a project goal; No 1 – counter productive)

The highest rating received goal „Eradicate the extreme poverty and the most dangerous diseases“ (4,55). Goal „Stabilize the world’s population“ is No 7 and did not receive high rating (3,82). Respondents do not consider as very important goal „Create a new generation of international agreements“ (3,28). They suggested some additional goals rated in round 2. The

highest rating received goal „Integrate ecological and economic development“ (4,23) and „Write off the debts of developing countries completely“ (4,14).

Question No 3: If the goals in Question 2 were set, what could be role of different groups of countries?

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – the stated means of involvement is completely appropriate; No 1 – the stated means of involvement is impossible)

According to respondents, highly developed countries such as the U.S.A., Canada and Japan should be responsible for „Direct financial grants“ (4,86), „Schooling of experts“ (4,81), „Educational and technical assistance programs“ (4,76).

Emerging donor countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland or South Korea should be involved in „Schooling of experts“, „Educational programs and student teacher exchanges large scale“ (4,43) and „Technical assistance programs“ (4,11).

Countries in deep economical trouble such as Sub-Saharan Africa should be „Recipients of large scale financial aid“ (4,62) and also „Site for program experiments“ (4,16).

Countries with massive populations such as China and India should be „Site for program experiments“ (4,31), should be involved in „Educational programs“ (3,95) and should become „Promoter of unilateral or regional agreements and policies for sustainable development“ (3,91).

Resource rich countries such as Saudi Arabia should participate as donors of „Direct financial grants“ (4,21) and „Direct foreign investment“ (4,09).

Question No 4: Potential projects for recipient countries or regions, their importance and likelihood of realization.

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – extremely beneficial; No 1 – counterproductive, will do more harm than good; Likelihood rating scale: No 5 – almost certain; No 1 - almost impossible)

According to respondents the most important and with good likelihood of realization is to „Develop and support ecologically based agriculture to reduce large consumption of water and energy“ (importance 4,38; likelihood 3,65). Other projects considered as very important and with good likelihood of realization are following: „Promotion of international cultural, educational and scientific exchange“, „Facilitating access to information technology – Internet“ and „Immunization programs“.

Participants made some additional, more general comments in Round 1. We consider following as the most interesting:

- The Brundtland definition of sustainable development created more confusion (and indicator proliferation) than solutions. E.g. what are human needs? What's the time frame (how many generations)? Where is the environment?
- For about 70 years Soviet schoolboys and schoolgirls had learned about negative influence of US „Marshall Plan“ on development of Western democracies. I mean that the cooperation of rich and poor countries is very delicate issue. Examples of such successful cooperation are very important and information about them should be disseminated by a country-recipient, first of all.
- I find the proposal good in general. Although at this stage it seems to encourage to much international bureaucracy and too little the formation and development of skilled local professionals and experts.

- The name Global Marshall Plan is charismatic. Marshall Plan demonstrated for the first time a broad scale international development project which was successful, hence, different from numerous „partnerships“, which are now on the agenda and don't really work.
- Especially in the traditional societies involving women in the monetary economy should be counterproductive and destroy family structure and stability as seen in South-East Asia.
- Economic opportunity will drive economies to meet the challenge of sustainable development. It is the pressures of resource limitation that creates the new business opportunities that naturally flow from periods of major economic reorganization.
- There is no real sustainable development, if we don't achieve inner transformation of human mind, the attitude of man towards the world, nature and – first of all – towards the other people.

The second round of the PSD questionnaire (received in July 2000) involved 25 people from 15 countries. Four additional questions were submitted for evaluation which will help to formulate better the idea of PSD.

Question No 1: What do you think are key preconditions for successful implementation of „Partnership for Sustainable Development“?

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – unquestionably a key precondition; No 1 – doesn't have significance at all; Likelihood rating scale: No 5 – almost certain, No 1 – almost impossible)

According to the respondents the most important precondition is „Respecting human rights and international laws in recipient countries“ (4,45) but at the same time they ranked likelihood as the lowest (2,90). Very good importance as well as likelihood received „Projects long enough and intensive enough to contribute to a fundamental change“ (No 2 in both cases).

