

Introduction



The omens, to say the least, are not good. A year before the world meets to reassess progress towards environmental sustainability at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), to be held in Johannesburg in September 2002, dreams of collective responsibility towards the Earth's common ecological resources have been delivered a death blow by US President George W Bush. Bush has announced that his country would not participate in negotiations for the Kyoto Protocol, which aims to restrict industrialised countries' emissions of dangerous greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. In doing so, the US has abdicated responsibility towards the Earth's atmosphere, an important global common, despite the fact that the country emits the largest share of greenhouse gases.

The inability of the world community to hold the US responsible for its actions brings out serious handicaps in the existing global environmental architecture. Although the number of global environmental institutions and treaties has grown dramatically over the last decade, this has not necessarily meant better or fairer governance of the Earth's ecological resources. Instead, as illustrated in the first report, *Green Politics: Global Environmental Negotiations-1*, deep cracks in the system widen the divide between rich and poor, and the global North and South. In the ten years since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, good environmental governance based on the principles of democracy and equity has been totally ignored by global leaders.

Instead, the outcome of global negotiations on the subject has consistently been decided in the economic interests of powerful countries and corporations. This had been evident in negotiations of almost all major environmental treaties – including the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone

Layer; the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD); the recently signed Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety (CPB); and the Protocol on Liability and Compensation for Damage resulting from the Transboundary Waste and their Disposal under the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal.

Northern governments have not exactly been covert in their attempts to protect domestic industry in the past, often sacrificing the global goals of overall 'ecological effectiveness' to narrowly defined goals of 'economic effectiveness'. Bush's recent decision to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol, despite the historical and present contribution of the US to global warming, has made this fact painfully clear. Environmental concerns and multilateralism only matter as long as the economic interests of the rich nations are not harmed. The world can do nothing but plead as the richest nation on Earth refuses to take responsibility for its greenhouse gas emissions, which are predicted to inflict disasters and suffering on poorer countries.

This is an alarming trend that has emerged in recent years – environmental problems are only taken seriously if they affect the North. The US government can walk away from the Kyoto Protocol because scientists predict that the maximum harm due to global warming will be inflicted on nations in the South. Northern governments take negotiations on issues such as desertification and biodiversity lightly because they are largely issues of concern to the South. But negotiations on controlling ozone depletion and persistent organic pollutants, problems that will effect Northern populations, are taken seriously, and negotiations proceed at a much faster pace.

As the world tries helplessly to get the US back into the

Kyoto negotiations, the global civil society looked for ways to force the US take responsibility – and found none. The ‘sticks’ used in global environmental negotiations to ensure compliance so far are mainly economic sanctions that can only be used against poorer nations. Under the Montreal Protocol, for instance, developing countries can be threatened with withdrawal of financial aid if they do not meet their protocol requirements, but no compliance mechanism exists to ensure that industrialised countries meet their commitments. The compliance mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol, under which industrialised countries will be held responsible for commitments, is moving in the direction of leniency to the extent that the Kyoto commitments will finally amount to little more than voluntary measures. The Basel Convention, where industrialised countries are once again the potential defaulters, has no specific penalty for defaulting countries – a compliance mechanism is still to be decided, eleven years after the convention was signed.

Moreover, global environmental negotiations so far have failed to fix responsibility where it belongs, because the finger of suspicion most often points to Northern industries, the new sacred cows of the North, which must apparently be protected at all costs. Direct attempts to put in place liability mechanisms, whereby industries take responsibility for their products, have failed in at least two counts – under CPB and the Basel Convention’s liability protocol. Whereas the North succeeded in resisting a liability protocol for the former altogether, the latter does not fix responsibility on the hazardous waste generating industry, in order to discourage them from producing the hazardous waste in the first place.

Rather than being punished, industry has sometimes been rewarded for harming the environment. Negotiations on the Montreal Protocol provided the chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) manufacturer Du Pont with a captive global market in substitutes, by allowing the use of hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HCFCs), even though HCFCs were known to cause damage to the ozone layer. Du Pont and other CFC manufacturers were not held liable in any way for causing damage to the Earth’s environment. As a result, industry has continued to invent, produce and sell ozone-depleting chemicals, without caution. Negotiators at the Montreal Protocol have their hands full negotiating deadlines for these new ozone-depleting substances, but the question of holding manufacturers liable for producing such substances has never been raised or discussed.

