

I. Des décisions prises à l'action

1. Nombreuses sont les ~~est~~ décisions qui, à tous les niveaux, ont été prises

b) Difficultés socio-économiques



...qd Adam et Eve ont été créés, l'un avait autant q l'autre, et qd ils ont été expulsés du paradis, on ne ^{ou par dit} ~~leur~~ ~~part~~ ~~reçu~~ de l'ange une liste de tâches pour l'homme et une liste de tâches pour la femme.

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they are obligations and aspirations. But they are not considered as rights. So it's a philosophical position, at least for the United States, for the other countries I wouldn't know. I imagine that Saudi Arabians are for obvious reasons. But the other I do not know.

MAZUMDAR: One of the advantages of bringing this kind of information out, is that then people start, people also start putting pressures on their governments. We would never have.. the Government of India would not have signed [...] and CRC, without.. it took Copenhagen to sign [...], and the ratification was only in 1992(?).

BEGIN: What do we conclude from the analysis on 12 - we identify three approaches. Do we conclude anything? We don't, ha? Because if we don't conclude that we prefer one of these three approaches then we should speak more forcefully of each of the three. Do you know what I mean, Paul?

HARRISON: I do, yes. I don't know if you agree with me, but the ideal would be to have everybody sign all of them. That would be the ideal, so that should come to the top.

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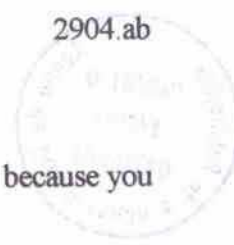
BEGIN: But I like very much the second approach. The first one reports being issued much more frequently. That does affect the image of countries and they are sensitive to that. Not all of them. But it does the job with some of them. So you keep that. In parallel, I like very much, and would strengthen, the second approach, because it, ça prend les gens à leur piège, you know, at times they signed and didn't quite know what they signed. And then you force implementation with them. I mean.. put your words with your money. I would insist on the second approach. The third, of course is a dream. Like of course we would like it but we don't know how to do it, so there's not much more we can say.

C'est à ce contexte qu'il prend place le troisième
volet : celui du passage de la simple affirmation
des droits des ~~fs~~ ^{humains} ~~comme droit humains~~ à l'action
qui (l'affirmation des droits des fs comme
droits humains) à la reconnaissance du rejet
des droits humains, l'h et la f, formes uni-
verselles de l'~~humain~~ et irréductibles de
l'humain dans son existence concrète.

~~Ces trois volets sont~~ ~~interdépendants.~~
La participation des fs au politique ~~est ainsi~~
a épousé # au long de ce siècle les # phases
de notre histoire ; ~~elle a~~ ^{ayant} été contextuelle, elle
devient à ce stade de l'histoire de l'humanité
constitutive de ~~un~~ ^{tout} démarche politique.

(X) La Conférence qui se déroule ici ne peut pas
être, comme le Sommet de ^{la Terre à Rio} ~~Paris~~ en 92 ou ~~à~~ l'en-
ou le Sommet du Div. Social à Copenhague en 95,
un rituel où les pouvoirs en place ~~se donnent~~
~~bonne conscience~~ ^{donnent de leurs obligations} en s'engageant solennellement
à des ~~tous~~ objectifs dont ils ~~sevent~~ ne font
caveant, ne veulent ou ne peuvent pas
assurer la mise-en-œuvre. ~~C'est~~





yes, by going to the NGOs [...], which has nothing really to do with the official conference, because you cannot participate in the preparatory committees.

PINTASILGO: To be frank, I have seen such a shift since Rio until Copenhagen, and the shift is for me still a great confusion. The organization that has had the greatest influence started in Rio, had just been formed in Florida, in November 1991. It's called 'We do' (?) women, environment, development, organization - it is the organization of Bella (?) - and in Rio they tried, but the Brazilian group was too strong, they were not able. In Cairo they led the show of the intergovernmental conference. In Copenhagen, they were the most forceful group, that carried everything - within the NGO forum, within the intergovernmental.. And this is an organization that even doesn't have any status in the ECOSOC! So, there is no rule from the previous period, where the ECOSOC recognized NGOs - at least there was a rule to the newcomers that we don't know how they function, how international they are..

[..]

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CONSTANTINO: If I am a newcomer, there is no way in for me - and I'm talking of the South. There is no way. You don't have the money to fly off to New York for each of the [...] You don't have the media behind you and the resources to do a Bella (?). In effect, what is happening is, yes, there'll be some opening, but it's limited to a few NGOs.