Question No 2: What are potential resources at global level to finance PSD?

(Importance rating scale: No 5 – essential, must be included as financial resource; No 1 – counterproductive; Likelihood that source will be used: No 5 – almost certain, No 1 – almost impossible)

Respondents evaluated as the most important „Taxation of multinational corporations“ (4,09) but with very low likelihood of realization (2,84). As very important have been identified also „Charge (tax) for the use of some common global resources“ (importance 4,05; likelihood 3,00) and „International carbon tax and/or tradeable emission permits on CO₂ (importance 4,05; highest likelihood 3,33).

Question No 3: Who should coordinate PSD („global Marshall Plan“)?

The most frequently respondents identified UN as the best candidate. Here are some answers:

- I see no other candidate to be coordinating PSD but UN. That is obvious that the UN Trusteeship Council in the best for this purpose.
- UN Commission on Sustainable Development should coordinate PSD.
- The best would be a sort of co-ordination group composed by representatives of principal international organizations and NGOs. Within UN, the involvement of WHO, UNEP, HABITAT and FAO would be essential because of their roles in the road to sustainability. UN Trusteeship Council is the best candidate.
- The U.S. has the most experience how to draw and implement global Marshall Plan. It can mobilize activities of banks, enterprises and other actors of this global endeavour. ... UN can

accomplish another part of this important work like participation of countries and the general acceptance of the project. NGOs should be important players as well.

- The contemporary UN is not the best candidate. UN reminds much more huge bureaucratic office than effective community to solve real problems of the world. The best candidate is radically reformed UN working in cooperation with large network of various NGOs.
- There are many dangers in having a single coordination for such a plan. What is needed is a common agenda that existing global institutions, with their different strengths and approaches, seek to implement together.
- Transnational charities like Oxfam, Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors without borders) etc. are good candidates. These organizations have a wealth of expertise in tackling poverty and development issues at global level.
- Theoretically there could be several NGO (international) agencies specializing in fundraising and fund distribution in needed countries and projects. These would work under the auspices of UN (regular audits) to maintain their moral and fiscal integrity. Their impact would have to be direct and visible with low overhead cost.

Question No 4: Examples of „success stories“

Respondents identified some interesting examples of „success stories“ which became catalyst of positive changes or made some additional comments:

- The most obvious example is industrialization in 18th Century England. Much of the world economy came to be based on this, with huge increase in both GDP and standards of living, especially in material terms. The Industrial Revolution also illustrates the ecological and social dangers of sudden economic and wide-ranging growth.
- Many NGOs Funds are examples of „success stories“.
- Rural water supply and sanitation programs in Peru, Colombia and some Central American countries in the 60's and 70's.
- New Deal of F. D. Roosevelt.
- The development of information technology should be mentioned though it has brought about both the advantages and disadvantages.
- Investment to railroads and following development of North America mentioned as example is not „success story“ –what about genocide of original population and their culture?
- Kerala state in India – poor state but with efficient social policy eliminating poverty, illiteracy, illnesses.
- Grammeen Bank in Bangladesh offering loans (microcredits) for farmers, craftsmen and shop-keepers enables enterprising also for the poorest citizens.
- European Union – the support from EU funds contributed to modernization, economical development and enforcement of democracy in the „southern“ countries: Spain, Portugal, Greece.
- Doctors without borders in the area of health and medicine.
- „Stabilization Fund“ for Poland in 1990 and debt relief for Poland and Bulgaria in early 1990s.
- Educational assistance for the East in early period of transition (economic, management, public administration).
- International initiatives by Rotary International – Polio vaccination.
- Development of new species of grain for India in the 1960s.

- Earth Day (which launched a worldwide movement; Earth Day was the translation of a vague concept into a popular energizing mission. However, the subsequent activity was not as specific as the Marshall Plan).
- Endangered species act (in U.S.); crystallized vague concepts into simple vision to preserve species.