Although global environmental negotiations are forcing the South to take on repeated and costly technological transitions, none of the negotiations have a framework to assist the South to

leapfrog in terms of technology. Under the Montreal Protocol, the South has financial assistance to make the transition to an alternative chemical. But as the first generation of substitutes is already proving to be ozone-unfriendly, the South will have to bear the cost of the second transition. Similarly in the climate negotiations, the trading mechanisms have been designed in so that while they may promote cleaner fossil fuel technology in the South, they will not help the South leapfrog into renewable energy. The slightly more efficient fossil fuel projects that will be funded by the North in this manner will have to be phased out once developing countries take on commitments to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.

Unfortunately, Southern nations continue to be helpless bystanders in these negotiations, often lacking the knowledge or skill to participate. They are usually in a reactive mode instead of coming up with proposals on how the global environment can be managed in a democratic manner, taking their interests into account. As yet, Southern negotiators have shown little sagacity or vision to contribute to the global environmental agenda. Their negotiating strategy has had two simple components: to squeeze small commitments on technology transfer and additional aid from the North; and to use these invariably unfulfilled commitments to stall future negotiations.

Worse, the South has been unable to articulate or implement its own development agenda. The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) was an opportunity to engage the millions of poor living in extremely poor and degraded lands to improve local food and economic security through ecological regeneration. But for this, local community participation in management is critical, as desertification control is less about planting trees and grasses and more about devolving power and governance to local communities. But Southern governments have failed to devolve power while preparing and implementing national action plans, just as they have failed to set up the legislative and administrative framework needed for to protect their national biodiversity under CBD.

Developing country governments also manage to sideline themselves in the global arena by not participating sufficiently in the early stages. For instance, they have aired no opinions in the discussions on the new framework for international environmental governance, being discussed in preparation for WSSD. At UNCED, the world set up the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) as the agency to oversee and guide the implementation of the green agenda. The institution was subsequently reduced to nothing more than a talkshop by the same governments which set it up, rendering it unable to lead or coordinate the fractured

global environmental agenda. Today the global institutional framework for environment is in crisis. Northern governments have been stepping up their demand for a World Environment Organisation (WEO), reassembled perhaps from a strengthened United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

Daring to dream

Despite the abysmal record of the concerns of poor nations being taken on board the global agenda in the past, representatives of the South have dared to hope that WSSD will finally address their development concerns. This may well be a pipe dream, especially if the debate at WSSD ends up centring on industrialised countries such as the US ratifying existing agreements. But Southern leaders must make it clear that their priority is to focus on the needs of their citizens who are bypassed or marginalised by economic globalisation, and on the weaknesses that exist within the developing world which prevent it from moving towards sustainable development. In particular, they must focus on

- ecological poverty, that afflicts most of the world's rural poor living in degraded ecosystems
- strengthening local and global democracy as the tool for management of its resources, and

- pollution, which is going to grow in the developing world at a rapid rate as economies grow.

Creation of a global fund and programme to empower the globally 'marginalised' to deal with their 'ecological poverty'

There is now ample evidence to show that the globalisation process is going to bypass or neglect billions of poor people for several decades until they pick up the capacity to integrate themselves with national and global markets. The state of the human condition as far as these marginalised people are concerned is, to say the least, abysmal. Lack of access to even basic necessities like safe drinking water, adequate food and health care means that almost a third of the people in the developing world have a life expectancy of just 40 years.

Few people realise that the problem of rural poverty in large parts of the developing world is not one of 'economic poverty' but of 'ecological poverty' – the shortage of natural resources to build up the rural economy. The *State of World's Rural Poverty* report, published by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), shows that there are above one billion people live in absolute poverty, and a large proportion of these people live in degraded lands. The regeneration of these lands will play a key role in reviving the local economy, built around



agriculture and animal husbandry. This needs good land and water management to ensure high biomass productivity from trees, grasses and crops. Unfortunately, 'ecological poverty' is not an issue that is studied much because most economists do not understand environment or natural resource management, and most environmentalists do not understand poverty.

Healthy lands and ecosystems, when used sustainably, can provide all the wealth that is needed for healthy and dignified lives. There have been outstanding experiences, both as a result of government and non-governmental interventions in various developing countries, which have shown that good natural resource management built around community-based rainwater harvesting systems can transform not only the local ecology but also the local economy in a dramatic manner. For example, Ralegaon Sidhi, a village situated in a highly degraded part of Maharashtra, was one of the poorest villages of India in the 1970s. But today, it is one of the richest, with over a quarter of the households earning us \$12,000 every year.

