

As the third millennium begins, this small book is offered as a contribution to our understanding of what globalisation really is and what it really means. It presents the proceedings of a workshop held by the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences on 'the social dimensions of globalisation' in 2000. Perhaps this is the first time that a number of eminent scholars and authorities have sought to address themselves to the subject of globalisation by concentrating on the social dimensions of this increasingly discussed phenomenon. A variety of perspectives and solutions are offered because the authors of these essays represent different geographical regions and the different disciplines of the social sciences (a prominent characteristic of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences). This work will be of interest to all those who are concerned with the many human ramifications of a process which both arouses strong hostility and receives sustained support. It is also intended as a preliminary approach to a subject which will be examined in greater detail by the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences over the next few years.

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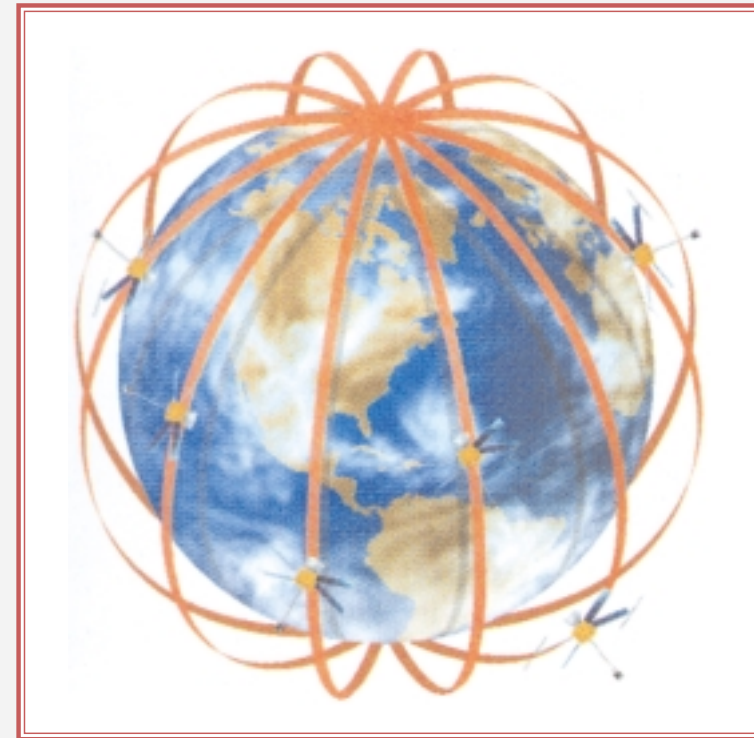
THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALISATION

PONTIFICIAE
ACADEMIAE
SCIENTIARUM
SOCIALIUM

MISCELLANEA
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Proceedings
of the
Workshop on
Globalisation

The Social Dimensions of Globalisation



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THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS
OF GLOBALISATION

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PONTIFICIAE ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM SOCIALIUM

MISCELLANEA

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Proceedings of the Workshop on:

**THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS
OF GLOBALISATION**

(21-22 February 2000)



EX AEDIBUS ACADEMICIS IN CIVITATE VATICANA

MM

The opinions expressed with absolute freedom during the presentation of the papers and in the subsequent discussions by the participants in the workshop, although published by the Academy, represent only the points of view of the participants and not those of the Academy.

Proceedings edited by

LOUIS SABOURIN

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VATICAN CITY

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FOREWORD

This volume presents the proceedings of a workshop held by the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences on 'the social dimensions of globalisation' in 2000. I would like to thank first of all the Holy Father John Paul II who founded the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences in 1994 and has continued to give it his full support, not least through the provision of our building, the Casina Pio IV, and other resources. In addition, all of us at the Academy would like to thank the 'Foundation for the Promotion of the Social Science', and in particular its President, Herbert Batliner, and its Council Members, for the funds made available to us to carry on our work. Special thanks are also due to the President of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Prof. Edmond Malinvaud, for having followed the preparations for the meeting of the workshop, whose proceedings are published here with that *esprit de finesse* which is characteristic of the French tradition. I would also like to acknowledge the vital help of the organiser of the meeting and the editor of this publication, Prof. Louis Sabourin. Lastly, an expression of gratitude to Dr. Matthew Fforde, who revised the whole text for publication.

The importance and topical relevance of this volume clearly emerge from its title. Perhaps this is the first time that a number of eminent scholars and authorities have sought to address themselves to the subject of globalisation by concentrating on the social dimensions of this increasingly discussed phenomenon. A variety of perspectives and solutions are offered because the authors of these essays represent different geographical regions of the world and different disciplines belonging to the social sciences (a prominent characteristic of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences). This work will be of interest to all those who are concerned with the many human ramifications of a process which is seen by some commentators as being highly positive but by others as a development which is full of dangers. As the third millennium begins, this small book is offered as a contribution to our understanding of what globalisation really is and what it really means. It is also intended to serve as a preliminary approach to a subject which will be examined in greater detail by the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences over the next few years.

Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo,
Chancellor of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences

PROGRAMME OF THE WORKSHOP ON THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALISATION

Monday, 21 February

9.00: Word of Welcome: The President of the Academy and the Chairman of the Committee on Developing Countries

9.15: First Session: Chair: Prof. J.G. Zubrzycki, member of the Academy

The Meaning of Globalisation

Prof. L. Sabourin, member of the Academy

Comments by Prof. P. Morandé Court, member of the Academy

Discussion: 11.00

11.00: Break

11.15: *The Evolving Nature of Development in the Light of Globalisation*

Prof. Denis Goulet, O'Neil Chair, University of Notre-Dame

Comments by: Prof. J.A. Ziolkowski, member of the Academy

Discussion

13.00: Lunch

15.00: Second Session: Chair: Judge N. McNally, member of the Academy

Human Development and Globalisation: Challenges and Indicators

Mr. Hakan M. Bjorkman, UNDP, co-author of the Human Development Report

Comments by Prof. M.M. Ramirez, member of the Academy

Discussion

16.45: Break

17.00: *Social, Political and Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*
Prof. Sergio Bernal Restrepo S.J., Pontifical Gregorian University

Comments by Prof. W.V. Villacorta, member of the Academy

18.30: Holy Mass

19.30: Dinner

Tuesday, 22 February

9.00: Third Session: Chair: Prof. Bony, member of the Academy

The Economic Aspects of Globalisation
Prof. Stefano Zamagni, University of Bologna

Comments by Prof. H. Tietmeyer, member of the Academy, and Prof. D. Goulet

11.00: Break

11.30: *The Social Doctrine of the Church and Globalisation*
Msgr. Diarmuid Martin, Secretary of the Pontifical Council of Justice and Peace

Comments and discussion

13.00: Lunch

15.00: Fourth Session: Chair: Prof. Sabourin

Globalisation: Human Perspectives

The purpose of the round-table is:

1. To raise other related issues and
2. To make suggestions about the organisation of the next general assembly of the Academy in 2001.

17.00: Break

17.30: Holy Mass

19.30: Dinner

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LES DIMENSIONS SOCIALES DE LA GLOBALISATION

LOUIS SABOURIN

Cette note introductive a deux objectifs principaux. D'abord, préciser les paramètres et la portée de la mondialisation et de la globalisation dans le but d'amorcer les travaux de l'atelier sur *les dimensions sociales de la globalisation*. En second lieu, faire des recommandations concrètes, devant mener au terme de l'atelier, au choix de thèmes qui seront retenus par le Comité sur les rapports avec les pays en voie de développement et soumis au Conseil pour établir le programme de la prochaine Assemblée générale de l'Académie, en avril 2001.

MONDIALISATION

Bien que le phénomène de la mondialisation tire ses origines de l'époque de la Renaissance, son impact direct sur les citoyens est beaucoup plus récent. Effectivement, ses sources coïncident avec l'apparition de l'État moderne et l'expansion de la société internationale. Grâce aux progrès scientifiques de la Renaissance, l'Europe des États naissants découvre la nécessité d'aller au-delà des frontières nationales. Les explorateurs ayant révélé les possibilités immenses de la planète, les savants ayant affirmé la précision des lois qui régissent l'univers, la navigation maritime ayant connu des progrès, les conquêtes coloniales pouvaient alors bouleverser la géographie du monde.

Les ambitions politiques, économiques et culturelles, de même que les progrès scientifiques servirent à jeter les bases de la mondialisation, tout comme les doctrines religieuses et idéologiques portant sur *l'unité du genre humain*. L'Église *catholique* chercha ainsi à confirmer son *caractère universel*, tout comme le souhaitèrent plus tard d'autres religions. De leur côté, les fondateurs du droit international, notamment Suarez et Vitoria, mirent de l'avant la notion d'une *communauté internationale* et traitèrent de

l'importance de la *liberté du commerce international* ainsi que de la nécessité de réglementer les relations entre les sujets du *jus gentium*.

Progressivement, les rapports internationaux se développèrent avec la montée de nouveaux États, en particulier au lendemain des traités de Westphalie de 1648, lesquels marquèrent la reconnaissance de la *souveraineté des États*. Celle-ci débouchera sur les rivalités et la concurrence entre ces États non seulement dans le cadre européen, mais aussi au-delà des mers, marquant ainsi les débuts du colonialisme moderne dans les Amériques, en Afrique et en Asie.

La transformation des structures sociales et économiques, découlant de l'industrialisation, des mouvements migratoires, de la multiplication des échanges commerciaux, des vastes progrès technologiques, notamment de l'établissement des chemins de fer et de la modernisation des transports maritimes, furent d'autres éléments qui favorisèrent la montée de la mondialisation.

En 1848, dans le Manifeste du Parti communiste, Karl Marx et Frederich Engels n'écrivent-ils pas :

« *La grande industrie a créé le marché mondial ... les vieilles industries nationales sont supplantées par de nouvelles industries qui n'emploient plus de matière indigène, mais des matières premières venues des régions les plus lointaines, et dont les produits se consomment non seulement dans le pays même, mais dans toutes les parties du globe. À la place des anciens besoins, satisfaits par les produits nationaux, naissent des besoins nouveaux réclamant pour leur satisfaction, les produits des contrées et des climats les plus lointains. À la place de l'ancien isolement des provinces et des nations se suffisant à elles-mêmes, se développent des relations universelles, une interdépendance universelle des nations.* »

Dès cette époque, la mondialisation économique était un processus avancé; seules les grandes guerres mondiales, la montée des protectionnismes économiques et la Crise de 1929 allaient en retarder la poussée.

Sur le plan technique, les États commencèrent à établir, au milieu du 19^e siècle, des *institutions interétatiques* pour gérer certains de leurs échanges dans des domaines aussi divers que la télégraphie, les transports fluviaux, la santé, l'agriculture. Certaines de ces entités allaient devenir plus tard des institutions spécialisées de l'ONU.

La création de la Société des Nations, en 1919, puis du système de l'ONU et de la signature des accords de Bretton Woods, établissant le Fonds monétaire international et la Banque mondiale à la fin de la Seconde guerre mondiale, devaient consacrer l'essor d'organismes dont l'adhésion

était ouverte en principe à tous les États de la planète. Si ces institutions, de même que le GATT, ont caractérisé et favorisé la montée de la mondialisation, d'autres forces et phénomènes l'ont davantage mise en lumière, à commencer par la *contraction du temps et de l'espace et l'élargissement du monde et de l'univers*. La conquête de l'espace et la mise en place de satellites permirent aux populations d'être à l'écoute et de voir en direct ce qui se passait ailleurs dans le monde. On assista alors à la montée d'une *opinion publique mondiale*, à laquelle on se réfère de plus en plus, notamment lors de crises, de conflits, de grands événements sportifs comme les Olympiques ou à d'autres occasions heureuses ou malheureuses.

La mondialisation contemporaine, dont l'*internet* est devenu une dimension marquante, s'exprime donc par un ensemble de phénomènes décrits dans le tableau que l'on trouvera en annexe. Mais, d'une façon particulière, je mentionnerai ici dix éléments saillants qui caractérisent la mondialisation:

1. l'explosion de la communication, du savoir, de la science et de l'information, qui a suivi les progrès dans les moyens de transport;
2. l'internationalisation des marchés financiers accélérée par les nouvelles technologies, en particulier par l'informatique;
3. l'essor fulgurant des firmes multinationales, des entreprises-réseau et des managers aux visions et ambitions planétaires;
4. le développement exponentiel du commerce mondial et des investissements à l'étranger;
5. l'accroissement généralisé des interdépendances entre les économies nationales favorisant les intégrations régionales et la constitution d'un vaste marché unique et autorégulateur;
6. la montée de cultures trans-frontalières, propagées surtout par la télévision;
7. la multiplication d'organismes et de programmes à caractère universel;
8. le péril atomique planétaire et l'internationalisation progressive des conflits locaux et régionaux ainsi que la recherche de solutions, en particulier par les opérations de l'ONU pour le maintien de la paix et par la mise en place d'aides humanitaires et de programmes élargis de coopération internationale;
9. les préoccupations globales en matière écologique ainsi qu'au chapitre des droits humains, du développement et de la démocratie partout dans le monde.
10. Les fusions d'entités de plus en plus vastes aux ramifications planétaires dans presque tous les domaines, des matières premières aux technologies de pointe en passant par l'industrie automobile et les services.

Si la mondialisation a d'abord eu pour origine les progrès dans les transports, elle tient davantage aujourd'hui *des technologies* dans les domaines de l'*informatique* et des *télécommunications* qui créent *la nouvelle économie*. Sa croissance a été accentuée par la *libéralisation des flux de capitaux* et de *marchandises*, intervenue dès le début des années 60, ainsi que par l'*abandon de l'étalon or*, en 1971, qui ont ouvert pratiquement tous les secteurs industriels à la compétition internationale. Les crises du pétrole de 1973 et 1979, suivies de celle de l'endettement au début des années 80, ont mis en lumière la place grandissante des entreprises multinationales et des institutions financières. Par le biais des *multinationales*, les acteurs économiques ont pu alors considérablement renforcer leur puissance sur le plan mondial. Une multiplication rapide des échanges de biens et de services s'en est suivie. La libéralisation des marchés, la privatisation de pans entiers de l'économie eurent pour but de déréglementer le fonctionnement de l'économie et d'intégrer les économies nationales dans l'économie mondiale. L'*échec des négociations globales* entre les États du Nord et du Sud, lors de la Conférence de Cancun de 1981, accéléra ce processus et mit en sourdine les réclamations formulées en 1974 par les pays du Tiers monde en vue de l'établissement d'un Nouvel Ordre Économique international.

De nombreuses mutations politiques, en particulier l'effondrement du mur de Berlin, l'implosion de l'ex-URSS, la fin du conflit Est-Ouest ont incité de nombreux États à s'intégrer au marché international et ainsi contribué à l'établissement d'une *nouvelle configuration politique mondiale*. Or, ni le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, ni le G-7, devenu le G-8 à la suite de l'adhésion partielle de la Fédération de Russie, n'ont réussi à assurer la direction de ce que d'aucuns appellent le *nouveau désordre international*.

Face à l'incapacité de mettre en place un véritable *gouvernement mondial* doté des pouvoirs législatif, exécutif et judiciaire ou même à établir un *Nouvel Ordre politique international* – projet formulé par le Président George Bush, au lendemain de la Guerre du Golfe, en 1991 – plusieurs ont cru en vain qu'il serait possible de réformer le Système onusien – notamment à l'occasion de son 50^e anniversaire – et les accords de Bretton Woods, régissant le FMI et la Banque mondiale.

Mais, ce ne sont pas uniquement l'économie et la technologie qui amplifient et caractérisent la mondialisation. En fait, presque tous les aspects de la vie, depuis l'agriculture jusqu'à la culture, de la musique à l'électronique, ont été affectés par la mondialisation croissante et ont contribué en même temps à son extension. Pour d'aucuns, la mondialisation est identifiée à une certaine culture internationale liée à de nouvelles façons de se vêtir, de consommer, de

se divertir. Les modes et les styles promus par Coca Cola, McDonald's, Disney, Pokemon, n'en sont que quelques exemples à côté de ceux répandus par des *stars* du monde du *sport* et de la *chanson*, du *cinéma*, de la *télévision* et de la *publicité* qui transcendent maintenant les frontières géographiques et linguistiques.

La mondialisation exerce déjà une influence profonde sur les façons de penser et de se comporter, bien que des pans entiers de population y souscrivent peu ou n'en profitent pas. Ainsi, près d'un tiers de la population mondiale n'a pas encore accès au téléphone. Mais, de plus en plus, ces mêmes populations sont directement ou indirectement affectées par le tourisme, les forces du marché, les délocalisations, les fluctuations des prix, les investissements et les dé-investissements et, évidemment, par les médias.

Si plusieurs personnes s'accommodent assez bien de la mondialisation et y perçoivent *un triomphe de la modernité*, d'autres voient dans *ses méfaits des raisons de s'inquiéter* et de s'indigner contre un mouvement qui, au nom de la compétitivité, engendre non seulement de nouveaux types de pauvreté et d'exclusion, mais entraîne surtout un recul de l'État, des droits des travailleurs, des abus contre l'environnement, une remise en cause du filet social et un démantèlement des ressources et des patrimoines communs.

Plusieurs ont l'impression que le monde de demain est fait d'*incertitudes* et que toutes les *certitudes d'aujourd'hui* risquent d'être remises en question par une course débridée vers un *matérialisme croissant* des modes de vie et par un *savoir* qui transforment leurs traditions et leurs convictions. C'est comme s'il n'y avait plus de zone tampon entre eux et une mondialisation qui les dépasse. L'homme deviendrait, dans cette perspective, dominé par ce qu'il a lui-même créé; il ne pourrait plus arrêter une machine qu'il a construite lui-même.

