

(1)

## No Economics without Politics The Politics of Science & Technology

Mankind ~~elsewhere~~ has no "Agenda for the 1980's." It makes no difference that the although this be the subject of an impressive United Nations meeting on the subject ~~is~~ This week. We might as well be laughing at ourselves as making up these ~~little~~ lists / compositions expert fantasy, the ~~individual~~ little better than the tongue-twisted appeals which confused delegates from 152 ~~countries~~ governments ~~from all over the world~~ shoulders ~~for~~ Their names to appear in the habit of uttering.

Agenda means = "What ~~is to~~ be done." But tells us that it ~~is to~~ really means practical wisdom ~~and~~ "Who must do what, for whom, and ~~by~~ when?" Unless we ~~can~~ power ~~in~~ living reality into these interrogatives, we have no agenda; we have only absurdities ~~openings~~ a seed catalogue ~~for~~ to a world deep in trouble. ~~and all~~ These interrogatives are interconnected, for ~~the who implies the what and vice versa, and so also with the agenda for whom and how and when.~~

forever to

However to provide world-wide revolution in the modern world according to a scheme of benevolent and beneficent changes such as we are ~~in~~ considering, we need a new kind of elite. The new world revolutionary cadre cannot be made up of fanatic militarist bureaucrats, plutocrats and ~~clerical~~<sup>bishops</sup> and ~~Macaulay~~<sup>one hundred thousand</sup> ~~masses~~ ~~and~~ ~~new~~ ~~elite~~ ~~mix~~ ~~and~~ ~~all~~ ~~middle~~ ~~class~~ ~~and~~ ~~upper~~ ~~class~~ ~~mix~~ "mix" is required. Of the stipulated ~~of all classes~~ ~~and~~ ~~middle~~ ~~class~~ ~~and~~ ~~upper~~ ~~class~~ ~~mix~~ truly progressive a fifth can be ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~new~~ military type and another fifth of what might be called a <sup>a kafotic</sup> clergy -- meaning all those persons in the world who devote themselves ~~ideologically~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~healing~~ ~~of~~ ~~souls~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~organizing~~ ~~of~~ ~~groups~~. At least another fifth needs to be a fully politicized scientific and expert class, accompanied by ~~other~~ ~~five~~ ~~of~~ ~~students~~ ~~of~~ ~~all~~ ~~disciplines~~. A fifth would be constituted from ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~elite~~ political-managers class. And there all there might be included in lesser numbers, there to include ~~the~~ ~~politicians~~ ~~presently~~ ~~who~~ ~~are~~ ~~capable~~ ~~of~~ ~~world~~ ~~vision~~, ~~and~~ ~~are~~ ~~stubbornly~~ ~~resistant~~, ~~and~~ ~~who~~ ~~possess~~ ~~the~~ ~~skills~~ ~~appropriate~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~organization~~ ~~of~~ ~~and~~ ~~movement~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~elite~~, ~~and~~ ~~who~~ ~~can~~ ~~reach~~ ~~out~~ ~~among~~ ~~the~~ ~~masses~~ ~~and~~ ~~communicate~~ ~~with~~ ~~them~~ ~~and~~ ~~bring~~ ~~into~~ ~~engagement~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~politics~~ ~~of~~ ~~revolutionary~~ ~~change~~ ~~those~~ ~~elements~~ ~~who~~ ~~are~~ ~~sufficient~~ ~~to~~ ~~shift~~ ~~them~~ ~~properly~~ ~~to~~ ~~convince~~ ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ ~~mass~~.

(2 15

among us menacing clockwork. And I can deny this ~~of life to be~~, ~~the rest~~ of <sup>the present-day's</sup> anxious about ~~concern~~ the world, need the continuous reminders ~~of~~ ~~of~~ ~~of~~ as they come and go.

A address to the NGO, UN conference "Agenda for  
the Eighties : People's Strategies for Development," workshop on  
Science and ~~Research Profound in Social Theory, New~~

Technology, ~~Tata University~~,  
Chairman, Dr. Karim Ahmed. Dr. de Graaf is ~~an~~ director

~~another professor~~, ~~of the Kalos Foundation~~, is the ~~not~~ author

181, Rewa, Haji Ali, Bombay 400026, India.

