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## RELOCATION AND SOCIAL FEDERALIST AGAINST THE RELOCATION NATIONALIST

### Subtheme: DEMOCRACY AND DEGROWTH

#### Work shop: 43. A place for everything and everything in its place: Appropriate scales of power and size of Political Communities

##### *Introduction*

Regulatory policy can develop relocated to reduce the carbon footprint and ecological footprint and various pollutants. Regulation relocated, also promotes economic and political autonomy, locality, region or country. Local economic development, social and environmental, must take into account the cultural identity, autonomy and basic needs according Preiswerk<sup>1</sup>. Development (qualitative) and growth (quantitative) is needed in the countries and populations for which the satisfaction of basic needs has not been reached and that the ecological footprint per capita is below the maximum threshold the Per capita ecological footprint (1.8 ha/capita in 2005).

Face control relocated environmentalists, some forms of anti-globalization brought by associations such Attac promote the strengthening of international organizations such as the UN and runs the risk of excessive centralism. Internationalism, tends to dissolve nations to create a humanity under the direction of a global government and non-government international, which implies that there are still nations.

However, economic autonomy, regulation and social ecologist relocated, does not mean nationalistic egoism. A share of the wealth, production and services can continue to be exchanged between countries, with the aim of solidarity (without interference) and produce essential goods that can not be created on the spot. Redistribution of wealth in local, regional, national and international goes along with the regulation and relocated some protectionism. In contrast, the latter and the redistribution should not be diverted and loans should not become debt to ensure political and economic domination, as is the case of the IMF to the poorest countries and now some European nations.

Without economic autonomy, political autonomy is almost impossible. The latter allows the public and its elected representatives to decide for themselves their societal orientations, without being dependent on the power of other economic actors (banks and receivables) or public (international organizations, such as the WTO, the IMF, or powerful states such as the G8). Political autonomy is based on subsidiarity, the failure to decide at a level higher than that which can not be decided at a lower level.

Decreasing the socialist self-management therefore seek to find a balance between internationalism, or anti-globalization, crushing the cultural autonomies and communities and nations relocated selfish nationalistic regulation, developing a federal regulation and social relocated.

In fact, besides the economic, social and cultural, democratic dimension is central.

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<sup>1</sup> PREISWERK Roy, in Galtung, IUED: Il faut manger pour vivre...Controverses sur les besoins fondamentaux et le développement, PUF, 1980.

To avoid the risk of excessive centralization of decisions and drift towards a world government undemocratic control relocated federalist. The true federalism is not a centralized federation, but federalism based on subsidiarity, as it was originally thought including Proudhon. That is to say that the decisions taken at the higher level, can only be taken if they are impossible or inappropriate to the lower level, such as the creation of a rail network. Federal regulation can therefore relocated to find a balance between the excesses of coercive centralism and uniformity on one side and the other excess regulation or relocated deglobalization too nationalistic and selfish.

***Towards relocation and selective social production and food.***

While the fair trade sector grows slowly, consumer interest in ecology, it accelerates rapidly. To the point that many of them, sometimes feel that ecology (favored by local consumption) and oppose fair trade, particularly because of the release of CO<sub>2</sub>, linked to transport, an important factor of global climate and environmental footprint. However, there are nevertheless common approaches or both can coexist, such as South-South trade fair or relocation selective.

Cities in industrialized countries, as developing countries, a number of more general citizens, seeking to regain autonomy is both food, but also economic and political. One reason is that ecologically globalized and liberalized trade, whether or not fair night mainly to the planet increases transport distances and therefore carbon emissions and global warming. To avoid the pitfalls of this system of production, growth objectors favor a relocation of production including food and try to import only what can be produced locally, to develop economic independence, but also political.