The 21st century challenge lies in empowering and mobilising the labour of the marginalised billion to get out of their 'ecological poverty', create natural wealth, and develop a robust local economy based on that natural wealth. It means natural resource degradation must stop and natural resource regeneration must start. This means that good governance, built on people's empowerment to deal with the problem of 'ecological poverty', is going to be critical for addressing the problem of economic development and marginalisation in the 21st century.

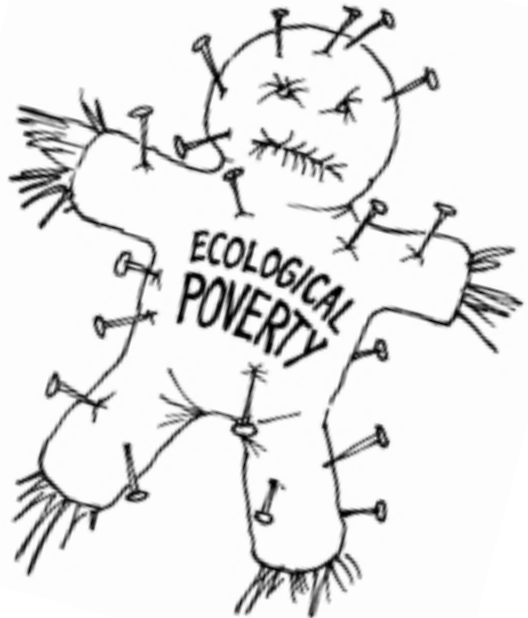
For an interdependent world, one important value that all people should enjoy as the most fundamental of human rights is the Right to Survival. Unemployment and poverty stalk a large part of humankind and force it into a state of deprivation that can have no moral, legal or socioeconomic justification. At the same time, the vast numbers of unemployed and underemployed, especially in the rural South today provide us with an extraordinary opportunity for undertaking a massive, global enterprise for ecological regeneration and restoration of the natural resource base on which the poor depend for their daily survival. All over South America, Africa and Asia, village communities can improve their environment and local agroecosystems for their future survival, and they can do so, given a chance, through afforestation, grasslands development, soil conservation, local water harvesting systems and small-scale energy development. If a major global programme to generate employment can be geared on a worldwide basis to ecological regeneration, two of the worst evils stalking the world, namely, poverty and ecological degradation, can be arrested and, hopefully, banished.

It is also clear that the world needs an integration of the local and global agenda. Environmental problems have to be addressed within an integrated perspective that takes into account the local and the global – the local within the global and the global within the local. Agenda 21 talked at length about the relationship between poverty and environment, a problem that is of deep concern to poor countries, but no worthwhile attempt has been made in the post-Rio period to address it.

It is for this reason that the dialogue at the global level urgently needs the increased engagement of civil society groups rooted in local issues and activity. These groups, with roots in the environment and development movements, will bring to the global agenda their experiences and most importantly, their priorities for action. It is clear that globalisation will demand that instead of "thinking globally and acting locally" the world needs to "think locally and act globally". Only then will global governance and its rules begin to meet the needs of the poor and marginalised.

Strengthen local and global democracy as the most essential component of sustainable development

Secondly, democracy is an essential components of sustainable development. The strengthening of local democratic systems which empower local communities to decide on the use of local



natural resources is vital for environmental management. Similarly, democratic structures at the global level are vital for an effective agreement between nations.

In fact, the most encouraging aspect about the 21st century globalised world is that there will be a lot more leaders. The growth of the civil society in the last half-century has been quite phenomenal and its role in bringing sanity, especially ecological sanity, to the world has been extremely impressive. The first half of the 20th century was marked by an unprecedented growth in science and technology, whose application and introduction into our daily lives was managed by a few political and business leaders. But its adverse ecological impact brought forth a response that showed that even in the so-called democratic societies of the West, their democracy was not deep enough. People no longer wanted to allow their elected representatives to decide where they could install a nuclear power station. People wanted to participate in that decision by saying "not in my backyard, decision-maker. You may have been elected to take decisions but you do not have an unqualified right to decide on our behalf".

Not surprisingly, the 1970s saw the flowering of a highly interventionist civil society in the West itself and slowly it began to spread across the world, including the more socialist and state-dominated South. Environment became a government and business concern only because of the massive environmental movement across the world led by thousands of relatively small-time, non-political, non-business leaders.