AC/UNU Millennium Project

Partnership for Sustainable Development

Evaluation of the Interviews

After two round questionnaire and its evaluation we asked decision makers, NGOs leaders and representatives of business community to answer seven questions in personal interview. Eighteen opinion leaders from six countries participated (Azerbaijan, China, Italy, Romania, Slovak Republic, Ukraine). The aim of the interviews was to explore the possibilities of effective policies and implementation of the Partnership for Sustainable Development („global Marshall Plan“).

From all the interview protocols we selected following comments and observations which we consider as the most important and interesting:

Question No. 1:

In 19th Century British capital enabled development of U.S. After 2nd World War on the contrary Marshall Plan enabled reconstruction of Western Europe. Similarly cheap raw materials and labour force in former colonies helped to industrial development of Western Europe. Do you think it is possible to help developing countries now through Partnership for Sustainable Development („global Marshall Plan“) to start process towards sustainable development?

The development of U.S. by British capital in the 19th Century was a kind of industrialization, which cannot be mentioned as sustainable development in today's view, particularly in view of environment, so is the case of post war reconstruction of Western Europe in the middle of the 20th Century. It is therefore necessary to develop such Partnership for Sustainable Development to help developing countries to avoid the mistakes occurred in the developing stage of the developed countries. The sustainable development of the developing countries will help, on the

contrary, the global stability which will help to insure the benefits of investors from the developed countries to the developing countries and finally promote the global prosperity.

Any cent of the invested money cannot be aided without any intentions of those providers. They can use the flag of „protect the only planet of human being“ to ask the underdeveloped countries to slow down the speed of economic development so that they can make as full use of the bearing capacity of the nature as they can. ... The capacity of implementation is another problem. In many underdeveloped countries, institutions and human resources are not sufficient. This can greatly discount the results and efficiency of implementation.

In the South East Europe the Pact of Stability announced a sort of Partnership for Sustainable Development. A lot of meetings, conferences, projects but few money; 2.4 billions USD, officially announced by the donors but much less in reality. ... A model could be the big investments with American money from pension funds.

The Marshall Plan was feasible thanks to stable currency. The stable currency is a very important factor of big investments and, hence, makes the process of sustainable development rapidly progressing.

There are some issues that should be solved immediately by governments of developing countries. I mean creation of sustainable „atmosphere“ for investment process, i.e. developing democratic reforms, building civil society, respecting international laws, and, of course, a decisive struggle against such problems as corruption and bribery.

The social-political and economical situation in the world was absolutely different from today's one while the Marshall Plan was implementing for Western Europe. At the present time, when there is not already the Soviet Empire, and most of the developing countries are open to accept the Marshall Plan, another problem arises – fundamental reformation of former planned economy to a market way. I think all this is a serious barrier to the Marshall Plan implementation at the present time.

Times have really changed and the recipient countries should be in the position to chose what is important for THEIR Sustainable Development.

It is the only chance for overcoming present global crisis. Better way for Western civilization as to defense against migration from the Third World with arms is to invest in the Third World development.

Question No. 2:

There are at least six types of impediments to successful implementation of PSD:

- a) Financial impediments such as lack of funding;*
- b) Institutional impediments such as the fact that no one until now has responsibility to act;*
- c) Political impediments such as the action interferes with national interests;*

- d) *Cultural impediments such as roles of men vs. women, racism or ethnocentrism;*
 e) *Psychological impediments such as the fear of making a mistake of looking silly;*
 f) *Information impediments such as the lack of reliable and sufficient data and information, or the uncertainty of the risk.*

Can you name some examples that you might be aware of within these categories? Can you add other categories of impediments?

Technology can also become an impeditive factor to successful implementation, such as alternative technologies and assembled technologies etc. Fertilizer pollution in agricultural production, traditional industrial pollution etc., are very serious problems in developing countries, how to seek alternative technologies or how to assemble some new technologies to overcome these problems is still worked out.

Major impediments are not the lack of funds, but political and institutional ones. Political impediments are related to the donor's countries, while institutional ones are related to international organizations (such as UN) and the recipient countries (underdeveloped world). I could also add an impediment which refers to the lack of infrastructure.

