

Asia-Europe Joint Consultation on Challenging Globalisation:
Solidarity and Search for Alternatives
October 7-10, 1998, Hong Kong

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Editorial Team: Jeannie Nacpil-Manipon and Cecibel Perez

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DECLARATION OF SOLIDARITY

Final Statement of the Asia-Europe Joint Consultation on Challenging Globalisation: Solidarity and Search for Alternatives October 7-10, 1998, Hong Kong

This Asia-Europe Joint Consultation on "Challenging Globalisation: Solidarity and Search for Alternatives" takes place even as the 'Asian financial crisis' continues to deepen and spread across continents. The conference sees this Asian and world economic crisis in the context of globalisation, as rooted in the structures, policies and politics that have been shaping the global economic order in the last three decades under the heading of neoliberalism. Globalisation as a historic process is not new. It has been going on since the inception of the modern world market system. However, it has acquired new features with the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in the early seventies and with the consequent emergence of finance capital as the primary moving force in the world market. The policy pursued by the OECD countries after the breakdown of the old financial order helped create new financial markets in the so-called 'emerging markets' in the South and Eastern Europe. At the same time, the new rules of the global market formulated primarily by the World Bank, IMF, and more recently, the WTO, and inspired by neoliberal economics have rendered the national policies of some countries and regions irrelevant, exposing the most vulnerable sectors of society to the mercy of the market while favouring only a few. In some cases, whole countries have been marginalised and their development status thrown back by as much as 20 years.

The issue of the loss of national sovereignty to the transnational companies today is much more complex since the transnational companies have not only grown in power but have also managed to manipulate the policies of nation-states in order to pursue their narrow corporate interests. Some states have made efforts in varying degrees against the undesirable effects of globalisation. The adverse social and economic impacts of globalisation push people's movements, both in the North and the South, to resist and struggle for positive social, political and economic changes over a broad range of and issues in the different regions. Globalisation is not a unilinear, monolithic process but a multifaceted and highly contradictory one.

Globalisation in general and neoliberal globalisation in particular have had a very deep impact on the fabric of social relations. Globalisation affects labour markets and labour relations, migration, the use and control of resources, human rights, democracy, cultures and traditions and gender relations; and has a tendency to increase ethnic and racial conflicts in ways which have sometimes led to civil wars. Despite the adverse impacts of globalisation, however, peoples of both the North and the South have managed to create space for struggle over the social, economic, political and cultural issues impinging on their lives. People's organisations and NGOs should contribute to widening these spaces for struggle and resistance, and for seeking new alternatives.

On October 7-10, more than 60 representatives of NGOs, advocates and groups from Asia and Europe met in Hong Kong to jointly discuss the phenomenon of globalisation. Our objectives were to deepen our understanding of globalisation and its impact on people, discuss ways of challenging and resisting globalisation, explore alternatives, and forge stronger partnerships.

The conference deliberated on the following issues:

LABOUR

The conference noted the following trends in the labour market: fragmentation of work and the workforce at the national and international levels; widespread informalisation; intensification of labour migration; feminisation of labour; and massive retrenchments and layoffs aggravating the crisis of employment associated with the pattern of jobless growth. There has been a consequent radical erosion of labour rights, making it more difficult for workers to represent their interests in the company and political levels, and reducing the strength of traditional unions. Thus, there is a need for new ways of organising and representing labour interests.

With regard to the formal sector, the conference recognises the importance of universally observing core labour standards. It welcomes the various relevant

international agreements but demands more effective mechanisms for implementing them.

With regard to the informal sector, there is a need to develop strong organisations for the protection and empowerment of workers and to adopt minimum 'safety nets'. The conference takes note of the positive impact, limited though it may be, of such initiatives to minimise labour exploitation as pressuring transnational companies to observe codes of conduct and pressuring governments to adopt and implement core labour rights and international standards, including for migrants, informal sector workers and the unemployed.

The linkage between labour standards and trade/investment regimes as a way of protecting workers remains a contentious issue even among civil society groups. Advocates of this idea are calling for the rethinking of the linkage to take WTO and other international bodies into consideration.

The conference participants are united on the need to address economic and social issues as an indivisible whole. We see the need for increased solidarity, defined in part as working against the further fragmentation of the global workforce and the unemployed. One possible avenue for solidarity action is pressure for the enforcement of core labour rights and standards.

RURAL ECONOMIES

Neoliberal globalisation has everywhere marginalised the peasant sector. This marginalisation has been intensified by the agribusiness 'TNCs' domination of world agriculture facilitated by the "Green Revolution"; by the unequal liberalisation of agricultural trade, including especially European Union and United States subsidy policies; by corporate monopoly of biotechnology; and by the withdrawal of government supports for agriculture and bias towards the industrial sector.

Moreover, this marginalisation is aided by governments' lack of political will to carry out genuine agrarian reform. The overall effects of these processes are the following: landlessness and joblessness; unviability of farms; poverty, indebtedness and destitution of peasants; loss or erosion of land rights, loss of on-farm decision-making; overexploitation of natural resources; depletion of genetic resources; water scarcity;

and soil erosion. The breakdown of rural economies, with its attendant massive rural unemployment, has also led to migration and the displacement of communities; beyond the peasant sectors, it has led to the loss of food security at a global level.

Other critical issues posed by globalisation to the rural sector include the monopoly of food production by the North, which contributes to undermining food security; the effects of IMF structural adjustment programs (SAPs); the withdrawal of necessary government supports in the South; and a broad range of issues confronting indigenous peoples.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Globalisation creates pressures not only for economic but also for political issues, which are increasingly interconnected. While political accountability becomes ever more essential in response to the pressures of globalisation it also becomes harder to achieve because of these same pressures.

One crucial focus in the struggle over globalisation should be the pressure for democratisation on all levels and in all spheres of politics. This includes democratisation at the national levels and the democratic restructuring of international organisations, particularly the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation.

The recognition of human rights is an essential element of democratisation. The conference stressed the need for the implementation and adoption of existing human rights instruments. The basic values contained in the human rights instruments have to orient the political sphere at the national level; each state has the responsibility to fulfil the basic needs of the people. But these values also have to guide the principles of politics within the international organisations. Civil society has a crucial role to play in confronting official decision-making bodies at all levels, in forcing them to live up to their responsibilities. The central element of democratisation is the strengthening of civil society as a countervailing power to the economically and politically dominant forces. Our understanding of civil society is emancipatory. The politics of Western countries are highly contradictory when it comes to human rights. On the one hand they push for the recognition especially of

political rights, while on the other they pursue policies which not only impede the realisation of economic, social, and cultural rights (e.g., SAPs) but also endanger the exercise of political rights. This is becoming perfectly clear in the present economic crisis. The realisation of social, economic and cultural rights has to proceed from the understanding that these constitute a right to life. As a step in this direction there is a need for systematic collation of data on the impact of the economic crisis on such most vulnerable and affected sectors as women and children; migrants; refugees; victims of violence; peasants; and the unemployed, both in the South and the North. The commonality of these problems calls for solidarity across national and North/South dividing lines and for more creative and effective ways of working towards the enforcement of human rights.

Foreign debt has caused the impoverishment of peoples by depriving them of their dignity and their right to survive. Debt cancellation for the poor countries before the year 2000 is crucial to claiming people's basic rights.

As substantive democracy is threatened everywhere in the world, there is a need for deeper consultation on democracy among the participants of this conference and for further North-South dialogues.

Thus the task for human rights is to improve the quality of and defend the right to life. The right to life is the source of all other rights, yet it is threatened everywhere by poverty and violence. North-South dialogue must concentrate on the defense of the right to life, economically as well as politically. The easy tolerance of death and destruction need to be exposed as negations of the right to life. Democratisation both in the West and the East must be founded on the premise of defending the right to life.

The conference stressed the need for the implementation of human rights instruments.