La mondialisation est un phénomène et un processus par lesquels plusieurs *forces* et *dynamiques* s'étalent géographiquement dans le monde. Les États et les organismes interétatiques sont coincés et de plus en plus influencés par deux types d'acteurs: D'un côté, par les firmes multinationales, les médias et les détenteurs de nouvelles technologies de communication qui alimentent et soutiennent le processus de la globalisation. D'un autre côté, par des associations, églises, intellectuels, syndicats, artistes, écologistes, agriculteurs, ONG et autres entités diverses qui dénoncent les abus de la globalisation. Ces mouvements se structurent et agissent de plus en plus eux-mêmes sur une base mondiale pour créer et représenter ce qu'il appellent la *nouvelle société civile internationale* seule capable de favoriser l'établissement d'une *démocratie mondiale*. Ils sont inquiets et insatisfaits

devant ce qu'ils appellent l'inaptitude des États démocratiques à faire face aux problèmes internationaux. Ils dénoncent principalement les forces qui veulent établir un « one world market » dominé par des firmes multinationales qui établissent, selon eux, avec l'accord des États et de plusieurs organismes internationaux, un *néo-colonialisme corporatif*. Ils accusent enfin les grands organismes internationaux d'être devenus des monstres bureaucratiques peu transparents et peu représentatifs.

GLOBALISATION

Souvent confondue à la mondialisation, la *globalisation* est plutôt une *mondialisation en voie d'accomplissement*. Elle est le *stade le plus avancé de la mondialisation* car elle suppose que les différentes forces et dynamiques s'appliquent d'emblée à l'ensemble de la planète, ce qui est évidemment réservé à certains domaines, mais est en voie d'expansion rapide.

L'expression « globalization » a été forgée en 1983, par l'économiste américain *Theodore Levitt*, et popularisée, quelques années plus tard, par le consultant japonais *Kenechi Ohmae* dans ses travaux sur la stratégie planétaire des firmes multinationales. La globalisation a connu depuis une progression foudroyante, en particulier dans les domaines économique et financier, scientifique, technologique et culturel.

En effet, la globalisation ressemblerait, selon d'aucuns, à une boule de feu qui se déplace rapidement et sur laquelle on semblerait avoir peu de contrôle. Même les États sont dépassés par le phénomène. La redistribution des cartes semble devenue permanente. En conséquence, on a l'impression d'évoluer vers un *village global* où les mouvements ascendants et descendants sont extrêmement rapides et où on n'a pas d'autres choix que de *s'ajuster* et *s'adapter* de manière continue. *L'ajustement structurel* est devenu le concept et l'instrument à la mode pour accélérer *la dé-étatisation* et *la privatisation*. Cette société ouverte et globale, basée sur *l'image instantanée*, sur *le rendement et l'efficacité immédiate*, voudrait que tout ce qui ne passe pas par le *marché* soit éliminé ou marginalisé.

Ainsi, les *marchés financiers non contrôlés* rejettent tout ce qui est susceptible de les perturber et de les brouiller, d'où leur volonté de réclamer toujours une intervention plus réduite de la part de l'État. La conséquence est que dans beaucoup de pays, l'État, déjà sur-endetté, recule. L'État-providence fait marche arrière et, l'individu, dans beaucoup de domaines, est prié de prendre ses propres responsabilités. Nombreux sont

ceux qui acceptent le défi, mais un nombre croissant de gens n'y arrivent pas. Ceci pose de nouveaux problèmes sociaux, aussi bien dans les pays du Tiers monde que dans les États industrialisés. Ceci pousse plusieurs observateurs à s'interroger sur les aspects éthiques de la mondialisation.

La contre-attaque aux plans national et international commence à s'articuler, comme on l'a vu lors du retrait du projet de *l'Accord multinational sur les investissements* (AMI), en 1998, et à l'occasion des conférences de l'Organisation mondiale du Commerce (OMC) de Seattle, au début de décembre 1999, de Davos et de la CNUCED, à Bangkok, tout récemment. Il est utile de signaler qu'à la veille de la conférence de l'OMC, le Conseil Pontifical Justice et Paix, a publié un document de réflexion intitulé « Trade, Development and the Fight Against Poverty »

En présence de ces rassemblements hautement médiatisés où s'affirment et s'affrontent des *intérêts* et des *valeurs* contradictoires, les appels en vue d'une gestion alternative de la mondialisation, se font entendre dans plusieurs endroits, notamment sous l'impulsion d'ONG.

De telles contestations, qui risquent de déstabiliser certaines institutions internationales, deviendront de plus en plus courantes, sous l'impulsion de groupes de mieux en mieux structurés et informés grâce à *Internet* et d'autres moyens de concertation. La mondialisation et la globalisation entrent donc dans une période de turbulence dont on ne peut prévoir avec précision les conséquences au cours des prochaines années. Mais, une chose est certaine, la mondialisation est un phénomène incontournable qu'il faut apprendre à mieux gérer et de façon équitable.

CONCLUSION: PROPOSITIONS

Ainsi que je viens de le souligner, et comme nos travaux le montreront, la mondialisation et la globalisation soulèvent de nombreux défis qui doivent être nécessairement relevés, à commencer par la quête de la paix, du développement durable, de la réduction de la pauvreté et des inégalités, de même que de la démocratie et des droits humains.

Or, comme de tels défis, ainsi que les dimensions financières et technologiques de la mondialisation, font régulièrement l'objet d'analyses et de discussions dans de nombreux forums nationaux et internationaux, nous avons souhaité, de notre côté, examiner les aspects humains et sociaux de la globalisation dans le but précis de faire des propositions concrètes relatives aux thèmes qui devraient être retenus pour les délibérations de 2001.

Compte tenu de la spécificité de l'Académie et des préoccupations actuelles de l'Église, je me permettrai, en terminant, de soumettre à votre réflexion trois propositions, pour la prochaine assemblée, à savoir:

1. Les aspects éthiques de la globalisation, dans la perspective de la Doctrine Sociale de l'Église;
2. La mondialisation, telle qu'elle est perçue et vécue par les pays en développement;
3. Le type d'autorité internationale indispensable pour faire face à la croissance de la globalisation.

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ANNEXE: Cadre conceptuel: évolution systémique mondiale

PHASES	ÉVOLUTION DU SYSTÈME ET RÔLE DE L'ÉTAT-NATION
PHASE 1: INTERNATIONALISATION (jusqu'à la fin des années 60: économie internationale)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Souveraineté des États-nations - Barrières idéologiques, confrontation Est-Ouest - Mise en place du GATT - Hégémonie économique, technologique et politique des États-Unis - Dominance des flux commerciaux entre pays - Production et consommation domestiques de services - Recherche de l'avantage comparatif des pays - Début du processus d'intégration régionale en Europe
PHASE 2: MONDIALISATION (1960-milieu de la décennie 80: économie mondiale)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Libéralisation des flux commerciaux, sous l'impulsion du GATT - Intensification des flux de capitaux, de technologie et de services - Émergence des NPI - Changement dans la DIT: concept de la NDI - Prolifération d'accords sectoriaux de commerce - Effondrement du système de changes fixes - Crise de l'endettement - Élaboration de codes de conduite pour les firmes multinationales (OCDE et Nations unies) - Approfondissement et élargissement du processus d'intégration en Europe
PHASE 3: GLOBALISATION (milieu de la décennie 80 à nos jours: économie globale)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chute du mur de Berlin et fin de la guerre froide - Capitalisme mondial - Technoglobalisme - Convergence des modèles de consommation - Intensification de l'intégration régionale - Émergence de la Triade et « miracle asiatique » - Nombreux accords bilatéraux de commerce entre les pays - Intégration des marchés financiers nationaux - Accroissement sans précédent des flux d'investissements - Politique stratégique des États - Recherche de l'avantage compétitif - Tensions profondes au sein du GATT, création de l'OMC - Acuité des problèmes de développement et d'environnement
PHASE 4: UNIVERSALISME (vers un nouveau millénaire*: économie universelle)	(défis à relever) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Montée de nouveaux pouvoirs et de nouveaux régionalismes - Recherche d'un équilibre entre l'État providence et le libéralisme - Implosion des États et trous noirs** - Désir de sauvegarde des identités nationales - Conflit potentiel des civilisations*** - Institutions de gouvernance supranationale - Importance croissante des secteurs de haute technologie - Restructuration industrielle accélérée - Possibilité d'une grave crise de l'emploi - Intégration des PVD en tant que partenaires égaux dans le système multilatéral d'échanges - Résolution des problèmes environnementaux

RÔLE DES FIRMES MULTINATIONALES	DYNAMIQUE DES RAPPORTS ENTRE FIRMES ET ÉTATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internationalisation des opérations des firmes multinationales américaines - Prédominance du modèle d'organisation industrielle américain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expansion des firmes multinationales en Europe: émergence du « défi américain » - Dégradation des termes de l'échange pour les pays en voie de développement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mondialisation des opérations des firmes américaines, européennes, puis japonaises - Apparitions de firmes multinationales en provenance de NPI et de certains PVD - Structuration de l'espace mondial hiérarchisé - Modèles d'organisation industrielle hybrides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conflits entre pays d'accueil et firmes multinationales étrangères - Désirs de protection de la souveraineté nationale des États - Agences nationales de contrôle de l'IDE et des activités des firmes multinationales - Développement de zones franches d'exportations dans les NPI d'Asie et d'Amérique latine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adoption de stratégies de coopération/concurrence par les firmes transnationales - Alliances de firmes à l'intérieur de la Triade - Multinationalisation importante des entreprises de services - Inter Internationalisation des PME, parfois sous-traitantes des firmes multinationales - Renforcement des codes de conduite internes des firmes et énoncés de mission - Attention portée aux aspirations et aux pressions des groupes de consommateurs et d'écologistes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Politiques d'ouverture et incitations à l'IDE - Politiques de concurrence favorables à la concentration d'entreprises nationales et régionales
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intensification de la course compétitive et de la course technologique - Recherche d'avantages concurrentiels sur une base locale, nationale, régionale et mondiale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alliances renforcées entre États-nations et firmes nationales à vocation mondiale (pour conquérir les marchés) - Conflits potentiels entre firmes transnationales et pays d'implantation (à l'échelle nationale, régionale et mondiale)

* Selon notre propre grille de lecture du nouveau paradigme socio-technico-économico-politique.

** Par référence à la théorie des chaos: la désintégration de l'État-nation crée un vide de pouvoir comblé soit par la violence, soit par une quelconque intervention extérieure.

*** Samuel P. Huntington (1993).

THE EVOLVING NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIGHT OF GLOBALIZATION

DENIS GOULET

INTRODUCTION – HOW TO VIEW DEVELOPMENT?

After World War II development was viewed as a straightforward economic issue: identifying and quantifying the composition of economic growth packages. The Marshall Plan¹ aid programs to reconstruct Europe, along with the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF, IBRD) created to guide international economic policy, reflected that view. Over time it came to be recognized that numerous social, political, geographical, historical, cultural, psychological and environmental, determinants affect a nation's prospects for successful development. Most early theorists and practitioners, however, took it as self-evident that economic development is, everywhere and for everyone, a good thing; that technology should be harnessed to all human activities because it boosts productivity; and that specialized institutions are needed to foster modernization. The study of development was seen, not as a philosophical inquiry into value change or a search for new institutions and rules of global governance, but as technical examination of how to mobilize resources most efficiently and build the infrastructures best suited to growth. Development, in short, was the proper object of study for economics. Moreover, within the economic discipline it was the value-free "engineering" stream of theory, methodology, and analysis which prevailed. As Amartya Sen notes:

economics has had two rather different origins, both related to politics, but related in rather different ways, concerned respectively with

¹ Roy Jenkins, Walt Rostow, Helmut Schmidt, James Chace, Charles Kindleberger, "The Marshall Plan and Its Legacy: 50 Years Later" *Foreign Affairs*, Jay/June 1997, pp. 157-220.

'ethics,' on the one hand, and with what may be called 'engineering,' on the other... The 'engineering' approach is characterized by being concerned with primarily logistic issues rather than with ultimate ends and such questions as what may foster 'the good of man' or 'how should one live.' The ends are taken as fairly straightforwardly given, and the object of the exercise is to find the appropriate means to serve them.²

Sen traces the ethics-related tradition to Aristotle, for whom, "[T]he study of economics, though related immediately to the pursuit of wealth, is at a deeper level linked up with other studies, involving the assessment and enhancement of more basic goals...Economics relates ultimately to the study of ethics."³ Sen judges that "[T]he methodology of so-called 'positive economics' has not only shunned normative analysis in economics, it has also had the effect of ignoring a variety of complex ethical considerations which affect actual human behavior and which, from the point of view of the economists studying such behavior, are primarily matters of fact rather than of normative judgement."⁴

Development is above all else a question of human values and attitudes, goals self-defined by societies, and criteria for determining what are tolerable costs to be borne, and by whom, in the course of change. These are far more important than modeling optimal resource allocations, upgrading skills, or rationalizing of administrative procedures. Nor is development a harmonious process, but a traumatic one full of contradictions and conflicts. Development is an ambiguous adventure born of tensions between *what* goods are sought, for *whom*, and *how* these are obtained. Innovations create strains between new demands for information, material goods, services, and freedom, and the effective capacity of societies to meet these new demands.

Ethical judgements as to the good life, the just society, and the quality of relations of people among themselves and with nature always serve, explicitly or implicitly, as operational criteria for development planners and researchers. Development ethics is the inter-disciplinary *ex professo* study of such value-laden issues.⁵

² Amartya Sen, *On Ethics and Economics*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987, pp. 2-3.

³ *Ibidem.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ Denis Goulet, "Development Ethics: A New Discipline," *International Journal of Social Economics*, 24:11, 1997, 1160-1171.

The editors of a book series on “Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective” consider that:

[T]he nature of the subject matter has forced both scholars and practitioners to transcend the boundaries of their own disciplines whether these be social sciences, like economics, human geography or sociology, or applied sciences such as agronomy, plant biology or civil engineering. It is now a conventional wisdom of development studies that development problems are so multi-faceted and complex that *no* single discipline can hope to encompass them, let alone offer solutions.⁶

Development generates value conflicts over the meaning of the good life. Competing models of the good life are proposed in such works as psychologist Eric Fromm’s *To Have Or To Be?*, the French novelist George Perenc’s *Les Choses, (Things)* or Ursula K. LeGuin’s science fiction novel *The Dispossessed*.⁷ In the latter work two models of community vie for the loyalties of people. One is a society which prizes solidarity, political friendship, health and a high degree of equality achievable only in a disciplined collaborative regime of resource use. The other model prizes individual comfort and enrichment and relies on competition and abundant material resources as its social motors.

A second set of value questions central to the development debate bears on the foundations of justice in society. Should civil and political rights assuring individual freedoms enjoy primacy over collective socio-economic rights to have needs met and the common good of society pursued? Are human rights themselves but instrumental goods, or end-values worthy for their own sake?

A third value question embedded in development decision-making centers on the criteria to adopt toward nature. Should humans view nature simply as raw material for Promethean exploitation by them, or as the larger womb of life in which humans live, move, and have their being, and whose rhythms and laws they must respect? Should the dominant human stance toward nature to be extractive and manipulative or harmony-seeking?

⁶ Ray Bromley and Gavin Kitching, Series editors’ “Preface” to Gavin Kitching, *Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective*, London: Methuen, 1982, p. vii.

⁷ Erich Fromm, *To Have or to Be?*, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976; Georges Perenc, *Les Choses*, Paris: Les Lettres Nouvelles, 1965; Ursula K. LeGuin, *The Dispossessed*, New York: Avon Books, 1975, p. 20.

I. IS DEVELOPMENT SUSTAINABLE?

For the World Bank the “achievement of sustained and equitable development remains the greatest challenge facing the human race.”⁸ It is evident, however, that equitable development has not been achieved: disparities are widening and new poverty is being produced faster than new wealth by economic growth. Clearly, therefore, the kind of development presently pursued must not be sustained.

The World Commission on Environment and Development defines sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”⁹ The economist Paul Streeten, a former policy advisor to the World Bank, observes however that it is unclear whether one should:

be concerned with sustaining the constituents of well-being or its determinants, whether with the means or the ends. Clearly, what ought to matter are the constituents: the health, welfare and prosperity of the people, and not so many tons of minerals, so many trees, or so many animal species. Yet, some of the writings on the subject confuse the two. If, in the process of curing ovarian and other forms of cancer, the Pacific yew trees (or even the spotted owl) had to be reduced in number, in order to produce the drug taxol, people’s health must be given priority over trees.¹⁰

Matters are still more complex, Streeten adds, because the term “sustainable development” has at least six different meanings. It can signify the 1) “maintenance, replacement and growth of capital assets, both physical and human;” 2) “maintaining the physical environmental conditions for the constituents of well-being;” 3) the “resilience” of a system, enabling it to adjust to shocks and crises; 4) “avoiding burdening future generations with internal and external debts;” 5) “fiscal, administrative and political sustainability. A policy must be credible and acceptable to the citizens, so that there is sufficient consent to carry it out;” and 6) “the ability to hand over

⁸ World Bank, *World Development Report 1992*, Oxford University Press, 1992, “Overview,” p. 1.

⁹ World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 89.

¹⁰ Paul Streeten, “Future Generations and Socio-Economic Development – Introducing the Long-Term Perspective,” unpublished ms. dated January 1991, p. 3. A shorter published version does not contain the citation given. It appears as “Des institutions pour un développement durable,” in *Revue Tiers-Monde*, Tome XXXIII No. 130 (Avril-Juin 1992), pp. 455-469.

projects to the management by citizens of the developing country in which they are carried out, so that foreign experts can withdraw without jeopardizing their success.”¹¹

Whether sustainability and development are compatible is itself a disputed question. The economist Paul Ekins argues that:

the dominant trajectory of economic development since the industrial revolution has been patently unsustainable. There is literally no experience of an environmentally sustainable industrial economy, anywhere in the world, where such sustainability refers to a non-depleting stock of environmental capital.¹²

Sustainability seems to require simple living in which consumption is limited. As presently conceived, however, development calls for endless economic growth, which may render sustainability impossible by depleting resources and polluting the biosphere beyond recovery.