IMF and the World Bank are not responsible for the failure of the reforms in different developing countries and for programs that could have also negative effects. ... Due to the difficulties of the transition and after decades of totalitarian system there are no psychological impediments – especially for the young generation or for those Romanians who have changed their mindset, understanding that the most important strategically resource of their country and of themselves is the work only, the hard and the efficient work. ... A decade of transition experience in Central Europe indicates that risk should not be perceived only as a negative element; it could also be seen as a challenge offering opportunities for a new beginning.

If we consider as example the Caucasian region, I would emphasize the following impediments: First of all, these are political and financial impediments characterized by wrong, unbalanced policy of authorities. Any important decision of the President and his surroundings is accepted and approved by Parliament and Constitution Court with no discussion. Society's opinion is presently nothing to influence on any policy in the country. ... Most of state appointments is based on the individuals who come only from one local region. ... The society has no possibility to know or get any confidential information about natural resources of the country or the most interesting, of how national income and annual revenue are managed and spent.

The political instability is principal prevention of contributing an investment in economy of developing countries. Moreover, this causes the difficulties to elementary cooperation in all spheres of activity in the whole. An example with Afghanistan is obvious evidence of this. ... One of the most principal impediments for the PSD is the fact of involvement of great world powers like the United States, EU, Russia, China in a way of regional domination.

The lack of information about the production ability and export potential of developing countries is one of the main obstacles to development of trade among these countries. Therefore,

it is important to accelerate the activity of international organizations and Chambers of Commerce in support of information exchange. ... Besides the above, imperfect legislation, corruption, higher tax rates and customs bureaucracy in some countries allows the flourishing of shuttle trade and smuggling. That is why the PSD implementation is urgently needed. It is necessary to protect small businesses through governmental institutions. Special customs and tax laws for trading in a number of the regions would considerably support the development of cooperation and integration.

Except cultural impediments which are different from country to country, the remaining 5 categories may be found in every developing country. Another category of impediments may be corruption, which affects the most vital structures of society and violation of human rights and minorities rights, which lead to local conflicts, often turned into regional crises.

Psychological impediments – fear of making mistake is typical for very competent people. The training is necessary in this area.

In different regions also different type of impediments play the key role. SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) of the recipient countries would be helpful.

Political impediments – it is necessary to move from verbal support and declarations toward concrete policy and projects. ... Information impediments – in post-communist countries great impediment is habit for collective decision and the shift toward individual responsibility is great problem.

Question No. 3:

Big financial investments are necessary to develop underdeveloped regions. They are available as private capital which is avoiding the most underdeveloped and politically unstable regions. Would it be possible and efficient to create (within UN for example) insurance fund to eliminate or reduce the risks of investing in the poorest regions? Do you have other idea how to attract private capital to the poorest regions?

It might be also interesting to create some kind of U.N. or international prizes to acknowledge active donors to the poorest regions. The successful private donors need to expand their business, the international or U.N. prizes will help to increase their reputation and public visibility which will be in turn helpful to their business.

The efficiency of this fund is doubtful. It is too complicated a procedure to supervise the implementation of the investment in the poorest countries. ... The only possible way is to help set up the self-restriction system in the poor countries. Institutions need perfecting, such as laws and regulations, auditing system, accounting system, and training.

UN could create an insurance fund with the support of G7 and of international financial institutions (IMF, WB, EBRD).

One opportunity is to use the huge amount of money existing in pension funds in the West for projects in developing countries. ... Bringing to the light the grey economy, representing between 20 and 60 percent of the real national economy, could be an important instrument in raising funds for these activities.

Though it sounds pretty well, establishment of something like the insurance fund within UN or other organization would not be constructive and effective in the regions where there is geopolitics of great powers. ... The only way to attract private capital to the poorest regions is the creation of stable political and social situation with secure economic development.