NAJMAN: Just one point, on the criteria. Initially, access was allowed only to international non-governmental organizations, and stress accent on International with a capital. In fact the organization had the duty to prove that they were international, and this is why the organization which you resented (?) could not even have approached the building. Then under the pressure of the South - let's call a spade a spade - which very rightly said: 'But we are not member of any of those institutions which

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(Monique - chegou bem)

(Sara)

~~em francês~~

~~Fernando Durosta~~

~~Le pouvoir est partout. Penser uniquement au pouvoir des institutions politiques réduirait la portée même de la question et ~~éliminerait~~ ~~le~~ ~~caractère~~ ~~de~~ ~~coextensif~~ ~~ité~~ ~~avec~~ ~~les~~ ~~rappports~~ ~~sociaux~~. Le pouvoir circule d'un domaine à l'autre; il entretient avec celui ou celle qui l'exerce le même rapport ambigu, à deux tranchants. Pouvoir sur ... pouvoir avec pouvoir de ... pouvoir pour ...~~

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Au niveau écon. la présence des 75 amène 2 importants facteurs:

- la différentiation impérative des 75 étapes du cycle de vie
- la comptabilité du travail non-rémunéré, donc le besoin de nouvelles statistiques et comptes nationales, au moins parallèles



its performance rate has fallen. If you take the entire 50-year period, we know its performance rate has fallen. But I'm not asking for that long. But at least a decade or so, so that another indicator gets indicator gets into it, so over a period of 10 years or 12 years or 15 years, whatever, a country's performance on a critical issue like health, using child mortality as the indicator, I think that would take away a lot of the feelings of discomfort. It is the very technical, mathematical...

PINTASILGO: But then, maybe, you mention the second paragraph on the following page, on page 10, that these countries, their performance is calculated, or seen, within their own group. Maybe it is the fact that Mozambique goes together with Italy or so that makes it strange. But of course the real GNP is there. So, if you break it down in groups of level of income, then the thing is less hurting. Don't you think, I am asking? Then it's Pu Shan and Monique.

BEGIN: Maria, I hope you were not questioning - I am sure - the integrity of your members. Me, I mean I've never shown that to anybody in my country and I don't give a damn. I mean, I'm here in a personal name. My country can be a donor, not a donor, je m'en fous. This is very clear. But when common sense, we have a job to do and we use these tables to mobilize people, or to persuade opponents. If it offends the common sense so much that I cannot understand the meaning - I still don't understand, I've heard everything Paul says, he can repeat it until we're blue in the face. I don't understand it, it doesn't make sense. It's a very complex thing, it tells me that some people should do better, but the way it's presented is crazy. I'm sorry. I don't understand that approach. That's all.

CONSTANTINO-DAVID: I think, there is a way in which we need to explain this. I personally think it is important, especially for countries of the South, to be able to be assessed on the basis of what we can do. And what we can do is not the same as what others can do, because we don't have the



Dès qu'il y a un poste ouvert, les PS parlent.
devraient établir la liste de possibilités.

b) Apprendre le mode de fonctionnement et l'utiliser
par le ps.

Établir des réseaux

< Importance des domaines soft
< Intervention d'les domaines hard

c) Distinguer entre questions affectant les PS
et perspectives des PS sur toutes les
questions.

d) Lien avec les nouvelles le PS

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resources which others do. I think the basis for this particular chart, which needs more explanation, I think, in terms of the text, is to simply say one, depending on the real income of a particular country, as incomes go up, then you expect the quality of life indicators also go up. OK? Number two, since various countries have different levels of real income, while the concept of quality of life should tell us that there should be 0 mortality, we also realistically know that the ability to reach the lowest level of under-5 mortality is largely dependent on the resources available to a country. Number three, different, even however if countries have the same amount of resources, countries have different priorities. And therefore you can take to task George's country, which is as rich for example as country, and yet George's country has an under-5 mortality rate that is very much higher than what Drago's country has. It is in terms of what resources are being put on this. And I think it is important to put that down, but I think we need to group countries and say, OK, the following countries with real incomes of this level, how did they perform? They perform differently. So you compare. If you look at real GNP.

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CONSTANTINO: ... in the rich countries, versus medium-rich countries. I don't know how many categories there will be. So that you are not comparing Mozambique to the United States, and so on. But you are comparing what can be done across, and showing that there are performers, there are groups that come from lower-income countries that are able to achieve some amount of improvement in the quality of life, as against groups in the same level of income that have less. So I think it's not so much throwing out the computations, but changing the presentation. BEGIN: And taking the trouble to explain, in words. PINTASILGO: But a graphic, if I may say, a graphic Paul has here.. HARRISON: Chart No. 26 if you can find your charts. CONSTANTINO: I haven't got charts. HARRISON: Well

II. Comment faire le changement?

1. C'est au-delà des chiffres \hat{g} nous voulons aller. Les chiffres ne restent pas sur le pit \hat{g} les \hat{g} sont nous breuses. Il ne s'agit pas d'arithmétique.