The world has, thus, slowly moved in the latter half of this century from representative democracy to participatory democracy. And this is a very heartening sign. The growing diversity of human leadership cannot but be a good thing. The 21st century now offers the world with a great opportunity to create a global civil society, which could go a step further even in reducing the dominance of the Northern civil society. Everyone in power today has to recognise that technological globalisation and the communications revolution is very subtly changing the power equations – not necessarily in the military sense, but definitely in many other ways. And the greatest thing about this is that politicians can only retard this process, they cannot stop it. Good political leadership in the 21st century will be one, which does not feel threatened by this process and actually promotes it. Though let us recognise the fact that there is no dearth of leaders, especially in the developing world, who do feel threatened by this process.

Participatory governance: There is another major change that is slowly taking place across the world. Monolithic governance systems are slowly disappearing and getting replaced by far

more pluralistic governance systems. And because this process leads to growing involvement of larger numbers of people in the governance of their life and their environment, it can only lead to a 'greater balance' in the relationship between people and their environment. A look into recent Indian history has again a lot to teach us. About 250 years ago, when the British began to spread their tentacles in India, India had a village in every school, there was a greater percentage of people living in towns and cities than anywhere else except possibly for China. It was arguably the wealthiest country in the world, except again for the possibility of China. People had made hundreds and thousands of water structures to manage their lands, and there were hundreds and thousands of sacred groves.

The British loot of India helped to finance its Industrial Revolution. But the worst legacy of the British was the manner in which it subverted the country's governance system. The rules of pre-British India did little for the public. Instead they created systems that encouraged the people to do things themselves. As a result, there were a million institutions – village-level, city-level – to take care of water tanks, for instance, thousands of which still survive today, even though they are in a highly dilapidated state. The British replaced all these institutions with one mega-bureaucracy, which proved totally incapable of dealing with the diversity and multitude of environment-friendly water structures that existed then. All over the world, the paradigm of water management began to change. From water being everybody's business, it slowly became the business of the government. And now with a century's hindsight, it is hard to believe that this new paradigm is better than the past one.

In the developing world, the modern state has proved to be extremely incompetent and corrupt. When one looks at India's environmental history, one finds that there were hardly any rules set by the erstwhile rulers at the top, most rules were set at the bottom. A lot of this was customary law, which was enforced by communities and social and religious sanctions. Nomadic groups, for instance, rarely crossed each other's routes. But the modern state has parliaments passing innumerable laws at the top, but there is nothing at the bottom to implement these laws. And with the traditional disrespect for the ruler, the modern governance system is creating an extraordinary havoc. Corruption is just one response of that disrespect. The governance system went from a 'pyramid like structure' in the past to an 'inverted pyramid', teetering, doddering structure, in the present but realisation is seeping in that it has to look at least like a barrel to meet the challenges of the modern day. Monolithic governments are already withdrawing from the industrial sector and sooner or

later they will be forced to withdraw from the social and environmental sectors as well.

In the years to come, the nation-state will come under growing pressure from two different directions. One will be economic and ecological globalisation. And the other will be natural resource management, environmental conservation and protection of quality of life. In order to deal with the first, the nation state will increasingly have to give greater space to global governance systems – the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and global environmental treaties, for instance. And, in order to deal with the second, it will have to give over greater space to local governance systems in which local democratic institutions are intensely involved in village and town governance.

Southern civil society: A powerful civil society can play a very important role in this transition in the governance systems of the world's nations. While the civil society is quite strong in the Western world, it is only beginning to grow in the developing world, especially now that electoral democracy is being embraced as a principle of governance by more and more nations. The role of the Southern civil society in terms of its engagement with the emerging global economic and environmental governance still remains extremely marginal. As a result, many Southern environmental concerns like land degradation and desertification, the environmental rights and needs of the poor, and others, are getting neglected in the global environmental agenda.

Western environmental groups try to represent the interests of all humanity but remain caught in a highly conservationist agenda, which should not be surprising given the economic levels of the Western world. Even on a major environmental issue like climate change, there has been extremely limited intervention from the Southern civil society. The concern about equitable sharing of the atmospheric space has been widely shared, but the ability of Southern groups to make effective interventions in the negotiating process has been extremely limited. National support for the civil society remains small and Southern environmental groups are not able to raise adequate resources domestically for these high-cost interventions. On the other hand, few Western donors provide resources on a sustained basis for such efforts.