Dr. de Graaf's work on world order.



From one year to the next, I ~~will~~ barely get to see  
the ~~elephant~~ headquarters ~~of~~ of the UN, or the  
classic UN buildings in Geneva, or the modernistic  
~~style of~~ <sup>construction</sup> ~~UNESCO~~, or the massive stones of ~~Rome~~.  
~~I spend a year in~~ ~~UN headquarters~~  
~~When I do~~ have a bad feeling that the ~~UN~~ may  
~~be~~ ~~after all~~ a country club, a resort away from the  
problems of home. I should like to set up in all of  
the locations a huge billboard of ~~a~~ clockwork  
signs, that no officer <sup>or delegate</sup> can ~~see~~ avoid seeing every day, nor  
any visitor. There would be a Population Clock ~~that~~  
whose hand counts every new birth. There would be a  
~~Dest~~ Nuclear Bomb Clock which ~~moves~~ moves with every  
increment of ~~high~~ explosives and military vehicles  
~~terrible~~ ~~in the~~ produced on Earth. Then I would  
have a Starvation Clock to show how many people are  
hungry today, and tomorrow, and the day after  
tomorrow. There would be a Suppression Clock, too,  
which indexes ~~continually~~ <sup>being</sup> continuously the number of  
people who are deprived of liberties of expression  
and movement. There would be a Debt Clock  
exhibiting the mounting <sup>international</sup> obligations of governments  
in relation to their revenues. I would have an  
Inflation Clock and an Energy Clock. We all know that  
time is running out on the possibility of a peaceful,  
orderly, and comfortable world. Only ~~the~~ jolly fools

In politics, you need not lose your bearings as humanists and tutors of the world. You expect a general to continue to behave like a general when in politics. And ~~as~~ a scientist ~~is~~ has only to modify his manner of address to put his knowledge to use. The intellectuals often scorn slogans, but slogans are what ~~we~~<sup>we</sup> need ~~to~~ to organize by, and to win the people of the world.

Here is an ~~slogans~~ agenda in brief. It is The countdown for world welfare -- 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 and zero -- as 800 millions of Chinese might ~~understand~~ understand it, and 3 billion other people.

5 stands for <sup>5 world coins of life</sup> \$500 a year in UN ~~a~~ currency that ought immediately be made available to every person in the world who wants it for food, <sup>health</sup>, shelter, clothing, and learning.

4 stands for 4 billion people, The goal of <sup>limited world</sup> population policy.

3 stands for <sup>the</sup> 3 freedoms, freedom of ~~communication~~ expression, freedom of culture, and freedom of movement

2 stands for <sup>two kinds of</sup> health personal health and <sup>the health of the</sup> environment

1 stands for one united world

0 zero - zed - Stands for <sup>no</sup> Wars. No war-

The people are ready for this ~~program~~, and message  
The capabilities of the intelligentsia can fulfill its promises. If every person of the world ~~learns~~ <sup>learns and cheerfully and obstinately</sup> ~~forwards~~ ~~says~~ gives ~~forth~~ <sup>forth</sup> these ~~wants~~ every time he confronts a politician, we shall be on our way to a far different and better world than we ~~do~~ experience today:

5 is for the 5 ~~wants~~ coins of life.

4 is for 4 billion people.

3 is for the 3 freedoms.

2 is for the 2 healths.

1 is for the 1 United world.

0 is for ~~zed~~ wars.

I ~~would~~ remind you again that time is running out. It is almost impossible now to reform the monstrous bureaucracies that give momentum to the status quo. It is nearly impossible to reorganize the world economy before the doom of hundreds of millions of people is sealed and many cultures are destroyed. You have to adopt the slogan: "The possible we do today. The impossible takes us a little longer." ~~Sometimes~~ The absurd is the only reality we possess.

Boldness is required, even desperate action <sup>when it</sup> that is instrumentally rational. If the world has great luck, some leading power, <sup>with great resources</sup>, will step forward and discharge your obligation to lead alone. Perhaps the European Community, perhaps the Soviet Union, perhaps China. Perhaps India. Perhaps the United States, perhaps an alliance of the Poor Nations. But you can ~~rely~~ <sup>at least not now-</sup> upon none of these. All you can count on are yourselves, and <sup>the</sup> people of all stripes and stations.