The relocation is part of an economic struggle against the relocation and loss of autonomy of local food and economic development. It is to produce locally to develop its economic autonomy, political, cultural and reduce its ecological footprint and carbon footprint in particular. Serge Latouche relocation defined as the act of "local production for essential products for the needs of people from local businesses financed by the savings collected locally." For objection growth, 8 "R" Latouche form a virtuous circle of building a sustainable ecological society, the revaluation is logically the first action and the basis of the process. "However, relocation is both the most important strategic means and one of the main objectives of the latter. This reflects to some extent the application of the old principle of political ecology: think globally, act locally (...). First, there those who want "to live and work in the country" (...). It has even coined a term "glocal" to describe this new relationship between the global and the local<sup>2</sup>.

***Infinite growth of transport can live in perpetual movement in favor of self-forgetfulness and neoliberal capitalism.*** The decrease in transport is a key project of descending and environmentalist. In particular, because the transport-related pollution is the primary cause of global warming. As Ivan Illich showed in the early 70s, the private car is the symbol of Western civilization. Ivan Illich calculated that the average American spent more than 1600 hours a year to his car, whether driving or working for pay<sup>3</sup>.

Serge Latouche notes that "if the ideas should ignore border movement of goods and capital must be reduced to the essential (...). This requires stimulate a fuller realization. This is the essence of economic activity and life itself to be reterritorialized. How to get there? Internalising the external costs of transport (infrastructure, pollution, including greenhouse gases and climate change), it probably relocaliserait many activities. With a cost per kilometer multiplied by ten producing companies

<sup>2</sup> LATOUCHE Serge, *le Pari de la décroissance*, Fayard, 2006, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> ILLICH I., *Energie et équité*, Le Seuil, 1973.

redécouvraient the virtues of products and markets close.”<sup>4</sup>

In the capitalist model and the wider productivism, transportation is also based in a draft global growth endless. The first axiom of development is the need of the market and not by the social and ecological rationality. The World Trade Organization (WTO) mandated priority, the removal of trade barriers including technical barriers. The leaders of the WTO therefore seek to remove the social and environmental standards that are barriers to trade .. Over the latter part of neoliberal economics, which highlights the comparative advantage (Ricardo) and the international division of labor. It is therefore the apostle of increased trade, outsourcing at the expense of relocation or the right to certain protectionism for autonomous development. This is also a prerequisite for economic openness, if the national economy is likely to be dominated foreign transnational corporations.

Unlike in traditional cultures, ways of moving were slower, often on foot, based on animal traction or the use of the veil. They respected the environment and their speed was more human, closer to the pace of the walker steps, which somehow is the first standard of the individual descending. It therefore seeks a decrease of transport to reduce the ecological footprint individual, national and global levels, including a relocation of production. The decrease in transport also requires knowledge rediscover the taste of holidays near, the simple pleasure of walking in the surrounding countryside, rather than the exotic systematically across the world.

***Autonomous agricultural development requires a selective relocation and lower transportation.*** In the 70s, the Non-Aligned claimed self-reliant development, including the voice of the economist Samir Amin (1972). A sustainable development project should be based on the satisfaction of basic needs, autonomy and respect for the cultural identity Preiswerk Roy observed Preiswerk<sup>5</sup>. Like all development actions, an action may result in the opposite effect if it causes a loss of cultural identity, a loss of economic and political autonomy, reduced agriculture vivrière. Cette latter means that agriculture should enable people to feed itself and not direct local production towards the export of cereals, such as tea, coffee, that are not essential for local consumption ... However, fair trade tends towards that. These principles and those of "environmentally sustainable production" conflict with those of liberal globalization.

While liberal globalization reinforces dependence vis-à-vis the outside, transport and pollution, on the contrary, in traditional cultures, ways of moving were slower, often on foot, based on animal traction or the use of the veil. They respected the environment and their speed was more human, closer to the pace of the walker steps, which somehow is the first standard of the individual descending. It therefore seeks a decrease of transport to reduce the ecological footprint individual, national and global levels, including a relocation of production. The decrease in transport also requires knowledge rediscover the taste of holidays near, the simple pleasure of walking in the surrounding countryside, rather than the exotic systematically across the world. Reconcile trade fair and decay, thus limiting the assumed consumption of "essential" and to use non-polluting modes of transport.