GENDER

Patriarchy has permeated all aspects of the lives of women and gender discrimination has intensified in the age of globalisation, as women have become increasingly absorbed into worldwide economic processes. While these processes may sometimes have opened up new economic possibilities for women they have also almost

invariably led to new and serious problems. These include such trends as trafficking in women; forced prostitution; feminisation of cheap labour; feminisation of poverty; and feminisation of migration.

Women have suffered some of the worst effects of globalisation. These include the deterioration of public services as a result of privatisation; other measures of structural adjustment (subsidy cuts); the transformation of the farming sector, including its ecological consequences; and the break-up of families under the economic and cultural pressures emanating from globalisation. Work in the home and other forms of domestic labour continue to be economically and socially undervalued. Globalisation and patriarchal culture entrench women in specific roles (domestic workers, plantation workers, entertainment workers, etc.) while treating their bodies as commodities.

There is a need to strengthen the discussion of gender issues in political communication, dialogue, and action. There is also a need to integrate gender perspectives in challenging globalisation, patriarchy, and other oppressive systems as well as in building alternatives to them. Such integration would also reflect the increasing role that women play in the present economic and social struggles throughout the world.

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

The impact of globalisation on cultures is complex and ambiguous. While on the one hand globalisation has opened up new possibilities and opportunities (worldwide communication, exchanges among people, etc.), on the other hand it has created a lot of pressure on various cultures, including trends towards the homogenisation of lifestyles as in consumption patterns; consumerist values; communication patterns; styles of urbanisation; and the loss of some cultural systems. Homogenisation does not exclude domination by centralised culture and the possibilities for abuse and manipulation of cultural identities for political purposes. Indeed, such manipulation seems to be increasing.

The issue of identity has to be considered fundamentally and in relation to our own work and environments. The negative effects of identity politics (pitting one social group against the other) can operate even within and among NGOs and people's

organisations. Very often we are caught in the trap of dualistic discourse, structured by the distinction between 'them' and 'us,' between 'dominant' and 'dependent' cultures. There is a need to look for mutual respect and recognition and also towards open communication and creative interaction between cultures, recognising that cultures are not static but have their own dynamics of change. Such communication and creative interaction do not imply glossing over conflicts of interest but could make it possible to spell them out more clearly. We recognise that culture and communication are affected by the constellations of political and economic power in which they take place.

We commend the struggles of indigenous peoples to maintain their cultural self-expression and integrity in the face of colonialism and neoliberal globalisation.

CONCLUSION

Despite the often-reiterated claims of its proponents, neoliberal globalisation will not solve the problems of inequality. Nor will it feed, clothe, educate, and empower the majority of the world's people. On the contrary it has been a major factor in rendering increasing numbers of the world's people hungry, homeless, destitute, illiterate and powerless in all areas of their lives. What will empower people is their resistance to these processes and their participation in building viable political and economic alternatives. The conference takes note of the need to develop new development paradigms challenging the dominant neoliberal thinking which relies solely on market forces. The conference also sees the urgency of peoples' movements and NGOs pressuring both national governments and international institutions for reforms focused on people's welfare and basic needs rather than on policies favouring international capital.

Even as North-South issues have been sharpened, there is increasing need for those in both the North and South who suffer the consequences of globalisation to act in solidarity with one another. Within this solidarity, first and foremost, the issues of those who are 'losers' in the process of globalisation must be raised. But this by itself is not sufficient. The issues do not only concern 'losers' and 'winners' but are in the final analysis issues of unjust structures that demand alternatives to neoliberal 'business as usual' posturing. While solidarity

incorporates the willingness for each to listen to the other and to respect the other's views it must be understood first and foremost as a question of justice and, with justice, of humanity.

The conference agrees on the necessity to develop varied and creative forms of alliance and strategy in the aid of genuine solidarity.

For the grassroots who are everyday resisting and fighting battles for survival, the urgent task remains: to organise, organise, and organise. But in organising, we have to build new forms of organisations, patterns of relationships that are more equitable and just, that integrate popular participation, and that generate new cultures which go against the logic of neoliberal control and manipulation and that generate fresh approaches to the question of alternatives.

New, creative, and effective strategies for resistance need to be continuously evolved. Cross-border solidarity and people-to-people alliances are most urgently needed. Such alliances are strengthened by the realisation and growing consciousness that issues across borders may not necessarily be the same but they are often interconnected. We need to continue to strengthen international solidarity, including campaigns and joint action-alert mechanisms. We need, however, to radicalise the notion of alliance building so that it is not only limited to 'political projects' but become the basis for cross-cultural dialogues and inter-paradigmatic exchanges, thereby enriching not only the struggle for resistance but also the common search for viable alternatives.

We, the conference participants, express our appreciation to the convenors for this opportunity to explore and practice new and continuing forms of solidarity based on justice. We fully commit ourselves to work for this, through organisation and action, from North to South, from South to North, from South to South and from North to North.

10 October 1998
Hong Kong

PROCEEDINGS

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Over 60 participants from Asian NGOs and European development agencies as well as advocacy groups gathered on October 7 to 10, 1998 at the Lam Woo International Conference Centre, Hong Kong Baptist University. The aim was to have an open and focused dialogue and discussion on priority issues and strategies for advocacy toward common understanding and response, better communication, relationships, and new forms of cooperation.

The general theme of the Consultation addressed the challenge of globalisation as it affects North and South (particularly Asia and Europe) and the commitment to partnership towards advocacy, solidarity and search for alternatives.

A combination of plenary and small group discussions were used to discuss sub-themes and priority issues. Resource persons were from Asia and Europe. The workshop facilitated the sharing of analysis and perspectives on critical issues, as well as strategies and responses towards such issues, particularly in the area of policy development and advocacy. A special interest was to look at critical issues where cooperation between North-South NGOs is needed most. Further, it was pointed out that there is also need for dialogue on issues that have tended to be divisive or have the potential to divide NGOs.

The workshop started with two initial general presentations (one from Asia and one from Europe) to outline some key questions and issues to provoke and stimulate discussion. This was followed by more focused interaction through plenary discussions and workshops on the following priority issues:

- "Economic Globalisation" and the Challenge of Sustainable Paradigms
- Governance, Democratisation, Human Rights, and Security

- Labour Concerns
- Rural Economies, Agricultural Sectors and Food Security
- Gender and Women's Concerns
- Culture and Cultural Identity
- Human Rights and State, Corporations, and Civil Society
- People-to-People Initiatives
- Partnerships, Relationships, and New Forms of Cooperation

Day 1: October 7, 1998

(The moderator for the morning session of the first day was Bart Shaha of the Asia Alliance of YMCAs. The moderator for the afternoon session of the first day was Jan Reinders.)

OPENING SESSION

Bart welcomed the participants on behalf of the Organising Committee. He gave a brief background of the consultation. He shared a short poem entitled, *Medicine for Suicide*, in light of the "IMF suicides" that have gripped Asia as the economic crisis continued.

Suddenly, I woke up one fine day and found my precious rupiah halve; my ringgit fell forty times; my won and baht are sadly dwarfed.

Those forty years of labour is gone, it vanished in moments true. My sweat and toil of all these years, to nothingness it grew.

And now, my workplace has a lock; everyone is laid. Even the guard who locks the door, 'til date remains unpaid.

I see a hopeful walk these days, to our culture, root and place. But, I have lost the link and path and detached my being from its grace.

In the midst of all the poverty and suffering of peoples, there is also a vacuum, emptiness and detachment from our roots that is created. He added that the biggest challenge is to go back to our roots and our old way of life of self-reliance.

He then introduced the members of the Organising Committee. Cecibel Perez, DAGA and James Joseph Keezhangatte, ARENA then made a roll call of all the participants from Asia and Europe. (Please refer to Appendix 2 for the Directory of Participants.)

Bart then went through the Programme and Schedule. (Please refer to Appendix 1.) The Steering and Drafting Committees were formed from among the participants. All the other committees and administrative details were also announced for the information of the participants.