2. Une seule \hat{g} reste tjs une exception. Son mérite est historiq et fourrièreux. Ce n'est pas elle qui opère le changement. ~~Il nous faut depuis ma jeunesse que je plaide, à 2 niveaux, pour qu'on attribue 1 marque citoy, un nombre qui déclenche la réaction en chaîne capable de libérer l'énergie sociale nécessaire. Ou, en d'autres termes, l'aider à changer de l'intérieur les ~~rules~~ normes du jeu.~~

• C'est un long ensemble de changements procéduriers auquel il faut faire attention: les processus émanent à rediger la loi, la division de travail entre tous les députés, évitant la loi non-crit \hat{g} remet la majorité au rôle de marionettes silencieuses, les structures hiérarchiq et l'étendue de leur pouvoir, les traditions, les habitudes, les normes. Il faut apprendre, en user et les changer.

- a) changement de procédure - surtout attention aux \hat{g} phrases de la vie.
- b) changement du mode de représentation: encouragement des \hat{g} candidates; utilisation des capacités d'être une d'exercer un rôle de modèle; promotion de législateur capable de permettre l'égalité entre \hat{g} et \hat{g} et, en opérant, la parité;



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they should have.. PINTASILGO: They're at the back - look at the end of your document. [general comments - there are no numbers - they haven't photocopied properly]

HARRISON: If I could just hold this up.. I mean this is the basis of that. This is what you call the regression line. That is the result you expect from the income, in terms of infant mortality. But at any given income level you've got huge differences between some countries that are way above what you'd expect for their income level, and others that are way below it. So in other words, income doesn't explain.. - although it's a very high correlation - it doesn't explain everything. And the rest of it is explained by other factors like the position of women, the priority given to health in government spending, and so on. So this is another way of looking at it. One way of dealing with it. It's very easy to re-order this table on the basis of income so similar income countries are next to each other. That would be very easy. I'd just write this in terms of the former score. You could write them in terms of income.

CONSTANTINO: Categorize them, so that you would have China, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Laos, as one group, and you will show the range.

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PINTASILGO: And still let me just say one particular little thing: this can not be equated with government efforts. If I take Mozambique there is not one single hospital public-run in that country. It's all so-called mission hospitals. So the performance is not a government performance.

ZEIDENSTEIN: Again, the difference is between outcomes and incomes. The US has the highest cost per capita for health services of any country. Yet it performs badly on this. Why, I don't know exactly. But, again, it's inputs rather than...



2) Obstacles ♀ et idéol.

- l'idée q'une ♀ ne peut pas diriger est encore commune à la société ; 1 ♀ qui ressemble à 1 ♂ barre le chemin à d'autres ♀
- auto-estime, désir de plaire, ^{pour des élections} confiance limitée à ses propres capacités, ∴ renforcement de son moi,
- rejet de l'image donnée par la politique, comme un jeu sale et qui permet la corruption d'un marché
- le fait q'les médias ~~font~~ charrient de + en + l'image du vainqueur ; que, pour eux, les politiciennes sont les hés et q'une fois disparues de la scène polit. les ♀ ne comptent +, sauf si elles sont belles.

↙ aider les ♀ à se libérer de l'oppression de la discipline de parti



PINTASILGO: Wait, I want to finish the section before this one. We're not yet there. Is there anything else on this - using the targets and indicators? So, we have finished that. Then we have the question of international pressure, which has all the dissensions and all this that we discussed earlier. Any other comment on international pressure?

ZEIDENSTEIN: Drago and I worked out - page 10, at the middle of the page, the paragraph beginning 'The effect of [...]' 'The effect depends on a variety of moral, economic and diplomatic pressures. There is the natural desire of countries for good a international image to promote foreign investment and tourism. There is the fear of exposure in the media and the fear of [...] of exports. There is the pressure of diplomacy by other countries, including the possibility of sanctions imposed by the Security Council.'
[Agreed]

PINTASILGO: So now we go to the universal signatures.

D'ORVILLE: My question is the following: If the minus means not ratified, it implies that it was signed, but not ratified. You can only ratify something which you have signed. And if S means signed but not ratified, for me it's the same. Either you must say 'Not signed' and 'Not ratified', or S = Signed but not ratified. But the two as they are right now, in my reading minus and S means the same.

HARRISON: Yes, minus should be neither signed nor ratified.

PINTASILGO: So, Vina likes this very much. That's what she likes.

[..]

D'ORVILLE: Why don't you show the good guys, those who have signed and ratified, all four of them.

[.. comments..]

1. O século das ♀s

- o voto
- a indep. econ.
- a visibil. cult.

2. Porque a presença das ♀s na política?

- = não por estar no topo da org. social
- não por as ♀s já existirem isto é antigo e só
lhes falta o poder pol. ^{governamental}
- não porque as ♀s são metade de humanidade

Mas: - as ♀s são a metade de humanidade ^{qualitativa}
irreduzível à outra metade

- as ♀ têm dado contributos originais a \neq aspectos da sociedade

- a política é a área da act. soc. como pp outra e n
há razão para as ♀s não intervir

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