No consensus exists as to how development can be rendered sustainable. And no consensus exists as to what strategies are best suited to achieve development. The economist Keith Griffin has evaluated six development strategies pursued before the advent of globalization: monetarism, open economy, industrialization, green revolution, redistribution, and socialism. Griffin assesses empirical results yielded by each strategy in different countries on six registers: 1) resource utilization and income level; 2) savings, investment, and growth; 3) human capital formation; 4) poverty and inequality; 5) role of the state; and 6) participation, democracy and freedom. The indecisive results lead Griffin to conclude that: “[T]here is no best path to development.”¹³

What grows increasingly clear, however, is that regardless of the development path or strategy adopted sustainability must be assured in five domains: economic, political, social, environmental, and cultural. Long-term economic viability depends on a use of resources which does not deplete them irreversibly. Political viability rests on creating for all members of society a stake in its survival: this cannot be achieved unless all enjoy freedom, inviolable personal rights, and believe that the political system within which they live pursues some common good and not mere particular interests. Environmental sustainability requires the maintenance of abun-

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 1-2.

¹² Paul Ekins, “Sustainability First,” in Paul Ekins and Manfred Max-Neef, editors, *Real-Life Economics*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 412.

¹³ Keith Griffin, *Alternative Strategies for Economic Development*, London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1989, p. 242.

dant diversity of life-forms and bio-systems, a restorative mode of resource use, and disposal of wastes within nature's absorptive limits. And if development is to be socially and culturally sustainable, the foundations of community and symbolic meaning systems must be protected. Otherwise, they will be steamrolled into oblivion under the pretext of submitting to the requirements of scientific and technological "rationality."

Providing satisfactory conceptual, institutional, and behavioral answers to the three value questions listed earlier – the good life, the just society, the sound relation to nature – is what constitutes authentic development. It follows, therefore, that not every nation with a high per capita income is truly developed. and only authentic development ought to be sustainable.

II. WHAT IS AUTHENTIC HUMAN DEVELOPMENT?

In a penetrating study of the evolution of the development idea the Swiss historian Gilbert Rist observes that:

the period from the end of the Second World War to the end of the Soviet empire was marked by two forms of 'development': the first kept up the stock belief that inspired the extension of market society and its colonial expression; while the second was more akin to religious messianism in its voluntarist enthusiasm to establish at once the ideal of a just and affluent society. *Two parallel mechanisms were thus supposed to hasten the coming of a new era: the Welfare State in the North, and 'development' strategies in the South.*

These messianic stirrings died down in the early nineties; the 'globalization' that took their place may be considered a new manifestation of the same belief (adapted to postmodern culture) in which the real and the virtual merge into one. *'Development' now withdraws behind its appearances, and persists only in the form of an 'as if,' a trompe-l'oeil* whose verisimilitude is enough to make us forget its lack of reality. For the banished object is so important that it must be preserved for the time being, if only in the form of a delusion.¹⁴

Later in this essay it will be seen that, in surprising and paradoxical fashion, the convergence of critical streams of assault upon globalization has resurrected what Rist terms "these messianic stirrings."

One early voice in defense of ethically-based development is that of

¹⁴ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: from Western Origins to Global Faith*, London and New York: Zed Books, 1997, pp. 212-213. Italics are the author's.

Louis-Joseph Lebreton, founder of the *ECONOMY AND HUMANISM* movement¹⁵ and an influential voice in the crafting of *Populorum Progressio* and other papal documents on development. Lebreton defines development as “the series of transitions, for a given population and all the population groups which comprise it, from a less human to a more human pattern of existence, at the speediest rhythm possible, at the lowest possible cost, while taking into account all the bonds of solidarity which exist (or ought to exist) amongst these populations and population groups.”¹⁶

Normative expressions such as “more human” and “less human” are to be understood in the light of Lebreton’s distinction between *plus avoir* (“to have more”) and *plus être* (“to be more”). A society is more human or developed, not when its citizens “have more,” but when all are enabled, or endowed with capabilities, “to be more.” Material growth and quantitative increase are doubtless needed for genuine human development, but not any kind of growth nor increase obtained at any price. In Lebreton’s view, the world as a whole remains underdeveloped or falls prey to an illusory antidevelopment so long as a small number of nations or privileged groups remain alienated in an abundance of luxury (facility) goods at the expense of the many who are deprived thereby of their essential (subsistence) goods. When such situations prevail, rich and poor societies alike suffer from an insufficient satisfaction of their “enhancement” needs.

Lebreton’s formulation of the requirements of authentic development – what Rist calls “real” development¹⁷ – although outlined decades ago, remains useful. This is due largely to Lebreton’s insistence on basing his theories of development on observed empirical conditions and facts in widely diverse settings. Although Lebreton died in 1966, he has left a development legacy which holds several important lessons for today’s globalized world setting.¹⁸

¹⁵ L.-J. Lebreton and R. Moreux, *Economie et Humanisme*, Numéro Spécial, Février/Mars, 1942.

¹⁶ L.-J. Lebreton, “Editorial,” *Développement et Civilisations*, No. 1 (March 1960), p. 3. Cf. Also Lebreton, *Développement-Révolution Solidaire*, Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières, 1967, p. 82, translation mine.

¹⁷ Our starting point here will be the dual meaning that ‘development’ immediately assumes in any debate. Why do supporters of cooperation always counterpose ‘real development’ to ‘development *tout court*’? Are they just stressing that the promise of happiness remains even if it has not yet been kept, and arguing that new methods on offer discredit the ones previously thought up? Or do the two meanings reflect two kinds of belief in ‘development?’ Rist, *Ibidem*, p. 212.

¹⁸ Denis Goulet, “Une sagesse pour encadrer nos sciences,” *L’Économie Humaine et la Dynamique du Développement à l’heure de la Mondialisation*, Centre L.-J. Lebreton, eds., Paris: UNESCO, 1998, 38-42.

The first lesson is that development decision-makers must study the expressed needs of populations in whose benefit they profess to work. Otherwise decisions are elitist, over-abstract, and risk being reductionist. As early as 1962 the late Max Millikan, a practitioner of econometric analysis in preparing development plans, had noted the importance of consulting the interested populace as to what value sacrifices it was prepared to accept under alternative courses of action. Writing in the US position paper prepared for United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, Millikan declares that:

[T]he process of arriving at a national plan should be one in which the planners present to the community for discussion a variety of critical choices showing for each alternative the consequences for the society of pursuing that value choice consistently and efficiently. It is only by this process that the community can clarify its individual and social goals.¹⁹

Lebret's pre-planning studies offer a systematic way to engage in precisely such consultation.²⁰

Lebret likewise insisted on linking micro issues to macro questions. His method of conducting overall surveys in multiple domains (geography, physical infrastructure, use of space, administrative and institutional arrangements, etc.) followed by micro and macro analyses led to arbitration among competing alternatives which protected experts from viewing development as simple, discrete, unconnected actions.

A third lesson from Lebret for the age of globalization, is the priority of needs over wants or preferences (expressed by effective purchasing power). Like Mannheim, Barbara Ward, and Galbraith, Lebret understood that the needs of the numerous poor cannot be met by the free play of markets. Markets respond to purchasing power.

A market system, wholly uncorrected by institutions of justice, sharing, and solidarity, makes the strong stronger and the weak weaker. Markets as useful tools in a functioning social order have a positive and decentralizing

¹⁹ Max. F. Millikan, "Planning Process and Planning Objectives in Developing Countries," in *Organization, Planning and Programming for Economic Development*, US Paper for the UN Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, Vol. VIII, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962, pp. 33-34.

²⁰ A typical specimen is the study prepared by Lebret and his team for the Ministère du Plan, République Libanaise, *Besoins et Possibilités de Développement du Liban*, Liban: Mission IRFED, 1960-61, 3 volumes.

role to play. Markets as masters of society enrich the rich and pauperize the poor.²¹

Lebret subscribed to Mannheim's distinction between an organizing principle and a social mechanism. In Mannheim's words:

Competition or cooperation as mechanisms may exist and serve diverse ends in any society, pre-literate, capitalist, and non-capitalist. But in speaking of the capitalist phase of rugged individualism and competition, we think of an all-pervasive structural principle of social organization. This distinction may help to clarify the question whether capitalist competition – allegedly basic to our social structure – need be maintained as a presumably indispensable motivating force. Now, one may well eliminate competition as the *organizing principle* of the social structure and replace it by planning without eliminating competitions as a *social mechanism* to serve desirable ends.²²

There is today a growing recognition that markets are embedded, as a subsystem, in a larger societal system. It is this larger societal system which must provide the organizing principle of economic activity and the rules of governance for making market competition function as a social mechanism at the service of that organizing principle.

A fourth lesson drawn from Lebret is that development is multi-dimensional: it embraces economic, social, political, cultural, environmental, and spiritual components of human well-being. Hence his insistence on achieving “balanced” development. All dimensions of “human flourishing” (the term favored by present-day philosophers when speaking of development) must be realized, even if tactical or strategic (and temporary) imbalances may need to be pursued along the way. Lebret never tired of insisting that development was for “every person and the whole person” (“*tous les hommes et tout l’homme*”). As did the UNDP in its early annual *Human Development Reports*, Lebret regarded economic growth as the means and human development as the end. Things go wrong when these are inverted: when economic growth is pursued as though it were the end and not the means. This inversion leads to distorted development and to excessive costs in human suffering and cultural destruction.

The fifth lesson coming in Lebret's legacy is the need to globalize solida-

²¹ Barbara Ward, “Foreword,” in Mahbub ul Haq, *The Poverty Curtain, Choices for the Third World*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, p. xii.

²² Karl Mannheim, *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951, p. 151.

rity. His last book, published posthumously, bore the title *Développement = Révolution Solidaire* (Development = A Revolution of Solidarity).

Decades ago another development theorist, the economist John Kenneth Galbraith argued that the “final requirement of modern development planning is that it have a theory of consumption...a view of what the production is ultimately for...*More important, what kind of consumption should be planned?*”²³ A theory of consumption presupposes a theory of needs. And a sound theory of needs posits a hierarchy of importance and urgency around such categories as: needs of the first order, enhancement needs, and luxury needs.²⁴ Authentic development does not exist when first-order needs of the many are sacrificed in favor of luxury needs of a few. For this reason Erich Fromm judges that “affluent alienation” is no less dehumanizing than “impoverished alienation.”²⁵ Nor is sound development present when enhancement needs are not widely met. For in this case numerous essential *capabilities*, in Sen’s terms, needed for human flourishing are absent.

In 1986 (September 15-19) some sixty governmental planners, project managers, and social scientists met at a workshop on “Ethical Issues in Development” at the Marga Institute (Sri Lanka Institute for Development Studies) in Colombo, Sri Lanka. They reached a consensus that any adequate definition of development must include the following dimensions:²⁶

An *economic component* dealing with the creation of wealth and improved conditions of material life, equitably distributed;

A *social ingredient* measured as well-being in health, education, housing, and employment;

A *political dimension* embracing such values as human rights, political freedom, legal enfranchisement of persons, and some form of democracy;

A *cultural element* in recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people (although *ecological soundness* was not listed separately this was encompassed under the “cultural element” as an essential component of sound development);

A final dimension one may call the *full-life paradigm*, which refers to

²³ John Kenneth Galbraith, *Economic Development in Perspective*, Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 43. Italics are Galbraith’s.

²⁴ For a detailed presentation and justification of this typology of needs see Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice*, New York: University Press of America, 1985, pp. 236-249.

²⁵ “Introduction” to Erich Fromm, ed., *Socialist Humanism: An International Symposium*, New York: Anchor Books, p. ix.

²⁶ No documents issued from the Marga seminar. This list is based on notes taken by the author at the Seminar.

meaning systems, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history.

What is suggested here is that a sound development strategies will be oriented toward forms of economic growth whose production package centers on basic needs, job-creation (largely through the adoption of Appropriate Technologies),²⁷ decentralized public infrastructure investment aimed at producing multiple “poles” of development, an adequate social allocation ratio of public expenditures devoted to what the UNDP calls “human priority concerns,”²⁸ an incentives policy to favor increased productivity in low-productivity sectors, and selective linkage and de-linkage with global markets, with primary emphasis on domestic markets.²⁹

In its report on *North-South: A Program for Survival* the Brandt Commission asserted that:

Mankind has never before had such ample technical and financial resources for coping with hunger and poverty. The immense task can be tackled once the necessary collective will is mobilized...Solidarity among men must go beyond national boundaries: we cannot allow it to be reduced to a meaningless phrase. International solidarity must stem both from strong mutual interests in cooperation *and* from compassion for the hungry.³⁰

III. AFTER POST-MODERNISM: DEFINING ONE'S OWN DEVELOPMENT

The French novelist Léon Bloy (1846-1917) laments that, “when those who love God try to talk about Him, their words are blind lions looking for springs in the desert.”³¹ Although those who would speak intelligently and sensitively about development are not reduced to such total blindness, they are, nonetheless, saddled with a heavy linguistic burden. For development

²⁷ For a detailed analysis of how technologies favor, or impede, employment creation, see Raphael Kaplinski, *The Economics of Small, Appropriate Technology in a Changing World*, London: Appropriate Technology International, 1990.

²⁸ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1991*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 5-6.

²⁹ For detailed justification and illustration see Denis Goulet and Kwan S. Kim, *Estrategias de Desarrollo para el Futuro de Mexico*, Guadalajara, Mexico: ITESO, 1989.

³⁰ Willy Brandt, *North-South: A Programme for Survival*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980, p. 16.

³¹ Leon Bloy, cited in Thomas Merton, “Frontispiece,” *The Tears of the Blind Lions*, New York: New Directions, 1949.

is both an ambiguous term and an ambiguous practice. And the term is used either *descriptively* or *normatively*: to depict a present condition or to project a desirable alternative. Descriptive usage prevails in the growing body of testimonial writings on development,³² in statistical and policy reports issued by international financing agencies and in the voluminous academic literature now appearing in myriad disciplines. Normative usage of the term is found in works of criticism and alternative advocacy,³³ whose authors employ value-laden language to criticize development as now conducted or to advocate a different vision deemed ethnically or politically superior. Moreover, the identical word “development” refers either to the ends or to the means of social change. Development is simultaneously the vision of a better life – a life materially richer, institutionally more “modern,” and technologically more efficient – and an array of means to achieve that vision. These means range from economic planning to propaganda campaigns, from comprehensive social engineering to sectoral interventions of all sorts, with a view to altering values, behaviors, and social structures.

It is not only the terminology of development that is fraught with ambivalence, however, but its practice as well. A bewildering assortment of policy prescriptions parade under the single banner of development, among them: rapid and aggressive integration into competitive global markets; the adoption of Western social and political institutions and practices; the repudiation of Westernization in pursuit of “endogenous” models of change; the structural adjustment of macro policies to favor private investment and liberalization; strategies based on small, locally controlled projects.

³² Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962; Domitila Barrios de Chungara with Moema Viezzer, *Let Me Speak!*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978; Hazel Johnson and Henry Bernstein with Raul Hernan Ampuero and Ben Crow, *Third World Lives of Struggle*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982; and James D. Sexton, *Campeño: The Diary of a Guatemalan Indian*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985; Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992.

³³ Marshall Wolfe, *Elusive Development*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996; Justinian F. Rweyemamu, *Third World Options*, Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1992; Rosemary E. Galli, et. al., editors, *Rethinking the Third World*, New York: Crane Russak, 1992; James Manor, editor, *Rethinking Third World Politics*, London and New York: Longman, 1991; James H. Mittelman, *Out From Underdevelopment*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988; Nigel Dower, *World Poverty, Challenge and Response*, York, England: William Sessions Limited, The Ebor Press, 1983; David H. Pollock and A.R.M. Ritter, eds., *What Kinds of Development?* 3 Vols., Ottawa: Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, 1980.

Both as a VISION of a better life – comprised of material well-being, technological efficiency, and institutional modernity, and as a PROCESS by which societies advance towards that vision, “development” is tightly bound to modernity, usually considered as a desirable (if not obligatory) condition to be sought by all societies.

Post-modern thinking, operating both as epistemological norm and as exegetical study, repudiates modernity and challenges the legitimacy of development by denying the existence of universal values, and the primacy of goals over processes.

Dominant development thinking has long argued the universal objective desirability of its vision of the good life and its model of the good society. Post-modernism provides a powerful critique of one-dimensional, economist reductionism in societal goal-setting; elitist paradigms of research, analysis, and policy-prescription, and ethnocentric valuations of modes of life based on Western historical experiences.

Since development’s early days, however, there have existed alternative streams of thinking, prescription, and modeling which promoted diverse visions and strategies of development in a non-reductionist, non-elitist, non-ethnocentric mode. Post-modernist critiques have resurrected interest in these alternative paradigms which stressed the establishment of development goals from within tradition and culture, non-elite participation in development decision-making and action, and multiple specifications of the contents of the good life and the desirable society.³⁴ New images of the good life and the desirable society have also arisen which, like the earlier alternatives, contest the still regnant mainstream development paradigm.

For new paradigms to emerge, authentic development now occurring in numerous micro arenas must gain purchase on the criteria of decision-making which prevail in macro arenas. This they must do in a world conjuncture radically different from that prevailing in development’s infancy after World War II. That altered conjuncture is characterized by globalization.