It is important to recognise that in the emerging situation described above, if the civil society is not strong, governments will get far more influenced by the powerful special interest groups, especially economic interest groups, and this influence will become ever stronger with further economic growth. It is not

surprising that negotiations in the WTO have today become far more important than the negotiations for global environmental conservation.

Set up an enabling framework to help the world leap into frontier technologies that are environmentally-sound, and equitable. Create liability and penalty systems as a disincentive for toxic models of development

The economic boom of Asia in the 1980s has turned several countries of the region into the most polluted ones in the world. It is the fervent hope of governments today that globalisation will create economic wealth. But few people realise that the Western economic model, built on highly energy and material-intensive technologies, has proved to be an extremely 'toxic model'. The post-war economic boom immediately landed cities from Tokyo to Los Angeles into devastating air pollution problems even as all aquatic systems began to be poisoned to death. Having learnt from their mistake, Western societies have conducted themselves with much greater discipline with respect to the environment and have also invested substantially in relatively environment-friendly technologies.

Even then, the battle is far from won. Huge amounts of toxins still enter the global ecosystem as a result of economic processes. And the disruption of the global carbon and nitrogen cycles still continues to throw a pall over humanity's future. As Western-style economic growth takes into its sweep increasing masses of humanity, it becomes important to ask – what will this do to the integrity of the world's natural ecosystems?

The processes of wealth generation will clearly put increasing pressure on natural ecosystems and generate huge amounts of pollution. During the 1970s and the 1980s, Southeast and east Asia grew at a rate that was unprecedented in human history. Today, this region is also the most polluted on Earth. Literally every city is gasping for air – from Taipei to Delhi. Studies carried out by the World Bank now tell us that when the gross domestic product (GDP) of Thailand doubled during the 1980s, its total load of pollutants increased an amazing ten-fold. A study conducted in India by the New Delhi-based Centre for Science and Environment shows that when the Indian economy doubled in the recent past, its industrial pollution load went up by four times and the vehicular pollution load by eight times.

These trends and tendencies will continue to dominate until there is mass consciousness of the threats that this is posing to public health and to long-term survival. Since it is the spread of the Western technological model that is behind the spread of



urban and industrial pollution across the world, a major global technology initiative is needed to address this problem. Developing countries need cost-effective technologies to meet their development and pollution prevention needs. A forward-looking approach would be to encourage developing countries to avoid 'incremental changes' in technologies and move towards frontier pollution-free technologies like fuel cells and solar cells.

Therefore, sustainable consumption will be an important challenge if the world's resources are shared. This can be achieved

- through improvements in efficiency, which means that human beings learn to do more and more with less and less and the development of a new generation of technologies that are both sustainable and equitable, and
- through agreements on sufficiency, which means the establishment and acceptance of upper limits on consumption based on certain norms and values which include ecological considerations, social justice and equity.

There is considerable scope today for 'dematerialisation' and 'de-energisation' without a decrease in living standards. But this increase in efficiency will not happen on a large scale unless it is promoted through changes in the fiscal system with supportive and appropriate technological improvements. By itself, efficiency

can only help to push the decisions on sufficiency a bit into the future but not much more. This is because if overall consumption is growing rapidly, dramatic improvements in efficiency will be needed to stand still in terms of ecological impact. Management of human excreta and global warming provide two examples.

Human excreta: In the area of human waste disposal, the state has made massive investments in the development of sewer systems. After having destroyed innumerable rivers with the resulting sewage flows, massive investments are being made in sewage treatment plants to clean up the rivers. In developing countries, this technology acquires not just ecological dimensions but also equity dimensions. Because many urban people do not even have a legal house, and in any case do not have the money to get connected to a sewer, a large section of the urban population does not benefit from the sewers. It is, in fact, the richest urban section which benefits from sewerage. And yet, most states in the developing have to subsidise its construction as well as subsidise the construction of sewage treatment plants. As a result, most governments are running out of money for water supply and sanitation systems. Subsidising the rich to excrete in convenience is possibly against all canons of public finance, and yet it is happening all the time and will become worse with the rapidly growing urbanisation in the developing world.

A paradigm shift would require a different technology, which can be managed at the household level and thus leaves responsibility for waste disposal with the producer of the waste. Interestingly, some of the most recent developments in waste disposal are trying to do precisely that and, thus, avoid mixing the food and land cycle with the water cycle creating innumerable problems in the process. There is no reason to believe that composting toilets will not become the order of the day in the years to come, getting rid of flush toilets and greatly reducing the urban water demand and river pollution. There are equally interesting developments in the treatment of domestic 'greywater' which allow a community to collect and treat its own waste. Thus, community and household-based treatment systems may well replace capital intensive technologies in the next century.

