

*(A Note on the issue of 'Peace and Reconciliation'—
a topic of discussion in a seminar
held on December 19-20, 2001, at Hotel Asia, Jammu)*

**Peace And Reconciliation
Is The Demand Of Our Times
Today Dialogue Is The Only Proper Way
To Resolve All Human Conflicts
Immediate Cause Of All Quarrels
Rests In Social Injustice**

I

Social peace (i.e., social harmony or tranquility) denotes a process based on social order or a process free from social disorder (i.e., war, conflict, confrontation, etc.). Social reconciliation implies a mode of social healing-up (i.e., settling of all disputes, irritants and tensions through harmony, conciliation and talks). Thus social peace and reconciliation are two sides of the social order. Both are inter-related and inter-dependent.

II

Today, the process of peace and reconciliation is the first essential demand of the human community. This is, because the newly-emerged social phenomenon of globalisation needs it. Social globalisation expresses the new social change which has transformed the old sovereign and independent nation-states into inter-dependent countries (i.e., a state of affairs in which the interests of different countries have become common). This new social phenomenon requires a relation of friendship and cooperation among various countries in order to carry out different social activities at the global level—like trade, capital investment, technology transfer, labour movement, conservation

of environmental resources (i.e., water, land, forest, bio-diversity, etc.), combating of human troubles (like poverty, unemployment, inequality, crime, natural disasters, diseases, etc.).

Besides, under disorderly conditions in any region, no other social activity—i.e., political, economic and cultural—can be smoothly conducted in the international sphere. Only under the conditions of peace and reconciliation, the newly-emerged process of globalisation can transform our old unequalitarian and unjust world of different nations (based on the principle of powerful dominating the weak and the rich exploiting the poor, with money and power as the only purpose of life) into an equalitarian and just single human community (based on the five fold principle of environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency, with social justice and a rational behaviour as the values of life). That is how social peace and reconciliation has become an imperative for all humans at all levels—global, regional and national down to the village level.

III

Looking at the present-day world, we find that all types of existing tensions broadly comprise two types: (a) intra-state conflicts and (b) inter-state disputes.

Again, the first type consists of two categories, that is, (i) struggles for safe-guarding the traditional identities (i.e., ethnic, cultural including linguistic and religious, etc.) of certain communities or groups of people and (ii) social (i.e., political, economic, cultural, etc.) struggles in order to secure certain basic rights or to bring about a social change. Both these types of struggle are directed against the concerned nation-state.

Both categories argue that the basic reason of their respective struggles rests with the social injustice perpetrated by their respective states (or governments) on them and that they have exhausted all non-conflictual ways to get justice. Hence armed struggle is the only way-out for them.

As regards the inter-state conflicts, there has been a sharp decrease in the number of national tension points in the world. Hardly any worth-mentioning inter-state war (except that between Iraq and the US-led international coalition) has taken place during the past decade. Almost all the existing contenders have entered into a mutual dialogue to resolve their concerned issues.

IV

While things have more or less been moving in the right direction and the process of peace and reconciliation proceeding on its track, the 7th October US attack on Afghanistan has introduced a new negative element in the way of global social order.

True, the US had been the aggrieved party in the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. It had the right to seek justice for itself and due punishment for the culprits. Under UN charter, it had the right to respond to the enemy's attack. But the interests of the world as well as the US people demanded that, instead of punishing the concerned terrorists on its own by building an international coalition under its leadership, the US should have proceeded through the UN. Surely, the matter would thus have been settled in a more suitable way to the advantage of the world community, including the American people.

By resorting to the traditional style of punishing the weak at will and disregarding the rules of the existing global order, the US had, while earlier counseling to all (e.g., Israel, India, etc.) to observe restraint, now encouraged them to seek military solution to the contentious issues facing them. Thus, the two hot spots of the world—the Palestine and JK—have become further red.

Israel has already launched a powerful offensive against Palestinians, while India is, following the 13th December suicidal attack on its Parliament House, demanding from Pakistan the banning of two terrorist organisations headquartered in Pakistan—Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad. The Indo-Pak tension on JK is nearing its nadir point.

The 53 year long experience of Indo-Pak confrontation on JK demonstrates that there can be no military or unilateral solution to JK problem. Only a compromising formula, incorporating the interests of each of the three parties (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people) can be a realistic answer. The below noted 3-point proposal can well serve the interests of the parties concerned

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers in all matters except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environment commission, planning commission, etc.

Such a solution will benefit the people of the world and South Asia (including India, Pakistan and JK).

Similar compromising solution can also help in the resolution of Palestine question by putting into effect the following points: (i) Formation of an independent Palestinian state and guarantee to Israel for the security of its borders, and (ii) Establishment of a confederation of three states—Israel, Palestine and Jordan.

V

Turning to the cause of world disorder and existing conflicts (or threat to peace and reconciliation), it resides in the prevailing social injustice which basically originates from the nation-based social system and its chief human motivational factor, i.e., self-interest. Both the social system and its human motivational factor have, during their 200 years long national rule, brought forth an environmentally unsustainable, unjust and inequalitarian order where the mighty ride roughshod over the backs of the weak and the haves dominate the have-nots, with money and power constituting the accepted norms of justice and truth.

The national system's human motivational factor of self-interest, having emerged from Adam Smith's basic theory that man is selfish by nature, has pushed its counterpart, the social interest, to the background.

Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is chasing after these two life-extending elixirs. This money and power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

As regards the short-term cause of the world disorder and existing conflicts (or threat to peace and reconciliation), it rests with the social system's operational agency or the government. Oriented by the self-interest, the leaders of the national governments (based on the party system in every country), are mainly devoted to the maximisation of their own wealth and

holding of power by fair means or foul. Their standard stock in trade is to say 'one thing and do the other.'

VI

Coming to the issue of a proper response to the present world disorder and existing conflicts (or threat to peace and reconciliation), the proper course for the human community is to get all disputed matters resolved through its present international agency, that is, the UN. No country, may be a superpower, should act unilaterally or multilaterally (i.e., in alliance with its military allies), outside of the UN.

In our view, the strategic answer to all varieties of world disorder and existing conflicts (or threat to peace and reconciliation) is the restructuring and updating of the existing nation-based system on a realistic and rational basis at the global level. This restructuring and updating should—in order to address to the existing two fundamental social realities, i.e., unsustainable environment and unjust and inequalitarian human relations—adopt a pro-nature and pro-human agenda that also meets the demands of the newly-emerged social process of globalisation.

A nature-human friendly development model needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation and military solution be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN.

Second, the nature-human friendly development model requires a social system that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a social system necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the restructuring of the nation-state management in the light of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party-centralised power.

Third, the nature-human friendly development model demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic principle of 'self-

interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature.

Fourth, the nature-human friendly development model calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values.

Fifth, the nature-human friendly development model stands for studying and interpreting natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

18-12-2001

(A Note on the issue of rising tension between India and Pakistan and the way-out—a topic of discussion in a seminar held on January 6, 2002, in Gandhi Bhawan, Jammu on the 4th death anniversary of our dear leader Late S. Joginder Singh Ji, Advocate, High Court. The deceased was a symbol of humility, simplicity and compassion who always firmly upheld the motto of international peace, prosperity and progress based on social equality and justice all his life)

Rising Tension Between India And Pakistan And The Way-Out

Social violence (including terrorism and war) is no answer to any problem. It has become irrelevant today. Because the present world of inter-dependent nations does not need it. Social violence cannot be ended by counter-social violence. Because combating evil by counter-evil generates more evil. Social violence originates from various types of social injustice whose long-term cause rests with the existing social system and its motivational factor, while the short-term cause lies in the existing government agency. The basic solution of all types of social injustice is to restructure the present unjust social system on the basis of a nature and human-friendly agenda.

I. A Dangerous Situation

1. For over a week after mid-December 2001, the whole world, particularly the Indian and the Pakistani people, stood bewildered over the highly sensational military movements in India and Pakistan. Thereafter, the situation on the Indo-Pak border became dangerously tense. Armies of the two countries stood in an eyeball to eyeball position. It appeared they were on the brink of a war. Any misunderstanding or miscalculation could at that time have led to a dangerous escalation. But then the dark clouds began thinning.

2. The crisis arose when India, provoked by the 13th December, 2001 suicidal attack on its Parliament House—a despicable act which was condemned by one and all, including Pakistan—started to depute its armed forces on the entire Indo-Pak border in a threatening posture. Immediately, Pakistan followed suit.

3. India acted exactly in the 11th September, 2001-US fashion. It asked Pakistan to either take a strong action against the two militant groups involved in the heinous attack on the Indian Parliament House—i.e., Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad and their respective leaders—or face the former's strong military rebuff. Pakistan responded with its own proposal. It suggested that either joint Indo-Pak enquiry be conducted to establish the truth of the December 13 incident or a team of American FBI be associated during the conduct of the enquiry by the Indian investigation agencies. India, however, rejected both these suggestions. It may be recalled that India first named Lashkar-e-Toiba as the only culprit and later identified Jaish-e-Mohammad in place of the former. And finally declared that it was a joint operation by the said two organisations (the most competitive rivals at all places).

4. The US adopted a double-standard position on the issue. On the one hand, it supported the above-suggested two enquiry proposals by Pakistan, and, on the other, endorsed the Indian position on the terrorist nature of Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad by bringing these two organisations on its terrorist list. Later, the US exerted pressure on Pakistan to take action against these two organisations and their respective leaders and activists. Accordingly, Pakistan arrested the main workers of these two organisations.

5. Now, India has given a fresh list of 20 suspects who had been involved in cross-border terrorism and other disruptive activities all over India. Pakistan has demanded the necessary proof in support of the said Indian allegation. However, Pakistan on its own is now said to have arrested nearly 150 persons involved in illegal activities. Pakistan also demanded an immediate dialogue with India to defuse the present surcharged situation. But New Delhi has made no comment on it so far.

6. India's declaration to take military action across the line of control may be sought to be justified as a component part of the new global war against terrorism waged by the US-led international coalition. But if US had followed a super-powerist path by ignoring the UN and opting for a unilateral solution in dealing with Afghanistan, India should not try to imitate the US.

Because, firstly, the path of military solution is highly counter-productive in our times. It is against the spirit of our era which demands a relation of friendship and cooperation among all nations and between all ethnic communities. Whosoever, may it be the US, adopts the confrontationist course will have to ultimately suffer its negative consequences, sooner or later. And, secondly, there has been a totally different situation in the case of US vis-a-vis Afghanistan and that of India vis-a-vis Pakistan. While the US was a world super-power and Afghanistan the most backward country on this earth, both India and Pakistan are nuclear armed countries. In such a state of affairs any Indian action to pursue its military option is likely to develop into a full-scale Indo-Pak war, with its nuclear dimensions. This will be suicidal for the entire South Asian region.

7. The proper course for India (and for all nation-states) is to present its case before the UN along with all the relevant evidence in its possession. The UN be requested to take proper action against the above alleged two organisations and the country harbouring them.

8. Following the Pakistani crack down on some militant groups coupled with the US pressure on both the countries to observe restraint, it seems that the heightened temperature in our sub-continent has somewhat come down. The latest Indian position of not totally rejecting the possibility of a meeting between the Indian and the Pakistani foreign ministers is a further indication of a little relaxation. Still, the ground situation on the Indo-Pak border continues to be grim. Though the tension has a bit lowered, yet the stand-off goes on as usual. And the jingoist outbursts (particularly from New Delhi side) have become more aggressive. Possibly, the increase in verbal bitterness is due to the political need of the ruling circles which (i.e., the ruling circles' need) is nothing but power-grabbing and money-laundering by hook or crook.

II. Implications Of Present Political Scenario

9. Given the above facts, the political climate today is dominated by a host of questions. These questions are related to a wide variety of issues, now being discussed not only in India and Pakistan but all over the world. All these matters are going to have a very great impact on the future course of development of our world.

A much talked about question is: how serious is the threat of

an Indo-Pak war at this moment. In our opinion, there is very little possibility of a large-scale Indo-Pak war at this juncture. According to our estimation, 95% factors in the present world balance of forces including the Indo-Pak sub-continent, stand opposed to war, while 5% military and accidental circumstances may cause some serious but containable disturbance. Whatever the war-mongering lobby may clamour, the whole world is against this war and even the Indo-Pak people don't favour the military option. Moreover, the US is strongly opposed to an Indo-Pak military collision at this time, because it directly hits its (i.e., the USA's) unfinished war against Afghanistan, with the American objective—capture of Osama Bin Laden and Mullah Omar—still remaining unfulfilled. Above all, the US cannot afford to tolerate any attack on Pakistan at this stage when its air and ground forces are located in various pockets of that country.

10. Another public interested question is: where do India and Pakistan go from this place. Here, the first note-worthy fact is that both the above-mentioned countries are a part of the present anti-terrorist camp led by the US. Both had accepted the US as their respective world leader and adopted the same US-approved stand on terrorism. In fact, there is a race between India and Pakistan as to who between them is more pro-US. In this situation, it is obvious that, subject to its own super-powerist priorities, the US would try to sort out some form of compromise between India and Pakistan on all of their contentious issues, especially the JK question, which has since long been the central point of Indo-Pak confrontation.

11. Still another commonly discussed question is: how much the present-day Pakistani stand on terrorism is going to affect its JK policy. The facts point out that no government in Pakistan can, however committed it may be to US hegemony, afford to bring a basic shift in its current JK policy. There may be some notional or tactical change in the Pakistani attitude towards the international Jehadi groups, but there is no possibility of any fundamental change in Pakistan's JK policy as such.

12. Further, another mass related question is: what effect the current changes in the Indian and the Pakistani policies are likely to have over the ongoing Kashmiri movement in JK. One thing is quite apparent that the present US stand on terrorism, as upheld by all of its supporters, categorises all militant struggles against the nation-states as terrorist movements. By virtue of this definition, the militancy in JK has lost its major international

constituency of the Western world which earlier used to define the Kashmiri militancy as a secessionist movement. However, the Kashmiri militancy, mainly the indigenous one, would as usual continue to enjoy the full support of the Pakistani state. The whole Western world led by the US does recognise the crucial position and role of Pakistan in the struggle against Osama type terrorism. So it cannot ignore Pakistan's national stand on JK question. Moreover, the Western world still continues to define JK question as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan. Thus, proceeding from its basic approach on JK question and its present need of retaining both India and Pakistan on its side, it (i.e., the Western world) will try to work out some sort of conciliatory formula, harmonising the interests of both India and Pakistan, while providing some satisfaction to the Kashmiri people. However, as a whole, the Kashmiri movement has received some setback from the ongoing anti-terrorist movement led by the US. Even Pakistan has, despite being the most favourable US chum in the sub-continent, lost the safety and security it used to enjoy on its hundreds of miles long western Pak-Afghan border,

13. Further again, another interesting question is: could there be a compromise plan which suits the diametrically opposed national stand points of India and Pakistan, on the one hand, and satisfies the varying aspirations and needs of the multi-ethnic communities (especially the Kashmiris) in JK. In our view, the following 3-point proposal harmonises not only the above-stated contradictory postures and positions, but also well-serves the interests of South Asian and world people.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers in all matters except defence and foreign affairs.

(c) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include, the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environment commission, planning commission, etc.

III. Some Future Trends

14. Still, two widely concerned questions are being debated at the international level.

One is: what is the future of various varieties of international terrorism (i.e., those who preach violence and use armed force to achieve their respective ends).

15. International terrorism has no future. It is a dying force. This is because terrorism has become socially irrelevant. It is not now required by human society. Existing in the form of nation-state, the human society has today become more integrated due to the development of inter-dependent nations in place of their earlier disjointed national structures in which each state had a separate and independent existence. The national inter-dependence needs peace and peaceful inter-action among nation-states and between various ethnic communities. Every armed action (whether intra or inter-state) hinders social development. Hence, all types of armed activity—whether resorted to by the state or any party, group or association—should be recognised as terrorist act by the UN.

16. All existing armed or non-armed conflicts should be resolved through talks either between the parties concerned or through the UN mediation. Only UN should have the powers to use armed force against any rogue or recalcitrant party, whether a nation-state or a non-state entity. There should be an international treaty on complete disarmament by all the nation-states within a specified time. All nuclear weapons should be handed over to the UN.

17. Whatever social violence exists in the world today, it is not the product of our inter-dependent world. It is an outcome of the politics of nation-states whose ruling circles' (particularly those of US and other 4 veto holding powers in the security council) only purpose is to hanker after money and power, whether these are obtainable by hook or by crook.

18. Another internationally debated question is: where the US-led war against international terrorism is going to take our world.

19. Today any military solution (whether unilateral or multilateral) that does not carry UN sanction has become counter-productive. Hence, the US-led war against terrorism is not a just act and so cannot yield positive results. The US has responded in a similar unjustifiable way as had earlier been adopted by the terrorists on September 11 deadly attacks in New York and Washington. The proper course for the US was to have presented its anti-terrorist case along with proper evidence

before the UN.

20. The US anti-terrorist war's aim of capturing or killing Osama and Mullah Omar or destroying Al-Qaeda terrorist camps can, and will, not solve the terrorist problem. Replying an evil by counter-evil generates more evil. This can be seen by the rise of more violence between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East and the increased danger of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan in South Asia after the US partial victory in Afghanistan. In both cases, Israel and India have copied the US line in attacking their adversaries. Evil in society can, and should, only be ended by eradicating its social cause and implanting a realistic social agenda in its place.

21. The more serious effects of the US war against international terrorism will result in more social disorder, shattering the already fragile law and order state of the various nation-states. The increasing world disorder combined with the current international recession will further worsen the already bad health of the world economy, bringing in its wake more inequality, widespread poverty and mass unemployment. The political and economic disruption will further degenerate our cultural norms thus generating an immoral environment all around and finally harming our human and environmental values.

22. Lastly, the most important question which is concerned with all of us is: where lies the cause of social violence and what is its solution.

IV. Cause Of Social Violence

23. Taking up the question of the general cause of all types of social violence or terrorism, it rests with the prevailing social injustice whose basis (or long-term cause) lies in the existing nation-based social system and its chief human motivational factor, i.e., self-interest. Both the social system and its human motivational factor have, during their 200 years long national rule, brought forth an environmentally unsustainable, unjust and inequalitarian order where the mighty ride roughshod over the backs of the weak and have dominate the have-nots, with money and power constituting the accepted norms of justice and truth.

24. As regards the short-term cause of the prevailing social injustice, it resides in the social system's operational agency or the government. Oriented by self-interest, the leaders of national governments (based on party system in every country) are mainly devoted to the maximisation of their own wealth and holding of

power by fair means or foul. Their standard stock-in-trade is to say 'one thing and do the other.'

V. Response To Social Violence

25. Coming to the issue of a proper response to social violence or terrorism, the proper course for the human community is to get its immediate challenge dealt through the present human international agency, i.e., the UN.

26. The strategic answer to all varieties of social violence is the restructuring and updating of the existing nation-based system on a realistic and rational basis at the global level. This restructuring or updating should—in order to address to the existing two fundamental social realities, i.e., unsustainable environment and unjust and inequalitarian human relations—adopt a pro-nature and pro-human agenda that also meets the demands of the newly-emerged social process of globalisation.

A Nature-Human Friendly Agenda

27. The fundamental principle of the above agenda is that it puts the people and the environment at the centre of all human activity. Its development model stands for a five-fold fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This development model is quite different from the two existing national development models—i.e., corporate-led and government-directed. While the corporate-led model singles out profitability as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation which essentially means its control and domination by the ruling politicians and bureaucrats. A nature-human friendly model needs a stable and durable social peace and security. It requires a political system that ensures the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party-centralised power. Further, it demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). It calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values. And, lastly, it upholds scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

01-01-2002

A Letter From Front For The Trilateral Resolution Of JK Problem Addressed To Mr. Colin Powell, The US Foreign Secretary On Present Indo-Pak Stand-off And JK Problem

Dear Mr Powell,

While welcoming your goodwill visit to both India and Pakistan, with the specific objective of cooling down the ongoing stand-off between them on their borders and persuading them to immediately start a dialogue on their disputed issues, we respectfully present for your consideration the following facts relating to the chronic Indo-Pak confrontation, including a proposal, suggesting a viable solution to their most contentious issue, i.e., Jammu and Kashmir (JK).

Our first submission is that General Musharraf's January 12 speech to the Pakistani nation, emphasising the upholding of the rule of law, separation of religion from politics, curbing of all forms of Islamic extremism and normalisation of relations with India, provides an opening to defusing the ongoing tension between India and Pakistan and facilitates your task of arriving at some kind of peace formula for bringing their forces back from the brink. Its (i.e., the speech's) central point emphasises dialogue as the only way to resolve all disputed matters between India and Pakistan and addresses some of the Indian concerns keeping in view the existing Pakistani public mindset.

Our second submission is that the post-1947 politics of military solution has led India and Pakistan nowhere. Despite three Indo-Pak wars and one border war between India and China during the last 53 years, not a single disputed issue between India and Pakistan or the border issue between India and China has moved an inch forward. Instead, South Asia has today become more insecure and unstable, with its nuclear flashpoint posing a threat

not only to itself but also global stability.

Our third submission is that the pre and the post-1947 religious fundamentalism (or the Hindu-oriented Indian nationalism and the Muslim-oriented Pakistani nationalism) has played havoc in both India and Pakistan. First, it got India divided (1947) into two countries (i.e., India and Pakistan) and then split Pakistan (1971) into two states (i.e., Pakistan and Bangladesh). Next, it gave an unprecedented fillip to violence, crime, lawlessness, mafia-dominance, subversion of rule of law, criminalisation of politics, public insecurity, etc. More, it constantly kept India and Pakistan at loggerheads, resulting in three Indo-Pak wars during the past 53 years. Further, it had, by generating social incohesion and disorder throttled the economic development of both the contenders.

Our fourth submission is that the people of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are historically one people—who had shared the same past, are now faced with a similar present and are destined to live a common future.

Our fifth submission is that the root cause of the chronic Indo-Pak conflict has, as shown by the facts of its 53 year long history, been none else than the JK problem. The two countries had already gone through three wars on this question, while the fourth one is now knocking at our doors.

During the whole course of the Indo-Pak history, the issue of JK has remained a life and death question for the two countries. While India considers it as the core of its national existence, Pakistan thinks it as its jugular vein.

Given this state of affairs, the JK problem demands, in our view, a 3-phased initiative, i.e., (a) the immediate disengagement of the forces of the two countries, (b) setting forth the modalities for the solution of JK problem, and (c) sorting out a realistic and rational solution to the said problem.

Taking up the first-phased initiative, it can be safely said that General Musharraf's January 12 speech and its due implementation gives us a solid basis for the disengagement of the forces of the two countries.

Turning to the second-phased initiative, the past and the present facts of the case (i.e., JK problem) suggest us the following set of modalities. That is, (a) rejection of military solution, (b) adoption of the peaceful path, (c) signing of a no-war agreement between the two countries, (d) pledging to the unity and integrity of each country, (e) non-insistence of one's pet preferences (i.e., JK as an integral part of India or JK as the

jugular vein of Pakistan, etc.), (f) reducing the level of violence and the stoppage of human rights violations in JK, (g) discarding of all communal solutions concerning JK, (h) resolution of JK problem by reconciling the interests of the three parties (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK people), and (i) viewing a common future for India, Pakistan and JK people.

Coming to the third-phased initiative, the above modalities demand a compromising solution that satisfies the aspirations and the interests of the three parties concerned (i.e., India, Pakistan and JK People) to the maximum possible limit.

And, in our view, the below-noted proposal meets all sorts of conditions and requirements.

(A) The respective national aspirations and interests of India and Pakistan be balanced by jointly entrusting to them JK's sovereignty in the constitutional form of Indo-Pak Condominium in regard to JK's defence and foreign affairs.

(B) The regional aspirations and interests of JK people, especially the Kashmiris, be met by constitutionally accepting JK as an independent state, enjoying sovereign powers in all matters except defence and foreign affairs.

(C) The ethnic aspirations and interests of JK's different ethno-regional communities be accommodated by giving maximum possible constitutional autonomy to each of them. JK state level matters may include the head of state, high court, election commission, human development commission, environment commission, planning commission, etc.

Such a solution will benefit the people of the world and South Asia (including India, Pakistan and JK).

With regards

Yours Truly,

R.P. Saraf

Copy to:

1. Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi
2. High Commission, Pakistan, New Delhi

(A note presented by R. P. Saraf and unanimously adopted by Jodhpur Labour Conference, which was attended by the representatives of various types of Trade Unions, on September 8-9, 2001)

Way-Out Of Workers Spiraling Depression Ending Labour Subordination And Establishing Labour-Capital Partnership

I. Workers' Agony

1. Never in the entire history of labour, the workers have, perhaps, felt so much depressed as they are feeling today. According to a 2000-UN Report, the workers of the world are united in just one thing these days: 'record levels of stresses'. In a survey concerning stress in the workplace in five leading developed countries of the world, i.e., the US, UK, Germany, Poland, Finland, the UN's International Labour Organisation (ILO) has found that levels of anxiety, burnout and depression are going out of control. Downsizing, lay-offs, mergers, short-term contracts and higher productivity demands have all exacted their toll in the last 10 years, leaving many workers frazzled and on the verge of a nervous breakdown.

2. The report cites a 2-fold reason for this breakdown: the people find it hard to adapt to new technology and cannot keep up with constantly changing working practices.

3. The World Federation for Mental Health in October, 2000 warned that, by 2020, stress and mental disorders will overtake road accidents, AIDS and violence as the primary cause of lost working time.