IV. DEVELOPMENT DEBATES IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Under the single banner of globalization are to be found multiple inter-

³⁴ Denis Goulet, “¿Que es el desarrollo después del posmodernismo?” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Nueva Época, 6, Enero de 1999, 42-62.

connected phenomena which provide the basic conjunctural setting for present-day debates on development. Although no agreement exists as to the precise definition of globalization, its importance is not questioned. Nor is it disputed that globalization connects all societies and individual persons on the globe to a degree and in registers never previously experienced. One perceptive analyst, Thomas Friedman, sees globalization as having its own logic: it is not viewed as a mere phenomenon or passing trend, but a new international system. In his words:

Today it is the overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country, and we need to understand it as such... Today's era of globalization, which replaced the Cold War, is a similar international system, with its own unique attributes. To begin with, the globalization system, unlike the Cold War system, is not static, but a dynamic ongoing process: globalization involves the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system.

The driving idea behind globalization is free-market capitalism – the more you let market forces rule and the more you open your economy to free trade and competition, the more efficient and flourishing your economy will be. Globalization means the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world. Globalization also has its own set of economic rules – rules that revolve around opening, deregulating and privatizing your economy.³⁵

Globalization extends its reach into diverse realms: economics, finance, culture, technology, information, and governance. Economics is now viewed more in international than in national terms. And trade, investment, money, technology, ideas, consumer practices, recreational images, individual persons, organized group actions, and cultural goods of all sorts circulate across national borders with ever fewer restrictions and in rapidly increasing volumes.

Globalization is a two-edged sword whose observable results are mixed. Previously unimagined advances have been secured in numerous domains: wealth has been created, technology diffused, political solidarities around

³⁵ Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1999, pp. 7-8.

issues of human rights, women's equality, the defense of indigenous cultural communities, and ecological health have been consolidated. But globalization has also exacted a high price in the form of new and large inequities, the dilution of effective national sovereignty, and multiple insecurities. Among threats to human security arising from globalization the UNDP lists: economic insecurity, job and income insecurity, health insecurity, cultural insecurity, personal insecurity, environmental security, political and community insecurity.³⁶ The highly visible nature of these threats and inequities has given rise to powerful criticism, which recently found organized expression at public protests against the WTO (World Trade Organization) meeting in Seattle, WA (November 30-December 3, 1999).

Protesters included disparate environmental, labor, and consumer groups. European and U.S. consumer groups argued "that governments should put concerns about food safety above free trade."³⁷ In this complaint they were joined by environmentalists, who see free trade as blocking the institution of necessary environmental regulations worldwide. Other groups expressed a more explicitly political concern over the absence of democratic voices in the institutions of globalization representing interests other than those of large corporations or powerful governments. In Seattle they protested "the closed-door nature of W.T.O.'s decision-making, as well as what they see as its tendency to ride roughshod over the legislative process of local and national governments."³⁸ Similar resistance to elite international bureaucratic decision-making had led, in 1998 to the postponement of MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investment) at the OECD (Paris). Labor union groups, in turn, accused the W.T.O., which in Seattle served as the targeted culprit symbolizing the general workings of globalization, of encouraging dumping (which, unions claim, destroy jobs "at home") and of failing to set "international labor standards that would prevent poor countries from using child labor, or lax labor laws, to lure jobs away from wealthy countries."³⁹

Environmental irresponsibility, favoritism toward rich and powerful elite institutions, placing higher value on profitable trade over consumer safety and health, the destruction of jobs, the dilution of state sovereignty (in particular, control over the national economy and financial system) – these

³⁶ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1999*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

³⁷ "Seattle Is Under Curfew After Disruptions," *New York Times*, December 1, 1999, p. A 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

represent the broad array of general complaints leveled against globalization. Champions of globalization, and of its central prescriptions and practices – free trade, liberalization, privatization – retort that these complaints are unfounded or exaggerated.⁴⁰ London's weekly *The Economist*, a highly articulate and influential advocate of globalization, protests loudly that more globalization is needed, not less, and that those who are hurt most by obstacles to free trade are the poor. A recent editorial enjoins us "to be clear about who would stand to lose most if globalization really were to be pushed sharply backwards – or, indeed, simply if further liberalization fails to take place. It is the developing countries. In other words, the poor."⁴¹ The same editorial concedes that free trade is not a panacea and "is not likely to bring better welfare on its own." But it denies that free trade enriches multinationals or destroys the planet. On the contrary, says *The Economist*, with free trade and its growth since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, "a new chance had arrived for the 5 billion poor to join the world economy and improve their lives. That chance remains. It must not be thrown away, amid the debris of Seattle."⁴²

It must not be assumed, however, from the temporary coalitions formed at Seattle that the interests of all protesting groups are compatible. Europe and America have sharp disputes over protectionism in agriculture and over free trade in cultural goods. And large divergences between rich and poor countries over labor standards remain. Poor countries "resist the inclusion on the agenda of labour issues, which they see as a pretext for rich-country protectionism."⁴³

Disputes over the benevolence of globalization bring to the forefront a set of three broader and interconnected disagreements over development's present state: over the diagnosis to be made of the world's present uneven development, over evaluation of merits and demerits of development pathways pursued in recent decades, and over prescriptive directions in which to aim policy decisions in the short-term future. Key disagreements center on four issues.

Should free trade and maximum integration into global competitive

⁴⁰ Typical examples are C. Ford Runge with François Ortalo-Magne and Philip Vande Kamp, *Freer Trade, Protected Environment*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1994; Dani Rodrik, *The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work*, Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1999.

⁴¹ "The Real Losers," Editorial, *The Economist*, December 11, 1999, p. 15.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ "A Global Disaster," *The Economist*, December 11, 1999, p. 19.

markets be promoted, or is selective integration around locally/ regionally/nationally/trans-regionally specific forms of endogenous (or autocentric) development be sought? ⁴⁴ Widening economic, financial, and technological integration into competitive global markets has adversely affected not only countries which have been the direct victims of financial collapse but several developed countries as well, notably in their ability to create remunerative employment and to provide governmental welfare services at an acceptable level.

Should rapid and high levels of economic growth continue to be pursued, on the assumption that it is necessary for development, or should growth be restrained, or qualitatively altered, in order to assure environmental and social sustainability over the long-term? The dividing line, in economic theory, lies between advocates of environmental economics and those who see this (merely internalizing, and costing, what previously were treated as environmental externalities) as a palliative, and who plead for a more biological, system ecological economics in which inter-relational vitality (nature, humans, animals, technology) is the goal to be sought and not maximum economic enrichment (which they view as not a fully genuine form of wealth).⁴⁵

Should investment and resource transfer strategies be guided by global macro-economic concerns, or should more alternative, bottom-up development be pursued, in recognition that these must not be confined to micro arenas but must gain purchase (in harmony with its values and institutional creations) on criteria of decision-making at work in meso and macro arenas? The question here is analogous to that raised by the British economist Raphael Kaplinsky, when studying what conditions are required for AT (appropriate technology) policies to be economically efficient as well as socially, politically, culturally, and environmentally appropriate. Kaplinsky concluded that state macro policies must themselves be AT-enhancing for the more micro AT actions to yield proper developmental effects.⁴⁶ Something analogous is required here: macro-economic policies which pro-

⁴⁴ Christiane Gagnon, *La Recomposition des Territoires: Développement local viable*, Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1994; Bernard Dumas and Michel Séguier, *Construire des actions collectives: Développer les solidarités*, Lyon: Cronique Sociale, 1997.

⁴⁵ Anil Markandya and Julie Richardson, *Environmental Economics: A Reader*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992; Rajaram Krishnan, Jonathan M. Harris, and Neva R. Goodwin, editors, *A Survey of Ecological Economics*, Washington, DC: Island Press, 1995.

⁴⁶ Raphael Kaplinsky, *The Economics of Small: Appropriate Technology in a Changing World*, Washington, DC: Appropriate Technology International, 1990.

mote integral sustainable human development, and not merely economic development, which may well prove to be not only unsustainable but humanly damaging beyond tolerable bounds. Macro-policies, including global policies, ought to be designed to be micro-developmental enhancing, where the premium can (in the right conditions) be placed on local definition of needs and control in ways that are economically and socially efficient.

Should internationally operating business corporations be viewed as the main agent or institutional actor in development, with governments, civil society organizations, and even international financial institutions viewed as their subordinate partners or facilitators? Or are novel constellations of horizontal partnerships engaging NGOs, business firms, international agencies, and governments at several levels, and diverse civil society groups, the actors best suited to promote authentic sustainable development?⁴⁷ It is far from certain that even the ethically responsible conduct of business, even were it to become the general practice, can produce sound development. Profit-seeking and selecting the “basket of goods and services” to produce should be utilized by societal systems as stimulating and regulatory social mechanisms, not as organizing principles of economic activity. The entire realm of economic activity is instrumentally related to the goal of qualitative, multi-faceted human development.

It lies beyond the scope of this single essay to formulate extended answers to these four dyadic interrogations. They are listed here to suggest what are the contours and the content of development debates in the present era of globalization. For purposes of greater clarity, one may frame the key development questions in simple terms as follows.

Is globalization good for development?

And how much globalization, and operating under what rules of governance, and in the pursuit of what ends?

What kind of development does globalization, on the present model, generate: elitist, dependency-inducing, culturally destructive, socially disruptive, personally alienating, environmentally damaging development?

Or, conversely, is it development which is participatory, emancipating and liberating for the many, serving as a dynamic catalyst of regenerated cultural vitalities, conducive to social cooperation if not placid harmony, and environmentally sound for the long-term?

⁴⁷ Denis Goulet, “Authentic Development: Is it Sustainable?” in *Building Sustainable Societies*, Dennis C. Pirages, editor, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1996, 189-205; *Defining Wealth, Rethinking Development, Achieving Sustainability, Humanomics*, 1999, 15:2/3, 42-59.

CONCLUSION

Over the five and a half decades in which development has served as a propelling myth (in Sorel's ⁴⁸ sense of a galvanizing idea which mobilizes people and institutions to make sacrifices in pursuit of it), the nature of development has evolved away from the quest for maximum economic growth, via targeted investment (public and private) and resource transfers. Investments and transfers were energized by state actions to plan, to provide incentives, and to create infrastructure around a threefold general goal: to modernize, to technologize, to specialize. Initially there was at least an implicit assumption that wealth would be created rapidly and that it would trickle down in accord with the later dictum that a rising tide raises all ships.

Eventually it was learned that wealth does not trickle down and that rising tides sink small boats. Moreover, even economic growth itself did not occur everywhere (because social and political conditions were not propitious, because cultural and psychological determinants were absent or weak, because population pressure on resources was too great). In addition, institutional and political modernization, and even technologically-driven economic growth did not necessarily create employment. Worse still, economic and social (and qualitative human) disparities became more pronounced. Nor was poverty eliminated, notwithstanding significant advances in some countries, some sectors, some classes, some population groups. Quite predictably, as the learning curve for development brought to light ever more numerous and ever more complex variables in the development equation – social, cultural, environmental, political, ethical – powerful assaults were launched on the very conception, the very project of development. Assaults were led in the name of post-modernism, of deep ecology, of liberation ideologies rejecting neo-forms of dependency attendant upon globalization, of ethically-based resistance to injustices and inequalities which seemed inseparable from the growth of some economic units. Notwithstanding the early rationales for growing inequalities provided by certain economic theorists, it became empirically evident over time that inequalities were not only durable but were growing wider. The most recent assaults on globalization have come from cultural voices troubled by the apparent ineluctability with which globalization, and its attendant standardization, destroys cultural diversity and vitality, and the possibility for

⁴⁸ Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, New York: Collier Books, 1961.

human communities to be genuine subjects of their own social history. Instead they are reduced to the status of objects, known and acted upon instead of actively knowing and acting. Hence their emphasis on local control, nay more, local decision-making reaching to the higher reaches of every people's putative "right" to define its own development paradigm.

In the globalization age all these forces of assault, along with old and new forces of defense, converge. This convergence, rendered possible paradoxically by those same technologies which have enabled financial and economic globalization to spread, comes at a time when the old development model (duly "corrected") is, in terms of available resources and institutional support (not least in the form of conceptual rationales) at its strongest.

On the development front there are now numerous new actors, or actors newly conscious of new roles for themselves (this is especially true of NGOs and what have come to be called institutions of civil society), as well as old actors rendered acutely conscious of lessened powers to influence events (governments) and others (business enterprises) become no less acutely conscious of their enhanced capacities to influence events in macro-domains they had previously not aspired to affect. The late Willis Harman, founder of the World Business Academy, wrote in 1990 that:

Business has become, in this last half century, the most powerful institution on the planet. The dominant institution in any society needs to take responsibility for the whole – as the church did in the days of the Holy Roman Empire. But business has not had such a tradition. This is a new role, not yet well understood and accepted.⁴⁹

Harman lamented that business firms were slow to accept the new role. A large constellation of other development actors, however, refuses to accept the new role as legitimate for business firms. In surprising fashion, it appears that a complete circle regarding how one thinks about development may now have been closed. Thirty years ago Paul G. Hoffman, the first Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and the operating manager of the Marshall Plan, the largest developmental resource transfer effectuated, wrote that:

just as politics is too important to be left entirely to politicians, development may well be too important to be left solely in the hands of 'developers'. Speaking both as the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and as a private citizen who cares greatly

⁴⁹ Willis Harman, Statement reproduced on (Back Cover) *World Business Academy Perspectives*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1993.

about the future of his world, I say that development cannot and should be the exclusive province of the 'experts' no matter how skillful or well-intentioned. It is too big, too complex, too crucial an undertaking not to merit the involvement – or at least the concerned interest – of the majority of people in every country on earth.”⁵⁰

Globalization has transformed into an empirical fact what Hoffman presented as an ethically desirable goal. After countless evolutions, development has now become everyone's business.

⁵⁰Paul G. Hoffman, Comment on Book Jacket of original edition of Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice, A New Concept in the Theory of Development*, New York: Atheneum, 1971. The Hoffman comment was written 18 months before the publication date.

THE MESSAGES OF THE 1999 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT – GLOBALISATION WITH A HUMAN FACE

HAKAN BJORKMAN

This paper provides an overview of the main challenges of making globalisation benefit people, not just markets. It is based on the messages of the *Human Development Report 1999*,¹ which focused on the theme of 'globalisation with a human face'.

The debate about globalisation – whether it is a boon or bane – continues unabated. Whatever the perspective, one cannot escape the cold fact that globalisation is not global at all, but benefits some and excludes others. Some even call it global apartheid, with growing inequalities and stark contrasts between winners and losers. One need only consider that Bill Gates earned \$120 million a day in 1999 while 1.3 billion people live on less than 1 dollar per day. Industrial countries have 88% of all Internet users while 2 billion people do not even have access to electricity. Less than 0.2% of the world's medical research focuses on pneumonia, diarrhoea and TB at a time when these diseases account for 18% of the burden of disease experienced by the world. The richest 20% of the world's population accounts for 86% of total consumption while every three seconds a child dies because of poverty. These figures talk for themselves.

The *Human Development Report 1999* addresses the problems of a dysfunctional global order. It also offers a more people-centred definition of the process of globalisation. Normally, globalisation is seen strictly in terms of a process of economic integration, of increased flows of money, goods and services across borders. The UNDP sees globalisation as more than that (as a process that brings people together, making people more interdependent as well as more vulnerable). It is increasing the contacts

¹ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1999* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, also available on-line www.undp.org/hdro).

between people across national boundaries, in terms of the economy, technology, culture and governance.

The Positive Side of Globalisation

It is important not to forget that globalisation provides great opportunities for human development and the realisation of human rights. Increased trade, new technology, foreign investments, and the expansion of information and media networks are providing the fuel for economic growth and human development. Many countries have made impressive achievements because they have managed to seize the opportunities that globalisation offers.

In fact, taking a longer-term perspective and looking at the overall picture in developing countries, progress in human development has been impressive:

Child deaths have actually fallen by half since 1965.

Life expectancy has increased by 10 years since 1970. In developing countries, primary and secondary school enrolment has more than doubled.

Adult literacy has risen from under 50% to over 70%.

Average per capita incomes have more than tripled in the last 50 years.

In parentheses, however, it is important to point out that today there are clear signs of a reversal of this progress. Look at the former Soviet Union, where virtually all socio-economic trends are pointing in the wrong direction, look at Latin America where poverty is on the rise, look at Africa where incomes are falling and HIV/AIDS is causing a drastic drop in life expectancy and a sharp increase in child mortality. Not to mention the lingering human impact of the East Asian crisis.

Globalisation is also accompanied by technological breakthroughs in medical science, agriculture and new communications technologies. The benefits of the technological revolution to mankind cannot be underestimated. Of particular importance is the potential of the Internet. It brings us closer together and can promote democracy. This new information technology provides a very useful tool for non-governmental organisations and people's movements around the world, including church organisations. Organisations can exchange information and experience and co-ordinate their work. To mention just one example of where the Internet has played an important role: the Jubilee 2000 campaign for debt relief. The Internet

played an enormously important role as a tool in mobilising people all over the world on this complex issue.

So What is the Problem with Globalisation?

Globalisation has many positive aspects and offers great opportunities, but the problem is that: (i) the benefits are unevenly distributed; (ii) new threats to human security are created; and (iii) globalisation limits the ability of governments to promote human development and fight poverty.

Its Benefits are Unevenly Distributed

Globalisation is actually not global, but involves a polarisation between those who benefit greatly and those who are completely left out. Globalisation has some absurd outcomes, as is evident from the statistics presented in the introduction of this paper. Inequalities between countries have increased dramatically. The income gap between the fifth of the world's population living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest was 74 to 1 in 1997 - up from 60 to 1 in 1990 and 30 to 1 in 1960. By the late 1990s the fifth of the global population living in the highest-income countries had:

- 86% of world GDP (the bottom fifth just 1%);
- 82% of world export markets (the bottom fifth just 1%);
- 68% of all foreign direct investment (the bottom fifth just 1%);
- 93% of all Internet users (the bottom fifth just 0.2%).