Global warming: Even the vexing area of global warming which is becoming a bed of hot and devious politics suggests a way ahead. In very simple terms, the problem of global warming comes from the fact that the world continues to use fossil fuels, which produce carbon emissions. The answer, therefore, lies in an energy transition – from a carbon-based energy economy to a

carbon-free energy economy. The rapid penetration of solar energy technologies in the energy sector has the potential to turn the threat of climate change into a problem that would last only for a few decades in the early part of the 21st century, instead of a problem that will continue to threaten human beings for centuries to come.

It is often argued by the North that if industrialised countries were to reduce their emissions while developing countries are increasing their emissions, then the entire effort of the industrialised countries will get nullified. Therefore, the US, in particular, has taken a strong position that all nations, including developing nations, must become a part of the effort to reduce carbon dioxide and other gases that cause the heating of the Earth. The Western companies have also fuelled this argument. They believe that if they alone have to bear the cost of reducing emissions, then either they will go out of business, or firms which generate high quantities of greenhouse gases will move to countries which do not have restrictions on their emissions.

Unfortunately, greenhouse gas emissions are strongly correlated with economic growth and since a large part of the world consists of countries that are very poor, they will inevitably increase their emissions as they grow economically. It would be churlish to imagine that leaders of developing countries will want to bear an extra economic burden at a time when they are aspiring for rapid economic growth. Neither can they accept global economic inequality of the kind that prevails today.

These seemingly intractable problems can, however, be solved if the world makes a serious effort to move towards an energy economy that is built on sources that are carbon-free like solar and biomass energy, wind power or hydroelectricity instead of the existing reliance on fossil fuels like coal, natural gas and petroleum-based fuels. Then the threat of climate change will be arrested and each nation would be free thereafter to use as much energy as it wants.

There are two pre-conditions for the non-carbon energy transition. First, there is great need for more research money and secondly, there is an urgent need to provide a growing market for solar technologies so that mass production can further bring the cost of solar technologies down. This is where a system of emissions trading built on entitlements can play an important role. This provision would immediately give them the incentive to move towards a low emissions developmental path so that the benefits from trading emissions can stay with them for a long time.

It is equally important to note that such an economic environment would help to create a global market for Western

solar energy technologies – first in developing countries, and then later in industrialised countries – and help to kick-start the global transition towards zero emission technologies. This makes sense because developing countries have more solar energy than Western countries and if global warming is to be averted in the long run, the more solar energy is used by them instead of oil and coal, the better. Also, developing countries have millions of settlements even today which do not have grid-supplied electricity. There are more than two billion people today who have no access to electricity. Solar energy systems should serve these people in the future rather than carbon-producing electric grid systems.

Technological advances are also taking place in using hydrogen as a source of energy, which will have major impacts on the transport sector. By 2010, vehicles operated on fuel cells and electric batteries are expected to be on the road, which will considerably reduce carbon emissions from the transport sector. But many of these technologies will not reach the developing world unless its special needs are taken into account. If India, for example, were to have as many cars on a per capita basis as USA, it would have 500 million cars as compared to about 4 million that exist today. But in the decades to come, India will definitely have over 100 million scooters. These vehicles are today 70 per cent of the total number of vehicles in India. Like India, other Asian cities like Bangkok and Taipei, too, are chock full of scooters. But hardly any Western company is thinking of working on electric or fuel cell scooters. Efforts are needed to invest in the technologies of the poor.

It is clear the major changes in the 21st century will be not just in the nature of things the world produces, but also in the nature of the way things are done. But dealing with the challenges will need good leadership, which promotes a system of governance that decentralises management of natural resources, ensures equity through appropriate entitlements, and pushes for a new technological paradigm that gives greater control and responsibility to the household and the community. The leadership for this transition need not necessarily come from the political and business leadership. It can also come from the global civil society. This will need massive investment in education so that people around the world can play their role as informed citizens with values and ethics of social justice and sustainable development.

Mahatma Gandhi is often looked upon as an apostle with a message for the poor. But his message of caring and sharing will become even more relevant in a wealthy world. Gandhians in wealth will be needed even more than Gandhians in poverty.