II. Argument Over Workers' Distress

4. It is obvious that ILO report is, firstly, related to the workers'

condition in the developed countries' organised sector and leaves out the far from worse situation of the workers (numbering three times more than the former) in the developing countries' organised sector. Secondly, the report does not touch the wretched lot of the workers in the world's unorganised sector.

5. However, despite the lack of above-mentioned needed information, the ILO report is highly revealing about the distressing position of the organised workers in the developed countries and the reasons of this distress. But, while agreeing with its first part, we basically differ with the second portion, i.e., pertaining to the cause of workers depression.

6. Our argument is that the quantitative and the qualitative dimension of human depression is related to human perception. If one feels that the things would get settled through one or the other available means, one's anxiety does not exceed any worrisome limit. But, when one finds no way out of one's trouble, the anxious moments develop into a menacing spectre, haunting one all the time.

7. It is commonly known that the workers have encountered complex and complicated situations many a times in history, but never had they ever lost hope in their future. Throughout human social existence, they had to continuously adopt new technologies and their respective skills one after the other. Beginning with the food-gathering technology and its practice and passing through hunting, cattle-rearing, agricultural and industrial technologies, and now handling the bio, energy, materials, information and space technologies and their methodologies, they have always proved themselves equal to the task.

III. Workers' Historical Self-Confidence

8. What was it in the days bygone that used to sustain workers' confidence in their future.

9. Looking back at the human historical past, one finds that there had been some sort of social guarantee for everyone's existence right through human history. This guarantee existed in the form of a common identity (which creates the feeling of oneness among its members) of each of the different social formations that have appeared in history. In the beginning, the human herd was identified on the basis of its leader. Next, the clan derived its identity from its matriarchal ancestry and later from patriarchal ancestry, the tribe from its common ethnicity, the feudal society from its dominant religion or caste and the nation-

state from its nationalism. The bond of common sharing of the product by the human herd, of the kinship-based clan life, of the ethnic-oriented tribal community, of the caste and the religion-directed feudal order and the common citizenship and nationality under the nation-state used to provide some sort of security-net to human survival. Even then, a small group of outcasts used to suffer the worst lot in all the past societies. But now with the emergence of globalisation, the traditional social security-nets have been losing their relevance, while no new security-net has come up as an alternative.

IV. What Has Shaken Workers' Self-Confidence

10. Then, what it is that has today created depression and stress among the workers and shaken their self-confidence.

11. Is it globalisation that has generated despair within the labour-fold as pointed out by some leftists, rightists, fundamentalists, extremists, etc.? To arrive at a realistic answer, it is necessary to study the question as to what globalisation is and what its implications are. Simply defined, globalisation denotes a world-wide process of a phenomenon. In terms of human society, it implies that human inter-action has become global in space and time. The new scientific-technological knowledge has made human mental inter-action (communication) possible at the speed of light and human spatial inter-action (contact) at the supersonic speed.

12. This global human inter-action demands that the management of the human society be based on a pro-human and pro-environment (which is imperative for human existence) development model that stands for five fundamental principles, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity or social justice, productivity, democracy and transparency. It should uphold two top-most priorities, i.e., humankind and environment. Its primary social need should be stable peace wherein all types of social conflicts are resolved through dialogue and negotiations. Its politics should uphold the principle of the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision-making and the corresponding dilution of the party-centralised power. Its economics should be concerned with an environmentally sustainable, productive, equitable, democratic and transparent development. Its culture should be embedded in human and environmental values, while its ideology should be oriented to scientific realism.

13. Obviously, such a global development model is not to the liking of the powerful and the rich nation-states. Because, it strikes at their respective special privileges in the matter of global decisions—political, economic and cultural. They continue to stick to their traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-led (specially the former, because the latter has nearly become defunct on the global scale). For over a decade, they have vociferously been projecting the corporate model as the most suitable response to globalisation. The ruling circles in the developing countries are also following the corporate path with full vigour. One or two ruling protagonists of the government-led national development model still continue to tread their miserable beaten track without any improvement. The world labour and its trade unions (specially in the developing countries) are generally blaming globalisation for their troubles, forgetting the fact that all their present problems had originated and developed under the corporate national regimes in the past and still continue to haunt them.

V. Real Cause Of Workers' Depression

14. Then, where does lie the cause of workers depression? Obviously, it, firstly, resides in the misreading of the existing basic social reality which, according to all types of extremist social trends (i.e., leftism, rightism, fundamentalism, one-sidedism, etc.) still continues to be the national sphere. They perceive globalisation as a subjective phenomenon, created by the US and other developed countries to secure their own ends. They, thus, negate the objectivity of globalisation which has arisen from the new scientific-technological changes (always resulting from the inter-action between nature and mankind). Secondly, it rests with the failure to update the old labour line (pertaining to the national phase) corresponding to the demands of the newly-emerged reality. Consequently, a misperception of the existing reality and an outdated response to it has been bringing forth perpetual setbacks to the workers movement in country after country as well as on the global scale.

VI. Agenda For Workers' Regeneration

15. The present depressing situation facing the workers can only be ended if the workers draw up a realistic agenda, comprising three features, i.e., (a) the taking of a correct future direction of the

labour movement, (b) a realistic understanding of the present reality and the workers proper response, and (c) a correct reappraisal of the positive and the negative sides of the workers past.

(A) Future Direction Of The Labour Movement

16. As regards the future direction of the labour movement, it should take guidance from the general trend of the 21st century and follow the line along which the human community has been moving. This general trend has, as visible from daily facts, been proceeding as a process integrating the different nations into a single world human unit through a 2-sided movement. That is, the combining of the countries into regional associations, on the one hand, and the formation of new international organisations, such as WTO, WEC, etc., and the further strengthening of the already existing world bodies, like the UN and its branch organisations and the world financial institutions, like the IMF, WB, etc., on the other.

17. This 2-sided general trend shows that the future of 186 nations in the world has become common. Hence, the general social reality of our times is calling upon the labour movement to sort out its problems with the capital (or its managers) not in a confrontationist but a friendly way as it helps both to build a common future like two partners (by ending labour subordination) to serve the 2-sided human objective of upholding the interests of environment, on the one hand, and the humankind (including the whole labour), on the other.

(B) Present Reality And The Workers' Response

18. Today the labour movement is confronted with a two-sided general task, i.e., to understand the existing social reality, on the one hand, and to update the labour line by restructuring its traditional concepts, operational methods and norms of organisation in correspondence with the new social reality.

(i) Issue Of Existing Social Reality

19. A superfast change in human mental and tactile relations and its principal product of the inter-dependence of countries have brought forth a global mode of thinking, functioning and organising (as already mentioned in paras 11 and 12). This new global mode demands a new development strategy whose two-sided aim is to give top priority to the people (including the labour), on the one hand, and promoting the environment (or material resources), on the other.

(ii) Question Of Updating Labour General Line

20. Taking up the question of updating the labour general line, the following issues need consideration.

21. As regards the conceptual principle, two points, i.e., the general aim and the main task of the labour movement, require redefinition.

With regard to the general labour aim, it cannot but be that of the global development strategy (as mentioned in Para 12). Specifically, it means to at least secure one-third partnership of labour in the management of development projects (in regard to the application of the principle of democracy), harmonise or reduce internal and external tensions or conflicts on a just basis and by removing inequality and deprivation (concerning the principal of social peace), assert for the promotion of all material resources (in relation to sustainability), claim for need-based minimum wage (regarding equity) and the responsibility to raise the optimal efficiency, productivity and product quality of the venture (relating to the 5th principle). To stress the equal importance of the human and the material factors provides a rational and realistic definition of the capital that has been one-sidedly explained as the surplus labour or the surplus value by the Marxist economics and as the means of production by the Liberal economics. The historical process of social development shows that the human and the material aspects of the capital have existed since the very beginning of the human society.

As to the main task, the labour aim necessitates the carrying out of a 3-sided integrated activity, i.e., (a) to enhance the workers social consciousness by raising their political, economic, legal (concerning labour legislation) and cultural levels, (b) to strive for the democratic functioning of the trade unions, and (c) to unite the workers on the basis of their immediate and the long-range demands in conformity with the norm of one project-one union.

22. As regards the functional standards, it is necessary that, in order to carry out the above 3-sided main task, a new work culture, based on the following norms, be adopted.

For enhancing the workers social consciousness, it is necessary to create an adequate understanding of the global social reality and its demands—i.e., labour aim and task, labour work culture, its organisational norms and a brief gist of all existing labour laws, while countering all such approaches that are hostile to globalisation (namely, ultra-nationalism, racialism,

communalism, casteism, regionalism, etc.). In this regard, a brief and simple course, containing important talking points, be prepared and propagated through both oral and written ways.

For ensuring democratic functioning of the labour, it is necessary to follow the democratic principle at all times. This implies the holding of regular elections, allowing of full expression of views, maintaining of continuous contact with the workers, making of efforts to involve every worker in the shaping of policies and decisions and their implementation and always upholding the norm of accountability to the union, the workers and the masses.

This also implies the adoption of legal and peaceful means to achieve every labour demand, i.e., the deciding of the method of struggle (which includes: negotiations, conciliation, arbitration and lastly strike that is adopted only when all other options have been closed) by the workers general body either by show of hands or by ballot on every issue agitating the minds of the workers. In the period of actual participatory management, the method of strike is liable to become irrelevant.

This further implies the resisting of all impositions on civil liberties and human rights; the supporting of all movements struggling for social justice, ending inequalities, defending the rights of weaker sections and minorities; the linking of the labour movement with the problems of other sections of the people; the maintaining of close contact with other mass and class organisations; and the affiliating of national trade unions to their respective global trade unions for keeping constant cooperation and solidarity among the workers (as well as other sections of working people) of different countries (having common interests).

23. As regards the organisational form, the trade union movement's main task and work culture demand that everything be done to build the maximum possible unity among the workers and thus to follow the one project-one union norm. For this, it is first necessary to prepare a reasonable charter of workers demands with their consultation and participation in every project, and then, on its basis, organise the concerned workers into a union. Wherever the application of one union norm is not practicable, efforts should be made to unite all the existing unions into a united front on the basis of a common minimum programme. To end the political discord within the labour movement and bring it out of the undue political interference and inter-party rivalry, it is highly essential to campaign and convince the workers and the trade unions for the adoption of the principle

which upholds the labour management to be run by the concerned workers themselves instead of the outside party organisers. All these organisational norms need to be followed from the project up to the international level.

(iii) Labour Problems And Labour Strategy In India

24. Applying the foregoing general principles of global trade unionism to the concrete labour conditions obtaining in India (i.e., where the labour comprises various segments, like organised workers, government employees, commercial or shop employees, agricultural workers, varying sections of unorganised labour, etc., and where each of the segments is, with its specific problems, divided into rival trade unions led mainly by party-based trade unionists and somewhere by non-party professionals), it is first of all necessary to analyse the main problems presently facing the Indian labour and then to sort out a realistic labour strategy (including the labour perspective, a common charter of labour demands, style of labour work and form of organisation) for the awakening and the involving of all types of workers and the uniting of the different trade unions in a broad united front.

(iv) Main Problems Presently Confronting Indian Labour

25. The principal or the fundamental problem confronting the Indian labour has been the question of labour's low priority in relation to capital (or management) in all spheres of social life in the Indian systemic order (i.e., its official outlook), its economic (i.e., industrial, agricultural and trade sectors), political and cultural agenda, its work-style and organisational structure. Unless this systemic defect is removed, the labour cannot get its due place in society as well as in the development sector. This problem exists the world over and thus also needs a global answer.

26. The problem had existed since the beginning of human society, with its basis lying in the continuously evolving scientific-technological modes of working and organising (such as food-gathering, hunting, animal husbandry and agriculture). Two hundred years ago, the then emerged industrial mode made a big dent in its basis (by breaking the bondage of labour). But the subordination of labour to all managerial forms still continued. Now the newly emerged scientific-technological mode, its global dimension and its development strategy demands a new people-

friendly and nature-friendly order, based on a fair equality in every social sphere.

27. The other old and the new problems faced by the Indian labour and its labour movement are as follows.

(i) The problem of low wages in all spheres of work. This is because the payment for work has nowhere been related to the minimum needs of the workers. It is particularly acute in small-scale industry and the unorganised and the agricultural sectors.

(ii) The problem of unemployment and under-employment. This is a question related to the basic development strategy of a state. Hence, it is the duty of the state to mitigate its social effects.

(iii) The problem of inhuman inequality in labour/management incomes everywhere.

(iv) The problem of the existence of child labour. A socially horrible phenomenon where the children instead of their socially-needed mental and physical development had to undergo the rigours of physical labour—thus remaining underdeveloped, both socially and individually. Of the approximately 203 million children, only about 120 million attended schools. Estimates for the number of child labourers range widely. Most of the 87 million children not in schools work in various activities, such as domestic service, agriculture labour, rag-picking, bidi-manufacturing, etc. According to the official figures provided recently in the Lok Sabha, there are 11.2 million child labourers in India, while the ILO estimates it to be 44 million. NGOs put the number at 55 million.

(v) The problem of gender inequality in relation to wages. This exists everywhere except the highly organised and the government sectors.

(vi) The problem of labourers low health and diseases. This is because the low wages can provide only low level of nutrition, causing distortions in the health of the labouring people.

(vii) The problem of illiteracy among workers. This is because the predominant poverty and the prevailing social backwardness induce the poor and socially backwards to get their children into some earning activity instead of sending them to schools.

(viii) The problem of litigation and the provision of free legal aid by the government. This is because the workers, except in the highly organised and government sectors, generally become victims of non-payment of wages, wage-cuts and the denial of other basic facilities legally entitled to them.

(ix) The liberal (or market)-oriented management's one-sided

emphasis on labour productivity without a proper solution of labour's basic problems. Such a one-sided stress puts extra burden on labour, without giving it anything in return. Similarly, the public sector oriented one-sided stress on pro-labour rights without linking it with labour productivity or the project's optimal growth is harmful not only to the interests of the concerned enterprise but also its labour.

(x) The problem of the revision of labour laws by which the government and the big industry want to take away or dilute the legal rights now available to the labour. Here, the main issues are the exit policy, the voluntary retirement scheme and the sale of sick units.

(xi) The problem of industrial sickness. Its first victims are the workers, because its immediate fallout is default in the payment of workers dues. Hence, the workers are called upon to make sacrifices in the form of exemption from wage awards, non-payment of bonus reduction in wages, postponement of annual increments and modification of service conditions. Sickness is highest in the textile sector, followed by engineering and chemical sectors. The main reason for industrial sickness has, as shown by various old and new enquiries, been the mismanagement of the concerned industry or enterprise. The economic recession and the supply and demand factors constitute some other causes. The labour's role in causing any sickness has been quite insignificant. Even in the ongoing industrial sickness, labour indiscipline bears only 10% responsibility, according to official facts.

(xii) The problem of bonded labour. Though all forms of forced or compulsory labour are prohibited under the Indian law, there are still 5 million bonded labourers in India, as stated by the 1999-US state department's annual human rights report on India. The report alleged that the condition of some domestics and children at workplaces amounted to bonded labour. Female bondage, forced prostitution and the trafficking of children for prostitution are other forms of such bondage.

(xiii) The problem of casual workers or daily wagers. The lot of millions of such workers in the country (some of whom have been working in this capacity even for 20 years) remains hanging in uncertainty for years together. Now, a significant judgment by the Delhi High Court in the first week of December, 1999, has put such workers belonging to the Delhi Administration under the purview of the Industrial Disputes Act. This may have legal

implications for lakhs of daily wagers working under the other state governments and the centre.

(xiv) The problem of unorganised urban labour. This is a very big work sector, employing lakhs of workers in various types of activities, such as construction workers, domestic labour, etc. There is yet no law regulating the rights and the welfare of such workers.

(xv) The problem of agricultural (including other rural forms) labour. This is India's biggest employment sector where about 100 million workers constituting 25% of India's total labour force, work. But it constitutes India's most neglected sector, comprising the country's highly deprived people.

(C) Indian Labour Strategy

28. Turning to Indian labour strategy, it is necessary to attend to 4 strategic issues: labour perspective, charter of labour demands, labour work-style and organisational form.

(i) Indian Labour Perspective

29. The Indian labour perspective should uphold a 2-sided priority, i.e., to serve the interests of the people, on the one hand, and of environment (or nature), on the other. In general, it means the economic, political and cultural empowerment of labour. Specifically, it implies to secure the rights of due representation of labour in the management of all types of development projects, to protect and promote environment, get a need-based minimum wage and other necessary facilities (such as bonus, provident fund, holidays, fixed working hours, safety requirements, health and sanitation measures, labour welfare schemes, etc.) and the responsibility to raise the labour efficiency up to the optimal level in regard to productivity, quality, variety, availability, lowering costs, wastage reduction, etc.

30. The above perspective develops the consciousness among workers that they are a partner in the development process and the administering of their concerned enterprise. This gives rise to the feeling that the project in which they work is their own and its prosperity depends on them. Contrary to the perspective of holding the supremacy of capital or management and the subordination of labour, the perspective of labour-capital partnership can go a long way in improving the work culture of the entire development process. The understanding of labour-capital partnership also checks market's (or capital's) glorification

as well as labour populism, both of which resort to one-sided slogans and actions—resulting in labour/capital confrontation.

(ii) Charter Of Indian Labour Demands

31. The charter of Indian labour demands includes all those claims which the labour or its labour movement consider as rational and relevant solutions to all the outstanding labour problems (as mentioned under paras 25, 26 and 27). These are:

(i) To demand that the labour be treated as a human capital and not as a commodity—thus ending the subordinate position of labour to capital and bringing it at par with the latter.

(ii) To demand the formulation of a proper labour policy which aims at achieving harmonious labour/capital relations by ensuring equal status to labour and capital and by conceding all the just demands of labour, on the one hand, and by giving a fair deal to capital, on the other,

(iii) To demand the building of India's national competitiveness (now an urgent demand of India's capital in view of strong global competition) by developing the capacities and the capabilities of labour. These cannot be raised under the old set of relations, based on the overlordship of the management and the subordination of labour (and thus constantly marked by labour/capital friction). The tension-ridden relations demotivate the workers and hinder their performance. The workers' competencies and abilities can alone be enhanced by the partnership of labour and capital. And this alone can motivate the workers to develop their productivity, product quality, cost reduction, variety, availability and waste reduction skill.

(iv) To demand the dropping of government plan of developing India's competitive quality through the route of anti-labour legislation, like increase in the hours of work, legalising contract labour, allowing the right of closure and layoff to management without government permission and the right of hiring and firing the workers at will, introducing exit policy, productivity linked bonus (withdrawing the existing legal labour incentive), etc. No change in labour legislation be made at the cost of the worker.

(v) To demand the salary (including all perks and concessions) difference between the top and the bottom to be not more than five times.

(vi) To demand the introduction of one unit-one union norm in every enterprise as well as in every industry or trade through election by secret ballot in order to eliminate the

multiplicity of unions.

(vii) To demand the effective implementation of the Abolition of Bonded Labour Act.

(viii) To demand a comprehensive central law dealing with the problems of the unorganised labour.

(ix) To demand the enactment of a comprehensive central legislation concerning the problems of agricultural workers, especially the minimum wage, bonus and old age pension.

(x) To demand the democratic restructuring of the sick PSEs, firstly, by selling them or handing them over (whichever is more practicable) to the concerned workers cooperative; and, secondly, by running them under a joint management comprising the official nominees and the workers elected representatives. This is because the reason for the losses of these projects has been the political-bureaucratic mishandling and thus its antidote is the democratic solution alone. If the 1st and the 2nd options are not attainable, then to sell them in the market.

(xi) To demand the full democratisation of the corporate companies by ending the promoters' special rights to obtain shares in big blocks at nominal prices for themselves and in the name of their relatives and friends, thus enabling the promoters' dynasties to hold on to the control of these companies till their end. This democratic reform would empower the ordinary shareholders to democratically elect the management boards, making the latter (having also the elected labour representatives) more efficient and innovative. The inefficiency of the corporate managements can be seen from the fact that already the total bank loan to certain corporate companies stands at Rs 55,000 crore. The concerned corporate managements want to get this loan out-dated, the bank managements want the government signal to take legal steps for the realisation of this loan and the government as usual remains mum—thus pushing some banks to the verge of bankruptcy.

(xii) To demand the taking of certain essential steps for ending the industrial sickness through democratic reforms, like motivating the labour by according the latter a high priority with the provision to get its elected representatives included in the management, updating workers' skills, improving the labour capacities and capabilities—thus enhancing the competitiveness of the Indian industry. A major reason for India's low competitiveness has been the conflictual relationship between labour and capital.

(xiii) To demand the generation of new employment opportunities by developing human ingenuity and promoting environmental resources through the developing of labour expertise, providing of vocational education, deploying of the agricultural workers and the rural and urban unemployed in soil conservation, converting desert and degraded lands into cultivable areas, agro-forestry, reforestation, water harvesting, bio-diversity, agro-industry, village and cottage industries, small-scale industries, handicrafts, handlooms, services and info-industries, etc.

(xiv) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 43A of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State “to secure the participation of workers in the management of undertakings, establishments or other organisations engaged in industry”—soon enact a law giving one-third representation to the concerned workers in the management of every such enterprise. The fulfillment of this demand will establish a capital-labour partnership in the organised sector and meet a basic requirement of the democratisation of this sector.

(xv) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 41 of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State to “make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education, and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement”—enact a law granting the right to work to all unemployed and proper public assistance in case of unemployment.

(xvi) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 43 of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State “to secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment and social and cultural opportunities”—immediately enact a law ensuring a minimum living wage to all sorts of workers, particularly those in the agricultural and unorganised sectors.

(xvii) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 38(2) of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State to “minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations”—take necessary legal steps to reduce the huge income inequalities to

the level of 1:5 times at the maximum in industry, trade and administrative services.

(xviii) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 39(D) of the Indian Constitution which calls upon the Indian State to “direct its policy towards securing equal pay for equal work for both men and women”—legally and practically ensure the payment of equal pay or wages for equal work for both men and women, particularly in the agricultural and the unorganised sectors.

(xix) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 24 of the Indian Constitution which ordains “prohibition of employment of children in factories or in any other hazardous employment” and Article 39 (E) and (F) which direct the Indian State to ensure “that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment”—enact the law prohibiting all sort of child labour and effectively implement it.

(xx) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 45 of the Indian Constitution which places responsibility on the Indian State “to provide within a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years”—provide free education to all those living below the poverty line, particularly the children and also those working in the agricultural and the unorganised sectors.

(xxi) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 47 of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State “to regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties”—ensure the provision of free health services to all those labouring people living below the poverty line, particularly in the agricultural and the unorganised sectors.

(xxii) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 39(A) of the Indian Constitution which directs the Indian State to “provide free legal aid to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities”—make it certain to provide free legal assistance to the agricultural and the unorganised labour.

(xxiii) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 40 of the Indian Constitution which deals with the “organisation of village panchayats”—provide 1/3rd reservation out of the total

number of seats in a panchayat to all the working people living below the poverty line.

(xxiv) To demand that the Government of India—under Article 15(4) and 16(4) and (5) of the Indian Constitution which empower the Indian State to make “any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes—revise its unproductive 5 decade old caste reservation policy according to the dictates of the Indian Constitution which specifically used the term “classes of backward citizens” in the first instance and not backward castes (exempting only the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes to be treated in the category of the backward classes). This defective caste-led reservation policy be rectified by defining backwardness as a living below the poverty line.

(iii) Labour Work Style

32. Following the afore-mentioned Indian labour perspective and the charter of Indian labour demands, it is necessary to continuously carry out a 5-sided integrated activity.

Firstly, we should always uphold ourselves accountable in our thought and action to the people, in general, and the workers as well as the labour movement, in particular.

Secondly, we should prepare a reasonable charter of the problems and the demands of the workers in every project with their consultation and familiarise ourselves with it.

Thirdly, we should daily carry out the labour work and maintain close contact with the workers by daily attending to the workers routine problems, individual or collective, and by daily carrying out the task of raising the workers social and labour consciousness through the explaining of their own problems and demands in coordination with the Indian labour perspective, the charter of Indian labour demands and the global social reality and its labour implications (as given in this document).

Fourthly, we should strictly uphold democratic norms in our labour functioning, patiently listen to every worker and try to integrate with the concerned workers by conversing with them about various problems concerning their living, their enterprise, their area, state, country and the world.

Fifthly, we should hold a fortnightly general body meeting of workers in every given concern or trade concern, as the case may be, to discuss the concerned workers common problems,

the rights available to them in the concerned project, trade or industry and the Indian laws (like Labour Act 1926, Industrial Disputes Act 1947, Payment of Wages Act 1936, Minimum Wages Act 1938, Payment of Bonus Act, Contract Labour Act 1970, and various laws and orders concerning different sections of unorganised labour).

(iv) Labour Organisational Form

33. Upholding the above-stated Indian labour perspective and the charter of Indian labour demands and pursuing the labour work-style, we should try to create the maximum possible unity among the workers and act on the principle of one project-one union. Wherever the application of this norm is not practicable, efforts should be made to unite all the existing unions into a UF on the basis of a common minimum agenda.

(D) The Positive And The Negative Sides Of The Workers Past

34. As regard its positive side, the labour movement has, since its inception, played a positive role in the life of workers, in particular, and the working people, in general. It has contributed in widening the human vision by uniting workers of different races, religious communities, cultural and regional groups, etc., into one union. It has greatly helped in achieving a number of rights for the working people, particularly the blue and the white collar workers and the unorganised labour. These rights include: workers right to unite in one union, right to strike and collective bargaining, hours, prohibition of child labour and employment of minors, maternity leave for working women, social security for working people in matters of housing facilities, sickness benefits, childcare centres, factory canteens, ventilation system, safety measures, insurance advantages, holiday homes, health centres, labour welfare schemes, etc.

