

ALONE, THE NATION-STATE CANNOT COPE".

- Such were the words of a high-level expert meeting on "Global Interdependence and national sovereignty" held this year in Lisbon, at the initiative of InterAction Council. Since then, the question is becoming more and more acute. Global interdependence increasingly affects all aspects of human activity. Key-examples of the need for more than sheer "good-will" cooperation are: the environmental degradation; the persistent economic imbalances between North and South; the financial disequilibria among industrialized countries; the huge problems created by the population growth; the spreading of absolute poverty; the growth of consumer demand in developed nations.

In the opening address to the meeting I asked:

"If the Nation-State cannot hope to solve the issues which now threaten life on the planet, what are the instruments that problem-solving now demands? What qualitative value does national sovereignty now enjoy in the face of extra-national conditionalities (both economic and political)? Do we need a more rational expression to encompass, in modern terms, what until now was understood by national sovereignty?"

In the meeting, the concept of "delegated sovereignty" (to the IMF, to the military alliances, to any bi-lateral agreement) was used. But beyond such a concept there is also the concept of "shared sovereignty". Entering into a political or economic agreement with the world - a wider reality to fulfil its role in all aspects. Every part becomes then responsible for a larger whole. The cultural concept of a nation does remain but it will have to find other expressions than the classical sovereign state.

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A CONTINENT IN THE MAKING is the challenge Europeans are facing. The great political issues are overwhelming.

The frontiers of the "European space" are yet to be defined. Will the EFTA countries succeed in coming together with the EEC in the coming 6 months? Shouldn't the 12 make an effort to induce the remaining 7 countries of the Mitteleuropa to form a group to enter in dialogue with EEC?

The common currency within the EEC to be decided in December will have an effect beyond its borders in facilitating greater economic and monetary integration in the whole "European space".

"Le changement réussi ne peut être la conséquence du remplacement d'un modèle ancien par un modèle nouveau qui aurait été conçu par des sages quelconques; il est le résultat d'un processus collectif à travers lequel sont mobilisées, voire créées, les ressources et capacités des participants nécessaires pour la constitution de nouveaux jeux dont la mise en oeuvre libre permettra au système de s'orienter ou de se réorienter comme un ensemble humain et non comme une machine."



Its urgency becomes greater in face of the growing investment of each Western country in the former East European nations. The meaning of political union, an explicit goal of the Single European Act, signed by the 12, and to be decided also in December, has to overcome both the bi-polar world and the recurring stress on nationalisms. A multipolar Europe is a condition for a multipolar world.

And who will govern Europe? The leading political scientist Maurice Duverger suggests that: a) real power will be given to the European Parliament; b) the European Commission in Brussels will become the executive; c) a collegial "Head of State" will be embodied by a new type of european council with a arbitral role at the summit.

"DID YOU EVER REGRET NOT TO BE MARRIED?"

- It was the first time that, after a lecture on women, I heard such a question! It happened at the Women's University (15,000 students) in Seoul, Department of Political Sciences. To my astonishment, I heard that next day the newspapers reported exactly that question and the answer I gave!! This small event has shown to me, more than anything else, the dominant climate concerning the expectations about women in South Korea and the questions that the young women are raising about their own future. I had the chance to meet two women who are, each one in her own way, pioneers. One - professor of Political Sciences - has created this year the "Center for Korean Women and Politics". The other - after a Ph.D. in the School of Business and administration at Harvard and another at the London School of Economics - becomes the first general manager of a department of a big firm. They are committed to create a climate where each woman may be able to choose her own life.

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THE KOREAN NATION AND THE KOREAN PEOPLE,

in spite of two separated countries, became a single reality for me. I can understand better some statements I had heard when I visited North Korea, together with Teresa, in 1983. There is dedication, warmth, spontaneity, a touching quality of something unspoilt... The Christians represent 30% of the population, with a very high level of presences at the worship moments. (There is Mass at every hour since 4pm on Saturday till 7pm on Sunday!) Women are 2/3 of the Christian population. The Koreans are very proud to have discovered Christ almost by themselves, as they were not the object of any missionary organized action. They feel that they are called to be apostles in their continent.

"La capacité d'une société ou de tout ensemble humain à changer est déterminée par sa richesse et sa surabondance non pas matérielles, mais relationnelles et institutionnelles. Un ensemble pauvre est aussi naturellement un ensemble rigide extrêmement dépendant des institutions frustes qu'il a réussi à élaborer. Une société ou un ensemble moderne complexes sont moins fragiles qu'un ensemble pauvre ancien."