That is necessary to create something like insurance fund at UN or at any other authoritative organization in order to be guarantor of huge investments to the poorest regions. ... Political stability and strong legislation are basic factor of the investment process. Let me give you here one example related with Black and Caspian Seas region. With potentially large quantities of oil in the Caspian and demand for that oil in Europe, the region has enormous potential for economic prosperity and integration with the world economy. Pipeline projects, financed by multinational oil consortiums, have the potential to be one of the most integrating forces in the Black and Caspian Sea Basin. Increased prosperity and integration could, in turn, foster greater stability in the region. Political dynamics, however, have thus far impeded all of the proposed pipeline routes, frustrating investors and preventing integration. ... That investment will not come until the government of the countries meet four basic criteria: 1) they must be transparent; 2) they must be accountable; 3) they must respect the rule of law; 4) they must provide a secure environment if they wish to attract business.

Private capital might be attracted also if the American or Western European investor would understand the importance of his role in creating a strong market economy in the poorest countries, which should ensure a stable political environment in those countries. Thus country which is a developed one, would no longer be threatened by refugees' invasions, by the extension of local crises or drug and weapon traffic which are the result of the economic disaster in the poorest countries.

Making free economic zones, introducing private property in land as well as giving some privileges to investors would promote to attract private capital to the poorest economies.

One of the ways to attract private capital is to reform the financial sector to increase the independence and transparency of the central bank and the power of the banking system.

Good idea, but it is necessary to rise authority of the insurance fund e.g. within UN for the purpose of elimination possible misusing this insurance fund.

Question No. 4:

Should the Partnership for Sustainable Development („global Marshall Plan“) be provided to developing countries without any preconditions or is it necessary for the recipient to accept commitments concerning especially human rights and respecting international law? Also, should it be up to them to determine how the money will be spent or should the donor countries have the final say? What can be done about corruption that might siphon off funds?

Commitments required should be based on the respecting of the cultures of recipients. ... Some joint committees seem necessary to achieve such agreements. Concerning the corruption, it is also mutual. On the recipient side, the corrupted recipients might siphon off the funds, and on the donor side, some corrupted donors might „donate“ the rubbish, which might be dangerous, to the innocent recipients.

It is not necessary for recipient to accept commitments concerning especially human rights and respecting international law, because the definition of the human rights is different in different countries.

Partnership for Sustainable Development should have a double mission: developing local social and economic infrastructure and promote economic development programs. Social infrastructure is essential for creating the conditions for absorption of foreign capital, combating corruption, protecting human rights, developing democracy, etc. Social infrastructure means primarily institutions, governmental and non-governmental, private, etc.

The „new money“ has to come with the „new people“. The young people, trained abroad and with experience of international institutions, assisted by the experts of IMF and World Bank have to be appointed in key positions as a requisite for providing the money. ... A new elite could be created and implemented through this system. Corruption can be put under control with a package of measures including the denunciation of any corrupt transactions or decision taken without the necessary transparency.

Preliminary conditions are an extremely necessary factor in the regions where corrupted government mainly manages investments coming in their country. ... World experience demonstrates that the recipient is mostly unable to spend the means in the best way.

Preconditions are very necessary step to PSD process. Donor organization, country or private investor should control all the investment process. Countries getting a financial support are in not only deep economical crisis but also have great problems with human rights violation, observing the law, corruption, bribery, etc.

I would recommend government to follow to the below issues:

- Place part of capitals and revenues in a trust fund or in foreign assets abroad for slower and more gradual drawdowns as domestic capacity expands.
- Avoid the easy but hazardous road to hasty industrialization, particularly where inadequate skilled labor, technological expertise, and management know-how can not support sophisticated high-tech ventures.

- Resist the temptation to squander foreign exchange revenues and investments from international organizations on increased domestic consumption to placate a restless population. Avoid raising wages beyond labor productivity, cutting taxes, and increasing subsidies. Instead, encourage domestic saving by adopting tight fiscal policies and limiting subsidies to truly needy recipients in a well-planned safety net.
- Coordinate fiscal, monetary, and exchange rate policies so as to strengthen the economy's supply side. Cut profligate public spending and resource waste as much as possible to prevent inflation and growth-impeding currency appreciation.
- Check the raising dominance of the state over the economy by developing market mechanisms, including a liberal trade and exchange system, privatization, regulations on capital flows, and the speedy deregulation of prices, wages, and interest rates.
- As for the corruption it is very necessary to strengthen the judicial system so it can fight corruption.