35. However, notwithstanding its numerous achievements, the labour movement has also been marked by some weaknesses as given below:

Firstly, the labour have mainly been led and controlled by the non-working organisers (coming generally from the political parties) who have, while working for their given unions, got them affiliated to their respective party run labour centres. These varying centres have kept the workers divided into various political segments, treating them as their respective vote banks.

This has maintained inter-union confrontation, bringing forth unhealthy norms of behaviour, such as physical fights, premature labour demands, disruption of rival union-led struggles, etc.

Secondly, the party-led trade unionism has generally concentrated more on individual problems of its members than the more important task of raising workers social awareness and their legal and trade union knowledge. The result is that the workers continue to lack the consciousness and the art to lead their unions and remain dependent on outside trade unionists.

Thirdly, the party-led trade unionism has continuously disoriented the labour movement by propagating certain one-sided concepts, e.g., the left theories of working class as the sole liberator of mankind in the present epoch (instead of people and their realistic leaders pursuing an agenda conforming to the existing social realities); labour and capital as antagonistic forces (instead of having more common and less contradictory interests); management as always anti-labour (instead of having been one-sidedly interested in advancing the interests of capital and ignoring those of the labour which ultimately goes against the capital); workers to be concerned only with their demands and not with the productivity of their units (instead of related to both); demagogues as brave leaders (instead of having been irrational persons); etc. Contrary to this, the rightist party-led trade unionism has misled the labour movement by making the trade unions docile to the management and organising them on sectarian, communal, ethnic or regional basis.

Perhaps, the above brand of trade unionism had certain relevance to the national phase of capital, but, in the era of global capital, it has outgrown its utility and become counter-productive, both for the growth of the labour movement and the development of the economic process. The growing irrelevance of the traditional labour line, whether of the left form or the right variety, is obvious from the continuously weakening of the labour movement in each country as well as the world over, in the post-cold war period.

16-08-2001

An Attempt To Understand Change And Development In Human Society

I. The Theme, Need, Aim And Approach Of This Study

How human society changes and develops—this constitutes the main theme of this study.

The need to undertake this study arises from the prevailing world social paradox which is that, while the existing viewpoints present a one-pillar based view of social change and development, the latter (i.e., the actual phenomenon of social change and development) is, in fact, a two-factor driven process.

The sole aim of this study is to understand social reality on the basis of facts. While searching for facts, this study has tried to keep itself free from every pre-conceived notion. In interpreting the facts, it has striven to understand reality by comparing and contrasting various alternative propositions and concepts.

In the exploration of reality, this study has made use of both the categories of the subjective (i.e., the instrument of mind) and the objective (i.e., the tools of energy, matter, space, time, etc.) in contrast to natural science which bases itself only on the objective, and mysticism which makes the subjective as its foundation.

This study does not project itself as a theory which claims to give an authentic and authoritative account of something. Instead, it considers itself only as a model for further study and enrichment at the hands of its readers and common people.

This study expects that it will be considered by various Social Schools Of Thought in a scientific-rational spirit which rejects dogmas, judges things on the basis of evidence and is always ready to think again when new facts and fresh experiences conflict with old stereotypes.

II. Different Viewpoints* On Social Change And Development

The question of social change and development has remained an issue of recurring discussion all through human history. Naturally, there has emerged a large variety of human perceptions on this question in course of time. These may be broadly classified in the following order.

(A) Human-Centric Concepts

Upholding humankind as the supreme phenomenon on our planet earth and in some cases even the universe, these concepts project people as the sole builder of human society and everything in it. They fall into many categories. Some are determinist, some indeterminist, some reductionist, some inductionist, etc. Some emphasise empiricism, some subjectivism, some nihilism, some terrorism, some behaviourism, some moralism, some militarism, etc. Some (i.e., the fundamentalist ones) mark economy as the principal determining factor in social development, some religion, some culture, some caste, some race, some politics, etc. Some put stress on structuralism, some on pluralism, some on oligarchism, some on parochialism, and so on.

But all these concepts, in a nutshell, show that the ideas play the chief role in human society—thus bringing forth the logic that history is made by those who produce the ideas. One ideological variety maintains that ideas come from the minds of great men who, having been endowed with the natural abilities of a born genius, act as the locomotives of human society. The other regards that ideas are generated by the people who, having been the producers of everything in human society, are the movers of the wheels of history. Another type thinks that ideas along with everything else are produced by the spiritual beings.

Obviously, the man-centric theories break the historical unity between man and nature, on the one hand, and between the individual and human society, on the other.

(B) Technology-Centric Concepts

Next come the technology-centric concepts which consider human social development as a product of technology (i.e., mechanical devices appropriated from nature) alone. By emphasising only technology, they under-estimate the fact of people as producers and operators of technology—thus

breaking the historical unity between technology and humankind.

(C) Environment-Centric Concepts

Again, the environment or geography-centric concepts emphasise environment as the ultimate cause of human social development. No doubt, environment exerts as much powerful influence on human social development as the people. But the former does so only hand in hand with the latter. If the people lack the technique of environmental uses, the latter does not act on its own accord. For instance, Brazil is very rich in geographical wealth, but it remains a developing country. In contrast to this, Japan lacks in natural resources, but it is one of the most developed countries.

Obviously, the environment-centric concepts break the historical unity between the people and environment and thus are one-sided.

(D) Nature-Centric Concepts

Further, the nature-centric concepts about human social development maintain nature as the only factor of social change, relegating humankind to the secondary place. Thus, by breaking the historical unity between nature and humankind, these theories distort the actual reality.

(E) The God-Centric Concepts

Furthermore, the above concepts regard human society and everything herein as the god ordained or the fate decreed processes. They preach the gospel that everything originates from the creator and the people can never solve any problem by themselves. “Man proposes but the god disposes” is their “unquestionable truth” which totally rejects the role of humankind as well as nature in human social change and development.

III. Scientific Realism: Our Concept On Change And Development

The concept of scientific realism, firstly, looks at and examines things as they really are or have been in the past (as denoted by the word “realism”) and studies and interprets phenomena by making use of natural facts as provided by natural science and social facts as given by human historical and social experience.

Secondly, it regards that all types of natural phenomena (including the unit of the individual) in the universe are interconnected and inter-active and follow, in varying forms, the same principles of existence, movement and change.

Thirdly, it maintains that everything (i.e., all phenomena and its concerned laws) in the universe is relevant to a given time and space and which, after evolutionary changes in itself and its interacting phenomena, becomes non-relevant to another given time and space—thus reflecting the general reality of the relative nature of everything (including the universe and any “theory or law of everything”).

Fourthly, it upholds that, in an ever-changing reality, its innumerable phenomena and their respective laws go on constantly evolving and updating themselves in correspondence with the new changes.

Fifthly, it shuns all the absolutist, determinist and fundamentalist theories, whether projected by various branches of natural or social sciences, history or some other discipline (e.g., the social theory of humankind as the supreme creature among all natural phenomena), while making use of, whatever positive, these outlooks had provided during their respective times and domains.

IV. Perspective Of Scientific Realism On Change And Development In Nature

Scientific Realism views nature as a general process, comprising innumerable specific processes. These endless processes (including that of human species) have different forms and behaviours. But they follow a general mode of operation in varying ways, suiting to their respective natures. This continuous general operational mode comprises a 2-sided inter-action (i.e., both internal and external) between two or more objects, sometimes through the motion of unity and sometimes through that of struggle. Such an inter-action, whether harmonious or conflictual, in course of time, gives rise to continuous partial changes in the quantity and the quality of every process. And, consequently, at a critical point, this leads to the transformation of every old process (having its specific characteristics) into a new process (with its particular features), thus making both processes different in their respective natures. This never ending process of change and development goes on in every phenomenon including human society.

V. Perspective Of Scientific Realism On Change And Development In Human Society

Scientific realism considers human society as a phenomenon whose mode of existence is biological (which requires a given natural environment), but whose mode of living and functioning is social. Obviously, human species or their organisation, i.e., society, possesses a 2-sided nature-biological (or natural) and social.

Like all other processes of nature, the process of human society has also arisen as a part of the universal process of nature. It has been changing and developing in the same way as any other natural process. That is, it has been, since its origin, changing and developing in accordance with the universal operational mode of phenomena’s 2-sided inter-action—one external and the other internal—through the alternating motions of unity and struggle. The external inter-action of unity and struggle occurs between humankind and the other processes of nature, while the internal one takes place within human society.

VI. Natural And Social Sciences On Change And Development

The whole lot of natural and social sciences bear out the proportions of scientific realism on change and development in nature and human society. This can be seen by studying the theory and practice of the different branches of natural and social sciences.

(A) Quantum Mechanics: The science of quantum mechanics (pertaining to the micro-world) shows how the breaking-up of the unity between the proton and the neutron in the radioactive nucleus (of middleweight elements like uranium-235 or Plutonium-239) leads to the release of nuclear energy. This process is called nuclear fission and can be seen in a nuclear reactor or an atom bomb. Conversely, when two atoms of hydrogen (a light weight element consisting only of one atom) join together to form helium (consisting of two atoms), an enormous amount of nuclear energy is released. This process is called nuclear fusion which is the general pattern of energy generation in the stars, including our sun.

(B) Physics: The science of physics (pertaining to the macro world) shows how, in the given conditions, the close unity between the molecules of water turns it into ice, while the separation of its molecules transforms it into steam. The average distance between the molecules in the air is about 10 times that in ordinary solids.

Our planet earth itself is a combination of gases, dust and particles of stone and iron, which had joined together through gravitational attraction, gas pressure and electro-magnetic force.

(C) Chemistry: The science of chemistry (pertaining to chemical processes) shows how the combination of two elements in given quantities forms a new compound (e.g., sodium + chloride = common salt). A compound can be split into two elements of given quantities (e.g., water=one atom of oxygen + two atoms of hydrogen). The association of gases constitutes the air, while the water can be split into the gases.

(D) Biology: The science of biology (pertaining to biological processes) shows how the metabolic processes of assimilation and dissimilation in organic processes (i.e., plants, animals and humans) bring about partial and fundamental changes in the latter.

(E) Mechanics: The science of mechanics (pertaining to mechanical processes) shows how, due to the action and reaction of different mechanical phenomena, changes occur in their respective motion. For instance, in given conditions, the action of hitting the wall with a ball leads to the reaction of wall pushing the ball back with equal force.

(F) Astronomy: The science of astronomy (pertaining to heavenly bodies) shows how its problems—such as time's measurement, diurnal motion, planetary motion, conjunction of planets and stars, eclipse and geo-centric parallax, etc.—are solved by applying the mathematical numbers of positive and negative.

(G) Geology: The science of geology (pertaining to geological processes) shows how the process of the development of the earth has passed through various phases (i.e., Archaean, Protozoic, Mesozoic, etc.), none of which had been a repetition of any of the previous phases and each has been marked by the disappearance of a number of continents, islands, seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes.

(H) Palaeontology: The science of palaeontology (a new branch of science studying fossilised species) shows how various plant and animal species had been replacing one another, with some dying out and others appearing in their stead over hundreds of millions of years. By this process, the animal species had gradually become more complex until in the tertiary period (from 69 million to one million years ago), mammals appeared, including the higher animals, capable of not only sensation but also of perception and conception.

(I) Some New Branches Of Science: Other new branches of science—such as bio-physics, bio-chemistry, bio-technology, astro-physics, geo-chemistry, micro-biology, etc., which study their related processes jointly—show how their specific phenomena are inter-related, inter-connected, inter-acting and mutually convertible.

(J) Three Old Theories of Science: Three other important old theories of different branches of science also show how varied phenomena in nature are inter-related, inter-acting and mutually convertible.

Firstly, the biological theory of the cellular structure of organic phenomena (1838-39) establishes that animal and plant cells—whether they be the cells of a sea wood or a tree, of a minute infusoria or man—have basically the same structure and perform one and the same physiological function. The birth and development of the organism takes place through the multiplication of cells, their constant renewal—birth and death. The theory proves the historical unity of all living beings and indirectly points out the unity of their origin.

Secondly, the physical theory of the conservation and transformation of energy (1840s) reveals that mechanical, thermal, electrical and chemical energy is mutually convertible—thus indicating the inter-connection and mutual transformation of various phenomena in the world.

Thirdly, the Darwin's evolutionary theory of organisms (1859) proves the changeability of the species of animals and plants and the unity of their origin. It maintains the rule of spontaneous natural selection, the struggle of plants and animals for existence and the survival of the best adapted biological individuals and species. It establishes the connection between all living beings and demonstrates that their development was no repetition of the old but the transformation of the old into the new. Here, it would be quite worthwhile to state that the process of nature exemplify so many instances of the development of species from one into another. The development of a caterpillar into a butterfly is an instance of common transformation. Today, the transformation of one type of plant into a qualitatively new type through plant mutations and bio-technology is widely practised everywhere. Even the barrier between the plant and the animal has been broken by the transplantation of the plant having animal genes.

(K) Social Sciences: A close study of social sciences shows how society (a part of nature's general process) also follows a similar mode of inter-action (i.e., action and reaction) within its

various sub-processes (i.e., political, economic, cultural, security, administrative, etc.) and their respective branches (e.g., nation-states in the social process; parties and pressure groups in the political process; industry, agriculture, etc., in the economic process; and art, literature, science, etc., in the cultural process).

The political science shows how the political process has developed in different historical periods by the inter-action between different given political entities sometimes through the motion of struggle and sometimes unity (e.g., clan fights and clan mergers in the ancient times, followed by tribal struggles and tribal combinations, later feudal princely wars and compromises and recent national wars, like 1991-US led UN war against Iraq, US-USSR cold war from 1950s to 1980s, Iran-Iraq war during 1980s, Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, etc., recent national military alliances, such as NATO, former Warsaw Alliance and other defence pacts, as well as trade agreements, i.e., NAFTA, ASEAN, EC, etc.). The political science also shows how the political process has developed in our times by the inter-action between political parties sometimes through the motion of struggle (e.g., CPI-Congress alliance vs JD-CPM combine in the February, 1997 elections in Punjab, while the CPI, CPM and JD had been allies in the UF at the centre) and sometimes unity (e.g., 1997 Akali-BJP coalition in Punjab, HVP-BJP coalition in Haryana, Left Front coalition in Bengal, nearly 2-dozen party based present NDA government at the centre, etc.). The social science of economics shows how the economic process has developed by the inter-action between the workers and the capitalists often through the motion of unity (e.g., in the movement of daily production) and sometimes struggle (e.g., workers strikes on the questions of wage increase, bonus, provident fund, etc.). The social science of art and culture shows how the process of art and culture has developed by the inter-action between different cultural entities sometimes through the motion of unity (e.g., cultural synthesis of incoming tribes, like Kushans, Gujjars, etc., and religious groups, such as Muslims, Christians, etc., with the natives in India) and sometimes struggle (e.g., Greek, Moghul and British cultural impact on India during the said rules and vice versa).

VII. Evolution Of Human Species— A Part Of General Process Of Nature

Natural science and human historical experience tell us that

the present state of natural and human realities did not exist from all eternity, but are the result of a very long process of evolution, passing through billions of years as is obvious from the following facts.

(A) Nature—A Self-Generated Process: Is the process of nature a bizarre accident or a product and part of the universal laws? Natural science and human historical experience holds that it is self-generated, that it produced itself. Evidence concerning this theory comes from the fact that both inorganic (from the elementary particle to a huge cosmic body) and organic phenomena (from the tiniest bacteria to man) in the universe are made up of the same elements. There is no impassable boundary between the two. Both are formed out of the chemical elements of hydrogen, carbon, oxygen and nitrogen. Both possess the same intrinsic characteristic of inter-action with the environment—the only difference being that, while the organic substance inter-acts in a sensitive way (sensation, excitability, irritability, etc.), the inorganic one does this in its own specific way (even iron reacts near a magnet).

(B) Universe: With regard to the universe, it is, according to astronomical evidence, about 15 billion years of age and it has about the same length of time ahead. Scientists believe that everything which we today see accounts for only 5% of the matter-energy content of this universe. Another 30% comprise dark matter (that does not radiate, but holds together the galaxies and clusters of galaxies like some kind of cosmic glue). The remaining 65% is thought to be dark energy that mysterious repulsive quality which is pushing galaxies away from each other at an ever-increasing speed.

(C) Solar System: With regard to our solar system, the sun is, according to astronomical evidence, about 10 billion years old and has about the same length of time ahead. It is a star of an average size. It contains its own planets, comprising the solar system. Science has proved that the solar system was by no means always the same as it now is. Nor has the sun remained changeless. It is losing its mass at a rate of 4,00,000 tonnes a second due to the radiation of huge amounts of energy.

(D) The Earth: With regard to the earth, it is, according to scientific data, about 5 billion years of age. The formation of oceans, rocks, mountains, land and vegetable and animal life, comprising the earth, has passed through 5 geological stages: (1) Archaean-3,500 million years; (2) Primary-1,706 million years;

(3) Secondary-559 million years; (4) Tertiary-109 million years; and (5) Quaternary-1 million years. The beginning of every new stage meant the disappearance of a number of continents, islands, seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of an entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes. At the end of tertiary, the earth became what we know it today. The present formations of the earth had taken their shape about 20,000 years ago. Still, transformations go on in it.

The earth is covered with a thin film—so thin that its weight can scarcely be more than one-billionth that of our planet of matter. It is this envelop (probably 1,000 miles above the earth) which preserves and protects life on our globe. Without its protective insulation, temperatures would swing from unbearable cold at night to unbearable heat during the day. Air is composed of nitrogen (78%) oxygen (21%), argon (nearly 1%) and small amounts of other gases. The air is not a uniform mass, but can be divided into layers, each with its own characteristics.

(E) Organic Life: With regard to the organic life, its primitive forms—the vegetation—first appeared in the oceans perhaps two billion years ago. The vegetable life went through a long process of development—from the unicellular to the multi-cellular from the invertebrate to the vertebrate, from living in water to living on land, from oviparous (laying eggs) to child birth and from passive reaction to conditioned and unconditioned reflexes (food sex, etc.)—thus leading to the emergence of animal life.

(F) Birds, Animals And Man: The first birds and animals are about 200 million years old. Man emerged about 2 to 3 million years ago. Agriculture is not more than 10,000 years of age. And the first written words go back to about half this period.

(G) Scenario About Human Development: The most widely accepted scenario about man's development is now like this: the first primate to embark on the road to humanity was dryopithecus about 25 million years ago; he was replaced by pliopithecus about 12 million years ago; the latter was superseded by australopithecus, still sub-human and possibly a tool-user, about 5 million years ago; australopithecus developed into handyman about 3 million years later; then, one million years ago, came pithecanthropus-erectus (the Peking and Java man), the first homo-erectus with a brain large enough to be considered "human"; he was a confirmed, though slow, traveller, making his way round the world; from this line branched the heidelberg and the neanderthal types; the neanderthal is credited

with being the first homo-sapien (wise man); some anthropologists surmise that he emerged about 2,00,000 years ago and was firmly settled in Europe about 1,00,000 years ago; thereafter sprang the piltdown man, accompanied by the type now represented by the Australian aboriginals, the most primitive of the present human stock; somewhat later, there appeared from the remaining common species the ancestors of the present human stock. Cromagnon, grimaldi, chancelade, cornbecapelle or obereassel are quite modern and do not differ much from each other. They lived in the pleistocene and went out of existence except in modified descendants. Some 40,000 to 50,000 years ago, there was a great leap and humankind emerged with the modern physical appearance.

The human species, as they began to spread over the globe, acquired new distinctions as a result of their inter-actions with their surroundings and thus developed into many types. These are the mongoloid (yellow) group, the caucasoid (white) group, the caucasoid (brown) group, the negroid (black) group, the australoid (Australian aboriginals) group and the capoid (African) group. Every sort of human species on this earth can breed freely with every other kind. Man is a cross-breed and has been so for a long time.

Humankind's separation from the animal world as a distinct species was mainly due to his adoption of an erect posture which turned his front two feet into hands with which man began to use stones and sticks as tools and implements, leading to the transformation of animal brain into the human brain and his acquiring of the power of speech. All these developments, having gone through hundreds of thousands of years, constituted landmarks in bringing into being the social man and his society.

The history of human society has been a process of development during which humankind has passed through various social stages, each of which has been characterised by (a) a given scientific-technological (or socio-natural mechanism) and its related social mechanism (or social system) and (b) a given people operating, in accordance with the given social mechanism, as human social units or groups (originally a clan, next a tribe, then a princely state and recently a nation-state), having their given theories and practices. The historical development confirms that each stage constituted a process of the transformation of the old into the new—carrying the human

society from the primitive level of sticks and stones to the present level of electronic devices.

VIII. Basis Of Human Society

Looking at the entire process of humankind's bio-social evolution and a close study of natural and social sciences makes it evident that humankind has always existed as a part of the universal process of nature and has moved and changed due to a 2-sided interaction—that between nature (including the interactions among various natural processes) and human society and that within the human society itself among its different human social units (including the human social unit of the individual). This (i.e., the said concept) highlights two broad forces—that of nature and that of human society—for the existence, movement and change of human society.

IX. Inter-Action Between Nature And Human Society And Within Human Society

The above-stated two interactions: (a) that between nature and human society and (b) that within human society are 2 interconnected processes. Both are equally important in the process of change and development in human society. Each of them alternately plays the primary role in social change and development, with the other in the secondary position. It is these two inter-actions that propel change and development in human society, on the one hand, and exert certain impact (though on a very minor scale) on change and development in the process of nature.

(A) Nature's Inter-Active Impact On Human Society

The inter-active impact of nature on human society denotes the total inter-actions (whether active or reactive) between the non-human processes and the human ones. These inter-actions are of two broad categories—that whose mode of organisation, operation and change (e.g., air, water, land, machine, etc.) is known to humankind and that whose mode of organisation, operation and change (e.g., blackholes, galaxies, stars, space, etc.) is yet unknown or little known to humankind.

Nature (i.e., any of its phenomenon) acts upon and reacts to humankind through various integral (e.g., air, water, food etc.) and conflictual (e.g., virus, earthquake, etc.) processes. It demands of humankind to understand the given phenomenon's

law of operation, mode of functioning and organisational form and then adjust their (i.e., man's) thinking, working and organisation to the newly acquired understanding of the given phenomenon. Without this adjustment, humankind cannot properly understand and handle any natural phenomenon. For example, man can operate any machine only by understanding its law of operation and by adjusting his own notions to that of the machine's organisational structure,

In his ever-going inter-actions with nature humankind continues to learn ever new scientific-technological knowledge and accordingly adjust his old ways of thinking, working and organising—thus continuously enriching both his scientific-technological and social knowledge.

Man's understanding of different natural phenomena and their laws of operation, modes of functioning and organisational forms may be called scientific-technological mechanism (or socio-natural mechanism) and the adjusted human thinking, working and organisation designated as social mechanism (or social system). There has been endless process of the evolution and development of various scientific-technological and their corresponding social mechanisms, with each old one later displaced by the new.

The broad concept of scientific-technological mechanism includes all scientific-technological theories and their related practices and forms. From a general understanding of a given scientific-technological mechanism and its essential features, humankind gets its social systemic perspective.

The broad concept of social mechanism (or social system) comprises all social categories, namely (a) economy and its branches (i.e., industry, agriculture, trade, services, etc.), politics and its branches (i.e., law, legislature, executive, administration, war, etc.) and culture (i.e., art, literature, science, etc.); (b) different sub-branches of industry, agriculture, trade, law administration, art, literature, science and so on; and (c) the operating human social units of all social categories and their respective social norms and forms. In brief, social mechanism represents a given social system.

Thus the social mechanism (or social system) constitutes a very important factor in the organisation, movement and change of human society. It gets its social perspective from the general understanding of its related scientific-technological mechanism and develops its essential systemic features (i.e., politics,

economy and culture) in accordance with the social needs of the operational tools and organisational forms of the given varying scientific-technological processes. By binding mankind to adjust his social mechanism to the changing scientific-technological mechanism, nature acts in the primary position in relation to human society.

(B) Humankind's Inter-Active Impact On Nature

Human society acts upon and reacts to nature in the process of working out the given social system as well as of carrying out new research and experiments in yet unexplored processes of nature in order to get more wealth or some additional social advantage or to meet the growing social needs. Sometimes, the inter-actions are unitary (e.g., breathing, drinking, eating, etc.) and sometimes adversial (e.g., over-using natural resources, creating pollution, etc.). During the course of these inter-actions, man constantly brings about new changes in various natural processes, developing them into new forms useful to humanity through new theories and practices. Thus, by bringing about new changes in nature and consequently further developing the scientific-technological mechanism, human society plays the principal role in relation to nature.

This alternating principal role of nature and human society goes on ad-infinitum in every process of social development, thus bringing about constant changes in both scientific-technological mechanism and society and carrying forward the social progress.

(C) Inter-Action Within Human Society

The inter-action within human society is closely related to the social system whose operation requires two inter-connected things: (a) human social units for working in different spheres—political, economic, cultural, security and foreign matters—and (b) social norms and forms evolved by the social units for restructuring the old social system on their basis.

(i) Human Social Units

Human social units—the only factor of creating and operating scientific-technological mechanism and its connected social mechanism—do not constitute simple phenomena. Starting from the human social unit of the individual, they include as big a human social unit as the nation (e.g., Indian nation of 102 crores).