FRAMEWORK-SETTING

A. *Perspectives from Europe, by Jan Reinders*

Jan observed that while we are up against a new dimension of problems and powers worldwide, there are efforts to try and counteract this onslaught, ask for alternatives, rally together, and support each other. Like others, EZE had been going through a lengthy process of re-defining its objectives to adapt them to the new situation. From time to time, concepts were revamped considering new international developments, but have generally supported partner activities in the 'South'. After the dramatic and worldwide changes at the beginning of the nineties, it turned out that this was not enough. A new field of work, in addition to doing advocacy work, is "defending the interests of the poor within the church and vis-à-vis the state."

Another important point that he mentioned is the question of fundamental purposes and identities of private aid agencies. Organisations like Bread for the World, Misereor and EZE are – like their sisters from other European countries – mandated by bodies of their churches, and depend on church funds, on public funds, or on both, for their work. He said, in David Sogge's words, "... funding authorities and much of the media have decked agencies in the cloak of love – as long as they don't begin to make unreasonable political noises, that is. Agencies should be seen but not heard." The contradiction – a real problem – harbours dangers and often asks for a high degree of brinkmanship.

He also stated that the situation of crisis and shrinking resources gives new but unacceptable meaning to "charity begins at home." In the present rat race about investments and employment and about priorities in social services, what is the ranking for international solidarity, for finding ways for (and financing) common action linking "emancipatory moves" of underprivileged people North and South?

He also pointed out that the ecumenical movement has been playing a very important role in promoting human rights and liberation for poor and marginalised people, worldwide, citing the World Council of Churches (WCC) as an important protagonist for global civil society. They are, however, facing a deep crisis that makes for the tendency to first put their own house in order. Jan referred to an article that interprets WCC's conviction that Christians of its member churches have no chance to stand against the forces of economic globalisation on their own. It also critically reflected on Christianity having so often in history transported the very ideologies of accelerated progress and growth that now, in their unabated surge forward, seemed to do more harm than ever. In the same article, there was particular reference to the Asian crisis, and a very frank plea for an alliance with the other world religions.

Finally, he stressed how much mutual trust is needed to achieve something – "trust to be invested by everyone, trust to be built and to be built on by all of us, while we are here. The trust in the incredible creativity, power of survival and fighting spirit of the suffering people we all of us have pledged to serve."

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 3 on page 61.)

B. *Some Initial Perspectives from Asia: A Collective Paper presented, by Jeannie Nacpil-Manipon*

Jeannie introduced the framework paper, which was previously distributed. She also described the process of coming up with the 'collective' framework paper. She explained that although the seven members of the Organising Committee have common ideas and thinking, they are also very diverse. The framework paper was an attempt to put together some of the ideas that they feel

strongly about and it was not intended to be analytical nor exhaustive. She added that while it tries to raise a few new questions and new thinking, it also contains ideas that were already expressed before and which were deemed needed to be said over and over again.

Jeannie commented that while before, Asia was hailed as the economic model now it is referred to as the source of the "financial crisis," or, the "Asian contagion or plague" – as if Asia was the root cause of the global crisis. But still not enough is being said about its disastrous effects particularly how to deal with the more than 30 million people who will be unemployed by the end of the year. The Asian financial crisis has indeed revealed a deep and serious crisis of structures and paradigms. Globalisation is usually presented as desirable and inevitable but while it has promised all kinds of miracles, it has only offered many myths.

The "free market" is actually nothing but a myth – for it is neither free nor is the so-called competition fair. Competition is the rule and end in itself; destruction of the competitor is what competition really means. Under the pretext of creating the "one single global village," and the slogan of the so-called "free market," the forces of globalisation have actively and aggressively sought to influence, shape and dictate economic, political, and social policies on nations all over the world.

Growth of poverty, poverty despite growth, from growth back to poverty – the second big myth about the "free market" system is the promise of wealth and prosperity. What lie hidden in the promise of prosperity is the social and environmental costs of such "fast-track" pursuits to growth, the impoverishment of many peoples and the long-term unreliability of such economic models. The gap between the rich and the poor has widened even more. She added that the recent, sudden, and seeming economic security of "the new Asian middle class" was an illusion or at best temporary and could so easily and ruthlessly be destroyed.

The World Bank now talks about exclusion of the poor. Jeannie stressed that the issue goes beyond exclusion or inclusion. Exclusion is not an accident or side effect of neo-liberal economics – it is a requirement. Because the "free market" operates on the logic of aggressive exploitation of labour, natural resources, technology, capital, and the vulnerabilities of people, communities, economies, and the environment in order

to gain maximum profit. Capital cannot globalise unless it also exploits globally. The fundamental issue that remains to be faced is the issue of exploitation.

She illustrated how the process of globalisation displaces the state and democracy. She argued that aside from looking at the economics of globalisation, a very central issue to the discussion are the issues of human rights, political reforms, and national security laws. She also said that overcoming the political culture which is generated by globalisation is an essential part of the struggle and resistance against globalisation. She called for structural changes the lead to meaningful participation.

Commenting on recent debates about solutions to the financial crisis, she argued that many NGOs in Hong Kong felt that the debate should not be on whether to "open" or "not to open" to free market. The fundamental question is which and what is the best way to stop the process of exploitation of peoples, communities, natural resources, and how this current crisis can open the opportunity for people and societies to construct an open, transparent, viable and sustainable alternative truly benefiting the people and communities.

She stated that neoliberal globalisation is an impoverished concept as it does not capture the richness of human experience. It also does not consider that human experience is much more varied and diverse than the homogenised picture that the proponents of globalisation imagine and portray. Further, it dismisses the fact that people are not a simply a homogenous mass of passive and silent victims. People's resistance are already taking place everywhere, defying globalisation, exposing the impoverishment of the globalisation paradigm, experimenting with alternative community-building, trade and economic relationships and other forms of alternative practices.

She also asserted the need to "demystify" globalisation the way it is often portrayed as a "super-human," invincible, undefeatable, meta-force that has imposed itself from above on its unwilling, passive, and silent victims, and as if the policies, structures, mechanisms, and practices that make it happen were not humanly created, as if all the actors that are involved in it were super-human and beyond human reach. If such were indeed the case, then we would feel as if nothing could be done about it. She added that facing the

challenge of neoliberal globalisation requires not only resisting and critiquing its impact, but also discovering hidden opportunities for new ways of struggling as well as new strategies for building alliances and seeking alternatives.

She raised some points for discussion on resistance, alliances, and alternatives: 1) Build new forms of organisations and patterns of relationships that are more equitable and just, that integrate popular participation, and that generate new cultures that go against the logic of neoliberal control and manipulation and that generate fresh approaches to the question of alternatives; 2) Strengthen and evolve existing organisations and new, creative, and effective strategies for resistance; 3) Initiate cross-border solidarity and people-to-people alliances; strengthen international solidarity, campaigns, and joint-action alert mechanisms. We need, however, to radicalise the notion of alliance building so that it is not only limited to "political projects" but become the basis for cross-cultural dialogues and inter-paradigmatic exchanges, thereby enriching not only the struggle for resistance but also the common search for viable alternatives; and 4) The agenda of "redistribution" of resources and "democratisation" of political and economic resources need to be recovered and re-asserted. The marginalised productive forces need to reclaim economic initiative and control over production and their own resources. She called for a concerted effort to build unities, reclaim communities, build linkages, and seek alternatives that enable peoples and communities – respectful of diversities – to coexist and benefit from mutual interaction.

Finally, she expressed the hope that this Consultation be the beginning of a dialogue process that addresses how we discern the way, overcome divisions and work together in an environment that deliberately seeks to divide us.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 5 on page 65.)

ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE PARADIGMS

A. From the Asian Crisis to World Depression? The Challenges of Globalisation as Viewed from Europe: A Short Paper, by Lothar Brock

Lothar commented that a year ago, most people in Europe did not worry too much about the Asian crisis. But now the crisis has deepened and is closer to home and spreading to Latin America. Today, Europeans fear that behind the possibility of a world recession may even be the danger of a world depression. He observed that the present crises came as a surprise to the IMF and most of the other economic actors and observers, but that none of them is prepared to interpret these crises in a way that would call for substantial changes in the policies pursued so far.

He said the present capitalist economy is much different from the capitalist economy of 16th century. Today there has been intensification of international economic exchange – trade, production, sourcing of economic factors including labour. He added that the free flow of capital in connection with floating currencies created unprecedented possibilities to make money on speculation. The big players in this game are only interested in risk management and not in reducing or overcoming risks. In contrast, states are interested in risk avoidance. So there is a basic tension between the two, which in many states is dissolved in favour of the market forces.

He contended that globalisation does not mitigate but rather it accentuates the importance of political power discrepancies between countries in their respective attempts to make the most out of globalisation. The Asian crisis has led to a levelling of power discrepancies between Asia and Latin America while widening the discrepancies between North and South. Asia, as viewed from the West, is no longer a counter-force to Western ideas on globalisation but rather a group of states forced to adjust just like the Latin Americans have been forced to adjust. He further argued that globalisation has

sharpened the unevenness of world development with the North-South divide reconstituted and widened. There is genuine interest in keeping up existing political power hierarchies because they are regarded as determining the margins of adjustment under which national economies operate.

However, he added that there has been a levelling-off of economic power between Europe and US. But as far as finance is concerned, the US dominates. The US has half of the world financial resources. But the Euro is coming. This will undermine US dollars with the possibility of capital flight to Europe, which will make it more difficult for US to pay deficits. He surmised that the result would not be a better-regulated world system, but increased bilateralism on the part of the strong at the expense of the weak.

He did not believe that we would be better off without the IMF-WB and the WTO as these institutions tend to develop a dynamic of their own. They are part of an institutional set-up, which helps to mitigate the impact of inter-state power politics.

Lothar suggested five possible directions. First, there is dire need for a less dogmatic attitude towards the control of international capital flows. Second, governments should be encouraged to depend more on domestic savings than on foreign capital for financing development. Third, in order to counterbalance the near-monopoly of the OECD-world with a view to defining present problems and strategies, serious inter-governmental negotiations between North and South on world economic issues should be reconsidered including the debt question and debt relief. Fourth, an open regionalism which is geared not so much towards shielding the national economies with the help of regional restrictions on extra-regional economic interests but rather towards an intensification of intra-regional economic relations which remains open to outside participation. Fifth, there is need for a more pragmatic policy towards different national form of state-society relations. This implies that we should not only protect natural variety in this world of mono-cultures but also social variety in order to enhance the ability of each society to adapt to change and to make an impact on it.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 5 on page 75.)

OPEN FORUM (1)

Vicky: What do you think is going to push IMF-WB to do something drastic to respond to situation? Would anything come out of the IMF-WB meeting now going on in Washington?

Lothar: Up to now, it is business as usual and it looks like nothing much is going to happen. The real challenge for OECD countries is not what is happening in the Third World but what is happening among them. The impetus for change will not come from deranging North-South relations but from inter-Western relations.

Basil: There is a process of democratisation going on in Asia today and the West will not support this process because the peoples of Asia will not accept the policies that the West is advocating. Therefore, there will be an even deeper divide.

Rex: Is it possible to decentralise IMF? If the IMF and other world economic controlling bodies are necessary, how can they be built as decentralised and people-oriented institutions?

Robert: World economic institutions are based on ideology of class interests of world economic elite and any attempt to modify is not dealing with the fundamental problems that they have created. When we are dealing with these issues, are we trying to look at things from the logic of above (global elite) and make our submissions or alternatives to those? Or are we trying to understand the logic below and work on that simple logic of people's needs (e.g. food, housing, etc.)?

Tapar: IMF-WB reforms have very adversely impacted countries in the South. They have caused virtual destruction of production capabilities (e.g. Bangladesh). These policies have brought us back to where we were a few years ago – prices are soaring, wages are dropping, increasing tensions between various castes – those changes have reversed social gains and therefore reaffirmed 'validity' of castes/social structures. IMF-WB has nothing to offer and they have simply become money managers and loan collectors.

Justice Iyer: How do the changes in world scenario affect the quality, dignity, and basic needs of the human being – the maturation of human rights and real democracy? What is the role of IMF-WB? The fundamental objective of IMF-WB is to destroy the quality of life – we are all commodities and not human beings. Only profit and

currency matters. IMF is a tool of this "white" world – it is destroying all internal markets so that America can have complete control over the world. There is a theory that where there is imperialism there will be a contradiction in imperialism and that is the opportunity for revolutions to take place. People's solidarity is an allergy to the IMF. They want us to remain silent victims of their operations. There is growth but with injustice. The incompatibility of our needs and IMF's agenda is the real issue.

Roel: It was suggested that governments should be encouraged to depend more on domestic savings and foreign capital. Many countries are heavily indebted and many groups are advocating for debt relief. Would WB or other institutions grant debt relief?

Sandeep: Capitalism has changed in character and globalisation is not old capitalism, it is contemporary. It is not only a shift from real to money economy, from production to speculation, but the entire organisation of production has been changed. The form and method of accumulation of surplus has changed completely. This has created a problem in terms of resistance and people's intervention. The reserve army of labour is much larger than the standing army of labour that could launch struggles at the production points. Now we have a genocidal form of capitalism because it no longer requires primary producers so it must get rid of a large proportion of the population through ethnic strife, war, epidemics, etc.

Janneke: One of the effects of the Euro is that the possibilities for democracy are decreasing because countries have to meet certain criteria to join the monetary union. The sovereignty of countries will decrease and this will result in cuts in social spending to cut deficits. There will be a shift in political power (most European countries now have social democratic governments), which is not the same many years ago. We have to find new and practical strategies and possibilities to influence policies by using our power as citizens, trade unions, consumers, researchers, etc.

Lothar: Restructuring the global economy along the lines of open regionalism will bring about positive changes of conditions under which we can think about alternatives and address basic issues. I support changes that can create systems of checks and balances. This capitalist system is full of contradictions so we have to see where

the contradictions are and to see where to get in. The NGOs have tremendous potential to look into the system and look for cracks/weaknesses. We should be careful not to view global capitalist system that it is so powerful that we could not go against it. There must be some pragmatic and practical ways of fighting it. It makes sense to be practical in what you are doing and to make small steps. The policies that the IMF-WB is pursuing in dealing with the crisis should be criticised. We must demand for change in the international financial system.

Brid: Some developments on new regionalisms could create better possibilities or could break from the hegemony we see now in terms of the financial system. But Europe went along with the IMF package and made no distinctive analysis about what was happening in Asia. What is the underlying reason for this? However, what is hopeful is that there is growing resistance and struggle e.g. a few months ago, we saw the biggest Europe-wide march of the unemployed in Europe when the Maastricht Treaty was renegotiated.

Lothar: On social struggles and state-society relations, a lot will depend on how these social struggles will proceed in the future. There is a need for more regional cooperation in Asia to make Europe more responsive to Asian needs. The substance of our problems has a lot to do with the tendency to commodify human social relations. The essence of capitalist destructiveness is commodification – this is what we are seeing now.

B. Globalisation and the Challenge of Sustainable Paradigms, by Alejandro Bendaña

Alejandro began by sharing some of his impressions when he attended the World Bank meeting in Washington. One of the things that struck him was that many of the issues and much of the vocabulary were re-appropriated by the WB. The president of the World Bank speaks words like participation, empowerment, transformation, gender equality – *our* language, but now it is their language. There is a cooption at the level of vocabulary that reflects analytical confusion because evidently we don't mean the same thing. Notions of globalisation and civil society are analytically useless if everyone has their own definition and we all use them

but we are not talking of the same thing. He reminded everyone that we have to be careful because the terrain is shifting and we tend to shift with it. In that way, we may become divorced at best from social movements or at worst contribute to the confusion and to the lack of coherent responses.