The intelligentsia, completely unorganized and confused though it be, can do these things:

monstrous bureaucracy ~~and~~ that sets  
momentum to the status quo. It is nearly  
impossible to reorganize ~~the~~ world ~~in~~  
economy before the doom of ~~hundreds of millions~~  
~~of people~~ is sealed. ~~You have to be a gall~~  
~~think otherwise.~~

Under such circumstances, boldness is  
required.

1. The intelligentsia of the world should hold a ~~convention~~  
~~soon to~~ elect as panel of  
~~people~~ coordinators on world political and economic  
development. This panel should arbitrate thereafter  
on world priorities, and ~~work out a strategy~~  
techniques of change, and technologies. let us not be under any illusions or to who will call the cards. you must do the work.
2. You, and every other group of intelligentsia, should  
exclude from your organizations and ranks and from  
NGO status in the UN all persons who are directly  
connected with the design, production, and delivery of  
nuclear arms. Somewhere you must begin to draw the line between those who are helping and those who are blocking the new world. This is a good place to begin.
3. You, and every other group, should demand ~~a~~  
a world energy bank to collect and hold 15% of the  
world's oil reserves and profits for the development and  
installation of alternate energy sources in the poor  
countries of the world. Oil shipments that have not paid the bill should be picketed and blocked. The petroleum  
they become part of the movement for world order. Perhaps they can realize this principle easier than we believed

→ What has traditionally been done by political leaders of great movements. You get yourselves elected and you assume the role of a virtual government.

4. You would urge all non-governmental associations to endorse world government and propose that their governments and parties take the initiative.
5. You can urge all educational and professional associations to review school curricula to assess their positive and negative contributions, ~~and practices~~ to a benevolent and beneficent world order, so that we know, for example whether a course called International Economics teaches students to exploit or develop other countries.
6. You should ~~not~~ press all ~~fascist~~ associations to review technological plans and trends within their ~~countries~~ provinces to determine their compatibility with the ~~new~~ hoped-for world system.
7. Wherever it can be done without severe repression, it would be well for the intelligentsia to select and support a political party pledged to a new world order.
8. An organization is needed to investigate, inform, and counter-propagandise groups that are incidentally and ignorantly ~~opposed~~ opposed to world order.
9. The first convention for world government ought to set up the next phase, in which a virtual world government would be ~~not~~ constituted. This shadow government would ~~not~~ stand ~~up~~ as a model, or actually serve to take on responsibilities for world ~~affairs~~.

To repeat, ~~we have~~ ~~are recommended for the young, others and~~ nine activities to undertake.

(15)

Organize a cadre of the intelligentia.

welfare

Establish a Coordinating Panel to estimate world priorities and local.

Purge ~~atomic bombs-makers from the body of scientific society~~ ~~The organization of knowledge~~ ~~to form the basis of science, education and~~

Technology those who are devoted to nuclear weapons.

Press the establishment for an International Energy Bank, alternatives.

Line up all voluntary groups for world government.

Eliminate imperialism <sup>and indifference from</sup> ~~of the~~ school curricula.

Support political parties ~~pledged to~~ <sup>democratic</sup> world government.

Expose and denounce the opponents of a welfare world.

Constitute a ~~virtual~~ world government.

concerned today with

As you can see, I am more interested in building up the effectiveness of the intelligence in world politics. ~~The~~ The ~~final~~ framework for ~~a~~ a new threat in world politics comes before reallocation of resources, which, speaking truly, we do not possess. You cannot decide that small ~~of~~ <sup>hydro-energy</sup> ~~islands~~

are beautiful for <sup>the Philippines</sup> ~~Vietnam~~ when you know that any day a great foreign concern <sup>backed by its government,</sup> plan can come into the country and win support for a great nuclear energy plant. Money talks. Money backed by power commands. Intelligence babbles ~~talks~~ or is mute until it holds power and then money. Then it <sup>is</sup> ~~can~~ consult, to corporations, and to ~~has~~ the grace to

Then it can talk and command, which, if intelligence ~~talks~~ preserves its unique grace, means to consult, to cooperate, to choose the best of possible worlds.

~~responsible person~~ to meet confront.