Some human social units are primarily ideological (e.g., certain religious sects, political groups, scientific research workers, etc.). Some are chiefly political, some economic, some cultural and some anti-social. Some cannot be principally distinguished due to their complex multi-sidedness (e.g., nations, communities, etc.). Every social unit other than that of the individual is distinguished by two aspects—the aspect of the principal functionary and the aspect of the general body. As a rule, there is no human social unit without its leading functionary (who may be in the leading role only for a brief period). In the relation between the leading functionary and the general body of a human social unit, each, in turn, comes to the fore. There has been an endless process of the evolution and development of various social units corresponding to their respective scientific-technological and social mechanisms, with each old one later replaced by the new one in the course of their mutual inter-action through unity and struggle on the varying issues related to their social and scientific-technological mechanisms, with the old representing the former decayed mechanism and the new the emerging one.

(ii) Social Norms And Forms

Social norms and forms (also known as the social relations)—the rules facilitating the implementation of the various social categories (such as politics, economy, culture and ideology) and their respective branches (industry, agriculture, trade, law, administration, art, literature, science and so on) of social mechanism—are also complicated matters. In brief, they are a set of social principles which determine multi-sided social relations—that between the individual and society, that among different human social units during the course of economic work (i.e., production, distribution, exchange, consumption, economic equity, etc.), political functioning (i.e., elections, administration, law, etc.) and cultural activity (i.e., moral, ethical element in various cultural moves, etc.) and that between material objects and different human social units. In other words, they determine the human social unit. These social norms and forms on which all the human social units of a given society have arrived at a consensus are codified in the constitution and the jurisprudence as laws and regulations and the entire state and its residents are legally bound to observe them.

Since the beginning of human society, the human social

units and the social norms and forms have gone on constantly changing in accordance with the changes in the social mechanism (and its concerned scientific-technological mechanism).

It is in the course of evolution and implementation of social norms and forms that a sharp debate and discussion continues to emerge among different social units in a given society and later gets resolved through varying social activities in the form of consensus on constitutional, legal, economic and cultural issues.

(iii) Social Ideas—The Principal Means Of Human Inter-Action

The importance of social ideas can be judged from the fact that they are the principal means for deciding right and wrong in human society. Right social ideas conceptualised into theory and its practice carry us forward, while wrong concepts and their implementation make a hell of our social life. This is why the human society, its human social units and all of its human beings operate through social ideas in all walks of life. Communication through ideas is mankind's only mode of operation, distinguishing them from all other non-human phenomena.

Human social units and their far-sighted leaders formulate their ideas into social theories and put them into practice through various initiatives and activities in inter-action with their contemporaries (within and without). The correct theories establish their validity through practice, while the incorrect ones lose their credibility during the course of practical activity.

In the relation between a correct theory and its practice, each, in turn, helps humankind in their objectives and endeavours. In the beginning when theory develops practice, it constitutes the main aspect of knowledge, the moment the practice enriches theory, it acquires the first position. Thus, both theory and practice form the basis of knowledge, whether natural or social and whether theoretical or practical.

The totality of the theories and practices of a human social unit (may it be an individual) constitutes the whole of his natural and social knowledge. Similarly, the sum total of the theoretical and practical learning of all the human social units of human society constitutes the latter's entire knowledge.

In the case of the knowledge of nature, the basis of information lies in the natural processes, while their observation,

interpretation and formulation rest with the human thinking. Similarly, in the case of social knowledge, while the basis of information rests with the social mechanism (including human social units and social norms and forms), the interpretation and formulation are related to human thinking. In the subjective creation of knowledge, the human social unit of an outstanding individual plays the role of an ideological processing plant, while his related team or group, human social unit or the whole community supplies the ideological raw material.

In human society, whatever is environmentally and socially relevant to human community is defined as socially right, while contrary to this evidently denotes social wrong.

(iv) Human Social Units' Operational Mode—Unity And Struggle

The human social units play their specific roles in social development through alternating mutual unity and mutual struggle. The question of unity is related to the convergence of the definite aims and interests of the various human social units, while that of struggle is concerned with the clash of the real objectives and concerns of the different human social units. The issues of unity and struggle, consisting mainly of numerous political, economic and cultural matters, denote the different viewpoints, each of which, representing the approach of a human social unit or a consensus based agenda of certain human social units, claims to uphold a clear perception either of the whole social reality or any of its various dimensions and a realistic response to it and each of which has occupied the primary place in accordance with the concrete conditions. Even the issue of state power (which does affect the whole population within a state)—being an issue of frequent contention—has too been resolved either through a compromise or contest between the contending human social units. Whenever new human social units arise in society due to the emergence of a new social mechanism and its scientific-technological mechanism, the problem of unity and contention becomes sharp among the newly emerged human social units and the old ones.

(v) Human Social Units And Systemic Change

In the entire lengthy process of human society, no single human social unit (neither a genius of the Western Liberal model nor a social class of the Communist model) has been, and can

be, an all-purpose unit or the sole vehicle of social progress. systemic change through social development has taken place (and can only be possible) through the inter-action of various human social units (including the unit of the individual). In this multi-sided and multi-dimensional inter-action, sometimes an outstanding scientist along with his team of scientists, sometimes an outstanding economist along with his team of economists, sometimes an outstanding religious preacher along with his team of religious preachers and so on, have at different times contributed a major share in social development by upholding and developing correct social ideas in inter-action (sometimes characterised by unity and sometimes by struggle) with their respective contemporary human units.

In the all-embracing State Unit, the most eminent political unit and its outstanding leader in inter-action with its contemporary political units have, at given times, played the principal role by bringing into being realistic propositions and their implementation.

(vi) Different Stages Of Human Social Development

The social development of humankind (i.e., human society) has been a single social process characterised by a 2-sided inter-action—that between nature and human society, on the one hand, and that between different human social units, on the other. This 2-sided inter-action has brought forth five broad types of social development stages, each characterised by a given scientific-technological mechanism and its social system (comprising a given social division of labour, social units, along with their social norms and forms and social theories and practices).

The first stage was the stage of food gathering and hunting—based on the technologies of stones, sticks, bones, bows, arrows, etc.; a collective division of labour; an organisation of clans and the social norms, forms, theory and practice of kinship lasting for hundreds of thousands of years.

The second stage was the stage of pastoralism (or animal husbandry)—based first on the pastoral technology and later on metal (bronze and copper) implements; earlier a semi-collective and then a slave-dependent division of labour; an organisation of tribes or pastoral units (i.e., the dominant pastoral unit, the pastoral slave unit, other pastoral units linked with the dominant

unit, etc.) and the social norms, forms, theory and practice of semi-kinship as well as slavery (performed by prisoners captured during the inter-tribal wars).

The third stage was the agricultural stage—based on the technology of metal (especially iron) smelting and forging, land fertilisation, minting, milling, weaving, tanning, pottery, paper-making, printing, ship-building, etc.; the serf dependent and the family-worked division of labour; an organisation of agricultural units (i.e., the dominant agricultural unit, the serf unit, the middle strata, the artisan unit, etc.) and the social norms, forms, theory and practice of serfdom under the ideology of 'divine right of kings'.

The fourth stage was the industrial stage—based on the technology first of handicraft and then of machine craft (driven first by steam power, then electric power and now also high energy fuels); a wage-labour and commodity exchange dependent division of labour; an organisation of industrial units (i.e., the dominant industrial unit, the industrial workers unit, the industrial middle strata, etc.) and the social norms, forms, theory and practice of liberalism and parliamentarianism in developed countries, coupled with colonialism in backward ones and communist centralism in medium type lands.

The fifth stage marks the newly-emerged post-1945 scientific-technological mechanism (embodying highly advanced insights in the spheres of space, energy, matter, biology, cybernetics, etc.) and its related global (or nationally inter-dependent) division of labour all of which have set in motion a new process of the formation of a global human society, likely to pass through various phases.

(vii) Positive And Negative Aspects Of Human Social Development

What sort of strategic effects the different lengthy stages of human society have produced for humankind's future.

Each of them has contributed something to the human civilisation. Collectively, they have given rise to a 2-sided strategic effect—both positive and negative.

On the positive side, they have generated a new process of the step by step modernisation of human society by transforming its scientific-technological mechanism, social system, social units, social norms and forms and social theories and practices. Thus, the food gathering and hunting science and technology and its collective division of labour is distinguished by a food

gatherer and hunter with his social norms, forms, theory and practice of food gathering and hunting and a kinship based clan organisation, coupled with a savage approach towards the external enemy and the internal clan rowdies.

The pastoral science and technology and its semi collective and slave based division of labour is characterised by a wandering man (i.e., a nomad) with his social norms, forms, theory and practice of pastoralism and a semi kinship based tribal organisation, coupled with a ruthless approach towards rivals, slaves and the internal tribal discipline breakers.

The agricultural science and technology and its serf based division of labour is marked by an agriculturist (connected with his land), and his social norms, forms, theory and practice of agriculture and a feudal patronage based organisation of religion oriented agricultural communities, coupled with a militaristic and suppressive approach towards the enemies and the internal law-breakers.

The industrial science and technology and its commodity-cum-wage labour based division of labour has the peculiarity of an industrial man, with his liberal social norms, forms, theory and practice at home and a colonial approach abroad as well as his parliamentary practice within the nation and a suppressive role outside, especially in the colonies.

The new global system is yet unfolding, with its new features of friendship, cooperation and integration among nations.

On the negative side, the human society (especially the nation-state) has created 3 highly destructive threats for the existence of not only human but also the entire bio-species.

One is the degradation of environment—air, water, land, etc.—which is already running a havoc in the sphere of bio-species that are becoming extinct in hundreds every day. The red signal is already blinking that the world is on the brink of an environmental disaster.

The other is the rapidly increasing population which has increased four-fold during this century. The population explosion puts increasing pressure on the use of natural resources and this intensifies environmental crisis.

The third is the establishment of the most inequalitarian and unfair social system (especially by nation-states) under which the human community is more and more getting divided into haves and have-nots, privileged and deprived, prosperous and paupers, and so on.

(viii) The Concept Of Social Capital

The modernisation process, initiated and carried forward during the different social stages of human society, is, in other words, the process of social capitalisation. This, on the one hand, represents the advancement of scientific-technological (or natural) resources and, on the other, the development of human resources. Since these two factors (i.e., science-technology and the people) are the creators of every social phenomenon in human society, they together constitute social capital.

Capital, in its literal sense, means the highest or the first rate thing and, in its social sense, denotes the most valuable phenomenon in human society. As the said two factors have been in operation from the very day of the emergence of human society (i.e., the time when man created his elementary technology of stones and sticks and was, in turn, bound by the latter's social mechanism), the social capital too has been in existence all this time.

Conforming to the process of the human society, the process of social capital too has passed through different forms. Under the food gathering and hunting community, the social capital included the technology of sticks, stones, bones, bows and arrows, jungle products, animal flesh and the clan organisation and its theories and practices. The exchange of commodities first took the form of barter and later that of the universal equivalent which seems to have operated in different forms, viz. grains, furs, shells, fish, etc. Under the pastoral community, the animal emerged as the main form of universal equivalent for social change as well as social investment. Under the agricultural community, apart from land and animal, metal money also arose as a medium of exchange as well as social investment, while under the industrial community, money acquired the predominant position, both in exchange and investment. The control of capital under each community had mainly rested with its dominant human social units.

Obviously, the above concept of capital differs with the two current general theories of capital—the Western Liberal economics (which considers capital as the totality of the means of production) and the Marxian economics (which regards capital as workers surplus value or accumulated labour or production relations). The former relegates the human factor (i.e., labour) to the supplementary position, while the latter consigns technology to the secondary place. In fact, both are one-sided theories.

Historical experience shows that both science-technology and man are creative in their own ways. Man's innovation lies in his mental and physical energy, while technology's productivity comes from various forms of energy (i.e., electrical, chemical, kinetic, heat, radiant, nuclear, etc.). In fact, technology creates more value than human labour in production (e.g., machines, both automatic and man-operated). This is because a machine uses tens of thousands of watts of energy in a day in comparison to a worker who daily spends around 120 watts of energy (i.e., about 2,400 calories) during physical work. However, while man lags behind technology in material production, he excels technology in material and ideological innovations due to his mental uniqueness. Thus, in human society, both science-cum-technology and people constitute two basic factors of capitalisation as well as modernisation.

(ix) Why Long Social Relations Of Domination

The reason why the human society has so far been characterised by the social relations of domination can be, firstly, traced to the low level of economic, political and cultural development existing for hundreds of thousands of years and secondly, to man's gradual evolution from a savage and barbaric life to a rational and humane life during this period. With the constant progress of both the scientific-technological mechanism and the human knowledge, the margin of social domination has been gradually getting reduced—from slave social relations to serf social relations and then to wage social relations. In the slave period, the dominant ruling human social unit used to control both the scientific-technological mechanism as well as the slaves. In the serf period, the status of slaves was raised upwards as serfs with additional economic rights, but the scientific-technological mechanism and the serf labour still remained under the control of the dominant ruling human social unit. In the recent wage labour period, the domination had been further restricted. In the present phase, the margin of domination has been coming further down since both the development of scientific-technological mechanism and the level of human consciousness require peoples (including workers) control in the social process.

(x) Bio-Social Nature Of Man

The natural and social sciences show that man has a dual nature—biological and social or bio-social. Both these aspects

constitute an integral whole and hence the one cannot be delinked from the other. The biological aspect can be seen from the general human process (comprising of the phases of birth, growth, decay and death) and the particular human processes, like breathing, drinking, eating, eliminating, etc. The social aspect is evident from man's inability to learn anything without social inter-action. For example, while all humans are born with an articulate speech organ, they learn language and speech only through the activity of social conversation. A human child living among wolves can neither walk nor talk and loses all social characteristics. Similarly, without the biological organ of articulate speech, no social conversation can teach the art of language and speech to any non-human creature. It, therefore, follows that the concepts, emphasising the nature of man either as social or biological, are one-sided.

(xi) Equation Between Quality And Quantity

Science and experience show that there does exist an equation between the quantity and quality of a phenomenon. This is because quality resides in quantity and vice versa. For instance, every quality of food contains a given quantity of energy, measured in calories; the number of planetary electrons determines the chemical behaviour of an atom; the addition of one atom to the two atoms of an oxygen molecule changes its quality into ozone. Similarly, changes in the quantity and quality of human society go hand in hand. For example, the invention of steam engine in the 18th century, of machines in the 19th century and of computers in the 20th century—all signified changes in the quantity and quality of scientific technological mechanism, along with the social system and consequently the social life.

(xii) Transformation From Old Into New In Human Society

The concept of transformation from the old into the new expresses the ever-going and never-ending change in human society, both the short-term and the long-term ones. Short-term changes are changes from the earlier to the succeeding phases in the same process, e.g., the changes in the process of the development of a human being from a baby to a child, from a child to an adolescent, then to youth, to middle age, old age and finally death; or the changes in the process of the development of the industrial mechanism from manufacturing to automatism.

Long-term changes are the transformation of the process of a human being into processes of different inorganic phenomena (i.e., dust, gases, etc.) after former's death, or the transformation of the process of the agricultural social formation into the process of the industrial social formation after continuous quantitative changes in the former process, or the different stages of the earth's development in which each stage has meant the disappearance of a number of continents, islands, seas, mountains, etc., and the appearance of entirely new geological phenomena as well as substantial climatic changes.

(xiii) Both Unity And Struggle Bring Changes

Science and history show that both unity and struggle, the two different types of methodologies with diametrically opposed consequences, first, result in quantitative and qualitative changes in a process and then in its transformation into a new process. For instance, the harmony (or unity) of the given human social units with the contemporary social mechanism leads to social development, both quantitatively and qualitatively, while disharmony (or struggle) between the given human social units and the contemporary social mechanism results in social disruption, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Again, the transformation from agricultural to industrial social formation occurred through struggle among its old and the new social units in France (1789) and through conciliation and compromise (or unity) among their old and new human social units in Germany (1848) and Japan (1880). Further, the struggle between the old and the new human social units leads to the break-up of the old social formation, while the unity between the new social units results in the building up of the new social formation. Obviously, the two theories—one stressing struggle and the other unity as the only methodology of change—are one-sided.

(xiv) Harmony And Disharmony Between Scientific-Technological Mechanism And Human Society

Their harmony consists in their conformity (i.e., human social units' proper implementation of the given social mechanism), while their disharmony lies in their non-conformity (i.e., human social units' violation of the social norms and forms of the given social mechanism). Their harmony leads to social development, while disharmony brings in social retrogression.

(xv) Inter-Action Between Cause And Effect

Does one side always remain dominant and the other subordinate in inter-action in any process, as for instance, in the inter-action between cause and effect in any happening? Science and historical experience show that each side affects the other in inter-action, including the inter-action between cause and effect in any phenomenon. Though cause is a phenomenon that brings into being another phenomenon and effect is the result of the action of a cause, yet the effect, after its emergence from the cause, does affect its cause. For instance, a great demand for a commodity stimulates production, which, in turn, leads to increased demand. Further, while heat is the cause of the mechanical motion of a locomotive's axles, they, in turn, produce heat after becoming hot due to the mechanical movement and the friction of locomotive's parts. Here, heat is simultaneously the cause and effect of mechanical motion. Furthermore, while mechanical motion (produced by the water stream in a hydro-electric station) is the cause of electric current, the latter itself becomes the cause of mechanical motion in electric stations and factories.

The causal connection has generally been accepted as universal in character in human society but there may be certain exceptions, still unknown to us.

(xvi) Law Of Inevitability

Does there exist a law of inevitability in the universe? Science and historical experience show that the only general law of inevitability in the universe is the law of change and development or of the transformation of everything from the old into the new. But what ultimate shape or form the new would take cannot be assessed or forecast by any science or philosophy. Nor science or philosophy can assertively say that the law of change and development is an inevitable law for ever.

The inter-action of different phenomena, in given conditions, gives rise to various probabilities and possibilities concerning the development of a given phenomenon. These include: the necessity, dominant possibility or probability, possibility, chance and impossibility.

Necessity expresses that which, in given conditions, is bound to occur. But, if the given conditions are lacking, it may not take place. For instance, an aircraft, in perfect working order, is, if ignited, required to fly, but, if given conditions of a runway are

lacking, it will, and can, not take-off.

Dominant possibility expresses that which, in given conditions, has a dominant scope of turning into a reality. For example, there is a dominant possibility of the earlier death of a cancerous person. Possibility expresses that which, in given conditions, may occur. For instance, it may rain if the sky is overcast.

Chance expresses that which, in given conditions, has little possibility of coming into being. For instance, the germination of a seed into a plant, in a given heat and moisture of the land, is a necessary phenomenon, but the plant may be destroyed by the hail, occurring as a chance.

Impossibility expresses that which has no basis in given conditions and thus is unreal, e.g., it is impossible for man to attain an average age of 500 years today, but it may become possible after some time.

X. Sum Up

This study has highlighted 5 new points which differentiate it from other such approaches.

First, it holds that change and development in human society occurs due to two factors, i.e., nature and human community that together provide all the essentials needed to initiate and carry forward the process of social change and development. Contrary to our 2-factor driven view of social change and development, all the prevailing sociological ideals advance one-pillar based theories (human-centric, technology-centric, environment-centric, nature-centric, the god-centric, etc.) as the fundamental law of social change and development.

Second, it maintains that the social change and development takes place through a 2-sided inter-action—that between nature and human society, on the one hand, and that among human social units in society, on the other. The inter-action denotes a 2-sided motion—that of unity, on the one side, and that of struggle, on the other. The motion of unity results in the combining of the given phenomena, while that of struggle leads to its division. Both the motions constitute an indivisible whole. Each (i.e., motion) of them occupies the primary position at one time, with the other in the secondary role and vice versa. This goes on ad-infinitum till the given process is finally transformed into another new process (with its specific quality and quantity).

Third, it emphasises that a human being or human community

has a bio-social character in contrast to the existing views that human nature is either biological or social. The biological view stresses self-interest as the sole human motive, while the other projects social as the only human intention.

Fourth, it regards that, contrary to the dominant human ideas, humankind, having been a product of nature's evolutionary process, is not the supreme phenomenon in the universe. Even on our planet earth, the former (i.e., humankind) is one of the two (the other being nature) motive forces of change and development only in human society. The other non-human phenomena on our earth have its own laws of development. Humankind only inter-acts with other non-human things, sometimes in the primary and at other times in the secondary position.

Fifth, it believes that there is nothing absolute in the universe. Everything is under constant change. It is relevant only to a given time and space. There may be certain natural laws which perhaps are, or have been, relevant for billions of years, but, in our opinion, even they have a transitory nature. Keeping in view the transitional character of everything, even the different laws of transition of the varying phenomena (or even a universal law of transition, if any) may, in a given time, yield place to something else. Even the humans themselves possibly change, at a given point of time, into a different phenomenon.

While closing its present job, this study makes an appeal to one and all, who had the occasion to go through its substance, to take the trouble of making their comments on its contents. This will help us to improve our thinking in the matter of making a distinction between right and wrong. It will further enable us to deal more effectively with the question—as to what effects the dominant approaches on social change and development have created for human society which will form the main theme of our next attempt to understand social reality. 20-04-2002

*** Various Viewpoints (from page 426)**

(A) Human-Centric Concepts

- (i) *Determinism—doctrine that views events as following a definite pattern, characterised by an absolute cause and a permanent effect thus justifying a long-term prediction (e.g., Marxist-Leninist forecast that capitalism's fall is inevitable).*
- (ii) *Reductionism—doctrine that infers particular laws from the general law.*
- (iii) *Inductionism—doctrine that infers general laws from particular instances—a way of proving truth by showing that if true in a particular case, it is also true in the next case.*
- (iv) *Empiricism—doctrine that acknowledges only observation and experiment and rejects theory.*
- (v) *Subjectivism—doctrine that sees all knowledge as a product of mind.*
- (vi) *Nihilism—doctrine that totally rejects current beliefs and is sceptical about all existence.*
- (vii) *Terrorism—doctrine that tries to achieve its objective through coercive intimidation of common people.*
- (viii) *Behaviourism—doctrine that stresses the objective study of the behaviour of a phenomenon (i.e., its stimulus and response).*
- (ix) *Moralism—doctrine that demands the principles of conduct to be based on distinction between social right and social wrong, and not on religion.*
- (x) *Militarism—doctrine that relies on military power.*
- (xi) *Marxism—doctrine that views the productive forces and the productive relations (i.e., the mode of production or economy) as the principal factor in social development.*
- (xii) *Religious Fundamentalism (e.g., Hindutva, Afghan Talibans, Islamisation, etc.) that looks at traditional orthodox religious tenets as the only way to organise society.*
- (xiii) *Culturalism—doctrine that regards a given culture as the only factor of social development.*
- (xiv) *Mandalism—doctrine that accepts caste (i.e., a two thousand year old social unit) as the determining factor in imparting social justice.*
- (xv) *Racism or racialism—doctrine that believes in the innate superiority of a particular race thus leading to antagonism towards members of different races.*
- (xvi) *Structuralism—doctrine that lays stress on the whole and not parts.*

- (xvii) *Pluralism—doctrine that recognises more than one ultimate principle of development.*
- (xviii) *Oligarchism—doctrine that stands for the rule of the few.*
- (xix) *Probabilism—doctrine that rules out the certainty of any knowledge, but considers that it may be a ground of belief sufficient for practical action.*
- (xx) *Conservatism—doctrine that tends to keep traditionalism intact or unchanged.*
- (xxi) *Constitutionalism—doctrine that sticks to the fundamental principles of state governance.*
- (xxii) *Patriarchalism—doctrine that stands for the supremacy of masculine gender.*
- (xxiii) *Opportunism—doctrine that does not adhere to principles.*
- (xxiv) *Utilitarianism—doctrine that judges everything from the angle of its usefulness.*
- (xxv) *Universalism—doctrine that believes in the eventual safety of all mankind.*
- (xxvi) *Totalitarianism—doctrine that arrogates to itself all rights and permits no difference.*
- (xxvii) *Egalitarianism—doctrine that asserts equality of mankind.*
- (xxviii) *Agnosticism—doctrine that says: "nothing is known or likely to be known."*
- (xxix) *Egoism—doctrine that regards self-interest as the foundation of development.*
- (xxx) *Humanism—doctrine of thought or action that is concerned with merely human interests.*
- (xxxi) *Rationalism—doctrine that considers reason as the ultimate cause of social development.*
- (xxxii) *Dialectics—doctrine that regards contradiction as the general law of development and conflict of varying social forces or class struggle as the determining factor in history.*
- (xxxiii) *Liberalism—doctrine that believes in the freedom of thought, freethinking, etc.*
- (xxxiv) *Pragmatism—doctrine that estimates any assertion solely by its practical utility for one's interests.*
- (xxxv) *Positivism—doctrine that recognises only positive facts and observable phenomena and rejects all enquiry into causes or ultimate origins.*
- (xxxvi) *Voluntarism—doctrine that regards human behaviour as being exclusively determined by free will and hence unpredictable.*
- (xxxvii) *Necessitarianism—doctrine that denies free will and*

maintains that all actions are determined by antecedent (previous, priori) causes.

(xxxviii) Sensationalism—doctrine that projects sensation as the sole source of knowledge.

(xxxix) Revisionism—doctrine that revises any formulation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism or the party's dominant line within any Communist Party.

(xl) Republicanism—doctrine that advocates Republican form of Government.

(xli) Nazism—doctrine that stands for fascist militant subordination of everyone to the Nazi party, especially its dictator.

(xlii) Relativism—doctrine that regards: "knowledge is of relations only."

(xliii) Relativity—doctrine (propounded by Albert Einstein) that deals with relationships of space, time, motion, acceleration and gravity and shows all motion as relative.

(xliv) Substantialism—doctrine that proclaims: "there are substantial realities underlying phenomena."

(xlv) Syllogism—doctrine in which conclusion is deduced by reasoning from two propositions from inductive to deductive [e.g., Kalidasa is a man. Therefore (conclusion) Kalidasa is mortal (deductive)].