"MAYBE IT WILL BE THE WEST WHO WILL CHANGE IN ITS SPIRITUALITY RATHER THAN OURSELVES." —

I was before the TV set watching a fascinating debate between a very diversified group of people from Soviet Union and a typical Western journalist. The theme of the debate was the perestroika - ethnic questions, the heritage of Lenine, the time of Staline, the religious freedom, the economic difficulties. The answers were fusing - from academicians, a member of Parliament, generals, journalists, students, men and women. And then the interviewer made a point to know how some of these persons would feel if a son would tell them that he was a homosexual. The answers were not as he wanted. He got impatient. As if the real meaning of perestroika depended on that answer! Until the woman student ended it all with the above comment... Is this all we have to ask the people who are facing survival every day? "Oh! When will they ever learn...?"

"YOU ARE JUST BEGINNING TO DEAL WITH US AS EQUALS...", said a Russian journalist in response to the question of a Western European journalist asking if he thought that Western people loved the Russians.....

Indeed all over Europe there is this tremendous feeling of "we have won!", "our system is the best!"; at the utmost this will imply: "wait: in due course you will get there too!" Unfortunately I know too well from my experience in Portugal the kind of **Fundação Cuidar o Futuro** and thinker Jean Marie Domenach (the heir of Mounier's spirit) wrote: "the peoples who will enter the family house run the risk to find it somewhat empty though full, of course, with TV sets and all kinds of goods, but finally empty of faith and love"...

"WE TEND TO CONFUSE CERTIFICATION WITH LEARNING."

This was one of the many statements made by a group of University professors who were dealing with the "changing role of the University". They didn't stop there. For them the question is: "do we want to deliver diplomas or to form better people?". They said that there is a great need for education on the meaning of a "paper"... For me the two most interesting avenues of thought for institutional reform were the following: age to enter the University was considered not anymore as a given (grammar-school/high-school/University, in a linear sequence) but ought to be the answer to the question "when are human persons more fit to learn?". The second question was the debate about what constitutes knowledge. Against the traditional self-centered view that University constitutes the "sole depository of knowledge", there was

"Il y a une dimension fondamentale dans tout processus de changement: l'apprentissage, c.à.d., la découverte, voire la création et l'acquisition par les acteurs concernés, de nouveaux modèles relationnels, de nouveaux modes de raisonnement, de nouvelles capacités collectives - capacités à communiquer, à échanger, à raisonner. C'est l'apprentissage de tous les acteurs ensemble qui est la condition du succès du jeu nouveau."



the idea that it is important to store other knowledge (crafts, women's traditional culture) and to make it reproductive. As they said: It is necessary "to educationalize the crafts and other knowledge".

"WOMEN'S WORLDS: REALITIES AND CHOICES"

- Such was the title of the International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women which took place in the beginning of June in New York. Some 340 (!) events took place from Sunday through Wednesday, mobilizing 2000 women, many of them from the women's studies departments and some from the Grail. In my understanding two major philosophical questions emerge from such a big enterprise. One is the very concept of interdisciplinarity, its meaning and practice - if women are able to break new ground there it will be a major scientific contribution. The other is the epistemological question of coincidence of subject and object in any study done by women on women - here and there we find a glimpse of what it means to encounter ideas that are also flesh and blood and feelings and language of the unconscious... here and there a few women make the personal political, link the micro and the macro realities of the world... It is a fascinating task!

"DO YOU UNDERSTAND THAT WE WANT TO PLAY A ROLE, NOW?"

- In the twilight, her eyes are shining when she says it with the intensity of her whole being. The hundreds of young people passing by seem vague shadows while she speaks to me. She is a student of violin in East(?) Berlin and cannot accept that "the political class" has already stolen from all those who made the change possible the joy and the effort of building the new reality. What can I tell her?? The titles of the newspapers are saying it all: "The burial without regret of a useless GDR" (Le Monde), "Awaiting capitalism, a german town surrenders to future" (International Herald Tribune)... Such quick judgements and final words! What can a young woman do in face of it all? She says it herself: "In the beginning I felt that I could not accept the unification... until I understood that the unification among Germans had first to happen in me - the unification, the reconciliation of *myself* with *myself*."

"S'il est difficile de changer, c.à.d., d'élaborer ou d'inventer un jeu nouveau, c'est que les acteurs sont prisonniers des systèmes d'action, et donc des cercles vicieux anciens en dehors desquels ils ne savent ni ne peuvent maintenir une capacité d'action suffisante. Pour que les acteurs concernés acquièrent les capacités collectives que suppose mais aussi détermine leur adoption du nouveau jeu, il faut rompre non seulement des intérêts, des rapports de pouvoirs, voire des habitudes, mais aussi des protections affectives et des méthodes intellectuelles."

Michel Crozier

in "L'acteur et le système"