He added that vocabulary analysis is very much linked to questions of power. The tendency to influence policies is not the same as influencing politics, which is still not the same as doing a power analysis. He said that somehow we are stuck at the level of policy. We tend to focus our discussions on the Bretton Woods institutions but IMF-WB is not the source of power. They are representations and instruments of power. If we address our critique towards them, we are not dealing with the real sources of power. He considered the phenomena of globalisation resembling US imperialism.

He shared some of the discussions taking place in Latin America. In addressing the question of strategies for cooperation, the irony is that while we agree on using the same terms and joined by the concern around globalisation, the responses are not doing anything substantive to further the possibility of challenging "globalisation" as such. He observed that some well-meaning campaigns in the North are becoming more focused on very particular and single issues, e.g. mine campaigns, small arms campaigns, child labour campaigns, etc. In narrowing the focus narrow in the name of precision and engagement, the crucial question is, do we or do we not contribute to understanding the larger picture? If in those campaigns we are saying that that is the problem and that is the only problem, then we are not educating, we are misleading, and we are postponing the arrival of a more strategic basis for political engagement. The danger as we are seeing in the North is that much of it is becoming "one-day" or "feel-good" politics. He added that NGOs are doing advocacy. The very term advocacy presupposes an understanding or conformity with the structures of power. Is it simply a coincidence that while the levels of official development aid has gone down, we see new campaigns, millions of dollars being invested in conflict resolution and peace-building?

How do we then do the analysis? He suggested three elements: 1) a South-South strategy in terms of regional consultations and inter-continental discussions

at the level of the South; 2) in our analysis, we need to seek to be holistic; and 3) the gender element is imperative to a new thinking and strategy.

He described two fundamental initiatives that can give us hope. Firstly, is the Jubilee 2000 initiative. Some say it should be limited to debt cancellation. Others, particularly from the South, say that this is a moment for reflection, action and to demand restitution, reparation in the biblical, political and historical sense – interpreting debt to be not simply a question of numbers but of morality and of what has been taken away from people. This campaign offers an umbrella because church elements and NGOs can now join together. It also has an enormous mobilisation element. Secondly, the most important thing that we will be dealing with in the next ten years as a consequence of this recession is the explosion of violence that is related to the growing impoverishment. How are we going to deal with violence that will have two fundamental sources, namely: 1) the violence that will take place of which Afghanistan and Sudan were only the first index; 2) the manifestations of the 'ethnic' and 'poor versus poor' violence. If the poor are divided there will not be a social transformation. What are the strategies for reconciliation, coalition-building? Reconciliation not as an end in itself but as a means to an end, and as an instrument of struggle, of overcoming artificial differences, of not fighting and being able to do non-violent activism and resistance to these forms of globalisation and new oppression.

Finally, he emphasised how critical it is for the South to be able to strategize on its own so that we can facilitate the identification of alternatives and be able to acquire an increasingly organised transnational expression.

(Alejandro's paper appears as Appendix 6 on page 80.)

C. Economic Globalisation and The Challenge of Sustainable Paradigms, by Vicky Tauli-Corpuz

Vicky presented some of the key aspects which characterise today's globalisation. One, is the breaking down of national economic barriers, resulting in an acceleration of the international integration of finance, trade, and investments. Two, is the internationalisation

of production by transnational corporations and the unprecedented growth and concentration of the power of TNCs. Three, is the development and spread of technology, which facilitates financial and economic globalisation. She added that communications technology and product expansion, which has led to an international flow of information, images, and cultural products and the rapid growth of modern biotechnology facilitate the commodification of life. Four, is the spread of production and consumption patterns, and consumer and product preferences, lifestyles, and cultural identities associated with the North. Five, is the erosion of national policy-making and the appropriation of this process by international agencies (IMF, WTO, WB, etc.), TNCs, etc., resulting to the drastic reduction of the power, authority, and status of the state, political leaders, parliamentarians and bureaucrats. She commented that as a response to the dominant mode of globalisation, peoples' organisations, NGOs and citizens' groups have come together to do collaborative action on national and international issues and increased lobbying and advocacy work in international institutions.

She cited some needs and challenges posed by the present situation. First, there is need to understand more comprehensively what is happening. She stressed that the global crisis impels us to go beyond our own issues and see how these link up with what is happening right now.

Secondly, she pointed out the need to define the basic features and principles which will underpin the alternative economies which we would like to build. She expressed pessimism in coming up with one universal model but hope for several models with similar basic principles like: a) emphasis should be on the production of basic needs of the local population; b) there should be a narrowing of the gap between producers and consumers and more autonomy on decision-making should be given to small producers; c) priority on the domestic market; d) economies should be based on and promote participatory grassroots or consensual democracy; e) the approach should be multi-dimensional or holistic problem solving, and should recognise that problems cannot be solved by technological fixes; f) there should be a shifting of paradigms of science and technology away from reductionism and utilitarianism towards a holistic science; g) economies should resist all efforts to privatise and commercialise the commons -

water, air, soil, knowledge, biological diversity, etc. and should instead emphasise common responsibility over these and ensure their preservation and regeneration; h) economies should emphasise affordable and appropriate technologies; i) they should put priority to local producers; j) economies should be based on new thinking that removes the dichotomisation of spirit and matter, manual and mental, production and reproduction, public and private, culture and work, sexual division of labour and international division of labour; k) all economic activity should pass through the screen of ecological soundness, social justice, social equity, cultural and gender sensitivity, and economic viability; l) there should be regulatory regimes, which will control the inflow and outflow of investments and the operations of TNCs; m) measures should be taken to reduce the unequal distribution of wealth, productive assets, knowledge, and skills to counter the increasing social inequities and injustices; n) finally, the balance between the state, the market, and the people should be established.

Thirdly, she explained the need to become involved in supporting peoples' struggles against the different impacts of globalisation. At the end of the day, it will be the struggles of people directly affected by globalisation projects, policies and activities that will spell the difference. Every now and then these grassroots struggles should be brought into the international arena. She added that the struggles of the peoples' movements and NGOs in the North should also be supported.

Fourth, she highlighted the need for participation in regional and international campaigns such as campaigns versus TNCs and against the patenting of life forms. Fifth, intensifying of networking activities and information exchange between Asia-Pacific NGOs and between Asia-Pacific NGOs and European and American NGOs and between the NGOs in the developing world. Sixth, the need to involve and develop more youth activists.

And finally, she called for support to the struggles of indigenous peoples whose worldview, values, sustainable resource management practices, and economic systems are still worthwhile looking into and replicating.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 7 on page 85.)

OPEN FORUM (2)

Robert: What are the state and non-state aspects of struggle in this age of neoliberal globalisation or US imperialism? How different is today's situation from time of the *Sandinista* revolution? From the successes and defeats of the nation-state framework, can we make generalisations or lessons?

Berna: How do we overcome scepticism? We cannot afford to create new divisions, new exclusions. If we make a renewed plea for a South-South cooperation, we are excluding the Eastern and Central Europe, the Soviet Union, northern Europe and US. My plea is to join forces. Secondly, are we not in danger of ending up in discourse analysis, without effecting actual changes.

Basil: The rules regarding the use of violence have become very liberalised. Crucial issues are easily transformed to ethnic and other issues and the use of violence becomes easy. What is the real possibility of regionalism? In this discourse, if we talk seriously there are serious dimensions involved.

Rex: Our enemies are among us – divisions. Language discourses might worsen this, although I agree to the importance of using clear and correct language. As a migrant support group, our work enables us to see the direct impacts of the crisis. While we try to address the broader issues and conceptual constructs, we have to respond to the day-to-day life and death issues of migrants.