***Basic needs, self-development and cultural identity are the three principles of a draft economic autonomy.*** In addition, they are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Recall first, that on the one hand, the economic and social development is

<sup>4</sup> LATOUCHE, 2006, Fayard, p. 205

<sup>5</sup> PREISWERK Roy, 1980, p 132.

often a vital necessity for people who have not reached the level of the average ecological footprint and sustainable for humanity. On the other hand, the development is not economic, but it can also be social or cultural. This is to differentiate the concept of growth, which is the quantitative development which falls mainly in the quality. It is therefore possible to decrease quantitatively, while developing qualitatively, education, culture, services, health ...

Strategy needs a foundation is essential to decay, to the extent it seeks to create a society where basic needs are met, but individuals can self-limitation needs (Castoriadis 1996, IV: 137), to develop a "happy sobriety" (Rabbi) in a world where resources are limited and agricultural material.

Appropriate technology in agriculture is a way to combine autonomy and cultural identity. It is also an opportunity to learn techniques specific to a country or adapt foreign technologies to the needs of the country. This is for example the use of animal traction for plowing his field, rather than using a tractor both expensive and can not be repaired for lack of parts available on site and knowledge .

***Globalized capitalism opposes the objection of international growth.*** Socialism and self-management ecosocialism who are anti-capitalist, looking in particular to eliminate the private ownership of enterprises and cooperatives, and to adopt a democratic and ecological society. However, the decline in self-management, suppose in addition, the paradigm shift to postmodernism decay and in particular the "voluntary simplicity". These involve both the representation of the world and behavior of citizens.

There is a common logic between neoliberal capitalism exercised by transnational corporations in industrialized countries and in developing countries. Marx explains, poverty, labor exploitation allows their domination and alienation, which limit their ability to form and thus their ability to fulfill their role as citizens, ie to defend democracy. Before, to find possible causes, within the illegality must indeed seek the causes of poverty in developing countries in particular Marxist analysis. This last inequality mainly due to the role of economic infrastructure, social relations of production, inequality terms of trade, the international division of labor between the center and the periphery and global liberalization<sup>6</sup>. The latter is based in particular on the theories of Ricardo's comparative advantage and international division of labor, in particular the exchange of primary products from developing countries against manufactured goods exported by developed countries<sup>7</sup>. These neoliberal policies allow transnational agricultural sell their agricultural products in developing countries. However, they are highly industrialized and subsidized by their governments. This is why competition is uneven. Thus flowing eg, wheat, chicken wings or milk at very low prices, they are disappearing small local farmers who can not afford the competition. Unemployment increases and the country loses its self-sufficiency. Similarly, the privatization of public services under pressure from the WTO and the World Bank, transnational allows North to buy cheap SOEs. The country loses its economic autonomy.

Unlike some current seeking to develop local autonomy and national exchange before and thus exercise a "selective relocation" of production favorable to both the decrease in transport-related pollution, but also a economic empowerment, food, technology, development conditions sovereign, therefore autonomous.

***Relocation and non-selective non-social is part of a policy under autarky a decline of the extreme right.*** It consists in a decrease of excessive self on the local,

<sup>6</sup> EMMANUEL Arrighi, 1969, *L'échange inégal. Essai sur les antagonismes dans les rapports économiques internationaux*, Maspero.

<sup>7</sup> RICARDO David, *Principes de l'économie politique et de l'impôt*, 1817.

nation, without taking into account countries and poorer regions. In a somewhat different context, since it is domestic policy, Lombardy (northern Italy), and Serbia (the former Yugoslavia) have their own way sought to separate the regions most poor country for example.

"Those are the northern and north-eastern Italy, the so-called third Italy, typical areas of local development based on dialogue between the four actors who delivered politically Northern League. But they are not alone. " <sup>8</sup>

However, the rich industrialized countries, is explained, including predation and exploitation of raw materials and workers in developing countries, which took place from colonization until today.