(xlvi) Syndicalism—doctrine for transfer of control of ownership of means of production and distribution to workers unions.

(xlvii) Modernism—doctrine that examines phenomena in the light of modern Western Thought.

(xlviii) Nominalism—doctrine that looks at universal and abstract as mere names, without any corresponding reality.

(xlix) Orientalism—doctrine that stresses oriental (i.e., Eastern) civilisation.

(l) Occidentalism—doctrine that emphasises Western civilisation.

(li) Ontology—doctrine that is concerned with the essence of things.

(lii) Platonism—doctrine that upholds philosophical system of Plato whose central conception is the existence of a world in which ideas alone are real and paramount.

(liii) Equalitarianism—doctrine that advocates equality of mankind.

(liv) Economism—doctrine (a fundamentalist one) that explains change and development in terms of economy.

(lv) Evolutionism—doctrine of the origination of species of animals and plants by a process of development from earlier forms.

(lvi) Conventionalism—doctrine that depends on conventions.

(lvii) Experientialism or Experimentalism—doctrine that declares: "all knowledge is derived from experience."

(lviii) Extremism—doctrine that advocates extreme views and measures to achieve its aim.

(lix) Existentialism—doctrine based on the assumption that reality as existence can only be lived by man as a free and responsible being, but never become the object of thinking (an anti-intellectualism theory).

(lx) Exhibitionism—doctrine that stands for extravagant behaviour.

(lxi) Teleologism—doctrine of final causes that believes: "developments are due to the purpose that is served by them."

(lxii) Systematics—scientific study of classification of the plant and animal kingdoms.

(lxiii) Fascism—doctrine that upholds the dictatorial and conspiratorial principles, style and organisation of fascists.

(lxiv) Imperialism—doctrine that advocates the spread of colonialism or empire-building.

(lxv) Intellectualism—doctrine that considers knowledge as a derivative, wholly or mainly, from pure reason.

(lxvi) Leftism—doctrine that upholds the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

(lxvii) Aestheticism—doctrine that appreciates only principles of good taste or beauty in works of art.

(lxviii) Surrealism—movement in art and literature purporting to express the sub-conscious activities of the mind.

(lxix) Symbolism—doctrine that uses symbols to arouse emotions in artistry.

(lxx) Formalism—doctrine that lays stress on the observance of forms.

(lxxi) Hypothesis—a supposition made as the basis for reasoning, or the starting-point for investigating the reality of any process.

(lxxii) Absolutism—doctrine that stands for complete control, unrestricted power.

(lxxiii) Isolationism—doctrine that favours isolation.

(lxxiv) Localism—doctrine attached to a particular place.

(lxxv) Feminism—doctrine that advocates women's rights.

(lxxvi) Infantilism—doctrine that is in an underdeveloped state, mentally or physically.

(lxxvii) Individualism—doctrine that breeds self-centered feeling or conduct.

(lxxviii) Feudalism—doctrine that perpetuates the belief or conduct of subservience (or serfdom) to a lord (i.e., authority).

- (lxxix) *Nativism*—doctrine of innate ideas.
 (lxxx) *Nomadism*—doctrine of wandering from place to place.
 (lxxxi) *Non-conformism*—doctrine that does not conform to any idea or style.
 (lxxxii) *Atheism*—doctrine that rejects the existence of a supernatural power in the universe.
 (lxxxiii) *Epistemology*—doctrine of knowledge.
 (lxxxiv) *Etymology*—doctrine of the origin of words.
 (lxxxv) *Metaphysics*—doctrine that investigates being (i.e., existence) in an abstract manner.
 (lxxxvi) *Neutralism*—doctrine that makes no distinction between right and wrong in any process.
 (lxxxvii) *Parochialism*—doctrine that adopts narrow approach to study things.
 (lxxxviii) *Rational Humanism*—doctrine of the present day emerging global society that was not practicable in the past divided, disunited and split social formations.
 (lxxxix) *Realism*—doctrine that accepts things as they really are.

(B) Technology-Centric Concepts:

- (i) *Technocratism* looks at technology as the only force of social change.
 (ii) *Mechanism* views the working of society in the way a machine works its structure and parts.
 (iii) *Automatism* sees actions or movements of organic beings as mechanical, with no role of volition (will).

(C) Environment-Centric Concepts:

- (i) *Environmentalism* perceives environment as the determining factor in social development.
 (ii) *Geo-politics* examines politics of a country as determined by its geographical position.
 (iii) *Animalism* studies human beings as mere animals.

(D) Nature-Centric Concepts:

- (i) *Naturalism* maintains that social changes occur due to natural laws.
 (ii) *Objectivism* holds that the knowledge of non-ego (i.e., object) is prior in sequence and importance to that of ego (i.e., subject or self).
 (iii) *Dynamism* regards that the phenomena of the universe moves due to some immanent (or inherent) force or energy.

- (iv) *Cosmism* asserts that the Cosmos is a self-existent, self-acting whole.
 (v) *Phenomenalism* declares that phenomena are the only objects of knowledge.
 (vi) *Generalism* understands that a universal law, with no particular laws, operates in every phenomenon.
 (vii) *Uniformism* announces that everything remains the same in different places and at different times.

(E) The God-Centric Concepts:

- (i) *Supernaturalism* believes that events are shaped by a supernatural power.
 (ii) *Fatalism* believes that all events are pre-determined and man is powerless to change his destiny.
 (iii) *Transcendentalism* believes that knowledge is based on intuition rather than thinking and practice.
 (iv) *Spiritualism* believes that the spirits of the dead can communicate with the living.
 (v) *Fetishism* believes in the worship of inanimate object supposed to have magical power.
 (vi) *Mysticism* believes in the spiritual apprehension of truth that is beyond human understanding.
 (vii) *Mythicism* interprets phenomena mythically (telling tales with supernatural characters).
 (viii) *Omniscience* believes that there is an all-knowing power.
 (ix) *Pantheism* believes that the God is present in everything.
 (x) *Unitarianism* believes that the God is one being not a Trinity (group of three).

2002-Themes Of World Economic Forum, UN-World Summit And World Social Forum On World Inequality And Poverty And An Alternative Nature-Human Centric Model

I. The Issue

The human clock has since been ticking. It has been continuously flashing danger signals. In a nutshell, the message is that inequality and deprivation in human society is proceeding at an unprecedented pace. Just look at this simple fact. In 1820, the gap between the richest and the poorest countries was about 3 to 1. It became 11 to 1 in 1913, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973 and 72 to 1 in 1992. In 1997, it was roughly 74 to 1—a heart-rendering figure. Earth-shaking is the disparity that today exists between a richest and a poorest person in the world. While Bill Gates, the richest American of our world, owns a total wealth of \$60 billion and Azim Premji of India possesses assets worth \$6 billion, a starving person, with an empty pocket and deprived of every source to get even a loaf of bread, has no option but to go begging, subsist for some time on alms and then quit for the next world. The medical experts pronounce such deaths as a result of defective stomach bowls or some other physical ailment.

The above shocking facts are quite known to our rulers and they have been at random responding to them. The 1995-Copenhagen social summit, attended by many Heads of State on the question of world poverty was their mega attempt to address to this challenging question. But, during the past 6 years, their prescriptions have yielded diametrically different results.

This year the corporate managers of human community have

again resumed the discussion of poverty eradication. In the first week of February and March this year, two world conferences had been held in which the question of human development and world poverty had dominated the scene. The first was the New York meet of the World Economic Forum (WEF, controlled by the owners of the corporate world) held from February 1 to 5, 2002. The 2nd was the 2002-UN Summit held at Monterrey (Mexico) from March 21 to 23, 2002. Parallel to the New York Meet of the World Economic Forum, the World Social Forum (WSF, a recently born social body whose full account appears subsequently) arranged its annual meet at Porto Alegre (Brazil) from February 1 to 5, 2002.

In dealing with the said three international meets, we intend to begin with the first two—i.e., WEF meet and the 2002-UN summit having a similar agenda and a similar solution. Next, we proceed to the WSF meet. Lastly, we present our own perception concerning the problem under discussion.

(A) 2002-Meet Of WEF

The 32nd annual meeting of the WEF, held at New York, focused on the issue of terrorism and poverty as its main agenda. Several participants contended that the two issues on the list of agenda were inter-linked and can only be handled by the empowerment of the people.

The meeting began with a call by the World Bank (WB) President James Wolfensohn to hard-headed politicians to act out of self-interest and realise that financial aid to poor countries is an insurance policy against future terrorism.

Next, the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell chipped in by acknowledging that terrorism flourishes in situations of poverty, despair and hopelessness. The US was determined to take the war on terrorism beyond Afghanistan to any country “that threatens free men and women”, but at the same time stressed the need to defeat poverty. “We have to go after poverty, we have to go after despair, we have to go after hopelessness. As we fight terrorism using military means and legal means and law enforcement and intelligence means and go after the financial infrastructure of the terrorist organisations, we also have to put hope back in the hearts of the people. We have to show people who might move in the direction of terrorism that there is a better way.”

The head of the World Trade Organisation(WTO), Mike Moore, said the Doha round would fail unless the wealthy countries

opened their agricultural markets to imports from poor nations. The Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Horet Kohler, said, "We need to focus on giving developing countries better access and this includes the phasing out of those subsidies which are absolutely distorting and devastating sectors in the poor world. If we are really serious about globalisation to work for all, the advanced countries will have to recognise that they can't do business as usual." The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Marry Robinson, said, "We need to move towards a more ethical globalisation and to find a way to have civic democracy on an international level."

Throughout the whole session, the rich countries were criticised for their protectionist policies and double-speak rhetoric (demanding the stopping of subsidies by the developing countries, while themselves heavily subsidising their agricultural sector) as thousands of protestors raised slogans in the streets against the corporate greed.

Many leaders sought to emphasise the need to sort out the crisis of West Asia. It was demanded that a distinction be made between terrorism and religion. Malaysian Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohammad, said if today Islam is perceived to be a religion of backward, violent and irrational people, it is not because of Islam, but mainly due to colonial past. There was over-whelming concern over the direction of Bush Administration's foreign policy. Serious concerns were voiced over the next phase of USA's anti-terrorist war officially committed to target specific states, such as Iraq.

Lastly, the UN Secretary-General sounded a blunt warning to the meeting that their international system could and should ignore the poor at its own risk. None of us can afford to disregard the conditions of our fellow passengers on this little boat. If they are sick, all of us risk infection. And if they are angry, all of us easily get hurt. He finally added that the money and power in this world are very, very unequally shared and that too many people are condemned to lives of extreme poverty and degradation.

The meeting concluded with the recommendation, asking the developed countries to ensure the restructuring of the economies of the developing countries through liberalisation and privatisation, plugging of the loopholes of corruption and inefficiency and providing the UN-endorsed quantum of official aid to the developing countries. It did not specify the question as to why the inequality and poverty go on increasing in the

developing countries. Does the cause of poverty lie in the inefficient working of the governments of the developing countries in contrast to the very high performance of the developed ones or there was some other reason.

(B) 2002-UN Summit On Development

The 2002-UN summit on development was held at Monterrey in Mexico. The summit was called to raise the financial resources for carrying out the development agenda (aiming at halving the world poverty by 2015) as adopted by 1995-Copenhagen social summit and 2000-UN millennium summit. The leaders of the developed countries, particularly the US and the EU, pledged to increase significantly their aid commitments, although by much less than many other countries had hoped. The US President, George W. Bush, pledged an additional \$10 billion over three years period, while the EU said its donation would rise gradually over the next several years, reaching an extra \$7 billion a year by 2006. The US now gives about \$10 billion a year in development and EU about \$25 billion.

Japan whose \$13 billion a year in foreign aid makes it the world's biggest donor country, said: its troubled economy prevented it from giving more at this time. While the overall increase was well below the doubling of foreign aid called for by the UN (which would have meant an extra \$50 billion a year), rich and poor countries alike conceded it was a good start. However, in the end, the developed countries pushed the idea of linking aid with concrete progress towards democratisation, fostering free markets, promoting trade as an engine of growth and an efficient use of resources—thus making development aid conditional rather than providing no strings attached assistance.

Leaders of the developing countries warned their developed counter-parts that if they want a world free of terrorism, they would need to pay for it. Drawing a direct link between poverty and violence, they said that increased aid to the world's neediest was more urgent than ever in the post-September 11 world. They warned that the world's security depends on narrowing the gap between the haves and the have-nots and bringing relief to the desperately poor. They emphasised that, in the wake of September 11, development, peace and security have become inseparable as the world's poorest areas were "the breeding grounds for violence and despair." To speak of development, according to them, was to speak also of a determined fight

against terrorism.

The promise to enhance the financial aid to the developing countries made by the 2002-UN summit was in accord with the demand raised at the New York meet of the WEF.

(C) 2002-Meet of WSF

The second meeting of the WSF was held at Porto Alegre (Brazil) from February 1 to 5, 2002. Compared to the 3,500 delegates who attended the New York meet of the WEF, the former included 15,000 delegates, coming from 5,000 organisations in 123 countries. The WSF was born in January 2001, at Porto Alegre, attracting nearly 5,000 delegates, with the specific aim to present an alternative to the WEF, then holding its 31st meeting at Davos. The WSF meet-II agenda was captioned in the motto: “A Better World is Possible.” The meet was expected to sort out a coherent alternative on how to shape a better world. But, obviously, no alternative concrete approach and action plan emerged from the deliberations.

A number of global strands evolved into the WSF meet. The innumerable subjects gave everyone who was curious about exploring alternatives a wide choice—28 conferences, 100 seminars, and 700 workshops—with some extending late into the night. The discussions were organised under the rubric of four broad themes: economic production, access to wealth, civil society and public arena, and political power and ethics. Some of the conferences had sweeping themes like “Combating Discrimination”, “Globalisation and Militarism” and “Food Security”. While the conferences and seminars attracted hundreds and more, the workshops had a more compact number of participants.

There were some workshops that offered specific alternatives or discussed alternative ways of looking at the world. Many had sessions devoted to considerable discussion on a Tobin Tax on global currency markets that would bring more stability to capital flows. One workshop saw NGOs from around the world launch a new global campaign to draw up a world treaty on the “global commons”, to protect and harness genetic resources as part of global heritage. Another saw economists from Asia, Africa and the Americas explore alternative perspectives on the global economy to challenge the prevailing orthodoxy. Not to be excluded were esoteric topics like the Samba as a medium of resistance!

What was Porto Alegre meet all about? The forum defies easy

description, or as one Brazilian newspaper said: “with so many things happening, there is no single lead here.” The best description of the WSF is that it was a part meeting, part gathering and now a part institution itself. It was an international meeting in that it was where political and NGO activists, academics and the interested citizens from across the globe discussed alternative ways of seeing the world and constructing a different one. It was a gathering in that it brought together tens of thousands of people with similar (but not identical) views about globalisation and demonstrated to each other that they were not working in isolation. And with the interest in WSF having increased phenomenally, it appears that the forum is also becoming a global institution where dissent and alternative are freely articulated. So far the “anti-globalisation” protests have been associated with official summits. This was so of the 1999-marches in Seattle at the time of WTO meeting, the 2000-protests in Prague at the time of WB-IMF conference, and 2001-demonstrations in Geneva at the time of G-7 summit. The WSF, on the other hand, stands independently and on its own space for alternatives.

The diffuse nature of forum meant that it was possible to use the occasion for one’s own ends. The many voices at the WSF also meant that there were occasional tensions. There was no shortage in criticism from anarchists and even some radicals that the WSF was a “reformist” meeting which did not fundamentally question the system.

II. Implications of Three World Meets

The afore-mentioned three world meets represent a part of a series of attempts made by various international agencies to sort out a long simmering social problem (i.e., inequality and poverty) plaguing the nation-state system since its beginning. But none of the above three initiatives has provided a consistent analysis of the problem, its nature, cause and solution.

The first two meets (i.e., WEF and UN summit), representing the theory and practice of corporate capitalism, emphasise the strategy of providing additional funds to the developing countries by remitting their old debts and by enhancing the present level of their development aid as a solution to the issue of poverty eradication. The same development strategy for the developing countries is also emphasised by the WB and the IMF.

This development strategy springs from the belief that the

cause of backwardness and poverty in the developing countries lies in the paucity of capital. It is true that the developing countries lack in capital and the latter is one of the important factors in development. But, 200 year long experience of this capital (i.e., the corporate or so-called private capital) shows that, while helping in an increase in production and employment, it widens the rich-poor gap by multiplying many times the former's wealth and keeping the latter on the margin. Never has it deviated from the foregoing path.

The corporate or the so-called private capital generally comes in two forms—corporate investment (i.e., foreign direct investment, FDI) and official aid (i.e., amount to be utilised through the state machine). The first form mainly helps the foreign and native corporate business, while giving marginal benefits to native workers in the matter of employment and to the native agriculture and business in relation to trade.

The second form mainly benefits the native politicians and bureaucrats who appropriate a major share through corrupt means. Some part goes waste due to mismanagement. Only a meagre portion goes to benefit the people.

The foreign funds (whether in the form of debt or FDI) have been opposed by the Left groups as counter-productive or anti-people capital. Now the Left is totally confused over the former's role. Many ruling communist groups have turned into passionate customers of this capital. Only a small fringe goes on holding the old dogmatic position.

It is interesting to note that there is no difference in the development concept, its aim, sectors and criteria of both the corporate (or market-based or Western liberal) capital and the communist (or state-led or Marxist) capital.

Both define development in terms of an increase in material production, using the similar methods of measurement. Both have the same development aims and sectors of development. Our concept of development differs with both the corporate and the communist models (as explained in the next chapter).

The historical experience of the corporate capital in the world does not provide a healthy picture in the sector of social justice. Leaving aside its first phase of capital accumulation (i.e., the phase of gun-boat piracy and colonialism), its social justice record in the 2nd phase has been further distressing as is obvious from the following facts.

While unprecedented wealth has been accumulating in the

hands of the rich in the developed countries, over 40% of the world population subsist from hand to mouth.

According to a UN joint publication with the OECD, the IMF and the WB, there are 1.2 billion people pulling on less than \$1 a day and an additional 1.6 billion living on less than \$2 a day

Amazing is the disparity that is existing in the GNP of 192 countries. It is as low as \$80 and as high as \$45,360 a year.

While both the developed and the developing countries claim that their policies are reducing poverty and removing income disparities, the gap between the rich and the poor countries and between the haves and the have-nots in each country is increasing. Today, the rich have more than at any time in history. Take the case of the billionaires of the world. The combined wealth of the 200 richest persons in the world is \$1.1 trillions upwards. In 1999, Bill Gates wealth stood at \$90 billion. Even today he ranks first among the world's rich persons, with \$60 billion worth. The second richest man, Larry Ellison, is worth \$47 billion and Paul Allen worth \$28 billion. There are about 482 billionaires in the world (ibid). Contrary to this, the combined incomes of 582 million people living in 43 least developed countries of the world are \$146 billion during 1999 (ibid).

The amount spent globally to deal with Y2K—the greatest trick ever played on humanity—is \$400 billion. That is roughly the total debt owned by the world's poorest countries. Three richest persons of the world have assets worth more than the combined GNP of the 26 of the world's poorest countries. According to a new report on 'global food insecurity' from the FAO, hunger haunts 826 million people worldwide and 95% of them are in the developing countries. That study further tells that the depth of hunger varies between countries. The under-nourished in Haiti, for example, are 450 kilo-calories short of the minimum dietary requirements for good health compared with a difference of 200 kilo-calories in Indonesia. The World Watch Institute in Washington said, "The number of over-fed people on the planet is at the highest level. Data from WHO indicate that at least 1.1 billion people get too few calories to ward off hunger and 1.1 billion or more take too many calories.

Shameful inequalities exist between rich and poor in America. In fact, the US leads the world in 'inequality of incomes'. Here one percent of population owns more than that possessed by 95% of US population. The only difference between the US and other country's poverty is that the poorest American enjoys

higher living standards than the poorest European or Asian counterpart. On an average, income per person in America is 45% higher than in Europe and 20% higher than Japan. Still in US, one crore people today live in poverty.

Wide gap exists in the GNP of rich and poor countries. While US, Canada, Australia and Britain have GNP of \$29,080, \$19,640, \$20,870 and \$20,650 respectively, Sri Lanka and India have GNP of \$800 and \$370 respectively (all 1997 figures).

The third meet (i.e., World Social Forum) was to sort out a concrete programme on how to shape out a better world. But its discussions were organised under four broad headings, i.e., economic production, access to wealth, civil society and public arena and political power and ethics. These were incoherent themes in terms of working out an alternative social system. However, the effort was highly praise-worthy which brought so many devoted activists—who genuinely aspired for an alternative agenda—under one roof.

III. An Alternative Model

What is our understanding of the existing problem of inequality and poverty in the world—i.e., its nature, cause and solution? Lacking in a realistic and concrete understanding of the problem takes one nowhere.

(A) Nature Of The Problem

Simply defined, the problem of inequality and poverty signifies that social framework within which human community has been living and functioning today is not a fair and just social dispensation. Not only it (i.e., the social dispensation) is incapable of eradicating the root cause of the problem, but even lacks in the ability to halt its (i.e., the problem's) upwards growth (increasing 25 times during the past 180 years of its life) and to rationalise or humanely manage its negative effects which have been undermining the existential conditions of nearly one-half of our community.

The whole historical experience of the present social organisation testifies to the above fact. Neither the 200 year old 'percolation theory' of the Adam Smithian economic model (operating since long in the Western countries) nor the 150 year aged Marxian economic theory (which had worked for decades in the erstwhile socialist countries) has proved effective to even mitigate the intensity of the problem. From all accounts—i.e., its

historical origin, negative effect on human species, defiance of all remedies, etc., it appears that the problem has today assumed a sub-human character.

Historical experience shows that inequality and poverty has not been an endemic feature of human society.

In the first human social formation, i.e., the clan society, there was complete equality and fraternity among the clan members who were closely related to each other by blood-ties. In times of scarcity, the whole clan starved together, while in the days of plenty, all feasted and enjoyed in company. The only prejudice in that society was one clan's intolerance towards the members of other clans who were, whenever captured, generally killed.

A similar state of affairs continued in the tribal society where each tribe comprised a number of clans. Here, the same prejudice against the rival tribes continued, with the difference that the captured rival tribals were now spared of their lives and made as slaves.

In the feudal society, the serf subordination to the feudal lord had begun, but the serf used to have a common security from the village community on occasions of any natural or social disaster.

In the days of cold war between the US and the Soviet Union, the richer countries too introduced a system of social security for their weaker sections. But, after the collapse of the Soviet system, the old social security mechanism has weakened and now life for the deprived people has become more insecure. Still, the insecurity of the poor in the developing countries knows no bounds.

(B) Cause Of The Problem

The source of origin of the problem of inequality and poverty rests with a 3-dimensional cause—i.e., its sociological roots, systemic faults and its operational defects.

Sociological Roots

The fundamental sociological reason lies in the one-sided philosophical understanding of the Adam Smithian and the Marxian development models (both of which have functioned as two standard development modes of the ongoing, but now retreating, nation-state system in various parts of the world). This one-sided understanding is that man constitutes the supreme phenomenon in the system of nature on our planet and even in the universe. Obviously, it projects people as the sole builder of

human society and everything in it, disregarding the social truth that the change and development in human society takes place due to a 2-sided inter-action—that between nature and society, on the one hand and within human society itself, on the other.

The second fundamental sociological reason comes from the one-sided understanding of the Adam Smithian and the Marxian development models about the human nature. The Adam Smithian economic model holds that humankind is selfish by nature. The Marxian economic theory takes a confusing stand on the question of human nature. Firstly, it emphasises that mankind is social by nature. The next moment it transfers the quality of being absolutely social to the industrial proletariat (who is, according to it, destined to be the liberator of humankind). And, finally, it passes the entire monopoly of the social characteristic on to the communist party which alone, in its view, has the capacity to bring a social transformation in human society.

In reality, however humankind bears a 2-sided character; biological, on the one hand, and social, on the other. The biological aspect reflects the individual existence of mankind, while the social side denotes its social living, functioning and organising.

Basic Systemic Faults

The basic reason of the problem is related to the systemic fault which sorts out profit-maximisation or attaining the highest growth rate as the sole aim of its development model. Both the Liberal and the Marxian versions accept the growth rate as the single criterion of judging social prosperity and progress. In their search for achieving the highest growth rates, both have been running havoc with the environmental and the human development factors.

The second, but a highly damaging systemic, defect lies in the universal acceptance of the rule of monetary growth as the sole standard of measuring social prosperity and progress. The projection of money as the defining feature of social advancement has highly ignited the human ambition of money-making which has, as is obvious from the facts today, become the main motivational factor of near about every human being, determining his perspective, mindset, aim, priority and means and forms.

Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is now chasing after these two 'life-extending elixirs'. The money and

power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

In fact, self-interest is the basic instinct of the animal sphere, while man has, since his evolution as homo-sapien, become bio-social by nature. The characteristic of being half-social is the only quality that distinguishes human species from the animal ones. When man becomes devoid of social aspect, he turns out just like an animal in his lifestyle.

Short-Term Systemic Defect

The short-term defect of the system is related to its operational agency of the government. Oriented solely by self-perpetuation, the leaders of the national governments (based on the party system in every country) are mainly concerned with the amassing of their own wealth and the holding of an everlasting power, by fair means or foul, with no consideration to the mass interests or any eco-bio issue. Their pet lifestyle is 'to say one thing, but do the other'. They always shed tears for the poor and the deprived, but at all times serve the rich and the dominant.

From the foregoing facts, it is apparent that unless the present social system and its development paradigm is replaced by a sustainable, just and equitable model, there is not much possibility of giving an effective response to the highly dangerous social challenge of inequality and poverty.