But more troubling than the relative rise in inequalities is the fact that poverty and violations of economic and social rights continue to be widespread, in great contrast to the economic and scientific miracles of globalisation. Although poverty is gradually being reduced in relative terms because of rapid population growth the actual number of poor people is increasing by about 25 million a year. Between 800 million and 1.3 billion people are denied such basic human rights as the right to adequate food, the right to education, and the right to health:

1.3 billion people do not have access to clean water and 1.2 billion do not have access to health services, a violation of the right to health.

900 million people are malnourished, denied the right to food.

Hundreds of millions of people are unemployed or under-employed, denied the right to work.

850 million people are illiterate and 125 million children do not attend school, denied the right to education.

The current technological revolution is creating new global gaps. Over the past 20 years the increasing privatisation of research and development and liberalisation of markets, combined with the tightening of intellectual property rights, have set off a race to lay claim to knowledge. The interests of poor people and poor countries are being left on the sidelines. From new drugs to better seeds for food crops, the best of the new technologies are designed and priced for those who can pay. Only \$80 million is being spent on malaria research, and only a small portion of that is spent on developing a malaria vaccine. In defining research agendas, money talks louder than need.

The Internet is also creating a new form of global inequality: between those connected and those who are not. Well over a quarter of all Americans are connected to the Internet, compared with less than 0.1% of Africans. The fact that only 2% of the world's population is connected to the Internet creates a significant 'opportunity gap' in terms of employment, information, communication, and creativity.

New Insecurities and Sources of Vulnerability

Globalisation creates new insecurities and makes people more vulnerable. Globalisation creates economic vulnerability and financial instability caused by the volatility of global capital markets. The financial crisis in East Asia is one example of how the instability of capital markets can destroy years of progress in human development. In 1997 poverty doubled in Indonesia, 1.5 million South Koreans lost their jobs, and the health budget in Thailand was cut by 10%. Globalisation also creates job and income insecurity due to dislocations generated by economic and corporate restructuring. Globalisation creates cultural insecurity as the Western cultural output overshadows local diversity. It is interesting to note that the largest US export industry is not cars or computers, but film and television, estimated at \$30 billion a year. Globalisation creates environmental insecurity, hitting the poorest people the hardest. Today the livelihoods of at least half a billion people are under direct threat due to environmental degradation.

Globalisation creates political insecurity as widening disparities and

poverty creates social upheaval and is often the root cause of ethnic violence. One recent study has shown that nearly 80% of all conflicts in the last 10 years have taken place in countries that have low levels of human development (as measured by the Human Development Index) and/or suffered from economic stagnation or decline at the time of the outbreak of hostilities. Globalisation creates personal insecurity as international crime benefits from unregulated capital markets and new technology. global crime syndicates are estimated to have a yearly turnover of 1.5 trillion dollars, and the global illegal drug trade is now estimated at 8% of global trade. And globalisation creates health insecurity as epidemics spread faster, exigencies of global markets puts pressure on health budgets, and patent rules limit access to new and emerging drugs.

Limits on the Choices of Governments

But probably most important, globalisation limits the capacity of governments to deal with poverty and violations of economic and social rights. The requirements of a competitive global market economy force governments to become 'tax competitive', to forgo revenue raising through trade taxes, and to limit spending in social sectors. Economic policies have been harmonised the world over in line with the neo-classical approach of sound macro-economic management, dictated in Washington and not democratically debated at home. The perspective is hopelessly short-sighted (blind to the fact that investments in human development are the foundations of future economic success).

Why does Globalisation have these Negative Effects?

These negative impacts of globalisation are due to a failure in governance at the global, regional and national levels. It is important to stress the point that there is nothing inherently wrong with globalisation in itself - its impact depend on how it is managed. Today's governance of globalisation, at the international and national levels, focuses too much on economic efficiency, on increased production and profits, and not on the real goal of human development and the fight against poverty.

Among policy-makers, academics and international civil servants there has been excessive faith in the market as a panacea for development. The problem with the market is that (i) wealth and power tend to become concentrated among a select group of countries, corporations and individuals,

(ii) markets can get out of hand, creating instability and set-backs in human development, (iii) profit motives can get out of hand, challenging ethics and human rights, and (iv) the market fails to guarantee access to social services and technology to those that cannot pay for it.

But, having said that, it is important not to forget that the market system is the best way of ensuring an efficient allocation of resources. Without the market as a dynamo of economic growth, human development would not be possible. The problem is that markets are good for efficiency, but not necessarily good for equity. Without 'sound' governance, adequate rules and institutions, markets will fail in many respects to deliver equity and human development. In particular, the market will fail to ensure equitable access to basic social services, which for obvious reasons must be seen as a 'public good' exempt from the principle of non-intervention in market forces.

What Should be Done?

What should be done to make sure that globalisation and market forces promote human development and successfully eradicate poverty? The main general message in the 1999 Human Development Report is that stronger governance is needed to mitigate the negative impacts of globalisation and ensure a more equitable distribution of benefits. The report presents a wide range of recommendations for action and the following may be given as examples:

Human Rights as a Framework for Global Governance

The most important recommendation that the report makes is to strengthen existing human rights instruments and apply a human rights approach to global governance (as well as national governance for that matter). All human rights (civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights) need to provide the principles and legal framework for dealing with global issues and for protecting people from the negative impacts of globalisation. The impact on people's right to food, right to an adequate standard of living, right to health and education, right to political participation, etc., must become the supreme consideration in global decision-making. Far more progress has been made in establishing norms, standards and institutions for open global markets than for people and their rights. Imagine a framework of rules and enforcement mechanisms for human rights develo-

ped as well as for those for free trade. A new commitment is needed to the ethics of universalism as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Reversal of the Marginalisation of Poor Countries

Another key message of the report is that something should be done about the economic and political marginalisation of poor countries. The process of global governance is too geographically unbalanced, overly dominated by the concerns of industrial countries, and the interests of poor countries are neglected. Can we really talk about a level playing field in global governance when this is dominated by the economic muscle of the OECD, the G-7, and sometimes just the G-1?

The least developed countries need to be empowered in international negotiations, and this was a hot topic at the WTO meeting in Seattle and at the UNCTAD meeting in Bangkok last week. We propose such practical actions as, for example, access to legal advice for these countries, support for policy research on issues of importance to them, the appointment of ombudsmen within organisations such as the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF, etc. But the achievement of the political empowerment of the poorer countries requires strong solidarity and co-operation between them. In the process leading up to Seattle, this co-operation has greatly improved and with UNDP assistance, the Least Developed Countries have come up with a common approach and a shared negotiating position. Lastly, to achieve a better balance in global negotiations, NGOs must be given a greater, more formal role, in advancing the interests of countries and people normally off the radar screen.

To achieve the economic empowerment of the poorer countries, a number of actions are needed. The report talks about more and better aid to promote good governance in developing countries, promote sustained economic growth by, for example, dismantling barriers in the textile and agriculture sectors on which these countries are so dependent, and faster and more flexible debt relief than has been promised so far.

The Strengthening of National Policies and Action for Human Development

Another important message of the report is the need to strengthen national governance, and adapt the role of the state to the new realities of the global economy. All countries need to revitalise their social policies, to

achieve redistribution, safety nets, and the universal provision of social services. These human development policies need to take centre stage in order to deal with the new threats to human security and the negative impact of the globalised economy. The role of the state is changing, but it is not diminishing. Governments need to find new sources of revenue to counteract the shrinking tax-base caused by the exigencies of the global market, the liberalisation of trade and finance markets, and the growth of the underground economy.

A New Technology Agenda

The report places great emphasis on action needed to ensure a more equitable distribution of the benefits of technological progress – the most spectacular manifestation of globalisation. The potential of the new technologies for human development and poverty eradication must be tapped. Public investment is needed in technologies for poor people and poor countries. As examples, I will mention two (very different) priorities highlighted by the report.

Developing countries are facing a multitude of health problems. Malaria, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, pneumonia, diarrhoea, and other diseases are claiming millions of lives and some of these diseases are both treatable and preventable. In Africa, HIV/AIDS (which is preventable, but not curable) killed 10 times as many people in 1999 than the armed conflicts that ravage the continent. Life expectancy is expected to drop by 17 years in Southern Africa within 10 years as a result of the AIDS epidemic. Two actions are needed: (i) more funding for prevention and for developing affordable treatments and vaccines, and (ii) a loosening of intellectual property rights on existing essential drugs to make them accessible and affordable in poor countries. Intellectual property rights under the TRIPS (Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights) agreement need a comprehensive review to redress their perverse effect of undermining access to new essential drugs.

A major effort is needed to expand access to the Internet and to counteract the newly created gap in opportunities between those connected and those who are not. It might seem unrealistic to believe that access to the Internet can be made truly global in a world where two billion people do not even have access to electricity. But that is no excuse for inaction. Investments are needed in infrastructure to expand access to the greatest extent possible. In order to maximise access, we need to focus on the following: (i) community access to, as opposed to the individual ownership of,

computers, (ii) education which enables people to benefit from the new technology, (iii) adaptation of the contents of what is on the Internet i.e., putting local views, news, culture and commerce on the Web in languages other than English, (iv) technological innovation and creativity to find cost-effective ways of extending access to the Internet in poorer countries, and finally (v) finding the resources needed to fund these efforts.

The world is rushing headlong into greater integration, a process driven mostly by economic forces and guided by a philosophy of market profitability and economic efficiency. What is needed is a renewal of ethics and human rights as the guiding principles of global solidarity. Action is needed now!

THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALISATION

SERGIO BERNAL RESTREPO

The Seattle experience has increased the awareness of the meaning of a globalised world, and it was a clear demonstration of the impact of globalisation on the whole of social life far beyond the realm of economics and finance. Indeed, this on-going process has globalised capital, communications, culture, and even people.

In order to understand globalisation it is helpful to bear in mind, firstly, that it is a process of financial, economic, political and cultural networking which had its beginning in the adoption by certain large organisations, and especially corporations, of information and communication technologies, and secondly, that this took place in a context of economic crisis caused by the exorbitant prices of oil in 1973. The process was further strengthened by the disaster of real socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Finally, and this is a very relevant component, the emergence of globalisation as such was accompanied by the discrediting of the great ideologies.

The phenomenon is complex and the rapid pace of this process renders its analysis rather difficult. It is not easy simply to accept or reject globalisation. There is a rather common attitude of rejection which is common among those who are suffering the negative consequences of this phenomenon. In spite of the efforts of the managers of public opinion to make people believe that globalisation can only bring benefits to the whole of humankind – and one has to admit that it has in many ways produced positive results – it remains a fact that it has also divided the world into one of winners and losers. Those who benefit from this process see globalisation as an inevitable development. From this perspective, which is no doubt the expression of an ideological standpoint, any criticism of the system is deemed politically incorrect.

In order to make an objective assessment it is helpful to analyse the sociological and cultural aspects of globalisation, a rather complex task since it is not possible to completely free oneself of prejudice, which is a part of that perception of reality learned by each one of us in the process of socialisation.

POLITICS

From a political standpoint, Seattle was a significant moment in recent history: for the first time so-called 'civil society' had a voice which had a decisive impact upon the World Trade Organisation. Some people detect the birth of international civil society in this event (Ramonet, 1999), something which could balance the overwhelming power acquired by the economy over the last decades. The need for this type of control applies to other organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the G7. Indeed, one could speak of a 'planetary executive' which has gradually become a real government which makes unilateral decisions that have an impact on the population of the world, but which does not allow those affected to participate in the decision-making process.

Unquestionably, Internet was a decisive instrument in helping to consolidate civil society at Seattle. This could be seen as an interesting example of the close relationship between the globalisation process and the globalisation of people. Through Internet it was possible to create a network of communications and solidarity which reached a high point in bringing together people from different parts of the world, thus turning virtual reality into real protest. A new actor in international relations was born in Seattle which had the unique characteristic, at least on this occasion, of not being controlled by partisan politics or by other national or international institutions.

This historical fact could be seen as a confirmation of the common idea that the world is becoming more democratic every day. However, a deeper analysis demonstrates precisely the opposite. Assuming that participation in decision-making is a fundamental element of democracy, we have to admit that the world is heading towards a growing type of authoritarianism, towards the rule of a few, towards some sort of plutocracy which is gradually, but clearly, substituting traditional political institutions.

In trying to understand the Seattle phenomenon as an expression of civil society we could formulate the hypothesis that it was a reaction against a

struggle on the part of those who hold power for the control of basic resources in a world characterised by feverish competition. 'The transnational corporations strive to control global capital and material resources, the transnational capitalist classes strive to control global power, and the transnational agents and institutions of the culture-ideology of consumerism strive to control the realm of ideas' (Sklair 1995, p. 95).

If, on the one hand, it is true that we must recognise the disappearance of national borders in the European Union – a model that could be proposed to other regions of the world – on the other hand, there is a dwindling of frontiers: the weakening of the nation-state which is not the result of the free choice of citizens, but rather of a model of globalisation imposed by a small but powerful minority. If we consider the UN, we have to admit that it constitutes the worst example of democracy which, in a way, has foreshadowed the reality of a world dominated by a few.

In traditional democracies the separation of powers still prevails, although the dividing line between politics and the economy is disappearing. Sociologically, we could speak of two subsystems where politics assumes the characteristics of a subordinate sub-system. This is particularly true in those countries which bear the burden of international debt, where political autonomy no longer exists because rules and conditions imposed from the outside determine internal political decisions.

As we have seen, the emergence of civil society could be a reaction to globalisation. In fact, under the strong pressure of neo-liberal ideology, there is a clear trend towards the weakening of the state and towards the privatisation of institutions which are responsible for protecting the well-being of the population through the rendering of basic services which are not profitable, for caring for the weak members of the community, and for defending human rights. The growing repercussion of economics and finance in social life results in the attenuation of concern for the common good, thus generating the need to create new structures that can fill the vacuum created by the globalisation process. The very name that has been given to these new institutions – 'Non-Governmental Organisations' – seems to confirm our hypothesis. Traditional organisations created to defend corporative interests such as trade unions have lost most of their representativeness and their appeal to their constituency, not to mention their bargaining power. And this is true almost everywhere. Different factors lie behind this result, one of which is the new legislation on work which devitalises the union movement.

The inefficiency of the state in providing basic services and the dimini-

shing concern for issues of the utmost importance, such as the protection of the environment and human rights, can be seen as another possible factor behind the emergence of NGOs. The environment is another instance of the interaction between politics and economics where in many instances any attempt by the legislative power to introduce regulations aiming at the protection of the environment have yielded to the lobbying of economic interests.

If we consider the historical development of the NGOs it is possible to understand why, in most cases, they tend to identify themselves with the so called 'Left' rather than with conservatives forces linked to the defence of political and financial privileges and power. However, it is only fair to acknowledge that NGOs are not necessarily identified with one single political orientation and much less with Communism or extreme forms of Socialism. As an example, the Seattle rendezvous was attended by groups with different orientations, sometimes even with sharply contrasting interests. Even though there seemed to be a common goal – the repudiation of the WHO as a hegemonic power – it cannot be said that there was an ideological consensus among the protesters. Probably there was not even a case of common interests.

The phenomenon of globalisation is not homogeneous and differences cannot be ignored. We see, for instance, that while Europe tends toward the creation of an expanding community of nations, there is a growing trend of regionalisation in other parts of the world seeking to counteract the impact on the market of the European Union, the US and Japan. Today there are more than sixty ongoing attempts to constitute regional groups throughout the world. Interestingly enough, as Dahrendorf predicted, the fall of the Berlin Wall did not mean the end of world divisions. Instead – as Dahrendorf also predicted – there has been an exasperation of violence-generating forms of nationalism. Such trends can be understood, where globalisation is perceived as a threat, with reference to the fact that it is doing away with frontiers and is leading towards relative cultural homologation.

THE ECONOMY

Seattle has encouraged criticism of the dominant economic model. The demonstrators tried to convey the message that world governance is required, with power to control the globalised financial system. Among other reasons for the creation of this mechanism there is the reasonable fear that

despite the very positive results obtained in recent years there might be a crack in the system involving devastating global consequences which will probably be much worse than those of the thirties. However, there is a felt need to slow down a process which is creating the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few people or corporations, side by side with the increase of poverty among millions of people who cannot meet their basic needs. There is a growing consensus about the need to find some effective instrument which can succeed in redistributing wealth more equitably.

Once the euphoria caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall was over, the reality of today's world, which is full of contradictions, was perceived more clearly, especially as regards the lack of equity and fairness in the distribution of resources of all kinds (economic, political and cultural). Some observers propose some form of democratic socialism as the proper solution (Sklair, 1995) while others are in search of a Third Way between radical neo-liberal demands and the Welfare State. The not very encouraging results of the transition of the former European socialist countries to market capitalism on the Western model have caused mixed feelings among the population. In fact, despite the open rejection of the old system as such, people are beginning to realise that they were better off materially under Communism, as the electoral results in some of these countries have illustrated. In fact, they say, collectivism guaranteed the satisfaction of basic needs such as housing, employment, food, schooling, healthcare, notwithstanding their precariousness.

The globalised economic model has had an impact on the international division of labour. Thanks to the extraordinary advance of technology, new work patterns are emerging which allow the individual to stay home performing his or her task by means of the computer. This has allowed great corporations to close a few branches which have then been dispersed in the homes of the employees. On the positive side one could see in this an opportunity for working women, who could find a solution to the tension between their professions and the role of being a mother. The greatest concern, however, is unemployment which is regarded by some as the unavoidable outcome of technological development. The question arises, however, as to which is the independent variable. Is it technology, or rather the economic model which prompts innovation and research along the lines of a reduction of labour, which continues to be the most expensive factor of production? A brief survey of the recent merging of transnational corporations in industry and finance reveals that one of the immediate effects of the creation of these huge conglomerates is a drastic reduction of personnel.