The "who" of our agenda is the most difficult problem of all. ~~the~~ The "who" is leadership. Who are leaders? Better, we should ask, "Who are the leaders who ~~will and~~ can achieve the world agenda?" ~~No man~~

No more than ~~three~~ out of a hundred persons in any country in the world engage in political activity, even to a modest degree — ~~and~~ informing themselves, voting or agitating expressing their opinions, or ~~to~~ seeking office. In the whole world four billion persons, therefore, there are ~~approximately~~ some ~~80 million~~ <sup>an abundance of other evidence. This ratio by a mile.</sup> ~~have political potential~~ are politically aware, most ~~of whom~~ who are the reservoir of political activists. But ~~most~~ of these are against progress or quite incompetent or of little potency. We need to find from among ~~them~~ those <sup>potentially beneficial activists</sup> ~~more than 20 million~~ persons in the world. The ~~one million~~ cadre <sup>of</sup> a political movement that will and ~~can~~ change the world for the better & do it fast. Actually, even ~~half a million~~ activists ~~would~~ be adequate for the task, ~~because~~ politics moves by the force of the few, ~~small groups~~, even if it endures by the ~~consent~~ of the masses. ~~Our conclusion~~ I conclude that there are more than enough ~~such~~ potential leaders for a worldwide revolution if they ~~are~~ mobilized ~~and if they are not~~ before they are suppressed.

Who did not get into trouble. We  
may hope to change this history,  
but today we ~~can~~ still effect  
political ~~involvement~~ involvement with every  
progressive idea. As I wrote a decade

We should reactivate the word  
"intelligentsia," which the Russians  
~~probably~~ denied in the nineteenth  
Century to mark off for ~~the~~ people  
who fought ~~them~~ by means of ideas  
for the control of ~~the~~ opinion and  
policy.

bill that ~~you~~ contained a day's diet, a contraceptive, a peaceful disposition and a ~~large~~ intelligence, where would be powerful and perverted ~~to~~ political forces & ~~should~~ who would want to control the bill and deny it to "jooks" and "niggers" and "the undisciplined rabble." ~~of the world.~~

I am stressing that you cannot be removed by your specialization and your skills ~~are~~ It is ~~at~~ difficult to find in the history of political since a great writer who was not politically persecuted. We may hope for that time to arrive, but we are far from it ~~today~~. As I wrote a decade ago, "Only a political movement of global dimension can bring about <sup>the</sup> large scale social changes that are needed within a generation. If this constructive political revolution does not come about, we do not get rid of politics. On the contrary, a politics will come to rule the world like a beast. It will brush aside the nice party politics of front pages of newspapers, and impose a new politics of reactionary explosions, contractions, and more explosions." ~~If~~ It seems to me that you have a reason for being here. It is to conspirie for a world government under the cloak of science and technology.

play at stocking the shelves. ~~By this~~ You are encouraged also to ~~distinguish~~  
~~between~~ between science and politics, ~~or~~ abstaining from  
 the political. ~~That is why~~ take note if you will --  
 The ~~friendly~~ published <sup>guide</sup> booklet "Entitled "Towards a  
 World Economy That Works" is a masterpiece of  
 discernment <sup>and subtlety.</sup> For, even while it goes on and on  
 about the failures of economics and the troubles of the  
 world, it injects a sentence here and there  
 like: "the world economy" is not working well because the  
 institutions, rules and systems which manage the world  
 economy are increasingly inadequate; "they are  
 remnants of  
 colonialism. Again, it tells us, "Within the U.N.  
 system, development issues are seen now as essentially  
 political. It is widely acknowledged that governments  
 must find the 'political will' to change existing  
 conditions within countries and internationally." And then  
 "Only a creative political process can fashion the  
 international framework." And a final sample:  
 Eradicating hunger primarily requires political decisions by  
 governments at the international and the national level,  
 from the highest political office to the local village council.

What I am ~~telling~~ <sup>find</sup> is that the ~~problems~~ <sup>can</sup> only be  
~~bad~~ ~~bad~~ resolution of world problems <sup>can</sup> only be political.  
 What I am saying is that even if you invented a cheap

place in De Louvre and moved to the  
Fermi court where they ~~had~~ pledged: "We are  
here by the will of the people. We <sup>will</sup> be deposed  
only by the force of bayonets." <sup>Regrettably</sup> ~~Unofficially~~, there is  
little danger of this; but <sup>the</sup> day may come.