(C) A Realistic Option

An objective study of the nature and the cause of a problem naturally facilitates the way towards its realistic solution. But, before proceeding ahead, two points need clarification. One is what main hurdles are likely to come on the way. And the other is how these obstacles are going to be cleared.

The first immediate hurdle is the prevailing peoples mindset which perceives money-laundering and power-grabbing as the main objective of life, and consequently views money-launderers as creators of wealth and the power-grabbers as the experts of providing security and stability to the people for carrying on their daily productive activity. This fact is obvious from the domination of power-hungry politicians, money-laundering businessmen and moral degenerates everywhere in the world, with a few exceptions confined to the marginal space. So, an old saying is

proved that we generally get what we deserve.

The second hurdle is the US super-powerism which, being the chief beneficiary of the corporate development model, is the number one military force and economic power of this era. Leaving aside its past acts of aggression and high-handedness, the US today has set on a course of belligerence and unilateralism with the aim of reasserting its complete world domination. Waving the signboard of finishing off all sorts of terrorism, it has launched a forceful pro-active campaign against all those states and armed groups who dare to defy its dictates. It opposes every move to bring any change (corresponding to the newly-emerged process of globalisation) in the 1945-UN charter representing the social demands of 1945 nation-state based principal reality. Similarly, it throttles every initiative to update the outdated characteristics of the 55 year old financial institutions, like the IMF and the WB.

Thus, while the newly-emerged process of globalisation (i.e., the process of the establishment of human society at the global level) demands the restructuring of a new global order, the US wants to maintain and safeguard the old nation-state system, modifying it to the extent that ensures its present interests and further extends its newly arisen hegemonic interests.

The third hurdle is the continuation of various varieties (both new and old) of fundamentalism who are misleading and confusing the people in their search for right and wrong.

The fourth hurdle is the existence of different kinds of inter and intra-state conflicts which, under different pretexts, go on dividing the people and hindering the process of peoples unity, thus harming the public cause.

The fifth hurdle is the prevailing notion which holds capital and capital-owners as the top-most priority in every institution—international as well as national. This closes the door for any consideration to environmental and human issues.

The sixth hurdle is the monopolisation of power by the five veto holding states in the security council, the highest authority today constituting the centre of restructuring the present world.

The seventh hurdle is the total control of the two international financial institutions—the IMF and the WB—by a few economically rich countries, like US, Japan, Germany, UK, France, etc.

All the above-mentioned hurdles can be managed through a proper short-term agenda.

(i) Short-Term Agenda

The first hurdle should be controlled by awakening the people about the deadly challenge coming from worsening environmental resources, harmful effects of inhuman inequality and poverty and negative results flowing from prevailing corruption, deception and fraud and a debased lifestyle—all created by the money and power-hungry controllers and managers of the present anti-environment and anti-human system.

The second hurdle should be dealt with by firmly holding the banner of peace, friendship and cooperation among various nations and other ethnic-cultural groups, resolving of all conflicts and disputes through dialogue, safeguarding of environmental interests, human rights, social justice and equality among all everywhere, stopping of all belligerent, hegemonic and unilateral armed actions by all states, particularly the US, and, above all, accepting the UN as the only centre of managing the international problems, political, economic and cultural.

The third hurdle should be tackled by highlighting the negative results of the various fundamentalist theories and their practices.

The fourth hurdle should be overcome by publicising the damaging effects of the various conflicts on environment and human development.

The fifth hurdle should be handled by demanding the full democratisation of the monopoly corporate sector (whose monopoly is ensured through unjust laws which give the promoters of corporate companies special rights to issue promoters shares for themselves and their relatives and friends on the block basis at about 1/100th part of the market price, organise the management boards under the control of directors mainly coming from promoter share-holders whose descendants continue their monopoly control till the life of the company).

The democratisation of the corporate sector should be done on the basis of free and fair elections. Every share-holder should have equal rights, i.e., one vote for each person. The 2/3rd of the management board should be elected by the share-holders, while 1/3 representation should be given to the elected representatives of workers.

The monopoly of the state sector be done away with by selling 2/3rd of its shares to the ordinary share-holders constituting its management board with 50% representation to ordinary share-holders, 20% to government and 30% to labour.

The sixth and the seventh hurdles should be jumped over by

launching a vigorous campaign for ending the special veto rights of the five permanent members of the UN security council and for reducing the rich countries' domination over the IMF and the WB by giving bigger voice to the poorest countries.

Lastly, but most importantly, it is highly essential that, in view of the worsening of the problem of inequality and poverty, all those who fall below the poverty line and all those who are totally unemployed should be entitled to social security as a fundamental right. This right should be provided through a UN covenant, mandatory for all countries.

The UN covenant should lay down that the expenditure on social security will be met 50% by the concerned state and the rest by the UN; that the UN general assembly will immediately set up a high-powered UN Sustainable Development Council to act as a global authority for the conservation and promotion of the environmental resources, on the one hand, and the development of human resources, on the other; that this council will enact fundamental international reforms in regard to environmental and human advancement; that the finances for the council will come from: (a) each country contributing 30% mandatory saving from its respective military budget, and (b) global taxation, such as global trade, use of natural resources like oil, coal, communication satellites, air travels, Antarctica mining, sea-bed mining, oceanic transportation, etc.; that the UN general assembly will devise the scheme for the distribution of the said global revenues between the UN and the member states in which the least developed countries will be given special consideration.

(ii) Long-Term Agenda

A Nature-Human Centric Paradigm

Given the integral and inter-dependent nature of our planet, the long-term agenda comprises the following points.

Vision: The nature of our planet and the 21st century's social reality of inter-dependence of nation-states provide the nature-human centric paradigm the vision of one world, while the 1945-UN charter gives one the vision of sovereign and independent nations, a vision contrary to the existing reality.

Fundamental Principle: The fundamental principle of the above-mentioned vision should, firstly, be to put the people and the environment at the centre of global activity (i.e., to serve the peoples interests, on the one hand, and to take care of the environmental conservation, on the other).

Global Order: The fundamental principle of nature-human centric vision and its enviro-human priority demands that the UN be restructured on a democratic basis, style and organisation. But the UN, as it stands today, lacks this quality. The UN general assembly's structure and functioning is quite democratic. But its top decision-making body, i.e., the security council, is characterised by highly unfair and totally undemocratic norms—i.e, the permanent membership for the militarily most strong five nations and their special veto rights.

Obviously, any attempt to fully democratise this body would, at this moment, encounter stiff resistance from the 5-member privileged club. So, taking into account the existing global power structure, it seems that the full democratisation of the security council will take some more time. For the time being, the rule of special veto powers should be done away with, while retaining the norm of permanent membership till the change in the ongoing balance of power. All other seats in the security council should be filled through election by the general assembly.

The rich countries control over IMF and WB be reduced and the poorest countries be provided more voice in the WTO.

Development Model: The fundamental principle of people-environment priority (which is imperative for human development) demands a new type of development model that stands for a five-fold fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This five-fold fundamental principle corresponds with the bio-social nature of humankind, i.e., it coordinates the man's self-interest with his social interest.

The people-environment based development model represents the updated concept of development in contrast to the two traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-directed. While the corporate-led development model singles out profitability or productivity (which ensures the interests of money-owners alone) as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation (or the nationalisation) of the means of production as its only goal (which serves the interests of the ruling politicians and bureaucrats). Both these traditional national models serve only the self-interest of humankind contrary to his bio-social character, i.e., comprising both the self-interest and the social interest. Again, they do not accord any priority to environment and any place to the upholding of democratic and transparent

norms in the economic or growth process. Further, while the corporate model totally rejects the principle of equity (or social justice), the government-directed one fully ignores that of political equity and productivity.

This model differs with both the corporate-led and the state-based development models on the issues of their purpose, management and style.

While the corporate model stands for developing the capital and capital owners and the state model advances the interests of its ruling politicians and bureaucrats plus the labour aristocracy, the nature-human centric one serves the interests of people and environment, in general, and the poor and deprived sections in particular.

In management, while the corporate sector upholds the monopoly corporate management and control and the state sector supports the monopoly bureaucratic management and control, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic management and control of public limited companies by elected joint committees, each comprising 2/3rd elected members from ordinary share-holders, and 1/3rd elected workers representatives in place of permanent corporators.

In style, contrary to the authoritarian and secretive corporate and state style, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic, transparent and accountable style.

Global Peace And Security: A nature-human centric development model, first of all, needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation and military solution be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN, political, economic and cultural inequalities be ended and the development gap between the developed and the developing countries and that between rich and poor be removed.

Politics: Nature-human centric politics requires a politics that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a politics necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the introducing of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision-making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party centralised power.

Economics: Nature-human centric economics demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules

are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic principle of 'self-interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature. But, ironically, both measure development, prosperity and progress in terms of monetary growth and not in the context of human and environmental development.

Value System: Nature-human centric value system calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values and promotes rational humanist and environmentalist thinking, behaviour and organisation among the people.

Approach: Nature-human centric approach should stand for scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

Sociology Of Freedom Vs Inequality

The champions of liberal democracy and free market claim that the principle of equality throttles freedom of thought and action, while the protagonists of equality argue that freedom of thought and action hinders the principle of equality. But both represent one-sided concepts.

In fact, both principles, i.e., the freedom of thought and action and equality are two sides of the same coin. Both are coordinates and not antagonists in a single social process. There can be no freedom of thought and action without equality and vice-versa.

An Appeal to 2002-UN World Summit On Sustainable Development In Johannesburg

Hon'ble Secretary General
United Nations
New York

Dear Sir,

The enclosed Appeal on the Johannesburg UN Summit On Sustainable Development is being sent to you for your kind perusal. The central idea of this appeal is that human community is facing the most threatening eco-bio crisis in its history. The basic cause of this crisis rests with the prevailing unjust and irrational social system, while the immediate one lies in its anti-environment and anti-human development policies—with the sociological reason residing in Adam Smith's irrational economic principle that 'man is selfish by nature' (contrary to the bio-social reality of man). A realistic answer to this crisis can come from a nature-human centric agenda. Your goodself is requested that a copy of the same be kindly provided to each Hon'ble Head of the government for his/her study and necessary disposal.

With great regards and best wishes and thanking you in anticipation

Yours Truly
R. P. Saraf
Editor Internationalist Democratic Viewpoint

Dated 07.08.2002

Choice Is Clear: Survival Or Extinction; There Is No Third Alternative; Let This Summit Be A Turning- Point In Securing Our Future

I. A Fatal Eco-Bio Crisis On Our Planet

This appeal is being addressed to you at a time when humanity (alongwith other bio-phenomena) on this earth, confronted with the most serious eco-bio crisis, stands at the cross-roads of history. The crossing provides them only one pair of choices, i.e., survival or extinction. There is no third way out.

The sole purpose of this appeal is to humbly request you to utilise the crucial occasion of your coming conclave for a thoroughgoing, realistic discussion on the nature of the deadly eco-bio crisis, its cause and solution and then chalk-out an action plan for the implementation of the world people.

Already, we had lost a lot of time and wasted too many opportunities, including the two highly important ones—the first provided by the 1972 Stockholm Human Environment Conference (attended by 113 countries) and the other by the 1992-Rio Earth Summit (participated by 178 nations) on sustainable development in Rio-de-Janeiro.

The reason for the non-fulfilment of the past UN initiatives logically rested with the fact that they (i.e., the said initiatives) had no priority for the prevailing corporate (or state-led) development paradigm whose sole motive of profit maximisation conflicts with the strategy and action plan of sustainable development. Hence, it was difficult for the various national regimes to undertake that agenda. This time, the UN summit must—by sensitising both the state executives and the corporate managements about the fact that the sustainable development agenda concerning eco-bio

survival is more important than any systemic demand—ensure that its adopted decisions become the chief concerns of every state, both theoretically and practically. Any neglect of the public-official awareness task at this defining moment will doom the human cause for ever.

The seriousness of the challenge can be seen from hundreds of expert reports. It is no use repeating the plethora of facts concerning the unsustainability of our environment and human development, the two basic aspects of our survival. However, it is necessary to look at some significant orientational facts which speak for themselves.

(A) Planet Can Expire By 2050

A 2002-study by the World Wildlife Fund, released just a week before, has warned that our planet is going to expire within 50 years. This is, because the human race is plundering the planet at a pace that outstrips its capacity to support life. Condemning the Western society's high consumption levels, the report adds that an extra planet (the equivalent size of earth) will be required by the year 2050 as existing resources are exhausted and the planet becomes unsustainable.

The report, based on scientific data from across the world, reveals that more than a third of the natural world has been destroyed by humans over the past three decades.

Experts say that seas will become emptied of fish, while forests—which absorb carbon-dioxide emissions—are completely destroyed and fresh water supplies become scarce and polluted.

The report shames the US for placing the greatest pressure on the environment. It found the average US resident consumes almost double the resources as that of some Africans.

The report warns that the wasteful lifestyles of rich nations are mainly responsible for the exploitation and depletion of natural wealth.

The report offers a vivid warning that either people curb their extravagant lifestyles or risk leaving the issue on scientists to locate another mother planet that can sustain human life. Since this (i.e., the location of a required planet) is unlikely to happen, the only option is to stop unsustainable level of consumption.

(B) Threat To Human And Ecological Health

The 2002-UN Environment Programme (UNEP) Report released in May this year warns that the expansion of cities

destruction of forests, erosions of fields and rising demand for water are likely to threaten human and ecological health in many countries.

It says the growth of agriculture is damaging landscapes, depleting aquifers, raising the level of salt in the soil and reducing habitat for wildlife.

Already, five billion acres of soil, more than the area of the US and Canada combined, is degraded by human activity, with a sixth of that “strongly or extremely degraded”. More than 80 percent of the damage has come through water and wind erosion.

It adds most regions of the world will still see their biological diversity and coastal eco-systems badly damaged by 2032.

Without the environment, there can never be the kind of development needed to secure a fair deal for this or future generations.

(C) Pressures On World's Natural System Increasing

The 2002-World Watch Institute's report said: Pressures on the world's natural system have worsened in the 10 years since the international environment conference known as the Earth Summit was held, a leading environment think-tank said on 10 January. These pressures range from global warming to the degradation of fisheries and fresh water.

The 1992-UN Conference on Environment and Development as the summit was officially known was hailed as a challenge to the reigning development model which it assailed as materials intensive, driven by fossil fuels and based on mass consumption and disposal.

Steps in the 1990s since the summit towards a more just and ecologically resilient world, however, were too small, too slow or too poorly rooted.

Global emissions of the heat trapping greenhouse gas carbon dioxide, which most scientists believe cause global warming, have climbed more than 9% in the past 10 years.

The global temperature record points to the 1990s as the warmest decade since measurements began in the 19th century, and scientists have documented a 10-20 cm rise in global average sea levels over the past century, the report said. US emissions rose some 18% between 1990 and 2000.

While the protection of the world's biological diversity was highlighted at the summit, ongoing species extinctions since

then demonstrate an urgent need to step up protection, said the report. The largest threat to flora and fauna was loss of habitat—including farming, ranching, mining, logging and urban expansion.

The world's forests, a key habitat for threatened species, continued to disappear in the 1990s, said the report. According to the Forest Resources Assessment 2000 by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, forest area worldwide has decreased by 2.2% since 1990.

Coral reefs, a crucial habitat for marine species, were also worse off since the Rio conference. About 27% of the world's coral reefs—suffering from pollution, warming sea water, mining and fishing—are now severely damaged, up from 10% at the time of the Earth summit.

With coral reefs being second only to forests in biological wealth, such extensive losses inevitably take a great toll on many species as well, said the report.

While the 1990s was a decade of unprecedented economic growth—adding more than \$10 trillion a year to the global economy—it was also a decade that left the number of people living in poverty nearly unchanged at more than one billion people.

Despite the prosperity of the 1990s, the divide between rich and poor is widening in many countries, undermining social and economic stability.

Death from HIV/AIDS, said the report, increased more than six-fold over the 1990s. And while people in wealthy countries were living longer than ever, some 14,000-30,000 people continued to die each day in developing nations from water-borne diseases.

The report blamed the under-funding of environmental initiatives, the stagnation in foreign aid spending, and the indebtedness of developing nations, for impeding environmental and social progress.

The Rio summit resulted in several major developments in international governance, including new treaties on climate change, toxic chemicals, and biological diversity. There were now more than 500 environmental treaties and agreements. But few of them contained specific targets and time-tables and most were weak on provisions for monitoring and enforcement, said World Watch.

The UN Environment Programme has struggled to maintain its annual budget of roughly \$100 million, it said. At the same time,

military expenditures by the world's governments are running at more than \$2 billion a day.

Since the summit in Rio, foreign aid spending declined substantially, falling from \$69 billion in 1992 to \$53 billion in 2000, despite a more than 30% expansion in global economic output over the last 10 years, said World Watch.

Although nations at the conference pledged to reduce indebtedness, the total debt burden in developing countries and nations in economic transition, said the report, climbed 34% since then, reaching \$2.5 trillion in 2000.

(D) Deplorable State Of Human Development

The state of human development is, if not more, equally worrisome. This is obvious from day-to-day facts:

The 2001-UN Human Development Report writes: as the 21st century dawns, the challenges of human development remain large. Of the 4.6 billion people in developing countries, more than 850 million are illiterate, nearly a billion lack access to improved water sources, and 2.4 billion lack access to basic sanitation. Nearly 325 million boys and girls are out of school. And 11 million children under age five die each year from preventable causes—equivalent to more than 30,000 a day. Around 1.2 billion people live on less than (the equivalent of) \$1 a day (1993 PPP US dollar), and 2.8 billion on less than \$2 a day. Such deprivations are not limited to developing countries. In OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, more than 130 million people are income poor, 34 million are unemployed and adult functional illiteracy rates average 15%.

Global inequalities in income are also high. In 1993, the poorest 10 per cent of the world's people had only 1.6 percent of the income of the richest 10 per cent. The income of the richest 1 percent added up to that of the poorest 57 per cent. The richest 10 percent of the US population (around 25 million people) had a combined income greater than that of the poorest 43 percent of the world's people (around 2 billion people).

The report admits that in most spheres today matters relating to technical progress—research, designs, production, propagation—are governed not by considerations of social benefits, but by calculations of profitability of economically powerful private agencies.

In 2000, Brazil had nine billionaires with a collective worth of \$20 billion, India had nine worth \$23 billion, Malaysia had five

worth \$12 billion, Mexico had 13 worth \$25 billion and Saudi Arabia had five worth \$41 billion.

The report noted that the worlds of finance and development are linked through the mechanisms of saving and investment. An estimated \$7.5 trillion was saved or invested worldwide last year, of which \$1.7 billion was invested in developing countries. But the net transfer to wealthy countries amounted to \$450 billion, three-fourths of which was absorbed by the United States.

The foreign debts accumulated by many poorer countries, the report said, have become heavy constraints on their ability to reduce poverty and reach other development goals. While debt relief is just one of various financial assistance instruments, it is important to recognise that in some cases debt burdens represent insurmountable obstacles and need to be addressed urgently.

The unequal distribution of benefits and the imbalances in global rule-making, which characterise globalisation today, inevitably will produce backlash and protectionism.

The 1999-Human Development Report says that, by the late 1990's the fifth of the world's people living in the highest income countries had: 86% of world GDP, the bottom fifth just 1%; 82% of world export markets, the bottom fifth just 1%; 68% of foreign direct investment, the bottom fifth just 1%; and 74% of world telephone lines—today's basic means of communication—the bottom fifth just 1.5%.

It further adds: more than a quarter of the 4.5 billion people in developing countries still do not have some of life's most basic choices—survival beyond age 40, access to knowledge and minimum private and public services. Nearly 1.3 billion people do not have access to clean water. One in 7 children of primary school age is out of school. About 840 million are malnourished. An estimated 1.3 billion people live on incomes of less than \$1 a day.

The 1996-UN Human Development Report tells: just three of the world's richest people have the combined GDP of the 48 least developed countries. The world's 225 richest people have a combined wealth of over \$1 trillion which is also the total income of 47 percent of the poor who number 2.5 billions. The wealth of 32 of the world's richest persons exceeds the GDP of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives) plus Iran and Afghanistan.

The Washington DC-based Centre for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR) has published compelling data

comparing growth rates from 1980 to 2000 (during the period of ascending IMF/World Bank power, when countries throughout the developing world adhered to the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment policy package of slashing government spending, privatising government-owned enterprises, liberalising trade, orienting economies to exports and opening up countries to exploitative foreign investment) with the previous 20 year period (when many poor countries focused more on developing their own productive capacity and meeting local needs).

The results 89 countries, 77% or more than three-fourths saw their per capita rate of growth fall by at least five percentage points from the period 1960-1980 to the period 1980-2000. Only 14 countries—13%—saw their per capita rate of growth rise by that much from 1960-1980 to 1980-2000.

The last 20 years of corporate globalisation, even measured by the preferred indicators of the IMF and World Bank, have been a disaster for the world's poor.

Over the last two decades, Latin America has experienced stagnant growth and African countries have seen incomes plummet. The only developing countries that have done well in the last two decades are those Asian countries that ignored the standard prescriptions of the IMF and World Bank.

The 2002-UN Human Development Report expresses: The world's richest 1 percent receives as much in terms of income as the poorest 75 percent. And the average poor person in a developing country wanting to sell in global markets confronts barriers twice as high as the typical worker in an industrialised country. It's still a terribly unfair world.

Global progress on reducing poverty has slowed to a 'snail's pace' and the international goal of halving the share of the world's population living on less than \$1 a day by 2015 is likely to be missed.

The rich countries control over the IMF and the World Bank must be reduced. Suggesting an end to the veto rights of the five permanent members of the UN security council, it says, the poorest countries must also have a bigger voice in the World Trade Organisation.

(E) An Unfair Human Social Order

Human community is living under an unfair and unjust social order where the powerful dominate the weak and the haves ride over the have-nots—with money, might and privilege constituting

the accepted norms of justice and truth, both on the global as well as the national levels.

This fact is, firstly, obvious from the theory and the functioning of all the world bodies. For instance, the UN and its agencies are regulated by the 1945 charter which gives veto power and permanent membership of the elective security council to the militarily most powerful 5 states of the world—i.e., the US, China, Britain, France and Russia. Obviously, such a privilege based rule is totally discriminatory and unjust because it reduces the role of the remaining 180 UN members to nullity. Morally and legally, it negates the world accepted principle of political equality, the one entity-one vote norm of the universal suffrage and the human right of every nation-state. When the UN has been interfering in the affairs of different states on the basis of human rights violations, why should not it restructure itself on a rational basis in order to make itself relevant to the new era?

Secondly, the same irrational and undemocratic style prevails in the two international financial institutions—the IMF and the World Bank—in which the economic weightage determines the voting strength of each member. Thus, these institutions are definitely governed by the financially developed countries, especially the US having 26% of the total voting strength.

Thirdly, the newly-created unjust CTBT regime gives virtual N-weapons monopoly to the 5 big nuclear powers—thus making them the invincible overlords of the world.

Fourthly, a handful of the developed countries, with hardly 15% of the world population, today control over 80% of the world's material and financial resources, leaving less than 20% for 85% of the world people, living in over 130 developing countries.

Fifthly, one-half of the world population, constituting the female part of the human community, continues to be the victim of ill-treatment and misbehaviour the world over.

Sixthly, the national situation in every country is not much different from the prevailing global order. Despite variations among the 190-plus countries due to their different physical settings, historical backgrounds and socio-economic conditions, there is a great deal of similarity in the quality of social life, especially among the developing countries. For instance, the political process in almost every country (whether developed or developing) remains dominated by money power which, in case of the developing countries, is also compounded by muscle power and primordial norms. The economic process in general

operates through cut throat competition, speculation and black money. The unscrupulous norms constitute the common behavioural forms everywhere.

Seventhly, in almost every country, a few are more privileged than the overwhelming majority. Everywhere, the legislators enjoy certain immunity from common laws under the law providing special parliamentary privileges. In the developing countries, the ruling groups often abuse the law with impunity. Nowhere in the world is the judiciary accountable to the people. Instead, the universally prevailing contempt of courts law empowers it to silence every critic. The official secrets law, existing in nearly all countries, authorises the bureaucracy to cover up all deals and thus ride roughshod over the people. The law enforcement agencies enjoy wide ranging powers the world over. In the 3rd world, they behave as law unto themselves. Everywhere the law favours the rich and the law-breakers and is biased against the poor and the deprived.

It is a world where unscrupulous politics, black money and yes-sir conduct have been the most profitable professions. In fact, they signify the parameters of the prevailing unfair order.

All the afore-mentioned serious challenges and dangerous threats reflect disharmonies within human society and between the latter and the nature. Essentially, they indicate the imbalanced state of the human community.

II. Sociological Roots As Well As Basic And Immediate Reasons Of Eco-Bio Crisis

(A) Basic And Immediate Causes Of Eco-Bio Crisis

There is now almost unanimity on the assumption that the cause of our environmental degradation does not lie in any natural process, but is intimately connected with human activity. Almost, all scientific community now seems to be in agreement with this presumption. Since no human activity takes place outside the social framework (whether regulated by traditional norms or modern constitutional-legal forms), all human interactions, whether negative or positive, are linked to the given social system. Hence, the conclusion is that the basic reason of our eco-bio crises lies in the existing nation-based system.

A concrete proof of the above idea can be seen from the fact that the process of environmental degradation started in a risky manner with the emergence of the nation-based state

system. The process started with the use of anti-environmental technologies generating greenhouse gases. Today, the spectre of environmental pollution threatens the entire bio-life on this planet.