Rosalinda: What are the indications that neoliberalism is collapsing considering that capitalism has reinvented itself several times over? So in this crisis perhaps again it will do something that will save itself. A system never falls on its own weight, it is always a result of resistance and struggles by peoples through revolutions and other means. Today, there is capitalist triumphalism. We need to learn from economies in transition like Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, and China – former socialist countries that are going neoliberal and embracing WTO and IMF-WB. How do we explain this opposite trend and how do we deal with a situation which breeds confusion in the left and pro-left? What are the parameters of this New World that we are trying to build? Is it a form of socialism? Is it a kind of democratic, participatory transformed society? What is the mode of production in this society? Will it still be capitalist, which is based on profit motivation and commodification of people or

something else? But how are we going to bring this something else into being given the divisions among the forces for change in the world today?

Klaus: I work for Misereor and we organise political campaigns like Jubilee 2000. I would appreciate it if we can discuss options especially for groups in the North. What can we do to avoid cooption but still be able to influence the agenda? There are different options and both are necessary. The protests outside the WTO building in Geneva last May made an impact but just protesting outside alone will not help. What do you in the South expect from us in the North regarding the approach and format of political campaigns, and lobby work while avoiding cooption?

Ineke: We need more input on campaigns to address the more general issues, but also specific enough to be functional campaigns. We do not feel, as activists in northern Europe, that the protest in the WTO was a success. Our actions need to have some actual and short-term results. This approach should be rooted in praxis that can enable us to have a political sense of reality.

Tapen: Regarding the lack of attention span, I think we need to look at the globalisation of media. It is in the agenda of global media technology today to shift from print to audio-visual media where you actually rape the minds of people. Books are more expensive than TV. Satellite TV is free and through this you can actually globalise the mind and create a capsule mind. There is a deliberate and well-planned campaign on controlling knowledge, controlling the capacity of a whole generation. While there is global media, yet issues (e.g. Nicaragua, Guatemala) that brought us in the streets in the 1960s are not anymore issues supported by the younger generations (e.g. India).

Taneyya: We are frustrated over approaching child labour issues from the labour perspective only rather than children's rights perspective. We need to look at them as vulnerable children who need protection in their situations. How do we develop them in the circumstances where they are in need of a livelihood to help their families to survive?

Samy: We need to be self-critical. While we criticise and fight against all the evils of globalisation, deep within us we may desire the continuation of this system because we

earn from and survive in this system. Another question is: policies have changed but do our leaders really change, do the middle class and intellectuals change? Many people dumped their leaders because they are a liability to them, because they want to preserve their own livelihoods and benefits. There is a very big gap between reality and the concepts, principles of human rights and democracy. Knowing this, how do funding agencies and their partners in Asia relate with each other? Isn't it possible that we also 'prostitute' ourselves before the funders, e.g. repackaging our programmes to suit the needs/agenda of the European funders?

Jarneke: There are also positive sides of globalisation, e.g. this meeting where people from various parts of the world sit together to discuss common actions. Internationalisation of media has also helped us. Can we identify other positive points of globalisation that can strengthen our solidarities and struggles?

Charles: While we should be critical of globalisation, we should also be critical of the local elite that are agents of globalisation and who benefit from it and therefore are pushing for it. For example, Mahathir was the biggest supporter of globalisation in Asia before the crisis, but now he changed tunes to preserve his own interests/agenda. How do we confront the local elite?

Alejandro: Everyone agrees on the need for change. However, we have to distinguish between substantive/structural change and the illusion of change. The system is a master at adapting to change – even getting our language, personalities – this is how it legitimises, develops, and modernises; otherwise it will die. Some campaigns interpret their success and impact in terms of how many editorials they could get in the newspapers. Some campaigns do not call for basic structural changes. Some governments call for progressive changes but have people in WB/IMF planning and implementing neoliberal agenda. If we are to educate, which is the purpose of campaigns, on a conservative basis, we are saying this illusion of change is very good. The element of change has to be related to three other elements: power, methods, and actor. The element of power goes to the question of sovereignty. There must be an elementary state structure to protect the people from globalisation. The state must be distinguished from governments: more authoritarian governments result in weaker states. On the question of

methods, some of us in Nicaragua believe that we have to create some synthesis between Guevarra and Gandhi. Can we achieve genuine peace with justice through violence? In order to help the poor against capitalism, do we have to acquire capital first? Can we make change without capital? Can we make change without violence? On the question of the actors, e.g. the youth: every conceptual discussion must be measured according to what people are doing, and reflected against grassroots perspective. When did we stop talking about solidarity and began talking about cooperation? Every strategy, discourse, and conceptual discussion has to be measured against the reality of what people are doing and thinking at the grassroots level. The question is acting globally *and* acting locally. Many NGOs constrain their actions on politics on account of funding. Sometimes we don't like to be 'political' to preserve our funding. NGOs and social movements, in the context of open politics, are not going to be the basis for change. We have to work with parties despite what parties are, just as we have to work with unions despite what unions are. We have to caucus. The North has to discuss among the North and the South among the South and then we get together and see exactly where we are.

Vicky: We should not trivialise actions, no matter how small they are; little chips can ultimately help change the system. There is value in lobbying and exposing the inequities of the WTO agreements and expose what kind of monster this system is all about. Sometime ago, many government people did not even know about the bad aspects of WTO but when they realised these, they themselves helped push the critique against it. Is global capitalism collapsing? We should not look at the capitalist system as so powerful and strong because it has lost a lot of moral high ground especially as a result of all the ongoing problems. Whatever we say of the church, it still has an important role to play because of this dimension – what are the ethical questions on how this whole system is dehumanising, alienating and commodifying everything? The church also has a mobilising capacity, it can support and help advance some issues and agenda.

GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRATISATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY

A. The Integral Yoga of Democratic Governance and Guarantee of Human Rights in the Context of Global Liberal Corporate Power and Mankind's Search for an Alternative Paradigm of Liberation, Social Security and Human Rights, by Justice Krishna Iyer

Justice Iyer alleged that this world is either going to collapse or we are going to slaughter the slaughterer and come back to power because the world belongs to people. It is the people who ultimately matter. He posed the question, what is good governance? Do we have the basics of good governance today? Good governance means justice in the administration of government. The classic definition of democracy is a government for, by, and for the people. But who are the people? In the 1860s there was a notorious US court case that said the Blacks (Negroes) are not people therefore they don't have human rights. They are commodities or 'unpeople'. Now, we are re-enacting this scenario. Globalisation is reducing everyone to 'unpeople', into commodities. On participation, he asserted that if there are no structures, mechanisms, and authority for participation then democracy has no meaning.

Justice Iyer elaborated on the first, second, and third generations of human rights. The first generation is civil and political rights. The second generation is economic, cultural, and social rights. And the third generation is communal or human solidarity (e.g. the African charter). Above all, human rights also include: right to peace; right to environmental protection; right to community solidarity; and right to development. The right to life is the foremost human right – right not to be like a vegetable and to have the ability to exercise abilities; the right to develop the self; to do what one likes to do; the right to health; right to dignity; right to security; right to basic needs; right to human rights. Human rights also include the right to basic needs – food, clothing, and shelter.

He asserted that we do not have any of these rights today whether in the North or the South. And those who are enjoying these rights are only those whom he called 'the corporate cannibals': the MNCs. They live upon the life and blood of other people. MNCs have no souls to be damned nor bodies to be burned therefore they are not afraid of anything. MNCs treat people as 'unpeople' because people don't count. The MNCs of America have hegemony over their government. Wars are called because and for MNCs; if they don't like a government leader, their governments will fight wars for them. He added that MNCs operate through the political and military power of the US and through the economic domination of the big corporations of the G-7 countries.

He illustrated how the GATT, now WTO, can kill people. However, he urged that we still have to fight and struggle with the people. We have to provide some cohesion for our struggle by educating, organising, and agitating the people. And when one person is equal to one value, and not simply one person to one vote, then there is real democracy.