Now others say that the intelligentsia is  
being ~~met~~ convened in order to stock the shelves of  
the United Nations with scientific ~~principles~~ prescriptions for  
a better world. Then the delegates in their wisdom  
~~can~~ pick the appropriate ~~other~~ cures ~~for~~

the world's ailments off the ~~other~~ shelves. <sup>Perhaps this is why</sup>  
recommendations demanded of their political instrumentation.

Might it be that the intelligentsia is here to  
decide, <sup>finally and in reality</sup> upon an agenda? Not at all. ~~They~~ are not  
organized into research teams, provided with staff or ~~the~~  
<sup>an action research report</sup> You cannot do a ~~thing~~ without resources and in three days  
<sup>begin part of</sup> I have ~~seen~~ too many such meetings to mistake their  
identity.

What I say is this, and it is not all bad.  
Secretly, ~~they~~ <sup>there are some of them</sup> are ~~few~~ those who  
would unleash the intelligentsia ~~into~~ <sup>upon</sup> ~~a~~ ~~host~~ of  
power politics for the sake of world welfare. But  
this is <sup>still</sup> impossible, given the ~~fact~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the heavy-handed~~  
~~bullying groups~~ in the ~~UN~~. Therefore the intelligentsia is  
encouraged to meet without resources or power to  
speak disconnectedly ~~on~~ many subjects, ~~so~~ to

I said that the 'who' and 'what' —

~~for whom, to and what~~ are interconnected. Very well, ~~the "intelligentsia"~~ ~~people like ourselves~~ ~~can do~~ ~~can do the best.~~ → What is it ~~that we are~~ to do? What

can be done? ~~govern~~ We can begin by asking why ~~we~~ we are here today. There must be reasons; nothing happens for nothing. They are functional experts

assembled ~~down~~ down the street from the delegates of 152 (3)

~~surely there is no intention of letting the intelligentsia~~  
~~foreign ~~to~~ states~~ ~~on the pretext of plotting~~ ~~The next decade,~~  
~~the last~~ ~~decade~~ ~~so that~~ ~~the world from declining collapse?~~  
~~decade before~~ ~~The non-governmental organizations and scientists~~

~~technologists and educators could have stayed at home~~ While their political voices spoke for them in ~~the assembly~~.

But no, they are assembled on the fringes of the Assembly, the poor relatives, for some reason. ~~they are here~~

an ~~messiness~~ about talking of ~~the~~ world, without some presence of those who are versed ~~in~~ in them?

Some say that the intelligentsia must meet to lobby <sup>own nationalistic</sup> ~~and argue~~ for their viewpoints. This is true to a degree. Many people among us — experts <sup>and</sup> educators — have been, or are, or hope to be members of their governments. <sup>In fact, often</sup> ~~which is one of the reasons~~ why a potentially dangerous ~~the bourgeoisie~~ gathering of experts is tolerated. There is no <sup>fear</sup> of a repetition of the French Revolution of 1789, when the <sup>representative</sup> ~~old~~ Estates General was blocked from entering its proper

(2)

Now the "who" comes first: who is to  
take upon themselves the management of the future?  
~~Up to this day, this has~~ <sup>never</sup> proven incompetent  
Obviously, ~~the~~ a ~~new~~ contest is occurring over the  
leadership of the world, but the one element of the  
elite that is scarcely represented in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> world circles  
leadership is the intelligentsia—the scientists, technicians,  
teachers, ~~human relations~~ specialists, writers and  
artists. ~~The~~ The intelligentsia is far more numerous  
than ~~the~~ military officers, even more numerous than  
the pure politicians.

The "what" of the world is simple and keeps repeating itself in our ears like a cracked recording. Universal necessities, universal basic needs, ~~universal~~, ~~universal~~  
universal disarmament, ~~universal~~ universal basic needs, ~~universal~~, ~~universal~~  
universal population stabilization, <sup>universal</sup> cultural self-expression. In  
every one of these regards, the world is slipping, sliding,  
even plunging into decline and collapse.