Relocation, local development, "ecoregion favors internal trade but does not prohibit partnerships," says Nicolas Ridoux<sup>9</sup>. "This overhaul of the local is not synonymous with withdrawal or isolationism Who indeed would think that area would be sufficient to itself, each region of the world would be enough to go with any exchange with its neighbors?" says Latouche<sup>10</sup>.

The development of short circuit prevents drift nationalism when consumers or distributors located near the border of leu countries decide to import goods into the country at a distance close to their regions. Thus, they combine some relocation and international solidarity, rather than protectionist nationalism.

Indeed, a selective relocation and social also means taking into account the debt economic, ecological and social relationships related to historical "to those in the North South". Ie, it may consist of real economic support to economically weaker countries to repay this debt. This can take different forms, official development assistance), or green taxes (Robin Hood tax), financial (Tobin tax) to make polluters pay or speculators and help the weak.

However, it is to take care, strategies for turning consisting dominant elites to divert a good measure in his hand, whether public aid, ecology or relocation ...

***The preservation of common goods and the decreasing consumption of non-renewable*** resources requires public regulation based on international democratic subsidiarity. To achieve democratic society, it is self-managed by ecosocialists apply a regulation based on the principle of subsidiarity (decisions should be taken to the next level, if it can not be decided on the lower level). This means that the economic and social players will have free initiative, with the exception of obligations decided by democratic public authorities (government and stakeholders).

At the national level, subsidiarity means that each state is sovereign, has the right to manage its own resources (renewable or not). Choosing a legitimate regulation at the national level is based on the principle of the need for autonomy, efficiency (more actors are close to the subject, the more they know the needs), and the development a specific culture. We then develop these elements.

However, it is difficult to avoid a certain tension in the negotiations between the bodies at the base and the top, between the local and the national, international view. Indeed, if the local government is a cornerstone of economic libertarians or decreasing, some sectors may still not be completely delegated to the local level. Indeed, the freedom of some stops and the other begins, "ie when local action affects the lives of others, for example a nuclear power plant leaking, or production per capita carbon or unbalanced footprint. However, if a country applies to both the principles of relocation

<sup>8</sup> LIEPIETZ Alain, « Du développement local au développement durable, Op. cit. 2002.

<sup>9</sup> RIDOUX Nicolas. "La décroissance pour tous", Ed. PARANGON, 2006, 155 p.

<sup>10</sup> LATOUCHE, 2006.

and ecological footprint, but the latter is greater than the limit equal per individual (1.8 ha / capita in 2005), then people would have the right to choose jeopardize future production, drawing in the grossly non-renewable resources. Indeed, the ecological footprint draws on local resources only, if and only if it is limited to the national border, or almost no country currently works well.

Humanitarian intervention (or ecological), sometimes to the virtues when it comes to saving a population in danger because of the leader of a nation. However, the major powers generally occur, if in addition to morality, there are also resources to remove or at least an interest in itself. Therefore, humanitarian intervention, generally reinforce the practices of interfering in the sovereignty of a state and a people.

Humanitarian intervention in ecological interference there is not one. Fabrice Flipo explains that nature, which is produced per person, is the property of one and all. An ecological democracy should sustain the rights of all human beings to have a minimal ecological space (land, climate, essential ecological services renewable resources or not, etc.). Allowing him to have the means to live. It must also ensure that disparities in lifestyles do not exceed a maximum ecological space beyond which other ecological areas are reduced. The idea of "res communis" can translate this explains Fabrice Flipo: nature is a common thing in the sense that each (e) shall be entitled but not more than its share<sup>11</sup> ..

***The relocation is a federalist form of renewed federalism self-management.***

This was conceptualized by Proudhon in 1863. Levels of democratic regulation must respect the principle of subsidiarity, are the local, regional, national, continental and international. At the sectoral level, the democratic regulation the rules, regulations and laws governing the areas of economic, social, the cultural, political and ecological.