The developing countries have to determine how the money has to be spent or else we shall have the same effects as in the past with loans and debts.

In particular situations, when poverty in certain countries reaches alarming levels, endangering population surviving, I do not consider preconditions should be imposed before providing global Marshall Plan. But, generally speaking, I think the recipient country should accept and engagement to respect human rights and international law. ... Among those who coordinate fund distribution should be recipient country's citizens as well, people who are familiar with local realities.

It is very important for donor to know cultural and religious traditions of recipient. Preconditions of aid must be strictly defined and must be transparent for both recipient and donor. Very important are also the wages of aid workers.

Human rights must be the part of sustainable development.

Very necessary are criteria for selection of workers. They must have appropriate stage of personal integrity as basic condition to avoiding corruption.

Respecting of international law is necessary. It is necessary to design common rules.

Question No. 5:

Czech president Václav Havel talked at the Millennium Summit in New York about his vision of the World Parliament within U.N. 100 years. Do you think that the world needs some kind of global governance or will the nation states survive in more or less their current form and will these state create regional economical (and perhaps political) blocs?

President Havel also proposed a „direct global tax“: „Every person on the planet should one day contribute to the U.N. a microscopic part of their income in as direct a way as possible, so it would be clear that this organization has been established by mankind for itself“. Do you think

that U.N. should implement a „direct global tax“? Could such a tax become source of income to balance development differences among regions of the world (similarly as for example it is done within EU)?

It is better for this world to maintain the current state of self governance, but the regional economical blocs are necessary. U.N. should implement a „direct global tax“ on the condition that the tax should be well supervised and controlled to avoid the corruptive persons to siphon it off. Such a tax can become a source of income to balance development differences among regions of the world.

In 100 years, the world would much probably have a „global government“ or at least „global institutions“ to deal with the problems of the so-called „global village“. However, regional blocs will continue to develop, but not against globalization. As about a „global tax“, there is already a form of it to the extent UN member countries are paying a fee that is from the public budget, i.e. from any citizen. A „direct global tax“ may complicate things instead of simplifying them.

Introducing such a „direct global tax“ UN could collapse without a deep reform of the whole institution. Paying the tax is an important chance to give the citizens all over the world the feeling that they have an ultimate place to solve their problems – unsolved at local, national or regional level.

Establishment of the global governance would not be sufficient and, consequently, effective for most of the nations and people over the world. The following reasons are preventing to creation of something like the World Parliament:

- factor of cultural, religious and racial differences of folks;
- unsolved conflicts and problems between nations and people;
- global distinction in geopolitical interest of great powers.

Regarding the „direct global tax“, I think as Havel’s idea is very ambitious, it would not possibly be working because of impossibility for controlling and managing all the financial resources (for example, what purposes and how the global money will be spent for).

The World Parliament is anything what all countries but some great states dream about. I think it is a great idea that can be realized if some super-powers like US, Russia, China will allow and even promote this establishment. ... As for the „direct global tax“, it is obvious that if every person on the planet would contribute to the UN the amount of ONE US dollars in a year, which is roughly six billion dollars, such type of tax could become considerable at all to support economics of the poorest regions.

To my deep regret the UN is not always able to solve political and economical problems. The block formation is currently more viable and effective for national security of the developing countries. ... As for the „direct global tax“, though it sounds just fine, this is Utopian as well as creation of ideal union of all the states what was suggested such Utopists as Charl Fourier, Henri D’censimon, Rober Owen.

I do not think mankind is prepared for global governance. There are regions on the Earth where anarchy is a permanent presence because of political, economical and military crises. At the same time, the strongest states are joined in their own political and military organizations, having their own governance principles. Before reaching an economical, political and military balance between all states, global governance will remain an unattainable ideal. ... I do not think U.N. is prepared right now to implement a direct global tax because of the big gap in the development level of various countries. In the future it would be very instrumental to be successful in imposing such a tax to create an U.N. fund, whose resources would be used to help developing countries. But, in order for this tax to be an income source, it should have a higher value/level for developed countries compared to the others.