Similarly, the facts demonstrate that the process of inequality and poverty in human society began with the emergence of the said system. Before that, the issue of inequality and poverty used to appear as a stray incident and not a general trend—as has become the case since the origin of the nation-state system. This can be seen from the facts disclosed by many famous economists and institutions, holding the view that the gap between the richest and the poorest countries in the world began around 1820 (when nation-state began to emerge on the social scene). At that time, it was just 3 to 1 which today stands at 100 to 1. It has grown 33 times during the past 180 years under the nation-state development model.

The basic defect of the nation-state system rests with its development model whose sole moral is profit-maximisation or self-realisation and which neither cares for environment nor mankind. Its apologists argue that whatever happened in the early stages of this system was due to human ignorance about environment. But what is its record today when it possesses full knowledge about the survival threat arising out of environmental degradation and when the most devastating eco-bio crisis is knocking at the doors of human community. Even then, its chieftain, the US, refuses to accept the Kyoto Protocol—a feeble attempt at reducing an insignificant proportion of greenhouse gases.

The short-term defect of the system is related to its operational agency or the government. Oriented solely by self-perpetuation, the leaders of the national governments (based on the party system in every country) are mainly concerned with the amassing of their own wealth and the holding of an ever-lasting power, by fair means or foul, with no consideration to the mass interests or any eco-bio issue. Their pet lifestyle is 'to say one thing, but do the other'. They always shed tears for the poor and the deprived, but at all times serve the rich and the dominant.

In the domain of national politics, nationalism has polluted the party-based democracy by popularising and practising money and power-oriented political culture which has transformed party politics into a game of opportunism, resulting in human rights violations, minority discrimination, mafiaism, crime and

lawlessness, etc.

In the case of national culture, it has bred a new type of consumerist culture which magnifies self-interest and develops the love for money and power by fair means or foul. To attain its objective of money and power, it has pursued ruthless colonialism for nearly 200 years the world over and waged two aggressive world wars in the first half of the 20th century, resulting in the killings of lakhs of people, with injuries to many more lakhs and destruction of property worth billions of dollars.

In foreign matters, it has generally followed a self-seeking policy, geared to its own profit-making ends.

The afore-mentioned facts show that all the grave challenges now confronting our planet and its multi-phenomena have been a product of our outgoing nation-state system, now being transmitted to the newly-emerging global order.

Obviously, if we fail to observe the real cause of our eco-bio crisis, then we will be unable to respond to it in a proper way.

(B) Sociological Roots Of Eco-Bio Crisis

Where does lie the sociological fault of the nation-state system? The first such fault emerges from its one-sided philosophical understanding of man's role in the system of nature. It considers humankind as the supreme phenomenon on our planet and in some cases even in the universe. This concept projects people as the sole builder of human society and every thing in it, disregarding the social truth that the change and development in human society takes place due to a 2-sided inter-action—that between nature and society, on the one hand, and within human society itself, on the other.

The second fault comes from its one-sided understanding of the human nature. It thinks that humankind is selfish by nature, thus neglecting the social reality of the 2-sided character of man. That is, self-interest, on the one side (originating from his biological individualism), and social, on the other (arising from his social entity as a member of society). This means that man is a bio-social being.

The third fault arises from its one-sided understanding of social development (or social prosperity and progress). It considers social development only in economic terms, or, in other words, in the context of human material needs, overlooking three equally important dimensions of human inherent concerns, such as existential (i.e., environmental), psychological (i.e., urge

for freedom of thought and action) and social (i.e., strong impulse for fairness and justice in all material and psychological processes). Its understanding of social development as only an economic gain identifies profit (or economic growth rate) as the only indicator of social development, thus marking money as the sole ideal of human existence.

The fourth fault originates from its dogmatic and unrealistic understanding of the traditional political norm holding might being right as an ever-lasting principle, unrelated to given social conditions. Consequently, such a mechanical idea undermines the scientific principle that everything is related to given time and space. Accordingly, the theory of might being right has today become unproductive, because the existing social reality demands an all-sided cooperation between different nations and socio-ethnic communities in order to facilitate their integration into a global human unit. The determinism based concept of might being right has turned political power as the be-all and end-all of human existence.

The fifth fault lies in its one-sided ethical concept which maintains that end justifies the means. Such a concept helps its development aim of profit-maximisation by the adoption of all deceitful means (i.e., corruption, black market, fraud, etc.) and vindicates its double-dealing political style of saying one thing and doing another.

The foregoing sociological principles of the nation-state system (or corporate-led or state-based system) have harmed the humanitarian cause, finally culminating in the ongoing fatal eco-bio crisis.

For example, the first principle, holding humankind as the unique phenomenon in the system of nature, gives the former a licence to exploit other natural phenomena according to his convenience.

The second principle, characterising self-interest as the basic instinct of humankind, provides every human being a right to fulfil his interests both at the cost of human community as well as environment.

The third principle, projecting profit as the sole purpose of human prosperity and progress, entitles the profit earner to take a major share of wealth produced by the efforts of whole society thus creating a gap between rich and poor in society and turning the latter into victims of poverty, unemployment, ill-health and illiteracy.

The fourth principle, highlighting might as the source of power, approves the powerful's domination over the weak.

The fifth principle, advertising double-dealing as the code of conduct harms peoples cause and benefits cheats & swindlers.

A highly important point, worth noting here, is that the projection of the principle of self-interest has created very damaging effects for human society. It has strengthened the instinct of selfishness in our present society, thus weakening the other social feature of man's bio-social character. Consequently, selfishness has, as is obvious from facts today, become the chief motivational factor of near about every human being determining his perspective, mindset, aim, priority, means and forms.

Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is chasing after these two life-extending elixirs. The money and power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

In fact, self-interest is the basic instinct of the animal sphere, while man has, since his evolution as homo-sapien, become bio-social by nature. The characteristic of being half-social is the only quality that distinguishes human species from the animal ones. When man becomes devoid of social aspect, he turns out just like an animal in his lifestyle.

III. A Response To Eco-Bio Crisis Can Come From A Nature-Human Centric Agenda

Recognising the integral and inter-dependent nature of our planet, human society and the ongoing eco-bio crisis, the logical conclusion is that unless the existing nation-state system is restructured on an international basis, no serious problem, what to say of the most threatening eco-bio crisis, can be responded in an effective way. Hence, the proper course for us is to adopt a 3-point coordinated agenda, i.e., (a) to view the existing social ground reality, (b) to chalk out an immediate agenda which answers to the ground reality, and (c) to prepare the strategic systemic restructuring agenda.

(1) A Highly Worrisome Social Ground Reality

The facts are too apparent and now known all over the world. The main ones are:

(A) On The Environmental Plane

Environmentally, the serious warning since sounded by the scientific community, 1972-Stockholm Conference and 1992-Rio Earth Summit that the planet would face unacceptable levels of environmental damage and human suffering if humans did not mend their unsustainable lifestyles stands today fully vindicated. In seemingly different forms has it struck in the past few decades—the increasing global warming, climatic disturbances causing drought, on the one hand, and floods, on the other, pollution of water in some places and shortage of drinking water in others, decreasing soil fertility and spread of waste-lands, continuing loss of different bio-species due to their increasing unfavourable living conditions, etc.

(B) On The Human Development Front

The most bothersome fact is that there is very little public awareness of the most destructive eco-bio crisis. The human mindset today is mainly money and power-oriented. A visible expression of such a mindset is that the people in almost all the countries (except a few) are voting in favour of the same set of tainted politicians who have played, or are still playing, a major role in the development of eco-bio crisis and the establishment of corruption and crime-ridden state structures.

The UN, as it stands the apex body of the world today, is too weak to handle any important world problem on its own. This was, due to the then existing balance of forces, not the position in the lengthy cold war period nor for sometime in the post-cold war world. The turn began in 1990s, with NATO's unilateral and UN's non-approved action in Bosnia, Yugoslavia and Kosovo. The neglect of UN became a trend after the terrorist strikes in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, when the US, a permanent member of the security council, unilaterally launched an attack against Afghanistan, without the security council sanction. However, despite its perennial weakness, the UN's positive role, whether in the present or in the past, should, and cannot be ignored.

The US today stands as the unchallenged policeman of the world. After its single-handed military success in Afghanistan, it has become more unilateralist and belligerent. Now, it has declared a perpetual war against its alleged terrorism, so far defined neither by the UN nor some other UN member. The first targets of its offensive include its so-called 'rogue states'—i.e.,

Iraq, Iran, North Korea, etc.—which are UN members and cannot by any logic be characterised as terrorists. There is worldwide disapproval, including that from China, Russia and EC, of the new declared US offensive plan. But, the US has so far not relented on the launching of its new war project.

Accompanying the fatal eco-bio crisis, the US-led world corporate development model is in a serious trouble. Corporate profits are falling. Many top corporate companies, especially in the US, have been found involved in big frauds and scandals. The corporate claim of its being a social institution of wealth creation and of prosperity and progress generation has got exposed.

Development process is facing an unheard of crisis, posing a very serious challenge to mankind.

Rich/poor divide is increasing at an unprecedented scale. Poverty and unemployment are spreading fast.

Military budgets—a drain on sustainable development—are sharply rising, while spendings on social development are declining.

Area of corruption, crime, violence and suicides in the world is vastly expanding, taking political and economic spheres and their executives in its fold.

Human rights violations, discrimination against minorities and other weaker sections and atrocities against women are on the increase.

Ethnic tensions are heightening. Various types of fundamentalist concepts, both new and old, are misleading and dividing the people.

(2) Immediate Agenda

Given the existing troublesome social ground reality, the UN general assembly may immediately convert the present security council into an international emergency management council (IEMC) to meet the extra-ordinary situations likely to arise in the coming future. Already, the yearly increasing environmental disasters of droughts, floods, epidemics, etc., and the worsening social issues like the rising poverty, unemployment, crimes, social violence, etc., have highlighted the need for such a body.

This council should stand for establishing a firm peace in the world by banning all types of wars, whether waged by a super-power or some other country. It should stop all ongoing wars, including the US war against terrorism. If any country had a complaint against another, it should come to the IEMC and not

resort to any unilateral action. If any council member defies the IEMC decision by taking a military action against any country, the general assembly may, on a complaint by the IEMC, take any action against such a member. The IEMC should also try to resolve all outstanding inter-state political disputes in the world on the basis of just compromising solutions that take into account and reconcile the interests of all the parties concerned. All financial and trade disputes should, as usual, be referred to the international financial and trade institutions or to the International Court of Justice.

It should ask all those states which are characterised by internal conflicts to resolve all such matters amicably and lend full cooperation and help if any state asks for that.

It should make every effort for the fulfilment of all the previous environmental and human development decisions arrived at the UN summits or other international conferences. The important environmental treaties include—1992 Rio Agenda 21, Rio biodiversity convention, Rio statement on the protection of forests, Rio Global Warming treaty, 1997 Kyoto protocol, while the significant human development issues comprise—the decisions taken at the 1994 UN Cairo Conference on population and development, 1995 UN Copenhagen Conference on social development, 1996 UN Peking Conference on gender equality and development, 2000 UN millennium summit and 2002 UN summit on development.

It should strive to get all UN conventions and ILO conventions implemented by the states.

It should chalk out an emergency global plan for the storage and supply of potable water to the water deficient countries.

It should get a long-term social security scheme prepared by each country to provide a reasonable security allowance to all those below the poverty line and totally unemployed (having no source of any financial support from any quarter).

It should devise schemes for raising the financial resources of the UN—such as levies on certain global transactions like the arms sale, air travels, currency sale (a variant of Tobin Tax), international film festivals and other global entertainment activities, etc.

(3) Long-Term Agenda—

A Nature-Human Centric Paradigm

The long-term agenda implies that the summit may consider the need to update the fundamental components of the ongoing

traditional nation-state system and its global UN dimension. The need to restructure the present national model (which was devised in the 19th and the early 20th centuries and whose UN dimension was worked out in 1945) arises from the fact that, originating from the past centuries old social conditions and having relevance to them, it (i.e., the nation-state system) has lost its relevance to the newly-emerged global reality of an inter-dependent world of nation-states and thus cannot cope with the new situational demands. The outgoing system's fundamentals that require restructuring comprise—its vision, priority, development model, peace and stability, politics, economics, values, outlook, social framework based on the bio-social human nature, etc.

Nature-Human Centric Vision

The integral and inter-dependent nature of our planet and the 21st century's social reality of inter-dependence of nation-states provide the nature-human centric paradigm the vision of one world, while the 1945 UN charter gives one the vision of sovereign and independent nations, a vision contrary to the existing reality.

Fundamental Principle Of Nature Human Centric Vision

The fundamental principle of the above-mentioned vision should, firstly, be to put the people and the environment at the centre of global activity (i.e., to serve the peoples interests, on the one hand, and to take care of the environmental conservation, on the other).

A Nature-Human Centric Global Order

The fundamental principle of nature-human centric vision and its enviro-human priority demands that the UN be restructured on a democratic basis, style and organisation. But the UN, as it stands today, lacks this quality. The UN general assembly's structure and functioning is quite democratic. But its top decision making body, i.e., the security council, is characterised by highly unfair and totally undemocratic norms—i.e., the permanent membership for the militarily most strong five nations and their special veto rights.

Obviously, any attempt to fully democratise this body would, at this moment, encounter stiff resistance from the 5 member privileged club. So, taking into account the existing global power

structure, it seems that the full democratisation of the security council will take some more time. For the time being, the rule of special veto powers should be done away with, while retaining the norm of permanent membership till the change in the ongoing balance of power. All other seats in the security council should be filled through election by the general assembly.

The rich countries control over IMF and WB be reduced and the poorest countries be provided more voice in the WTO.

A Nature-Human Centric Development Model

The fundamental principle of people-environment priority (which is imperative for human development) demands a new type of development model that stands for a 5-fold fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This 5-fold fundamental principle corresponds with the bio-social nature of humankind, i.e., it coordinates the man's self-interest with his social interest.

The people-environment based development model represents the updated concept of development in contrast to the two traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-directed. While the corporate-led development model singles out profitability or productivity (which ensures the interests of money-owners alone) as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation (or the nationalisation) of the means of production as its only goal (which serves the interests of the ruling politicians and bureaucrats). Both these traditional national models serve only the self-interest of humankind contrary to his bio-social character, i.e., comprising both the self-interest and the social interest. Again, they do not accord any priority to environment and any place to the upholding of democratic and transparent norms in the economic or growth process. Further, while the corporate model totally rejects the principle of equity (or social justice), the government-directed one fully ignores that of political equity and productivity.

This model differs with both the corporate-led and the state-based development models on the issues of their purpose, management and style.

While the corporate model stands for developing the capital and capital owners and the state model advances the interests of its ruling politicians and bureaucrats plus the labour aristocracy, the nature-human centric one serves the interests of

people and environment, in general, and the poor and deprived sections in particular.

In management, while the corporate sector upholds the monopoly corporate management and control and the state sector supports the monopoly bureaucratic management and control, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic management and control of public limited companies by elected joint committees, each comprising 2/3rd elected members from ordinary share-holders, and 1/3rd elected workers representatives in place of permanent corporators.

In style, contrary to the authoritarian and secretive corporate and state style, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic, transparent and accountable style.

A Stable And Durable Global Peace And Security

A nature-human centric development model, first of all, needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation and military solution be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN, political, economic and cultural inequalities be ended and the development gap between the developed and the developing countries and that between rich and poor be removed.

Nature-Human Centric Politics

Nature-human centric politics requires a politics that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a politics necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the introducing of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision-making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party-centralised power.

Nature-Human Centric Economics

Nature-human centric economics demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic

principle of 'self-interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature. But, ironically, both measure development, prosperity and progress in terms of monetary growth and not in the context of human and environmental development.

Nature-Human Centric Value System

Nature-human centric value system calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values and promotes rational humanist and environmentalist thinking, behaviour and organisation among the people.

Nature-Human Centric Approach

Nature-human centric approach should stand for scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

Restructuring Constitutional-Legal Framework

Lastly, it is necessary that, in any restructuring and updating process of the old social system, the entire constitutional-legal framework be based on the bio-social nature of man, i.e., on the coordination of human's self-interest with his social interest—thus bringing in a realistic human psychology-conditioning or motivational factor to accelerate social progress.

Sociology Of Nature-Human Centric Development Model

Man is not the master, but a part of nature. In accordance with the natural law, the human society develops through a 2-sided inter-action, i.e., between nature and human community, on the one hand, and among the people (comprising various formations, groups, sections and individuals) within human society, on the other.

It changes and develops in accordance with the general operational mode of inter-action through the alternating motions of unity and struggle.

The mode of existence of mankind is biological, while its mode of living and functioning is social. This characterises human community or a human being as a bio-social phenomenon, with a two sided—biological and social—character.

2002-Johannesburg UN Earth Summit Pushes Human Community Towards A Dangerous Course By Adopting Corporate Agenda As the Engine Of Sustainable Development

I. Our Perception Of Johannesburg Earth Summit

1. The above heading represents our perceptual interpretation of the just concluded, afore-mentioned summit on sustainable development from August 26 to September 4, 2002.

2. According to our perception, the corporate agenda of this summit distorts the nature of the chief challenge (i.e., the degradation of the environmental resources and the degeneration of the human resources due to their unsustainable use and misuse) now facing the objective of this summit (i.e., sustainable development) and covers up the real cause of this challenge (i.e., the existing market-led corporate development model) by prescribing it (i.e., the cause) as a solution to eliminate the chief challenge (as defined above).

3. Obviously, such a mode of conduct can only lead to the intensification of the confronting challenge (i.e., the degradation of the environmental resources and the degeneration of the human resources)—thus pushing the human community towards a dangerous course.

4. In our view, as analysed in detail following this part, the corporate agenda will, in the short-term, lead to the further worsening of the state of environment, on the one hand, and social equality and social justice, on the other. From the long-

term angle, it is, if not reversed, likely to carry the existing level of threatening environmental pollution and menacing social inequality and social injustice to the extent where the entire bio-life on our planet becomes unviable or unable to exist. This ruinous conclusion comes from the sociological basis and the social practice of the corporate model and is not in any way connected with some subjective feeling.

5. In the logical likelihood of the afore-mentioned gloomy outcome, the only saving feature for humanity (and also other forms of bio-life) lies in the inherent sociological rationality and the practical common sense and ingenuity of human species. The historical experience shows that, whenever confronted with a crisis, the human sociological rationale and human common sense and ingenuity have always found some way to ward off the confronting threat.

6. Proceeding from the inherent rational human thinking and common sense practicability and ingenuity, we are of the opinion that humankind will be able to overcome the most serious threat facing it during its history through the substitution of corporate agenda by a realistic environment-human centric agenda, thus updating the ongoing corporate system into a environment-human centric system—a transformation expressing in an objective way our social process of continuity with change (both quantitative and qualitative).

7. This transformation process will, as is visible from the available social facts (concerning existing balance of forces), proceed through a peaceful path wherein the forces of peace would overcome the confrontationist and war-mongering stalwarts. Already, the necessary rational and ingenuous forces, including those who are still staying within the corporate fold, have grown relatively more powerful than the negative troopers.

8. The afore-mentioned current social synopsis (outline) has been somewhat more elaborately dealt with in the following matter.

II. State Of The Chief Challenge Now Facing Sustainable Development

9. The facts, as released or accepted by the UN, the nation-states, other international bodies (including both the official institutions and the non-government agencies) and scientists and social scientists, etc., demonstrate that the human community (alongwith other bio-phenomena on our planet earth is confronted with the most serious eco-bio crisis, never

experienced by it at any time in its existential history. The crisis is so serious that either the human community overcomes this existential challenge or the latter overpowers it (alongwith other bio-phenomena) sooner than later.

10. As regards the ecological or environmental aspect, the position is highly alarming. So far, two expert scientific opinions (i.e., the 2002-study by the UN World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the warning issued by 6,000 famous scientists of the world in 2000) have indicated the time-frame of the developing eco-bio crisis. The 2002-WWF study has warned that if the human community (especially the rich nations and the rich persons) does not change its extravagant and wasteful lifestyle, our planet earth will become unsustainable within 50 years. The 2000-warning issued by the internationally prominent 6,000 scientists has sounded that if the human community did not stop the production of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in a short span of time, the global warming would make the earth uninhabitable for bio-life by the end of the 21st century. Other scientific experts who have not committed themselves to any time-table, do admit that the environmental situation is really worrisome.

11. The common man's day-to-day experience shows that the environmental behaviour has been becoming more furious. The 1990s had been one of the hottest decades ever. Since then, in addition to the El-Nino phenomena, there have been more cyclones, droughts and floods than ever before as the recent spate of floods in Europe and Asia shows. The weather has become more unpredictable. The cause, as scientific experts put forth, has been the excess of GHGs, that are heating our planet faster than the fragile 'sinks' (i.e., forests and oceans) can handle. The 'sinks' can dispose of a total load of 3.8 billion tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent a year. The present production of GHGs has crossed more than double of the handling capacity of the 'sinks'.

12. Coming to the social side, the situation is no less worrying. The day-to-day life of common people has notably deteriorated, both mentally and physically. Mentally, the state of mental satisfaction has got disturbed. There is no peace of mind anywhere, not even in the well-to-do upper layer.

13. Materially, an unprecedented gap has grown between the rich and the poor. Unemployment has also shot up to intolerable levels. The condition of problems, like sanitation, drinking water, health and diseases, education, roads and other social matters has become worse.

III. How 1992 First Rio Earth Summit Decisions Got On

14. The preceding description portrays the general picture of the environmental and human resources as they exist in the world today.

15. The following facts provide us a glimpse of what the 1992-Rio summitters and their successors have done to the environment and human development in the post-1992 period.

16. There is universal agreement on the point that the Rio summit was a watershed in bringing environmental and human concerns to the mainstream. Yet the Rio failed and its agenda squandered, primarily because the above-stated national regimes broke the promises they made. UN secretary-general Kofi Annan said, "there are serious gaps in implementing Rio's clear agenda on sustainable development." And the Johannesburg UN summit's preparatory committee chairperson, Emil Salim, lamented, "Development has taken only the economic track and left behind social and environmental sustainability."

17. But even the economic development as stated by the above gentlemen has been the most inequitable. The rich-poor gap, across and within countries has grown intolerably wider. For instance, about 1.3 billion people live on less than a dollar a day; another one billion cannot meet their basic consumption requirements. The share in global income of the world's richest fifth is 74 times that of the poorest fifth. The world's 200 richest people more than doubled their net worth in the four years ending 2000 to \$1 trillion. The poorest countries have seen their export earnings drop between 2.6 percent and 5 percent during each year of the Uruguay Trade Round. They will lose between \$163 billion and \$265 billion in export earnings, while paying between \$145 million and \$292 million more to import food. The Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme said: "The top fifth of the world's people in the richest countries enjoy 82 percent of the expanding export trade and 68 percent of the foreign direct investment, while the bottom fifth only gathers barely 1 percent."

18. The social effects of this kind of economic development have left 840 million people malnourished, while the consumption of the world's richest fifth is 16 times that of the poorest fifth. Over 160 million children are malnourished and over 250 million are working. More than 880 million people lack access to health services and 17 million die each year from curable infectious

diseases. Of the 4.4 billion people in the developing countries, nearly 1.5 billion do not have access to clean water, 1 billion lack adequate housing and 2.6 billion lack access to basic sanitation. Nearly two billion lack access to commercial energy.

19. In the environmental sphere, carbon emissions have globally increased by over 9 percent since Rio; in the US, it increased by 18 percent; forested area has contracted at the rate of 2.2 percent every year since 1992 and the decline in coral reefs rose from 10 percent in 1992 to 27 percent in 2000. By the end of the 1990s, 13 percent of fish, 11 percent of mammals, 10 percent of amphibians and 4 percent of birds were in danger of extinction, according to the World Conservation Union. Species loss, estimated to be over 100 times since the pre-industrial era, has led biologists to describe the contemporary period as an age of mass extinction, the first such in 65 million years.

20. During the same period, there has been an unprecedented growth and penetration of multinational corporations; there are over 63,000 parent firms with 6,90,000 foreign affiliates covering the globe and in diverse economic activities. The world's top 200 corporations have combined sales greater than the size of the combined economies of all countries. The biggest 10 US corporations dominate the top 200 corporations with 82 entities, followed by Japanese ones with 41. An incredible 97 percent of all patents are registered to owners in developed countries. These multinational corporations have more economic clout than most developing countries. Their interest is represented by their governments in trade negotiations & in global financial institutions.

21. Not only the decisions arrived at Rio had been sidelined, but even the promises made by rich countries concerning transfer of resources to the poor nations for carrying out agenda 21 had been ignored. The UN commission on environment and development estimated an expenditure of \$600 billion each year between 1993 and 2000 to implement agenda 21 in the developing countries. Of this amount, \$125 billions were to come through official development assistance (ODA) from the rich countries (compared to \$350 billions the developed countries spend on their farm subsidies). Although the rich countries committed 0.7% of their GDP as ODA, it remained on paper. The total ODA fell from \$69 billion in 1992 to \$53 billion in 2002. Neither the pledged resources and technology did materialise. Similar had been the case with the Global Environment Facility (GEF)—a new institution that emerged out of Rio. The GEF was provided with a total support of \$5.4

billion during 1993 and 2000, substantially less than the promised amount. According to the GEF Secretary-General, “Even \$10 billion was not enough to clear all the projects in the pipeline.”