Respect of subsidiarity implies a federal type of organization, such as a particular proposed Proudhon. In 1863, it published "The Principle and federative unit in Italy," where he develops the idea of federalism self-management with a federal structure on one side and the other economic political structure. "From a political point of view, the" democracy" Federal policy would be based on a set of self-administered regions who are willing to join a federal republican state". " This would be a federal state" executive function very low, and a bicameral system consisting of a Chamber of Regions and a House of professions. " Producers organize themselves thus producing mutual, then federation (agricultural, industrial ...) and finally "he imagines as a confederation that would include all the world's markets." <sup>12</sup>

Therefore, if a federal system based on subsidiarity is one of the prerequisites of democracy, a bicameral system of Proudhon ensures a true democracy if the "Chamber of Regions" (also representing municipalities) has a decision-making power over the "chamber of professions." Finally, there are some points in common with the French system, where parliamentarians and government laws decide, after consultation and sometimes negotiate with the social partners (unions and employers).

***The relocation involves subsidiarity democratic political, social and economic***

Subsidiarity means that decisions should be taken at higher level if the lower level instances do not have the capacity and when the general interest is less well respected when administered to the lower plane. For example, in France, decide the amount of RMI or national minimum wage, can prevent downward competition between regions or businesses. By deciding against the budget amount for transportation in a municipality

<sup>11</sup> FLIPO Fabrice, 2009, « La Terre, 2108 : un archipel de communautés autonomes », *Mouvements*.

<sup>12</sup> COSTE J., *Dictionnaire des noms propre*, Armand Colin, 2006.

may legitimately be discussed at the municipal level.

In this context it is to decentralize decisions ensuring redistribution and equalization funding to lower levels in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. Transfer loads without corresponding transfer of resources or appropriate equalization paralyze local governments and threaten their future and their *raison d'être*, namely the free administration of the community and its ability to conduct innovative policies to serve the population. This is what happened in France in 2010 with the end of the business tax levied by municipalities before. But the new taxes proposed by the French government, which were not enough to offset the deficit associated with the removal of this tax.

These reforms are particularly needed to make credible and participatory budgeting. It seems difficult to put the business in a socially responsible relationship with its territory, without imposing the control of public funds, directly or indirectly, to the establishment of businesses and employment, as well as reimbursement for communities are diverted.

Under a regulation based on subsidiarity when a disagreement occurs, it may be decided by the power of the regulatory authority arbitral government (when they assign this function as is the case within the framework of joint bodies in France: Assedic, social security ...).

Subsidiarity is therefore in the regulation of two types:

- Subsidiarity between types of actors: ie differentiation between the nature of actors (public authorities and private actors that frame).
- The vertical subsidiarity: the differentiation between levels best suited to decision making: local, national, international.

However, the regulation based on subsidiarity, is not far removed from a control based on decentralization. However, in both cases it is noted that:

- If this reduces the excesses of centralized global power, it can increase the development of local potentates (political).
- If it is a bulwark against social decline in the aggregate, it may be more difficult to generalize the advanced social (social).
- If it makes it easier to target and redistribute wealth (ie means) between local actors (if there is a political will), it can cause more trouble redistribution between regions or countries (economically).

Finally here is a table that summarizes our discussion.

### CENTRALIZATION VERSUS DECENTRALIZATION POLICY

	<b>Neoliberal globalism</b>	<b>Internationalism</b>	<b>Nationalism</b>	<b>Relocated federal regulation and social</b>
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		<b>Alterglobalism centralizing</b>	<b>Deglobalization or relocated strict regulation</b>	
<b>Regulations (standards)</b>	Strengthening	Strengthening	Attenuation	Strengthening
<b>Solidarity (redistribution)</b>	Attenuation	Strengthening	Attenuation	Strengthening
<b>Economic independence and cultural identity</b>	Attenuation	Attenuation	Strengthening	Strengthening
<b>Excessive centralization of decisions, with the risk of drifting towards a world government undemocratic</b>	Strengthening	Strengthening	Strengthening	Strengthening
<b>Democratization in decision making based on subsidiarity (bottom up)</b>	Attenuation	Attenuation	Strengthening	Strengthening