He submitted that one of the weapons of governments and TNCs against the people is corruption on a global scale. Corruption is all-knowing, all-powerful and ever present. Therefore, we have to fight this together with the various issues of human rights – whose human rights, whose democracy, whose security, whose governance? And these questions will be answered by the sweat, blood, toil, and tears of the common people.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 8 on page 92.)

B. The Quest for Human Dignity, by Berma Klein Goldewijk

Berma brought forth the 'dilemma' approach in her presentation. On the question of roots, she said we are all challenged to find new sources in trying to resist the down side of economic globalisation and that includes religion and culture. She shared her experiences with human rights and human dignity, which started in countries in transition like Portugal, Brazil and Eastern Europe. These experiences taught her to focus on the value of human dignity. She stressed that human dignity is the foundation of human rights and it is also a core value in religion. The value of human dignity is absolute.

The antithesis of human dignity is humiliation and dehumanisation. She suggested that our first priority should be to build our struggles from this downside. She added that it is not possible for us to simply identify new issues; we have to talk about new strategies and try the dilemma approach. Dilemmas resist easy solutions and review conflicting objectives and difficult choices between alternatives. Dilemmas may create possibilities to come to more informed options.

She posed three types of dilemmas. The first is the equity dilemma – a value conflict between inequality and injustice. For instance, gender: we can campaign for equal rights for women, but even if we achieve this, it does not mean that we have done justice for women. The second is the liberty dilemma – to what extent should individual freedoms be limited over collective or global interests or common good. The third is the sustainability dilemma – how are the benefits and costs distributed fairly? Fair distribution cannot only be in an intra-social perspective but also in an inter-territorial and inter-generational perspective.

She talked about realities in the context of globalisation. One is the reality of the disintegration of states. The human rights movement is facing a very pertinent dilemma because of the disintegration of states. Do we support the stability and integrative capacity of states on the one hand or do we strengthen civil society? Second, is the reality of conflicts. Globalisation provokes conflicts regarding competing identities, powers, interests, etc. There is low-tech warfare in the South while it is high-tech in the North. The link is broken between warfare and human sacrifice. The problem here is not elimination of conflict, but the reduction of violence. The roots of conflict are in unchosen inequalities, exclusion, and fragility. Violent conflict and war cannot be considered rational because they end up in both sides losing. This is a liberty dilemma: both sides pray to their gods while marching into combat. At the same time, war and conflicts are catastrophic. Here we find our own ambivalent relationship to violence. She brought forward the question: Could we as human beings turn destructive eruptions of violence and conflicts into positive forces of humanity?

She expounded on religion as source of dilemma: the uneasiness in discussing religion versus the importance of religion in contemporary international

developments where people are motivated by religion for action in mediation and conflict resolution. The reappearance of religion in the political public arena worldwide reflects a search for fundamentals (e.g. in tradition, identity, home, indigeneity, locality, community, etc.) – finding a place in a changing world including attempts towards empowerment.

She concluded with a statement that if the human rights project is seen as legitimisation of basic needs of people, we have to transform these needs into entitlements or rights.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 9 on page 102.)

OPEN FORUM (3)

Apo: I don't agree that high-tech war has broken the link between war and human sacrifice. In fact, high-tech, chemical and biological warfare will kill more people mentally and physically.

Berna: We are in total agreement. But we were not talking about the target; we are referring to the aggressors and how they are less linked to human sacrifice.

Norman: If you take the dilemma approach, how do people finally make the choices? Dilemmas reflect the grouping or interests of people, groups, or movements in society. In the end, the choice that is made means one interest over the other so how do we deal with this situation?

Soon-hong: Governance has many trends, one is the neoliberal. How do we check and control this trend?

Day 2: October 8, 1998

(The moderator for the morning session of the second day was Ms. Shum Yan Shan from the Committee for Asian Women.)

PANEL PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Labour Concerns

1. *Labour and Globalisation: Trends, Issues and Challenges*, by Rene Ofreneo

Rene outlined the major trends and issues for labour under globalisation. He explained the impact of globalisation on labour at the macro level as characterised by jobless growth. Jobless growth happens because under globalisation there are winners and losers. The losing industries are those which are domestic-oriented and based on traditional technology and skills. He added that wide sectors of agriculture have been wiped out because of globalisation. He pointed out that globalisation also involves the marginalisation of the 'non-market players'. Very little attention is also given to the informal sector because they are not 'tradable'. Largely, growth is fuelled by sectors that have no linkage with the national economy (and therefore, have limited multiplier impact), those who use mainly capital-intensive methods (and therefore, have limited employment impact) and which are based on speculative business (and therefore, have hardly any contribution to employment). And as a result of joblessness, there is the phenomenon of rising internal and external migration particularly of women as well as increasing use of child labour in some industries.

He elaborated on labour-focused adjustments at the industry and firm level. He observed that the logic of global competition dictates that industries cut costs of operation or enhance their productivity. Labour naturally figures prominently in both exercises because labour is very variable. This is why globalisation has, like the conveyor system of the mass production system, radically changed the nature of work and the deployment of workers.

He explained three major trends. One major trend is labour flexibilisation, which means the ability of employers to reduce the cost of labour, increase labour productivity, and strengthen management control over the work process and the workers. Flexibilisation

measures which are off shoots of reengineering programs of companies also often leads to the downsizing of 'surplus' personnel and the intensification of work programs for those retained by the enterprise. Another trend is the increasing informalisation of labour not only through the expansion of the informal labour sector but also the increasing informalisation of the formal labour market through the 'core-periphery' pattern of labour deployment and the increasing use of casual labour and out-sourcing of work. Still another trend is for some companies to employ the 'HRD strategy' for the core of regular workers who are retained. Businesses instil among the workers the idea that they are strategic allies or partners who are facing a common enemy: competition in the global market. It also entails the acculturation of the workforce on the company culture and values, reinforced through the recitation of company creed and conduct of company exercises.

'Traditional workers' rights are under attack under globalisation. Foremost among these rights is job security. In some countries, there is a rollback of certain labour rights by removing legislation which ensure those rights. The terrain for trade union struggle has become doubly difficult under globalisation and the Asian economic crisis. He believes that many unions are not prepared or have not come up with the right strategy to contest globalisation or even the issue of re-engineering and reorganisation at the industry-level or enterprise-level. Globalisation tends to pit workers against workers. Global competition under globalisation is a race to the bottom, that is, a race among nations to become competitive by sacrificing labour standards and labour rights.

He posed three challenges. First, the urgency of solidarity based on the social clause idea. However, for solidarity on the social clause to develop, new development paradigms also need to be advocated, paradigms that will take into account the specific job, economic and industrialisation situation of individual countries. Secondly, there is a need for the trade union movement today to reinvent itself. Finally, NGOs have to clarify their role in supporting workers both inside and outside the factory.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 10 on page 113.)

2. *Labour in the Context of Globalisation, by Klaus Piepel*

In his paper, Klaus drew up some challenges for labour in the context of globalisation. He affirmed that the right to work is a human right enshrined in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. However, he explained that the realisation of these rights becomes more and more difficult not only in the South but also in the North.

The current process of globalisation has become a race for the most competitive investment opportunities, for cheapest production, externalising social and environmental costs as much as possible. Klaus pointed out that the main challenge for the workers' movement and the whole society, both North and South, is the question of which instruments are necessary to safeguard the realisation of this basic right to work and of fundamental workers' rights in the ongoing globalisation process. This question is built on the assumption that the existing economic policy of free markets and further liberalisation of the world economy will proceed in the next years whether we like it or not. He expressed pessimism in stopping this process of economic integration, called globalisation, in the foreseeable future. His position was to make these policies more accountable with regard to the effects on the creation of wealth for all people, working opportunities and conditions, and ecology, rather than simply improving and preserving the stated aims of the WTO.