The search for a reduction in the work force is producing the relocation of production to countries that offer the incentive of cheap and unprotected labour. This has been possible thanks to technological developments that offer large corporations the possibility to differentiate the various stages of production. Significant investments are made in developing countries in the so-called 'maquilas' or duty-free zones. It is hard to assess the fairness of this trend. There is no doubt that these establishments offer work opportunities to the local population, which might appear at first sight as a positive contribution to Third World countries. However wages are very low, workers are not protected by any social security, and there is no guarantee of stability, for no contracts mediate. Besides, it must be noted that top managers and highly specialised technicians in these foreign factories are often brought in from abroad and no training or promotion is offered to locals. As with most foreign investments, there is the permanent risk of transference to a more profitable location without previous notice, causing thereby great damage to local people and the host developing countries. There is a negative effect of job reduction in the countries of origin of the transnational corporations. The advocates of globalisation offer as good publicity for the system the fact that the great brands of clothing, appliances and what not, are no longer produced in the country of origin, but are either produced or assembled elsewhere. This is a typical case of oversimplification which is deceptive since it conceals the ethical connotations of this new form of production.

The gap between production costs and those of the finished product are astonishing, but it is often justified by the high costs of advertising which constitute one of the highest items of expenditure in industry today. The fact that transnational corporations delegate responsibility to locals through different forms of franchising opens the gates to forms of exploitation of labour which are not very different from those of the early days of unbridled capitalism. These situations bear specially on women and children who suffer the abuses of the globalised urge to consumption.

One can suggest that there is a hidden agenda in this type of foreign investment, namely a policy to stop or, at least to slow down, the migration flows from these poor countries to the rich nations. Hence a close link develops between demography and economics. In rich countries birth rates have fallen dramatically, generating serious problems in various fields, such as, for example, the sharp decline in the force of production. The rise in living standards discourages the acceptance of menial and non-qualified work in general, the demand for which is rising with the growth of the service sector.

Negative population growth constitutes a serious threat to the social security system. Unless there is a reversal of this trend in a few years (recent studies speak of a five-year period) pension payments will have to be suspended because of a lack of funds for what is a rapidly ageing population.

Globalisation also has an impact on stratification. The general opinion is that globalisation has stimulated the growth of the middle class everywhere. However, statistics raise serious questions about this affirmation. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few (individuals and corporations) is a fact. The relationship of the income of one fifth of the population in rich countries and one fifth of the population in poor countries has risen from 30 to one in 1960 to 74 to one in 1997, according to the latest UN Report on Human Development. Today the total assets of one single person can amount to, and even be higher than, the GNP of some poor nations. In some Latin American countries, where the middle class was emerging, the impact of the globalised economic model, together with the imposition of policies to ensure structural adjustment and the opening up of markets, has widened the gap between rich and poor and has increased the proportion of the population that lives below the poverty line.

The positive results of the financial system seem to prove that the dominant economic system, driven by the search for quick and gratifying returns to investors, is the system that the whole world has to adopt. The field is open to future research on the correlation between the motivations of the system and the corruption which is permeating even the leading nations. We have before us globalised corruption and some phenomena such as the international market for drugs and armaments fulfil all the conditions for a perfect economic deal.

SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS OF GLOBALISATION

One of the most important themes in the context of this Symposium is of a cultural character. Indeed, the themes we have just treated briefly in a way are a part of the cultural realm. Since Taylor, culture has been described as socially patterned human thought and behaviour which is learned and shared. It is a way of life. Culture consists of symbols, ideas, and patterns of behaviour which are interrelated. The concept of culture also refers to the ways human beings solve problems connected with their environment, whether physical or social. Hence it is clear that economics and politics are part of culture and, indeed, a very important part.

Among the most meaningful elements we assimilate through the socialisation process is the way we perceive and interpret the world around us, the physical and the social world. We acquire and learn to use and to interpret the symbolic system and at the same time we use this system to interpret reality. We accept and appropriate the values that play an important role in our relation with the social environment.

In order to understand this view of culture, it is important to realise that, contrary to general belief, a great number of human wants are induced and learned, and are not instinctive.

It is not possible to approach the topic of culture within the context of globalisation without reference to ideology. Without entering into a controversial discussion, which has been underway for almost a century, we might say that by the term 'ideology' we understand a system of ideas which seeks to explain and to transform reality.

In order to understand the complex issue of culture two considerations can help. First, the most significant agents of socialisation were traditionally the family and the school, whereas now this function is being taken on by the media and the globalised communications industry. Second, there is a close relationship between this new industry and the capitalist market economy.

Markets today do not aim at the satisfaction of basic (biological) needs. They create, rather, new induced needs together with the mechanisms necessary to convince consumers that these needs are real and not artificially produced. Therefore, the consumer has no choice. Consumerism as such, which is thereby encouraged, is not a new phenomenon. The novelty is that it has become a consumerist world-view in which the media are of vital importance since they constitute the vehicles by which to sell ideas, values, and products in a way that renders the difference between them almost imperceptible. Some authors speak of the 'culture-ideology of consumerism' (Sklair, 1995). Others speak of a 'hyper culture' of consumerism, acknowledging, however, that perhaps one should not speak of culture but rather of some elements that are embedded in local cultures in different ways (Shreiter, 1997). These considerations are important if we want to grasp with objectivity the problem of the homogenisation of cultures which for some analysts is a dominant trend. Personally I think that we can speak of a real culture which is being consolidated, without ignoring, however, that it takes on particular characteristics according to its various socio-cultural contexts. In a part of this presentation I will use some of Sklair's valuable insights.

The former distinction between information, entertainment and sales promotion is disappearing today. According to Sklair, in this way the dominant ideology is instilled from an early age, thereby generating a 'political/cultural demand for the survival of capitalism.' Ideological and cultural globalisation becomes a condition of survival in many fields of social life.

The present situation requires a critical reading of the old Marian theories on the economic infrastructure as the factor that determines value systems, ethics, in one word, the global vision of reality. Today, we should probably speak of market relations that penetrate to the innermost part of each person, conditioning his or her behaviour in many ways. The new system, according to Sklair, must control the realms of ideas and not try to appropriate them: 'the capacity to commercialize and commodify all ideas and the material products in which they adhere, television images, advertisements, news prints, books, tapes, films and so on' (p. 95).

At the present time there is no alternative model of development. There is one single model which is not left to the free choice of national economies, but is, rather, imposed through a variety of mechanisms. 'Modernisation' was the word for almost a decade, meaning by that the assimilation on the part of underdeveloped nations of the economic, political and cultural systems characteristic of industrialised nations. This involves no problems with regard to politics and the economy. In fact, their acceptance brings about an improvement in systems of production and consumption and a transition to democratic forms of government. The difficulty arises when the value system is threatened by a foreign element. It is interesting to note, however, that predictions involving the idea that there would be a reaffirmation of local cultures as a response to the process of development in order to counteract the effects of global competition and the tendency of globalisation to manipulate people's lives have not been borne out by events.

The issue today is the acceptance and the assimilation of the value system proper of the culture-ideology of consumerism. Such acceptance is a necessary condition for the global system to function. Therefore a formidable and at the same time subtle mechanism has been developed in order to overcome any resistance. In fact, the very survival of the capitalist market economy is at stake and thus it is understandable that the question of ideology cannot be ignored. 'The cultural-ideological practices are the nuts and bolts and the glue that hold the [global] system together. Without them, parts of the system would drift into space.' (*ibid.*)

The globalisation of the media obeys the struggle for power and the control of the market which implies the assuring of consumption; and the machine recently created has demonstrated its efficiency. Those who criticise the system speak of a new form of imperialism. Even admitting that there is some objectivity in this affirmation, it cannot be presented as an absolute truth, as if we were in the hands of a form of total determinism which annihilates individual and collective freedom. Regardless of the very efficient pressure exerted by publicity at a subliminal level, the person still has, at least theoretically, the capacity to discern what to buy and what to consume. However, the space left to free choice is not very large, a fact which is accepted even by those who do not accept the theory of imperialism. In many instances the poor find the consumption of products offered by advertising the only reasonable economic option. They have no alternative. As one author claims, this situation is analogous to when the head of a household has to give his children the seeds which are intended for the next crop in order to save them from famine.

Many authors agree on the fact that today we can speak of cultural industries which produce cultural goods which in turn act to help transnational corporations to maintain their hegemony. In order to stimulate and guarantee the consumption of their products, the media are used to disseminate notions and models of development and lifestyles which serve the interests of the large corporations. In this way they contribute to the formation of a coherent cultural system which, in turn, will serve the interests of the global capitalist system (Mattelart, 1983).

Different authors – those in favour and those against cultural globalisation – seem to agree that through the so-called cultural industry the American way of life is transmitted. However, to some this is more a result, rather than the aim, of the system, something which would certainly confirm the theory of cultural imperialism. One of the most powerful vehicles to this end is the soap opera which has also been globalised. In actual fact, most of the production of soap operas which are broadcast throughout the world takes place outside the United States.

Advertising does not limit itself to promoting products. In order to obtain better results, lifestyles are also promoted. There is a kind of secret agenda with respect to social and political relations. In this way the globalisation of lifestyles is reinforced. Since most of the transnational corporations that dominate the advertising of products of consumption (mainly soft drinks, detergents and cosmetics) are American, it follows that the lifestyle promoted is the American way of life. This phenomenon can be explained

by the fact that publicity is a sort of 'super language' where it is what is associated with the products, rather than the products themselves, that is crucial, and this is something which takes place prior to the use of language. One good example studied by some social psychologists is the use of sex and especially the female body to stimulate the consumption of different types of products.

A good number of highly advertised products are associated with the lifestyle of the upper-middle class and thus the needs induced carry with them a secret agenda of social promotion. However, caution is called for so as to avoid being deceived by appearances that lead the observer to conclude that the culture-ideology of consumerism promotes the middle class. In developing countries, which offer few opportunities for recreation, a common entertainment for poor people is window shopping in the large luxurious malls in the cities. Even though these people cannot buy, the products they see exert a strong attraction and they often spend money which is necessary for subsistence on appliances such as television sets or expensive sound systems in the search for entertainment and for status among their peers. These products become real needs but their acquisition does not assimilate the buyers to the middle class as it might appear.

This fact confirms the hypothesis that the culture-ideology of consumerism stimulates the satisfaction of needs that go far beyond pure biological needs. This type of consumption to satisfy induced needs comes from external sources and in the process a cultural dependence develops which, as has already been mentioned, could be very deceiving for the observer. For instance, in many poor countries new hygienic habits are induced which are in contrast with real life and sometimes they are even curious: for example, having people brush their teeth three times a day when they can hardly eat one nutritionally poor meal a day. The culture-ideology of consumerism ignores these differences as well as the consequences it can produce for a population which does not have the means to respond to these stimuli.

A rather recent trend is the relationship between advertising and politics, even though totalitarian regimes had already used this mechanism with success. The difference today is the fact that this relationship is entirely at the service of the maintenance of the economic, hegemonic dominance. Research has demonstrated the impact of advertising on political behaviour. In political campaigning the image has become a decisive element in obtaining success. The candidate's image is created and sold and thus the person becomes an object of consumption like any other.

RELIGION

The last topic, which because of its importance should take the first place in this context, is religion. So far there has been an underlying element present practically in all areas of social life. Technology has had a spectacular development in recent times. It has become an essential part of daily life and of culture. Ortega y Gasset used to say that man begins where technology begins. In fact, it is through technology that man transforms nature into a human environment.

Sociologically, religion is one of the primary forms of the human experience and of culture. A scientific analysis of society cannot ignore it. Technology, culture and religion have in common a concern to improve the human condition. Perhaps we could say that religion and technology are not simply aspects of culture, but the very soil of it.

In a certain way, social relations are structured around technology. This is evident in simple societies which are dependent on fishing or hunting, for instance. As the social system and the social structure develop, a conflict often arises between the demands of technology and those of religion, together with the need to re-establish a necessary balance given the importance that both have for social life. Some religions have seen in technological progress a threat to their inherent values and traditions, and as a result, from the other side, religion is often seen as an obstacle to technological progress.

The Christian tradition has considered contemplation as the most noble of human activities and this is due in part to the Hellenistic influence. Yet, contrary to this trend is the monastic tradition which has searched for the equilibrium between contemplation and work. The reform of Cistercians is an interesting example which would be useful in our approach to progress at its present stage. Weber acknowledged that Calvinism was an attempt to apply monastic asceticism to the whole of society.

I think that it can be demonstrated that technological progress today is still strongly influenced by the Enlightenment with its promise of the impossible utopia of liberating the person from overwhelming work, from scarcity, and from sickness. People in some parts of the world are beginning to realise that the promise has failed and this could account to a certain extent for the reaction against technology, which is seen as a threat to work stability, to privacy, to the conservation of the environment, and even to democracy.

In the context of globalisation quite often a form of progress is proposed

that has no clear purpose, thereby generating disorientation when the expected efficiency is not reached, when technological rationality is not able to deal with the fears caused by modernisation in its globalised form, and when the ideals of inclusion and equality fail. According to some authors, religion plays an important anti-systemic role when it offers religious answers to problems created by the global system. In this sense, religion can offer that purpose whose need becomes evident. Religion offers coherence and a certain sense of order. It assumes an important role in the face of technological progress, being the only institution of society that has at its core a humanistic and humanitarian concern. However it must be noted that one of the trends within the process of globalisation is the privatisation of the religious experience. In this sense religion loses its capacity to play a significant role in the globalised scenario.

Some sociologists of religion observe a series of new religious attitudes in the face of globalisation, such as fundamentalism in different forms, or revanchism in the form of centralisation and control, which are seen as an attempt to regain lost territory: hierarchisation against the present networking tendency; ethnification as a search for identity, together with some types of primitivism which are an expression of the desire to return to a pre-modern period in the hope of finding a frame of reference that will offer meaning to the present confusion.

With almost prophetic vision, Peter Berger wrote in 1969 that religious monopolies fall in a pluralistic situation and that no religion can take for granted the adherence of its membership. Affiliation today is voluntary and, therefore, offers no guarantee. As a result, religious traditions which could be imposed in an authoritarian manner today have to be offered and sold to a clientele which is not obliged to buy. A pluralistic situation, therefore, is a market situation. A part of religious activity, in this situation, is ruled by the logic of the market.

Religious groups pass from a monopolistic situation to the need to compete in the market. Faced with a population that no longer feels constrained to accept religious services, religious groups have to compete with groups that offer similar services in order to attract their clientele. In a monopolistic situation results were not really important. In the new situations they become very relevant. There emerges the concern to adapt the structure to the rational needs of the mission. As in other institutional spheres of contemporary society, this leads to bureaucratisation.

According to Berger, religious institutions deal with other similar institutions externally according to typical bureaucratic models: public relations,

the lobbying of governments, fund raising with governments and other private agencies, and various compromises with the secular economy, mainly in the field of investments. The religious institution is forced in this way to seek good results with methods that are rather similar to those of bureaucratic structures which have similar problems.

Religious groups have to modernise in order to meet the expectations of their constituency. Present demands often constitute a challenge to the traditionalism which characterises religion. The possibility for change is open, but it must be justified theologically, especially with regard to the most traditional and loyal groups.

The greater the secularisation of the consumer, the greater the chance that his or her demands will go along the lines of change. Even to the point of demanding a product that may be compatible with the new secularised mentality. In this context, according to Berger, traditional Catholicism together with progressive Protestantism will be able to promote themselves as factors that help reinforce the moral fibre of the nation and offer psychological benefits.

This trend of privatisation poses a serious challenge to religion, which, indeed, has gradually lost meaning in the social sphere and is becoming an institution in society with equal rights and even in some cases with a lower position than others which are more highly valued. Thus, religion has to compete with other institutions in order to gain an area of influence. The public presents growing demands for services that respond to the needs of the private domain. The response of religion, according to Berger, will be to give priority to private problems in promoting religious institutions, giving the family and family issues a high priority. At the same time the influence of religion in other areas, such as politics and the economy, is losing ground even among the members of religious groups. Berger's analysis is particularly valid in the context of the USA where a clear dividing line exists between religion and politics. Religion continues to cater to the private needs of individuals.

Finally, Berger claims that this situation harmonises with the new emphasis given to the laity among social institutions. Perhaps it is a '*post factum*' situation, a sort of legitimation of recent developments which are part of the infrastructure of contemporary religious marketing.

Evidently we cannot accept Berger's analysis without reservations but it must be said that there are some very valid insights that can certainly help us analyse present trends within the Church in a globalised world.

CONCLUSION

In this presentation I have tried to highlight some trends in the process of globalisation that could be useful in our attempt to make an assessment of it based upon the contribution that sociology can make to a better understanding of society. Although rejecting a fatalistic vision, we have to accept the fact that the world is undergoing a strong process of globalisation which cannot and should not be arrested, and this is because it obeys, at least partially, the demands of the evolutionary nature of man and society.

From a Christian perspective, however, it is quite manifest that these processes are part of the original design of the Creator who has entrusted the world to men and women so that, using their intelligence and creativity, they may direct its progress towards more human models. Nonetheless, as with other aspects of reality, we find elements which are positive and in accordance with God's original plan and others which are in contrast with it and are the result of our sinfulness which reveals itself in our selfishness. In the face of globalisation it is not a question of blindly accepting it, nor of demonising it. It is the Church's mission to interpret the signs of the time as the '*kairos*' and in this sense we should strive to understand the complex phenomenon of globalisation in order to orient it along the lines of a service to humankind in accordance with the design of the Creator in an endless search for the realisation of man and woman in their fullness, for new heavens and a new earth. 'In this way men all over the world will awaken to a lively hope (the gift of the Holy Spirit) that they will one day be admitted to the haven of surpassing peace and happiness in their homeland radiant with the glory of the Lord' (*GS*, 93).