IV. Reason Behind Non-Fulfilment Of Rio Decisions

22. The reason for the non-fulfilment of Rio decisions lies in the fact that they (i.e., Rio decisions) did not constitute any priority for the national rulers. Rather, they (i.e., the Rio decisions) harmed their interests. This is because the strategy and action plan of sustainable development conflict with the demands of the internationally prevailing corporate (or decaying state-led) development model whose sole aim is profit-maximisation. This objective demands the unbridled use of environmental and human resources. In fact, profit-maximisation (or the methodology of deriving greatest possible income) is also the aim of every nation-state. Nay, it (i.e., the optimisation of income) has become the principal objective of every individual in human society. The more rich a country, the more intense the desire of its citizens to increase their individual wealth. In other words, the objective of profit-maximisation has been the chief motive of every national government, whether it belongs to a rich country or a poor one. Rulers of both the developed and the developing countries have the same type of their respective principal priority, i.e., to give preference to policies and initiatives that maximise the profit of capital and capital owners. The difference between the developed and the developing countries exists only because of the fact that the ruling groups of the two types have to address two different kinds of people—majority of middle and rich classes in the developed countries with a tiny minority of poor contrary to the vast majority of poor people and a minority of middle and rich classes in the developing countries. That is why, systematically or strategically, the two varieties of national rulers have the same aim, i.e., to serve the corporate (or decaying state-led) development model, while following different policies corresponding to the varying nature of their respective mass constituencies.

V. Bothersome Signals Coming From Present Ground Reality

The facts are quite alarming and well-known all over the world.

(A) On The Environmental Plane

23. Environmentally, the serious warning since sounded by the

scientific community, 1972-Stockholm Conference and 1992-Rio Earth summit that the planet would face unacceptable levels of environmental damage and human suffering if humans did not mend their unsustainable lifestyles stands today fully vindicated. In seemingly different forms has it struck in the past few decades—the increasing global warming, climatic disturbances causing drought, on the one hand, and floods, on the other, pollution of water in some places and shortage of drinking water in others, decreasing soil fertility and spread of waste-lands, continuing loss of different bio-species due to their increasing unfavourable living conditions, etc.

(B) On The Human Development Front

24. The most bothersome fact is that there is very little public awareness of the most destructive eco-bio crisis. The human mindset today is mainly money and power-oriented. A visible expression of such a mindset is that the people in almost all the countries (except a few) are voting in favour of the same set of tainted politicians who have played, or are still playing, a major role in the development of eco-bio crisis and the establishment of corruption and crime-ridden state structures.

25. The UN, as it stands the apex body of the world today, is too weak to handle any important world problem on its own. This is due to present world balance of forces—a position not existing in the lengthy cold war period or sometime in the post-cold war world. The turn began in 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc and then NATO’s unilateral and UN’s non-approved action in Bosnia, Yugoslavia and Kosovo. The neglect of UN became a trend after the terrorist strikes in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, when the US, a permanent member of the security council, unilaterally launched an attack against Afghanistan, without the security council sanction. However, despite its perennial weakness, the UN’s positive role, whether in the present or in the past, should, and cannot be ignored.

26. The US today stands as the unchallenged policeman of the world. After its single-handed military success in Afghanistan, it has become more unilateralist and belligerent. Now, it has declared a perpetual war against its alleged terrorism, so far defined neither by the UN nor some other UN member. The first targets of its offensive include its so-called ‘rogue states’—i.e., Iraq, Iran, North Korea, etc.—which are UN members and

cannot by any logic be characterised as terrorists. There is worldwide disapproval, including that from China, Russia and EC, of the newly declared US offensive plan. But, the US has so far not relented on the launching of its new war project.

27. Accompanying the fatal eco-bio crisis, the US-led world corporate development model is in a serious trouble. Corporate profits are falling. Many top corporate companies, especially in the US, have been found involved in big frauds and scandals. The corporate claim of its being a social institution of wealth creation and of prosperity and progress generation has got exposed.

28. Development process is facing an unheard of crisis, posing a very serious challenge to mankind. Rich/poor divide is increasing at an unprecedented scale. Poverty and unemployment are spreading fast. Military budgets—a drain on sustainable development—are sharply rising, while spendings on social development are declining. Area of corruption, crime, violence and suicides in the world is vastly expanding, taking political and economic spheres and their executives in its fold. Human rights violations, discrimination against minorities and other weaker sections and atrocities against women are on the increase. Ethnic tensions are heightening. Various types of fundamentalist concepts, both new and old, are misleading and dividing the people.

VI. Need Of The Hour—A Realistic Understanding Of The Character Of Eco-Bio Crisis And Its Cause

29. Science (both natural and sociological) tells and experience confirms that, in order to understand anything, it is imperative to clearly know its character (i.e., its main characteristics) and the cause of its origin. Unless we comprehend these two features of an issue, we cannot properly deal with it.

(A) Character Of The Eco-Bio Crisis

30. The hitherto produced human knowledge of nature reveals that eco-bio crisis does, and can, originate from two sources—(a) inter-action between our planet and other natural forces operating outside of our planet, and (b) inter-action between our environment and its surrounded or contained phenomena. Which of these two phenomena has been the real cause—this always needs to be identified. No doubt, changes in our environment—geographical, climatic, etc.—in the past have generally been produced by the inter-play of natural phenomena (i.e., planetary

as well as non-planetary). Only this time, the overwhelming evidence suggests that the present environmental degradation is the product of human activities and not that of the inter-play of natural forces or the inter-action between the non-human species on our planet and our environment.

31. The above assessment arises from the fact that all natural elements essential for the existence of the bio-phenomena on our earth—air, water, land, forests, bio-diversity, other natural products, etc., which make up our planet's environment—have been degraded as a result of human activity and not because of any other natural factor.

32. For instance, global warming (or air pollution) is the outcome of the over-production of GHGs—a product of human activity. Thermal and nuclear energy generation and railways as well as factories' coal consumption are one of the major sources of GHGs. Similarly, the level of underground water has gone down due to its excessive withdrawal to meet the needs of chemical based agriculture. Industrial pollutants have polluted rivers and canals and toxified large areas. Corporate companies and timber mafias' over-felling has wrecked forests. Fish stocks have been destroyed by big companies' over-fishing. Chemical based agriculture, climatic changes, deforestation, land erosion etc., have caused land degradation, spread of waste and barren lands, desertification, etc. Deforestation, climatic changes, water pollution, toxification of large areas, chemicalisation of agriculture, etc., have led to the extinction of many species on our earth. Here, it is quite pertinent to mention that the process of environmental degradation started with the industrial technology led by companies about 200 years ago. Later, it (i.e., the process of degradation) was taken over by the corporate giants who, with ever increasing capacity, still continue the degradation activities unabated.

33. As regards the human problems of injustice, inequality, poverty, unemployment, denial and violations of human rights, criminalisation of politics and economy, vulgarisation of culture, confrontationist and war-mongering approach, both sociology and human experience stress that every social issue concerning humankind is rooted in the given social framework or social system within which the given human community has been living and functioning.

34. Thus, both the environmental and the human aspects of our eco-bio crisis point out that the latter (i.e., eco-bio crisis)

mainly bears a social character.

(B) Cause Of The Eco-Bio Crisis

35. The social character of the eco-bio crisis (as explained above) points out that this crisis has arisen from the existing social system, comprising three dimensions, i.e., sociological roots, systemic basis and its operational apparatus.

(C) Sociological Roots

36. The fundamental sociological reason lies in the one-sided philosophical understanding of the Adam Smithian and the Marxian development models (both of which have functioned as two standard development modes of the ongoing, but now retreating, nation-state system in various parts of the world). This one-sided understanding is that man constitutes the supreme phenomenon in the system of nature on our planet and even in the universe. Obviously, it projects people as the sole builder of human society and everything in it, disregarding the social truth that the change and development in human society takes place due to a 2-sided inter-action—that between nature and society, on the one hand, and within human society itself, on the other.

37. The second fundamental sociological reason comes from the one-sided understanding of the Adam Smithian and the Marxian development models about the human nature. The Adam Smithian economic model holds that humankind is selfish by nature. The Marxian economic theory takes a confusing stand on the question of human nature. Firstly, it emphasises that mankind is social by nature. The next moment it transfers the quality of being absolutely social to the industrial proletariat (who is, according to it, destined to be the liberator of humankind). And, finally, it passes the entire monopoly of the social characteristic on to the communist party which alone, in its view, has the capacity to bring a social transformation in human society.

38. In reality, however humankind bears a 2-sided character: biological, on the one hand, and social, on the other. The biological aspect reflects the individual existence of mankind, while the social side denotes its social living, functioning and organising.

(D) Basic Systemic Faults

39. The basic reason of the problem is related to the systemic fault which sorts out profit-maximisation or attaining the highest growth rate as the sole aim of its development model. Both the

Liberal and the Marxian versions accept the growth rate as the single criterion of judging social prosperity and progress. In their search for achieving the highest growth rates, both have been running havoc with the environmental and the human development factors.

40. The second, but a highly damaging systemic, defect lies in the universal acceptance of the rule of monetary growth as the sole standard of measuring social prosperity and progress. The projection of money as the defining feature of social advancement has highly ignited the human ambition of money-making which has, as is obvious from the facts today, become the main motivational factor of near about every human being, determining his perspective, mindset, aim, priority and means and forms.

41. Since the attainment of money and power represents the maximisation of one's (or self) interest, the whole world is now chasing after these two 'life-extending elixirs'. The money and power-hunting business (by bringing in the most unsustainable environmental order and a highly unjust and inequitable human system) has now led the world to the brink of a serious environmental and human disaster.

42. In fact, self-interest is the basic instinct of the animal sphere, while man has, since his evolution as homo-sapien, become bio-social by nature. The characteristic of being half-social is the only quality that distinguishes human species from the animal ones. When man becomes devoid of social aspect, he turns out just like an animal in his lifestyle.

(E) Short-Term Systemic Defect

43. The short-term defect of the system is related to its operational agency or the government. Oriented solely by self-perpetuation, the leaders of the national governments (based on the party system in every country) are mainly concerned with the amassing of their own wealth and the holding of an ever-lasting power, by fair means or foul, with no consideration to the mass interests or any eco-bio issue. Their pet lifestyle is 'to say one thing, but do the other'. They always shed tears for the poor and the deprived, but at all times serve the rich and the dominant.

44. From the foregoing facts, it is apparent that unless the present social system and its development paradigm is replaced by a sustainable, just and equitable model, there is not much possibility of giving an effective response to the highly dangerous social challenge of inequality and poverty.

VII. How Corporate-Based Sustainable Development Model Will Affect Eco-Bio Crisis

45. A clear-cut answer comes from the theory and practice of corporate model's 200 year old past and present history (which began with the industrial revolution, passed through various phases of development—industrial, competitive, colonial, post-colonial—and now has entered the global phase).

46. Firstly, it (i.e., corporate history) shows the unsustainable working of the corporate development model—thus misusing and wasting the environmental resources, on the one hand, and inhumanly treating the human resources, on the other. This has today resulted in the depletion of environmental resources and the impoverishment of human resources—thus causing the deadly eco-bio crisis on our planet.

47. Secondly, it brings forth its sociology of self-interest as the motive force in human society. This has generated the motivation of selfishness all around—thus maximising the tendency of personal greed and gain and negating the other human instinct of social interests.

48. Thirdly, it displays its politics of 'might is right' as the only social principle of maintaining stability, security and order in society at all times and places. Thus, it conditions the mindset of power-seeking at all costs, by means foul or fair, thus leading to the criminalisation of the political process. Further, the politics of 'might as right' boosts confrontationalist, quarrelsome and war-mongering attitude among individuals as well as in society. It creates a social environment of the domination of powerful over the weak—thus preparing the ground for the establishment of its world hegemony.

49. Fourthly, it projects its basic economic principle of profit optimisation as the only determinant of social development, thus disregarding all social interests and concerns, including those relating to environment, social justice, fairness, equality, generosity, etc. Further, the sole objective of profit optimisation, combined with the sociological principle of self-interest, has set in motion the race for money-making all over the world, mainly through corrupt and depraved means. The role of corporate sector in the money-laundering business can be seen from the recent cases of corporate frauds and scandals in the world's top-most MNCs, especially the US-based.

50. Fifthly, it approves of all double-dealing values, like 'saying

one thing and doing another', justifying them in the name of market rules and exigencies of power structure.

51. Sixthly, it makes use of all sorts of fundamentalist concepts and techniques which, while contributing in strengthening its economic and political objectives, divide the people on sectarian and extremist lines.

52. Lastly, but more importantly, the corporate-based sustainable development model undermines the multi-lateral process of sustainable development, provides a handle to the corporations to manipulate and exploit the world environmental and human resources—thus carrying the eco-bio crisis to a dangerous point.

VIII. A Realistic Response To The Eco-Bio Crisis A Nature-Human Centric Paradigm

53. Given the systemic character of our problem, a realistic response to the eco-bio crisis is, and can be a nature-human centric paradigm comprising the following points.

54. **Vision:** The nature of our planet and the 21 century's social reality of inter-dependence of nation-states provide the nature-human centric paradigm the vision of one world, while the 1945-UN charter gives one the vision of sovereign and independent nations, a vision contrary to the existing reality.

55. **Fundamental Principle:** The fundamental principle of the above-mentioned vision should, firstly, be to put the people and the environment at the centre of global activity (i.e., to serve the peoples interests, on the one hand, and to take care of the environmental conservation, on the other).

56. **Global Order:** The fundamental principle of nature-human centric vision and its enviro-human priority demands that the UN be restructured on a democratic basis, style and organisation. But the UN, as it stands today, lacks this quality. The UN general assembly's structure and functioning is quite democratic. But its top decision-making body, i.e., the security council, is characterised by highly unfair and totally undemocratic norms—i.e., the permanent membership for the militarily most strong five nations and their special veto rights.

57. Obviously, any attempt to fully democratise this body would, at this moment, encounter stiff resistance from the 5-member privileged club. So, taking into account the existing global power structure, it seems that the full democratisation of the security council will take some more time. For the time being,

the rule of special veto powers should be done away with, while retaining the norm of permanent membership till the change in the ongoing balance of power. All other seats in the security council should be filled through election by the general assembly.

58. The rich countries control over IMF and WB be reduced and the poorest countries be provided more voice in the WTO.

59. **Development Model:** The fundamental principle of people-environment priority (which is imperative for human development) demands a new type of development model that stands for a 5-fold fundamental principle, i.e., environmental sustainability, equity (or social justice), productivity, democracy and transparency. This 5-fold fundamental principle corresponds with the bio-social nature of humankind, i.e., it coordinates the man's self-interest with his social interest.

60. The people-environment based development model represents the updated concept of development in contrast to the two traditional national development models, i.e., the corporate-led and the government-directed. While the corporate-led development model singles out profitability or productivity (which ensures the interests of money-owners alone) as its sole aim, the government-directed one opts for socialisation (or the nationalisation) of the means of production as its only goal (which serves the interests of the ruling politicians and bureaucrats). Both these traditional national models serve only the self-interest of humankind contrary to his bio-social character, i.e., comprising both the self-interest and the social interest. Again, they do not accord any priority to environment and any place to the upholding of democratic and transparent norms in the economic or growth process. Further, while the corporate model totally rejects the principle of equity (or social justice), the government-directed one fully ignores that of political equity and productivity.

61. This model differs with both the corporate-led and the state-based development models on the issues of their purpose, management and style.

62. While the corporate model stands for developing the capital and capital owners and the state model advances the interests of its ruling politicians and bureaucrats plus the labour aristocracy, the nature-human centric one serves the interests of people and environment, in general, and the poor and deprived sections in particular

63. In management, while the corporate sector upholds the monopoly corporate management and control and the state

sector supports the monopoly bureaucratic management and control, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic management and control of public limited companies by elected joint committees, each comprising 2/3rd elected members from ordinary share-holders, and 1/3rd elected workers representatives in place of permanent corporators.

64. In style, contrary to the authoritarian and secretive corporate and state style, the nature-human centric development model stands for democratic, transparent and accountable style.

65. **Global Peace And Security:** A nature-human centric development model, first of all, needs a stable and durable peace and security. To establish such a peace, it is necessary that the politics of domination, privilege and special powers be discarded, mode of confrontation and military solution be ended by total disarmament and vesting the full control of N-weapons in the UN, political, economic and cultural inequalities be ended and the development gap between the developed and the developing countries and that between rich and poor be removed.

66. **Politics:** Nature-human centric politics requires a politics that is based on fully democratic principles, functioning and structure. Such a politics necessitates the ending of the rule of special veto powers in the UN system and the introducing of the principle ensuring the maximum possible empowerment of the people in decision making corresponding to the necessary dilution of the party-centralised power.

67. **Economics:** Nature-human centric economics demands a rational and realistic economics whose concepts, laws and rules are required to be framed in the light of former's two top priorities (i.e., humankind and environment) and 5 principles (i.e., environmental sustainability, equity, productivity, democracy and transparency). In view of human's bio-social nature, both Adam Smith's basic economic principle of 'self-interest' and Marxian basic economic rule of state nationalisation of everything are one-sided in view of human's bio-social nature. But, ironically, both measure development, prosperity and progress in terms of monetary growth and not in the context of human and environmental development.

68. **Value System:** Nature-human centric value system calls for a way of life (or lifestyle) that is embedded in basic human and environmental values and promotes rational humanist and environmentalist thinking, behaviour and organisation among the people.

69. **Approach:** Nature-human centric approach should stand for scientific realism which studies and interprets natural phenomena in the light of scientific facts and social objects on the basis of authentic information and data.

IX (A). Main Hurdles On The Way

70. In our view, the process of carrying forward nature-human centric paradigm is likely to confront many hurdles on the way. The important ones may be stated as follows.

71. The first immediate hurdle is the prevailing peoples mind-set which perceives money-laundering and power-grabbing as the main objective of life and consequently views money-launderers as creators of wealth and the power-grabbers as the experts of providing security and stability to the people for carrying on their daily productive activity. This fact is obvious from the domination of power-hungry politicians, money-laundering businessmen and moral degenerates everywhere in the world, with a few exceptions confined to the marginal space. So, an old saying is proved that we generally get what we deserve.

72. The second hurdle is the US super-powerism which, being the chief beneficiary of the corporate development model, is the number one military force and economic power of this era. Leaving aside its past acts of aggression and high-handedness, the US today has set on a course of belligerence and unilateralism with the aim of reasserting its complete world domination. Waving the signboard of finishing-off all sorts of terrorism, it has launched a forceful pro-active campaign against all those states and armed groups who dare to defy its dictates. It opposes every move to bring any change (corresponding to the newly-emerged process of globalisation) in the 1945-UN charter representing the social demands of 1945 nation-state based principal reality. Similarly, it throttles every initiative to update the outdated characteristics of the 55 year old financial institutions, like the IMF and the WB.

73. Thus, while the newly-emerged process of globalisation (i.e., the process of the establishment of human society at the global level) demands the restructuring of a new global order, the US wants to maintain and safeguard the old nation-state system, modifying it to the extent that ensures its present interests and further extends its newly arisen hegemonic interests.

74. The third hurdle is the continuation of various varieties (both new and old) of fundamentalism who are misleading and confusing the people in their search for right and wrong.

75. The fourth hurdle is the existence of different kinds of inter and intra-state conflicts which, under different pretexts, go on dividing the people and hindering the process of peoples unity, thus harming the public cause.

76. The fifth hurdle is the prevailing notion which holds capital and capital owners as the top-most priority in every institution—international as well as national. This closes the door for any consideration to environmental and human issues.

77. The sixth hurdle is the monopolisation of power by the 5 veto-holding states in the Security Council, the highest authority today constituting the centre of restructuring the present world.

78. The seventh hurdle is the total control of the two international financial institutions—the IMF and the WB—by a few economically rich countries, like US, Japan, Germany, UK, France, etc.

79. All the above-mentioned hurdles can be managed through a proper short-term agenda.

IX (B). How Hurdles Are To Be Cleared

80. The first hurdle should be controlled by awakening the people about the deadly challenge coming from worsening environmental resources, harmful effects of inhuman inequality and poverty and negative results flowing from prevailing corruption, deception and fraud and a debased lifestyle—all created by the money and power-hungry controllers and managers of the present anti-environment and anti-human system.

81. The second hurdle should be dealt with by firmly holding the banner of peace, friendship and cooperation among various nations and other ethnic-cultural groups, resolving of all conflicts and disputes through dialogue, safe-guarding of environmental interests, human rights, social justice and equality among all everywhere, stopping of all belligerent, hegemonic and unilateral armed actions by all states, particularly the US, and, above all, accepting the UN as the only centre of managing the international problems, political, economic and cultural.

82. The third hurdle should be tackled by highlighting the negative results of the various fundamentalist theories and their practices.

83. The fourth hurdle should be overcome by publicising the damaging effects of the various conflicts on environment and human development.

84. The fifth hurdle should be handled by demanding the full

democratisation of the monopoly corporate sector (whose monopoly is ensured through unjust laws which give the promoters of corporate companies special rights to issue promoters shares for themselves and their relatives and friends on the block basis at about 1/100th part of the market price, organise the management boards under the control of directors mainly coming from promoter share-holders whose descendants continue their monopoly control till the life of the company).

85. The democratisation of the corporate sector should be done on the basis of free and fair elections. Every share-holder should have equal rights, i.e., one vote for each person. The 2/3rd of the management board should be elected by the share-holders, while 1/3rd representation should be given to the elected representatives of workers.

86. The monopoly of the state sector be done away with by selling 2/3rd of its shares to the ordinary share-holders—constituting its management board with 50% representation to ordinary share-holders, 20% to government and 30% to labour.

87. The sixth and the seventh hurdles should be jumped over by launching a vigorous campaign for ending the special veto rights of the 5 permanent members of the UN security council and for reducing the rich countries' domination over the IMF and the WB by giving bigger voice to the poorest countries.

88. Lastly, but most importantly, it is highly essential that, in view of the worsening of the problem of inequality and poverty, all those who fall below the poverty line and all those who are totally unemployed should be entitled to social security as a fundamental right. This right should be provided through a UN covenant, mandatory for all countries.

The UN covenant should lay down that the expenditure on social security will be met 50% by the concerned state and the rest by the UN; that the UN general assembly will immediately set up a high-powered UN Sustainable Development Council to act as a global authority for the conservation and promotion of the environmental resources, on the one hand, and the development of human resources, on the other; that this council will enact fundamental international reforms in regard to environmental and human advancement; that the finances for the council will come from: (a) each country contributing 30% mandatory saving from its respective military budget, and (b) global taxation, such as global trade, use of natural resources like oil, coal, communication satellites, air travels, Antarctica mining, sea-bed mining, oceanic

transportation, etc.; that the UN general assembly will devise the scheme for the distribution of the said global revenues between the UN and the member states in which the least developed countries will be given special consideration.

IX (C). Some Practical Suggestions Helpful In Mass Awakening, Mobilising And Organising

89. Both history and sociology emphasise that no social change can take place anywhere if the concerned people remain unaware of the need for such a change. In fact, every social change is the result of a given social environment that moulds peoples mindset. The only route to solve any social problem lies in the awakening, involvement and the organised strength of the masses. Thus, the sole guarantee of transforming the aforementioned basic agenda into reality rests with the changing of the public mindset in its favour.

90. The first point in the process of mass awakening and involvement is how the people are to be motivated. Experience shows that there are two ways to accomplish this task. One is to change the people's ideology. And the other is to rouse their interest in favour of that task by linking it with the matters of immediate mass concern. Of these two modes, the second one is easier and early fruit yielding, because the people are instinctively interested in their problems and thus get immediately involved in any activity that facilitates the solution of their problems. Stressing merely the ideology without linking it to the mass issues turns the former into a barren and dry topic, while integrating it with the mass concerns generates public interest in that ideology.

91. Next point is where one should begin one's work. In general, it can be started anywhere by knowing its concrete conditions. In particular, there are 3 types of broad target groups, viz, the area specific, the problem specific and the class or trade union specific. The criterion of selection should be the concrete conditions.

92. The third point is to get oneself acquainted with the target group in general and its conscious and informed persons in particular, together with having a thorough understanding of the former's problems.

93. The fourth point is to prepare the problem agenda of the target group with the help of its conscious and informed persons and then get it thoroughly discussed among the concerned people. The agenda may comprise a set of problems or only a single burning mass issue or any incident of injustice to the target

group or its any section.

94. The fifth point is to use this agenda as a starting point for further strengthening the motivation of the concerned group. The agenda problem (or problems) alongwith its cause, its method of resolution and solution are constantly reflected upon by the given group, with the facilitation of the social activists. This constitutes the start of the process of the target group's awakening and its integration with the social activists.

95. The sixth point is to enrich the group's awakening process by linking its problems to the similar problems of the region, state, country and the world.

96. The seventh point is to get a core team, consisting of its conscious members, elected by the target group.

97. The eighth point is to organise the concerned people into various units on the area or the professional basis by its core team. Such committees should be set up at all levels. It is necessary to develop a close-knit coordination among the unit members and to ensure their participation in the decision-making process.

98. The ninth point is that the concerned people themselves are to carry out their decisions in consultation and cooperation with the social activists. Through repeated actions, they gain self-confidence. Alliances with other mass movements and joint actions with them on different issues, whether group specific or concerning the region, country or the world, give them a sense of solidarity and prepare them for bigger actions.

99. The tenth, but a very important, point is that, in every group discussion or activity, it is necessary to emphasise that whatever is today happening in the country or to any group of people has not fallen from above or come from outside. but, it has been the outcome of the country's wrong vision, agenda and priorities and the corrupt and the unscrupulous style of the principal political parties and their top politicians. And that if we want to set things right, we must stand up on our own feet and wage a consistent mass struggle against these negative forces.

100. In brief, every effort should be made to transform the traditional public mindset, driven by money, power, personality, caste or communalism into a rational, fair and confident mindset.

101. To conclude, the only way to set things in order at all levels resides in the awakening, involving and organising of the people.