I think President Havel's proposal is excellent: it would make all people more responsible and start as sort of global governance that is not overcoming completely the states which are at the moment weak economically in facing global economy and give them a sort of global role keeping the differences and at the same time giving them a mediating role between the citizen and the world.

It is necessary to reform UN system with possibility of transformation this system to global governance system. Nation states have the role in protection of cultural and historical continuity of individual ethnic. Ethnic values are also part of global values. Very necessary is here principle of subsidiarity. Global tax is very good idea – personal responsibility and transparency in using of global taxes.

It is very good visionary idea, win-win strategy. Global tax is the way to rise interest in global problems and also for participation in UN activities.

Question No. 6:

The U.N. Trusteeship Council has received an excellent reputation in developing countries for successful decolonization. Maybe we are now at the beginning of a „second decolonization“ (break of Yugoslavia, former USSR, in the future possible break of some African states like Sudan, maybe break of China, India, Indonesia...). Should we somehow try to manage this process (if it occurs) to prevent chaos and anarchy (like for example in Kosovo in Yugoslavia)? Do you think that Partnership for Sustainable Development („global Marshall Plan“) coordinated through U.N. Trusteeship Council is the best candidate for this task or do you have other opinions or ideas?

We should not try to manage this process because every people of a country have the right to determine the fate of their own country. The temporary chaos and anarchy will not hinder general progress of global society.

It is hard to speak on a „second decolonization“ just for the sake of comparisons. Maybe it is enough to speak on the increasing globalization that is generating fragmentation and therefore regional conflicts. Of course, UN could get involved more than it is actually doing (peace-

keeping, for instance). The Trusteeship Council could work on the prevention of chaos and anarchy and protection of human rights, if appropriate.

We cannot speak of a „second decolonization“ because we are experiencing a contradictory way of development of the globalization and a new power distribution in the world.

I don't think we are able to control any process of decolonization. Maybe it would be better if the UN Trusteeship Council should be trying to coordinate the process after the decolonization is fully finished. ... It seems to me that even positive interference in a process of the decolonization can have grave, or I would say very negative consequences.

The current practice shows that the UN is mostly unable to affect on some of regional states, which are within intent geopolitical attention of the great powers. ... Constructive reorganization of the UN would be an important step to do this authoritative institution capable of functioning to manage the world community.

Maybe a new economic organism or economic department within U.N. should be established, to be in charge of coordinating the Partnership for Sustainable Development, so that it should be implemented as soon as possible and to be efficient.

The UN Trusteeship Council could be a good instrument but the main point is to involve the local communities, intellectuals, actors of different kinds (see women who are silently rebuilding social structures when violence destroys them, see Rwanda, Uganda, and even Sudan or Bosnia-Herzegovina. Without this involvement no plan will be successful and this is based on my empirical research.

Question No. 7:

Finally, do you have some additional comments to Partnership for Sustainable Development?

A sustainable development for the former „Third World would have to be well prepared at the level of government and public opinion. Conditions are now extremely favorable. However, a kind of small-scale experiment could help a lot before launching a „global Marshall Plan“.

The Partnership for Sustainable Development is a very important step towards the development of the poorest region all over the world. However, only time will show if the PSD is like it could work in making a progress.

Private sector partnerships that engage the vast resources – human, technological, and financial – of the business community are critical in achieving a success for sustainable development.

The PSD, so-called „global Marshall Plan“ long-term model should be immediately undertaken to address complex global challenges. The current growth and character of world

population, the pressure on the environment and natural resources, whether on water, land, air or energy, demand our joint collaborative experiences and foresight.

Sustainable development integrates goals for population and health with those of protecting the environment, building democracy, and encouraging broad-based economic growth. The Partnership for Sustainable Development would certainly be like it could work for improving the level of life.

It is good to realize this as 3rd Millennium vision of spiritualizing the civilization. Before great crisis were always great ideas, but very important is to realize these ideas.

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