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GLOBALISATION AND LOCAL PARTICULARITIES:
GLOBALISATION PROCESSES
AND TRANSNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY
BETWEEN UNIVERSALITY AND PARTICULARISM

STEFANO ZAMAGNI

1. Our Western civilisation is caught up in a paradox. On the one hand, the diversity of cultural patterns and the variety of the different paths to economic growth appear to be an indispensable precondition for innovation to take place, and for the development process to continue without interruption. On the other hand, the prevalent current tendency connected with the extraordinary phenomenon of globalisation is to ignore them or to underestimate them. Above all to wipe them out by enforced standardisation or homogenisation. When this is not possible the tendency to generalise and subordinate prevails in order to define or to decide what is compatible with the rationale of the global market, and what must be ruthlessly eliminated.

The challenge, then, is to resolve this paradox by drawing up new rules for the economic game which do not wipe out or stifle different local identities, as expressed in the diversity of avenues of development, but which also avoid keeping them isolated and preventing them from evolving together. Culture is the expression of individualities that are intrinsically rich in universal significance and meanings. Economy-led globalisation processes, conversely, lead to generalisations that are rather meaningless for individuals and communities. They tend to become processes leading towards coercive standardisation which only serve the rationale of the global market and are indifferent to diversity.

It is essential to respect the inalienable peculiarity of both individuals and their cultural groupings. 'Globalisation' must therefore be radically distinguished from 'standardisation' or 'homogenisation'. It is certainly pos-

sible to profitably globalise means, but not ends. The ends must be left to the inventive creativity and the traditions of individuals and communities at all levels: the family, local, national and supranational governments and religious confessions.

2. What is the specific nature of globalisation in comparison with the older phenomenon of the internationalisation of economic activity, dating back at least to the advent of market-based societies (from the Renaissance onwards)? It is a fact that modern capitalism originally came into being under the protection of the nation-states, which were originally mercantilist and only subsequently free-traders. As the classical school of thought (Adam Smith and above all David Ricardo) had clearly understood, the free international movement of goods is accompanied by the inevitable 'natural disinclination' of domestic capitalists to employ their venture capital under 'foreign governments and new laws'. And the famous Ricardian theory of comparative advantages, in order to be valid, was based on the assumption of the geographical immobility of capital – it was good for services and commodities to circulate freely throughout the world, but labour and capital had to remain at home.

This is a position which was later to be pushed to extreme lengths at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when capitalism became nationalistic. The force of events, and the school of thought that those events reflected, was such that even the international economic order that came into being in 1944 at Bretton Woods was based on the centrality of the economic functions of nation-states. This was to find a specific and powerful element of support when, shortly afterwards, the Cold War between the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, begun.

3. What is novel about the present stage of development is the globalisation of capitalism, namely, the removal of the strength and rationale of capital from the social control of the national communities. Today, the economy has become global while politics has not. This has removed the stable linkage between the state, the territory, the population, and wealth, 'wealth without nations', in effect. The autonomy of territorial States is now reduced or jeopardised by two inter-linked constraints. The first is an internal constraint: the need imposed by democratic rule to avoid placing an excessive tax burden on the so-called middle classes in order to fund welfare systems inherited from the recent past. The second, which is an external constraint, finds its *raison d'être* in the increasing interdependency between different economies.

This constraint comprises three specific components: the fact that the nation-states can no longer avoid coming to terms with the expectations of the international capital markets; that the electoral concerns of governments are conditioned by the increasing demand for credibility from the world of international finance (even small differences in credibility indicators lead to intolerable differentials in interest rates); and that the internationalisation not only of capital but also of new information technologies means that high-profile jobs and posts of responsibility in the countries of the North are now in fierce competition with those in the emerging countries of the South. This is what underlies the whole notion of the global labour market, which is an absolute novelty of our own age: since the collapse of the Berlin wall, over a thousand million poorly-paid workers have joined the global labour market.

Ultimately the social control which globalisation is eroding cannot be recovered at the level of the nation-states without protectionist repression or neo-mercantilist measures which would provoke a catastrophic crisis. Yet some control is needed to stave off the most serious risks associated with the ongoing changeover from 'embedded' liberalism to 'disembedded' liberalism.

4. The question arises, then: what is the underlying philosophy guiding globalisation? After the collapse of the walls, one current of thought is that the market, freed as far as possible from all constraints, was the key and the solution to all the problems of humanity. According to this position, today's sacrifices will be amply repaid in the society towards which we are now irreversibly heading, a view which assumes that unemployment, war, social exclusion are merely chance events along the path. This 'liberationist' view cloaks the scenarios and the power relations that have been created since the end of bipolarism. Perhaps one of the most evident signs of this view is the change in the meaning of politics, which is now seen as a function of economic competition rather than the authority that sets the rules of economic competition.

At the opposite pole are those who entertain a catastrophic view of globalisation, which in reality is seen as concealing a typically neo-colonialist attempt to stop, or at least slow down, the ongoing process of expanding areas of prosperity world-wide. It is certainly no coincidence that concern is being most vocally expressed about globalisation in the countries of the North, and not the countries that only took off a short time ago or are still waiting to take off. We find it difficult to realise this only because we have

gone on for far too long, taking it for granted that the peoples of the South were destined to remain stuck with a pre-established level of development and had to remain content with depending on the charity of the peoples of the North.

What is now urgently needed is to bring these two extreme positions closer together, seeking what are certainly possible solutions to the problem of how to redesign the (political) mechanism of governing the market, so that everybody, at whatever level of development, can play a part in the market game according to their respective peculiarities. Competition within an individualistic paradigm is destructive, while solidarity within a purely communitarian paradigm can create forms of degenerating assistentialism. These two ideas – competition and co-operation – are becoming increasingly more complementary in the development processes, and it is essential to find ways of combining them originally and effectively.

If this is not done, the absence of a new order might encourage a ‘clash of civilisations’, albeit in hitherto unprecedented forms, in the sense given to this expression by Huntington. There is no doubt that a threat is posed as a result of the conflict between centripetal globalisation processes and centrifugal isolation processes, between integration and fragmentation, and that this threatens to undermine the common destiny of humanity as a whole. It is not enough simply to demonise forms of fundamentalism without seeking out the reasons that generate them, and without trying to see the dark side of our Western universalism.

5. In itself globalisation is compatible with different political decisions and choices in relation to alternative sets of values. It is certainly true that profit is essential to the survival of corporate systems; however, there is no objective reason why maximising yields on invested capital should of itself be allowed to dictate management decisions which disregard all the demands of civil society. The very fact that different models of capitalism exist, that corporate activities are regulated in different ways (anti-trust legislation and labour laws, for example), that there are different welfare state models, and so on, is ample proof that setting the priorities to be pursued is essentially a political task which falls to civil society. For example, post-war Western capitalism (including America) has accepted the principle of corporate citizenship or stake-holder capitalism, according to which everyone working in a corporation, in addition to public and private persons within the local context, may rightly make their demands on the same footing as shareholders. Once again, new technologies do not define the timing, the

manner or the use of change, as was formerly the case in the age of Fordism. This is a responsibility that stems from the personal decisions of citizens and the political choices of governments. And so on.

In the light of all this, the arguments of those who consider, in the name of a 'single school of thought', that globalisation and its accompanying phenomenon of hyper-competition can resurrect the myth (which has never really died) of unfettered capitalism, are quite incomprehensible. To expect the invisible hand working at the level of the global market to benefit everyone eventually is, at present, only a dogma, because we have no theory available which is capable of showing us how market forces alone can lead towards some final equilibrium. In short, the market is not a total standardisation institution. The fact that goods and services are globalised does not mean that people are globalised, or that values and expectations should be standardised. We must therefore realise that individuals and communities, in every part of the world, can accept what globalisation offers, on one condition: that personal identity and the identity of the community to which individuals belong are safeguarded. To imagine that such identities are pure objects of exchange, which can be bartered with the benefits of globalisation, is a source of tragic and irreparable errors.

6. History has shown us that a new international order always becomes established at the end of a war of hegemony. There are the examples of the Thirty Years War, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Second World War. All these are events which, after destroying the old order, left behind *tabulae rasae* on which the victorious powers were able to inscribe the rules of the new order. No such situation exists today. Firstly, there is no agreement on who actually won the Cold War (assuming that there was a winner). Secondly, there is no agreement on whether we are living in a unipolar or multipolar world, or on which countries should be counted among the great powers today. (Should military might or economic muscle be used as the yardstick for qualifying as a great power?).

Another major feature of this age is the number of parties that are seeking to play a major part in the process of building the foundations of a new international order. One might say that international affairs have become a 'participatory democracy' issue, which helps to explain why it is becoming increasingly difficult to reach agreement rapidly. Bretton Woods and the Uruguay Round are a case in point. Bretton Woods was completed in a few months by only two men (J.M. Keynes and H.D. White), while the Uruguay Round took ten years of bitter negotiations between a

dozen major parties plus about 100 international governments in the background.

A third feature which is unambiguously typical of the present phase is the radical change that has occurred in the international distribution of economic and military power. For over three centuries the international system had been dominated by the Western powers, with the centre of gravity in the North Atlantic. Even the Cold War was a struggle between two 'visions' belonging to the same European civilisation. Today economic power has shifted towards the Pacific and East Asia, areas that are now becoming the centre of gravity of world history, for better or for worse. This means that the emerging Asian powers will increasingly demand a part in designing the international institutions. But these (take the United Nations Security Council, the World Bank, the IMF etc.) are dominated by the ideas and the interests of the Western powers who are doing nothing to redress a situation that has now become untenable. As always occurs in international relations, where power and authority coincide, the emerging powers, dissatisfied with the *status quo*, are doing everything they can to change the situation.

So what is to be done? There are a variety of different ways of reacting to the challenges thrown down by globalisation. There is the way that we might call '*laissez-faire* fundamentalism', along the lines of the recent stance taken up by the American political scientist Ohmae. He advocates a plan for technological transformation driven by self-regulated systems, with the abdication of politics and above all with the loss of scope for collective action. It is not difficult to see the risks of authoritarianism, resulting from the democratic deficit, that are inherent in such an approach. A second way is the neo-statist approach, which postulates a strong demand for regulation at the level of national government. The idea here is to revive, albeit partially renewed and rationalised, the areas of public intervention both in the economy and in social spheres. But it is clear that this would not only produce undesirable effects but could even lead to disastrous consequences in the case of transition countries. For the implementation of new free-market policies would, under current conditions, damage the already low levels of prosperity in the developing countries. Lastly, there is the transnational civil society strategy, which has to be built up with patience and determination, but which in my judgement is a feasible and promising path. The basic idea is to tackle globalisation seriously both at the intellectual level and in terms of social action, entrusting its design to the 'intermediate bodies' of civil society and relying on social consensus rather than automatic market and bureaucratic mechanisms.

7. What are the distinctive features of the transnational civil society strategy as I propose to call it? I identify five of them.

a) Since the economic calculus is compatible with a diversity of rules and institutional arrangements, it is necessary to defend the less powerful varieties, which can be set aside and used in the future. This means that the selection filter must certainly be present, but it should not be too thin, precisely in order to make it possible for any solution that exceeds a certain efficiency threshold to survive. The global market should become a place in which local varieties can be cross-fertilised, which means having to reject the determinist view, according to which there is only one way of operating on the global market.

It should not be forgotten that globalisation inevitably levels down all the institutional varieties that exist in every country. There is nothing surprising about this, because the rules of free trade are unhappy with cultural variety and view institutional differences (for example: different welfare models, education systems, views of the family, the importance to be given to distributive justice, and so on) as a serious obstacle to their propagation. This is why it is essential to remain vigilant in order to ensure that the global market does not eventually constitute a serious threat to the principles of economic democracy.

b) The application of the principle of subsidiarity at the transnational level. This requires the various organisations of civil society to be recognised and not authorised by the state. These organisations should perform more than a mere advocacy and denunciation function; they should play a fully-fledged role in monitoring the activities of the transnational corporations and the international institutions. What does this mean in practice? The organisations of civil society ought to play public roles and perform public functions. In particular, these organisations should bring pressure on the governments of the G7 countries to get them to subscribe to an agreement which is capable of drastically curbing the benefits accruing to a sudden withdrawal of capital from the developing countries. For example, one might think of forms of taxing the interest paid on bank deposits held in banks in the advanced countries. Everyone knows that many bank accounts in the developed countries belong to wealthy citizens from the developing countries who pay no taxes to anyone. If they were obliged to pay, for the sake of argument, a 15% tax on their bank interest income, they might perhaps have an incentive to declare their incomes in their own countries.

c) The nation-states, particularly those belonging to the G7, must reach an agreement to modify the constitutions and statutes of the international financial organisations, thereby superseding the Washington consensus created during the eighties following the Latin American experience. What this basically entails is writing rules that translate the idea that efficiency is not only created by private ownership and free trade, but also by policies referring to competition, transparency, technology transfer facility policies, and so on. Over-borrowing and domestic financial repression are the unfortunate consequences of the application by the IMF and the World Bank of this partial, distorted and one-sided view of things. It should be recalled that in a financially repressed economy inflationary pressure drives a wedge between domestic deposits and loan interest rates, with the result that national corporations are artificially induced to borrow abroad, while domestic savers are encouraged to deposit their funds abroad.

d) The Bretton Woods institutions, the UNDP and the other international agencies should be encouraged by the organisations of civil society to include among their human development parameters wealth distribution indicators as well as indicators that quantify compliance with local specificities, along the lines suggested by P. Dasgupta. These indicators must be taken into consideration, and given adequate weight, both when drawing up international league tables and when drafting intervention and assistance plans. Pressure should be brought to bear in order to gain acceptance for the idea that development must be equitable, democratic and sustainable.

Considering the situation of the international indebtedness of the poor countries, we know that one of the root causes of this dramatic situation is moral hazard. Western banks and individual financiers throughout the eighties went out of their way to lend vast amounts of money to the governments of the developing countries because they knew that if they failed to repay their loans, the governments of the Western countries or the International Monetary Fund would come to their aid.

e) Lastly, a rich fabric of non-utilitarian experiences should be created on which to base consumption models and, in more general terms, lifestyles that are capable of enabling a culture of reciprocity to take root. In order to be believed, values have to be practised and not only voiced. This makes it fundamentally important that those who agree to take the path towards a transnational civil society strategy must undertake to create organisations whose *modus operandi* hinges around the principle of reciprocity.

It is a fact that reducing human experience to the 'accounting' dimension of economic rationality is not only an act of intellectual arrogance, but first and foremost it is a mark of crass methodological naivety. The real issue is to broaden a sustainable definition of rationality to include knowledge of the social sense of behaviour, which cannot ignore its own specific spatial, temporal and cultural context. The underlying reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs, in my view, is that economic theories have focused on a description of human behaviour centred almost entirely around acquisition-related ends. From an economic point of view, human behaviour is important to the extent that it enables individuals to obtain 'things' (goods or services) which they do not yet have, and which can substantially increase their prosperity. The rational man is therefore the man who knows how to 'procure what he needs'. Whether or not the notion of rationality can also include an existential meaning, and whether this can enter into a more or less radical conflict (or even merely interact to a significant degree) with the acquisition-related dimension of behaviour seems therefore to be a difficult question which must be sensibly translated into economic terms, or even simply into appropriate economic terminology.

8. No one wishes to hide the difficulties or the dangers lurking in the practical implementation of what I have called the 'transnational civil society' strategy. As in all human endeavours, it would be naive to imagine that processes do not create conflict, and even serious conflict. The differences and the interests at stake are enormous. It is no accident that there is a kind of widespread anguish about the future running throughout society today. Some people are exploiting this anguish – and use it to fuel the crisis culture – as a political tool, deriving from it, depending upon the circumstances, either market-based Machiavellianism or party-based Machiavellianism. And it is precisely against this neo-Machiavellian culture that those who believe in the values of liberal personalism have to battle today. And this can be done successfully, if they manage to shake off a preconceived idea that they live in an age which is 'unfortunate' as far as action is concerned. In other words, an age in which they do not have enough room for a new kind of planning. This is a widespread preconceived idea in some circles, and the apocalyptic tones that are used are often tinged with a sort of nihilism. While everyone else continues to cultivate their own individual projects, these people continue to stress the rhetoric of disaster and catastrophe at all costs.

Giving without losing, and taking without removing, might seem to

square the circle, but in a way which comes into conflict with economic reasoning. But the idea that there exists an irreconcilable conflict between affirming the common good and protecting individual interests, between solidarity and subsidiarity, between national interests and global interests, or that it is possible to create a society of human beings while ignoring the culture of reciprocity, is a naive and anachronistic idea that stems from one type of cultural heritage. By looking for ways to overcome these false and damaging dichotomies a new hope for possible change can be generated: a change which, I believe, lies within our reach. Provided we are ready to accept, as a guiding principle, what Boyer has recently called the 'scholarship of engagement': moral commitment and cognitive interest should remain intertwined and reciprocally combined.

GLOBALIZATION IN THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHURCH

DIARMUID MARTIN

1. INTRODUCTION

It is rather unhelpful to turn to the index in the traditional textbooks and compendia of the social teaching of the Church to find references to the theme of globalization. They are simply not there. There are, of course, references within the social teaching from the 1960s onward to “the internationalising of economic relations”. Pope John XXIII, for example, in *Pacem in Terris* notes: “There is also a growing economic interdependence among States. National economies are gradually becoming so interdependent that a kind of world economy is being born from the simultaneous integration of the economies of individual States” (n. 130).

The lack of reference to globalization in the past is certainly being made up for today. There are numerous references to the theme in Papal addresses, but never a detailed discussion. The theme has been taken up by many Bishops’ Conferences, especially by those of developing countries concerned by the negative effects of globalization. The Bishops of the developed countries also note the ambivalence of globalization in its current manifestations.

What might be useful in our reflection would be to take up some of the traditional principles of the social teaching of the Church and to examine how they are being applied to the current manifestations of the reality of globalization. It is not that the social teaching is somehow trying to superficially adapt itself to this new phenomenon, to put new wine into old wine-skins. Rather, I hope, it will be seen that certain fundamental principles of the Church’s social teaching are highly relevant to the phenomenon of globalization and give us some basic criteria for its long-term ethical evaluation. I will deal primarily with major Papal texts.

2. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: A GLOBAL ACTOR WITH GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Catholic Church is, in fact, in a unique position to address the issue of globalization. The Church is quite clearly a natural global actor and has thus has specific global responsibilities. The Catholic Church is a world-Church. It as exists in almost every section of the world, even if in different numerical proportions and even if it impacts in different ways on local political and economic culture. Pope John XXII noted: “The Church by divine right pertains to all nations. This is confirmed by the fact that she is everywhere on earth and strives to embrace all peoples” (*Mater et Magistra*, 178).

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Church’s interest in and responsibility for globalization springs in the first place from the simple statistical fact that the Catholic Church is a world-Church, from the fact of the territorial extension of the Church throughout the world.

The principle reason for which the Catholic Church is a natural actor on the global scene arises from the very nature and mission of the Church itself. The Constitution of the Church of Vatican II stresses in its very first paragraph that the “Church, in Christ, is in the nature of a sacrament: a sign and instrument, that is, of communion with God and of unity among all men” (*Lumen Gentium*, 1). The primary contribution of the Church to the debates on globalization is linked, therefore, with the mission of the Church to preach and witness to the fundamental unity of the human family in Christ. The primary criterion for judging the results of globalization is how far it contributes to fostering true unity among all persons.

3. HUMANITY AS A SINGLE FAMILY

In his World Day of Peace Message for the beginning of this year, Pope John Paul repeatedly stressed this fundamental, yet very simple principle which must guide all our reflection on globalization, namely, that “*humanity, however much marred by sin, hatred and violence, is called by God to be a single family*” (n. 2). The Pope was primarily addressing the theme of peace. “There will be peace only to the extent that humanity as a whole rediscovers its fundamental calling to be one family, a family in which the dignity and rights of individuals - whatever their status, race or religion - are accepted as prior and superior to any kind of difference or distinction” (n. 5). But the Pope goes on immediately to note that: “this recognition can

give the world as it is today – marked by the process of globalization – a soul, a meaning and a direction. Globalization, for all its risks, also offers exceptional and promising opportunities, precisely with a view to enabling humanity to become a single family, built on the values of justice, equity and solidarity” (*ibid.*).

This fundamental unity of humankind is theological in character. This theological view defines the world-view of believers, even when they approach the technical questions of globalization. Pope John Paul notes:

[An] awareness of the common fatherhood of God, of the brotherhood of all in Christ – children of God – and of the presence and life-giving action of the Holy Spirit will bring our vision of the world a new criterion for interpreting it. Beyond human and natural bonds, already so close and strong, there is discerned in the light of faith a new model of the unity of the human race, which must ultimately inspire our solidarity (*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, n. 40).

4. GLOBALIZATION IN SOLIDARITY

The social teaching of the Church has tended to address the question of globalization and its effects on the unity of the human family within the context of its reflections on development. It is concerned especially about inequalities and the exclusion of individuals and peoples from economic and social progress. Pope John Paul II addresses, for example, the question of monopolies and unfair competition, not in terms of market functioning, but in terms of the inclusion of the poorest: “It is necessary to break down the barriers and monopolies which leave so many countries on the margins of development and to provide all individuals and nations with the basic conditions which will enable them to share in development” (*Centesimus Annus*, n. 35).

For Pope John Paul II, for example, the challenge for catholic social teaching, “is to ensure a globalization in solidarity, a globalization without marginalization” (Message for World Day of Peace 1998, n. 3). The stress of the social teaching is, one might say, on how to tame, domesticate, manage or govern the processes of globalization, in order that they may effectively create a more inclusive and more equitable development process.

5. THE SOCIAL QUESTIONS IS WORLD-WIDE

Pope Paul VI in his Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* stressed that in the contemporary world the social question by its very nature had become world-wide. The answers must be found in a new vision of integral development, which “fosters each man and the whole man” (n. 14), that is, every dimension of the person’s life and persons as found anywhere in the world. “The social question ties all men together” (*PP*, n. 3).

Even earlier, the Vatican Council had drawn attention to the fact that the function of economic activity is intrinsically linked to basic human interests of a universal nature. *Gaudium et Spes* n. 64 notes (in terminology which predates inclusive language):

today more than ever before, attention is rightly given to the increase of the production of agricultural and industrial goods and of the rendering of services, for the purpose of making provision for the growth of population and of satisfying the increasing desires of the human race....The fundamental finality of this production is not the mere increase of products nor profit or control but rather the service of man, and indeed of the whole man with regard to the full range of his material needs and the demands of his intellectual, moral and spiritual and religious life; this applies to every man whatsoever and to every group of men, of every race and of every part of the world. Consequently, economic activity is to be carried on according to its own methods and laws within the limits of the moral order, so that God’s plan for mankind be realised.

Pope Paul VI stresses that economic activity must be situated within a wider context of authentic and integral human development, especially if it is to be effective in this new world-wide context. He notes that “the development we speak of here cannot be restricted to economic growth alone” (*PP*, n. 14) and indicates some elements of the political context which must be considered: “If authentic economic order is to be established on a world-wide basis, an end will have to be put to profiteering, to national ambitions, to the appetite for political supremacy, to militaristic calculations and to machinations for the sake of spreading and imposing ideologies” (*PP*, n. 18).

This broader context within which economic globalization must be examined is taken up with specific references to modern globalization in, for example, *Ecclesia in America* n. 20, published after the Special Session of the Synod of Bishops for America, North and South. The Pope notes that:

the ethical implications of globalization can be positive or negative. There is an economic globalization which brings some positive consequences, such as efficiency and increased production and which, with the development of economic links between different countries, can help to bring greater unity among peoples and make possible a better service to the human family. However if globalization is ruled merely by the laws of the market applied to suit the powerful, the consequences cannot but be negative.

And the Pope goes on to indicate some of these possible negative consequences:

absolutizing the economy, unemployment, the reduction and deterioration of public services, the destruction of the environment and natural resources, the growing distance between rich and poor, unfair competition which puts the poor nations in a situation of ever increasing inferiority.

5. "ABSOLUTIZING THE ECONOMY"

The concept of "absolutizing the economy" is particularly significant for our reflections on the social implications of globalization. Social progress cannot be achieved without sustained economic growth. Today, however, it is more and more evident also that sustained economic growth on its own will not necessarily achieve social progress, that is growth with equity and inclusion. In fact, any "new global economic and financial architecture" requires a "new development architecture" and a "new political architecture". Trade and financial liberalisation can only take place within a global democratic political framework which safeguards non-economic elements of the global common good. Equal rules in an unequal environment do not necessarily achieve equity. The social goals of the international community cannot be determined only by the technical economics decisions of international financial institutions or by decisions heavily influenced by the domestic interests of a group of the stronger economies.

Pope John Paul had addressed the concept of "absolutizing the economy" in various ways in his Encyclical *Centesimus Annus*:

If economic life is absolutized, if the production and consumption of goods become the centre of social life and society's only value, the reason is to be found not so much in the economic system itself as in the fact that the entire socio-cultural system, by ignoring the ethical and

religious dimension has been weakened and ends up limiting itself to the production of goods and services alone...Economic freedom is only one element of human freedom. When it becomes autonomous, when man is seen more as a producer or consumer of goods than as a subject, who produces and consumes in order to live, then economic freedom loses its necessary relationship to the human person and ends up by alienating and oppressing him (CA, n. 39).

It is not difficult to recognise a link between these affirmations and, for example, the sense of unease which many citizens feel in the face of the way in which the structures to manage international trade and economic regulations are currently emerging. We have to translate into "global terms" what the Pope affirms in the context of national economic situations: absolutizing the economy leads to a situation in which "people lose sight of the fact that life in society has neither the market nor the State as its final purpose, since life itself has a unique value that the State and the market must serve (CA, n. 49).

6. THE MARKET

The comments on "absolutizing the economy" are closely linked with the manner in which *Centesimus Annus* deals with the role of the market on the international level. The Pope notes that:

It would appear that, on the level of individual nations and of international relations, the free market is the most efficient instrument for utilising resources and effectively responding to needs. But this is true only for those needs which are "solvent", insofar as they are endowed with purchasing power, and for those which are marketable, insofar as they are capable of obtaining a satisfactory price. But there are many human needs which find no place on the market. It is a strict duty of justice and truth not to allow fundamental human needs to remain unsatisfied and not to allow those burdened by such needs to perish. It is also necessary to help these needy people to acquire expertise, to enter the cycle of exchange and to develop their skills in order to make the best use of their capacities and resources. Even prior to the logic of a fair exchange of goods and the forms of justice appropriate to it, there exists something which is due to man because he is man, by reason of his lofty dignity (CA, n. 34).

The same themes are taken up again in n. 40, where it is stressed that:

there are collective and qualitative needs which cannot be satisfied by market mechanisms. There are important goods which escape its logic. There are goods which by their very nature cannot and must not be bought or sold". While recognising once again the advantages which market mechanisms can achieve, the Pope warns against ignoring "the existence of goods which by their nature are not and cannot be mere commodities.

7. THE CENTRALITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON

The social teaching of the Church has always stressed the centrality of the human person to the economic process. In *Centesimus Annus* (n. 32) the Pope notes the significance of this for today's context: "whereas at one time the decisive factor of production was land, and later capital – understood as a total complex of the instruments of production – today the decisive factor is man himself, that is his knowledge, especially his scientific knowledge, his capacity for interrelated and compact organisation, as well as his ability to perceive the needs of others and to satisfy them".

Analysing the various situations of exclusion which dramatically affect the poorest countries of the world, the Pope stresses the importance of "human resources" in an integrated world economy:

Even in recent years it was thought that the poorest countries would develop by isolating themselves from the world market and by depending only on their own resources. Recent experience has shown that countries which did this have suffered stagnation and recession, while the countries which experienced development were those which succeeded in taking part in general interrelated economic activities on international level. It seems therefore that the chief problem is that of gaining fair access to the international market, based not on the unilateral principle of the exploitation of the natural resources of those countries, but on the proper use of human resources (n. 33).

The Pope then draws some conclusions on the importance of acquiring skills and professional competence and of continual training. He draws attention to those who are most excluded and especially to the situation of women.

8. THE UNIVERSAL COMMON GOOD

For the social teaching of the Church, the task of promoting the dignity, rights and capabilities of each individual human person, is intrinsically linked with the question of an overall, universal or global common good.

According to *Pacem in Terris*, in fact, “like the common good of individual states, so too the universal common good cannot be determined except by having regard for the human person” (n. 139).

The same concept is taken up in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* n. 1911 in which it is noted that:

Human interdependence is increasing and gradually spreading throughout the world. The unity of the human family, embracing people who enjoy equal natural dignity, implies a universal common good. The good calls for an organisation of the community of nations able to provide for the different needs of men.

There are numerous indications in the social teaching concerning which might be the principal elements of such a universal common good. The protection of the environment is one obvious case, as was dealt with extensively in the World Day of Peace Message of 1990 entitled “Peace with God the Creator, Peace with all of Creation”.

Another element of the global common good is represented by the principle of the universality and indivisibility of human rights. Addressing the question of the violation of human rights which arises from situations of extreme poverty and widespread exclusion, Pope John Paul has stressed that “the restructuring of the economy on a world scale must be based on the dignity and rights of the person, especially on the right to work and the worker’s protection” (Address to World Congress on the Pastoral Promotion of Human Rights, July 1998). The Pope stresses, in this context, the importance today of the social and economic rights and recalls that “it is important to reject every attempt to deny these rights a true juridical status. It should further be repeated that to achieve their total and effective implementation, the common responsibility of all the parties – public authorities, business and civil society – must be involved” (*ibid.*).

Much of the reflection of the social teaching on the universal common good and its realisation was traditionally couched in terms of international co-operation among States. Reading some documents of the social teaching of past decades, one would get the impression that it was States which were the main actors in international economic activity. Today there is a growing awareness of the fact that it is the private sector and not States which are

the primary protagonists of economic life. The social teaching, in addressing the question of globalization will in the future have to address this change, examining in greater detail the contribution, the limits and the responsibilities, also in the social sphere, of the private sector.

9. THE UNIVERSAL DESTINATION OF CREATED GOODS

Within the concept of the “common good” we must also address another specific principle of Catholic social teaching, namely “the universal destination of the goods of creation. Vatican II (*GS*, 69) states that “God intended the earth with everything contained in it for the use of all human beings and peoples. Thus under the guidance of justice together with charity, created goods should be in abundance for all in an equitable manner. Whatever the forms of property may be, as adapted to the legitimate institutions of peoples, according to diverse and changeable circumstances, attention must always be paid to thus universal goal of earthly goods”.

For the social teaching of the Church, it follows that “private property, in fact, is under a ‘social mortgage’, which means that it has an intrinsically social function, based upon and justified precisely by the principle of the universal destination of goods” (*SRS*, n. 42). The meaning if this social mortgage has been applied recently by the Pope interestingly also to “‘intellectual property’ and to ‘knowledge’”, both particularly significant elements within the current processes of globalization. The integration of the poorer nations into the benefits of the globalized economy greatly depends on their ability to have equitable access to knowledge. The Pope is also stressing the fact that private rights in the realm of “intellectual property” are limited by the overall social concerns. He notes that “the law of profit alone cannot be applied to that which is essential for the fight against hunger, disease and poverty” (Speech to the “Jubilee 2000 Debt Campaign”, 23 September 1999). This has particular application to the structuring of scientific research in areas of great social concern such as health, where currently dramatic inequalities exist between North and South, and where the limits of simple market globalization are particularly evident.

10. THE STRUCTURES REQUIRED TO GUARANTEE THE GLOBAL COMMON GOOD

From the time of *Pacem in Terris* onwards, the Popes have noted that the

existing structures for guaranteeing the universal common good are inadequate. *Pacem in Terris* addressed an entire section to the theme which is often referred to in later teaching, but rarely developed further.

Pope John noted “we are thus driven to the conclusion that the shape and structure of political life in the modern world, and the influence exercised by public authority in all nations of the world are unequal to the huge task of promoting the common good of all peoples” (*PT*, n.135) “The universal common good presents us with problems which are world-wide in their dimensions” and “problems which cannot be solved except by a public authority with power, organisation and means co-extensive with these problems, and with a world-wide sphere of activity” (*PT*, n. 137).

Pope John Paul II, in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* n. 43, rather than advocating new institutions, addresses the question in a more ‘reformist’ manner. He speaks of the reform of the international institutions, but in very general terms. He mentions the need “to reform the international trade system which is mortgaged to protectionism and increasing bilateralism” He mentions “a kind of international division of labour, whereby the low cost products of certain countries which lack effective labour laws or are too weak to apply them are sold in other parts of the world at considerable profit for the companies engaged in this form of production”. He mentions the need to reform the world monetary and financial system “marked by an excessive fluctuation of exchange rates and interest rates, to the detriment of the balance of payments and the debt situation of the poorer countries”.

The same question is addressed, some years later, but still in a general way, by *Centesimus Annus* n. 58 where the Pope notes that:

there is a growing feeling, however, that the increasing internationalisation of the economy ought to be accompanied by effective international agencies which will oversee and direct the economy to the common good, something which the individual State, even if it were the most powerful on earth, would not be in a position to do. In order to achieve this result, it is necessary that there be increased co-ordination among the more powerful countries, and that in international agencies the interests of the whole human family be equally represented.

And more specifically the Pope notes that:

it is also necessary that in evaluating the consequences of their decisions, these agencies give sufficient consideration to peoples and countries with little weight in the international market, but which are burdened by the most acute and desperate needs, and are thus more dependent on support for their development.

As if recognising the very tentative nature of these comments, the Pope adds by way of conclusion: "Much remains to be done in this area".

11. A NEW CULTURE OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In his World Day of Peace Message for this year (n. 17), the Pope speaks of an

urgent need to reconsider the models which inspire development policies. In this regard, the legitimate requirements of economic efficiency must be better aligned with the requirement of political participation and social justice, without falling back into the ideological mistakes made during the twentieth century. In practice, this means making solidarity an integral part of the network of economic, political and social interdependence which the current process of globalization is tending to consolidate.

The Pope then calls for:

rethinking international co-operation in terms of a new culture of solidarity...Co-operation cannot be reduced to aid or assistance...It must express concrete and tangible commitment to solidarity which makes the poor agents of their own development and enables the greatest number of people, in their specific economic and political circumstances, to exercise the creativity which is characteristic of the human person and on which the wealth of nations too is dependent.

While advocating here a more people centred, enabling model of development, the Pope does not abandon his appeals for renewed financial resources for Official development assistance to address certain overall global needs, which the poorer countries on their own will not be able to address: the fight against hunger, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy and the destruction of the environment.

12. CONCLUSION

These short reflections have attempted to examine some aspects of the social teaching of the recent Popes which have specific relevance to the question of globalization.

There are some areas which I have not treated, even though they are briefly mentioned in certain Papal discourses. These include, for example,

such questions as *human mobility* alongside the mobility of goods and services, the *cultural consequences* of current globalization models, which seem, despite many references to neutral rules, to be dominated by the economic interests of the North and the entire question of *financial markets*.

It is also evident that the sustainable global requires the robust local and that the *principle of subsidiarity* will remain ever more valid in a global economy.

The complexity of many of the questions involved in current discussions on globalization makes the task of the social teaching very difficult. Just think of the enormous volume of technical documents, for example, of the World Trade Organisation. But the issues, as the experience of Seattle shows, touch an anxiety present in society. In many cases, private economic interests dominate the very definition of national interest. All too often, those who espouse a wider and more liberal globalization, do so only to the extent that their interests are fostered. The ethical challenge has only begun along the path to “globalization in solidarity, globalization without marginalization”.