He cited the relevant instruments to support stronger social guidelines in the economic liberalisation process, namely: 1) international regulations; 2) national politics; and, 3) voluntary guidelines and codes of conduct.

He argued that the discussions on the regulation or deregulation of world trade and financial markets are very important arena for fighting for better safeguard for workers rights and labour standards. Many Western governments and the WTO administration are beginning to realise more and more that the paradigm of globalisation and liberalisation of the economy as ways to overcome poverty and achieve sustainable development worldwide is losing ground. This recent development opens up new space for organised and informed interventions in actual and impending negotiations, for example, the 'Millennium Round' of the WTO.

He asserted that the ILO remains weak and has no strong instruments for implementing its conventions. The question is, what to think of WTO in the whole game? What should the strategy be, engagement or confrontation? Can we hope to get effective social regulations of the globalisation process outside of its key regulator, the WTO, or should we try to strengthen our influence in the WTO?

On national politics, Klaus posed the question: What should be our lobby aims towards our national governments to secure and safeguard social standards? He further posed two questions related to voluntary guidelines and codes of conduct. One, is the question of harmonisation of codes of conduct. What are our minimum requirements for codes of conduct with regard to their content and implementation? The other question is related to the move to hand over the monitoring of codes of conduct to private auditing companies (e.g. Price Waterhouse, KPMG, SGS). This trend towards the 'privatisation' of supervising the implementation of social and labour standards is questionable. The question is, how do we integrate the ILO, especially, in the supervision of such voluntary instruments?

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 11 on page 118.)

3. *Globalisation and The Social Clause Debate, by Robert Reid*

Robert explained why in different countries throughout the world there are different reactions to the social clause among trade unions. He said that these differences depended on the level of development of each country and the level of formal democracy. Trade unions in the North, particularly within Germany or in the US, actually have links or have the ability to engage with their government and make representations. From their point of view a social clause seemed reasonable – to link social, trade union rights, labour standards to the WTO. Labour rights would be linked to trade on the basis that if they didn't provide proper conditions or abide by those social clause standards, then they would be either expelled from the WTO or would receive sanctions against them.

Robert argued that the workers themselves do not want the social clause particularly connected with the

WTO. How can workers support a 'social clause' in an organisation such as the WTO which has been set up as an instrument of imperialist global rule in order to ensure that the people of the third world remain subjugated to the plans for global dominance of the TNCs and the global elite? How can we support a 'social clause' in the WTO at the same time that the IMF and the World Bank are forcing their structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) on us that are reducing the rights and conditions of workers? He added that the conditionalities of many SAPs on third world countries have called for a cuts in government spending on social and educational programmes and for the elimination of subsidies on many basic goods. This has meant that the social wages and workers' living conditions have been reduced dramatically. Other conditionalities have insisted that labour market flexibility be increased and therefore the power of trade unions has been curtailed. So will a 'social clause' under the WTO now introduce trade sanctions against these countries because their governments are being forced to introduce anti-worker policies by the WTO's sibling organisations, the IMF-WB? Will a social clause under the WTO really be used for the benefit of workers when the WTO is not controlled by workers, nor by third world governments?

Robert spoke briefly about his organisation, the Asia-Pacific Workers Solidarity Links (APWSL). He pointed out that while we were using the slogan, 'Workers of the world unite', what was actually happening was that the capitalists of the world were uniting and we as trade unionists remained completely divided not just between trade union blocs but also between countries. What we saw was the growth of capitalist internationalism, which not only placed severe strains on the conditions of working people, but also entered into the whole framework of democracy. The real democracy that has been pushed by the corporate agenda is not the democracy, as we know it as one-person-one-vote, but one-dollar-one vote.

Finally, he asserted that we have to deal with globalisation head-on. It is not necessary to debate about whether globalisation or free market capitalism is inevitable. What matters is the standpoint where you start from where you put your economic and moral peg. If this is something which we believe is anti-worker and inhuman, then it is not a matter of tinkering around the edges. It is a matter of opposing it by building a counter-

force and if we are successful enough then we will get some significant change.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 12 on page 122.)

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Leu: Labour migration is an integral part of globalisation. For us in the Middle East Council of Churches, the commodification of migrant labour has become not only a political but also a moral issue.

Vicky: In the example of how labour dispute was settled in the recent case of the Philippine Airlines (PAL), the management was saying that the workers will be part of management. In another example, a landlord in the Philippines offered his land to be covered by the 'land-reform' programme giving the peasants a 'say' in how the land will be managed. Is this a trend and how can this issue be dealt with?

Taneeya: There is an ILO publication that calls for regulation of the sex industry. If the world regulates the sex industry, there will be a code of conduct for brothel owners. We need to find ways to stop the problem and not just develop regulations. Another regulation will not solve the problems of child workers because they belong to the marginalised groups of societies where social services is absent or declining. In another ILO publication, they said that 250 million of children below 14 years old are involved in economic activities, 130 million are in Asia. How can we relate to these basic situations in order to develop new paradigms or approaches to labour practices?

Klaus: Part of the social clause debate is the debate on revisionism of the workers' tradition in Europe. Should we work within or against the system? In a way, European trade unions have been successful in working within the system while being conscious that they have interests of their own. Are you bringing the debate about the whole history of the labour movement on a global scale?

Gus: Perhaps one of the facets of capitalism is its resilience and its transformative capacity to the extent that the forces of capitalism are even able to turn protests or a counter-force into something profitable. What creative strategies should labour, trade unions, workers movements, counter-forces, develop or seek?

Brid: I wish to emphasise the importance of considering migrant workers within the context of labour response, especially with regard to trade unions. Among migrant workers, the most vulnerable are the undocumented migrants. There was a recent joint initiative between undocumented workers and transport and general workers' union in London. In this case, large numbers of women domestic workers who were undocumented took initiative to organise themselves. In doing so, they actually challenged the trade unions to work jointly with them not only to move for an independent immigration status but also to provide very concrete support to their struggle. One form of support was membership in the union. Innovations like this perhaps point the way in which we can create new possibilities for the kinds of solidarity that we need for the 21st century and in dealing with the new globalised phase of the capitalist development.

Ineke: We learned that the OECD guidelines on TNCs are subject to a comprehensive re-draft in November. It is important to take up this issue in our workshops because we tend to think that there has been a postponement of some of the discussions on MAI. We need to be stronger not only in requesting a binding link between the OECD guidelines and the MAI, but also in requesting that dispute settlement procedures be changed – and this includes national level policy requirements.

B. Rural Economies, Agricultural Sector and Food Security Issues

1. Globalisation and the Rural Society, by Sandeep Pendse

Sandeep observed that only a few years ago, a number of people argued that globalisation was unlikely to have any kind of drastic impact on the rural economy, particularly in rural India, because anyway the rural economy was in bad shape and it was pointless to blame all these to globalisation. Nothing worse could happen to it. On the other hand, it was also said that globalisation basically deals with world trade and so the impact was likely to be minimal. Furthermore, the rural society dealt only marginally with the markets so the market was not likely to have any drastic impact.

He gave some examples from the past few months to illustrate the effects of globalisation in India. One is the shortage of onions in India. Now the government is importing onions, which were exported by India in the first place at a much lower price. The other example was the increase of Indian exports of value-added agricultural goods. When more farmers grew tomatoes, the industry did not have the capacity to absorb the crops, nor to process and export it. So the farmers put the tomatoes in the highways in protest.

Sandeep asserted that these examples point to the fact that there has been a deterioration in the rural economy and the rural situation. The vulnerability of the farming community has increased. Getting into the international market was just a farce as farmers have faced unfair competition. He confirmed that what is required to survive in this age are cash-intensive operations which lead to further debts and at times ruination of 'survival' areas of agriculture. People have been thrown out from the subsistence sector.

He brought forth several general trends. First, that agricultural land has been converted into non-agricultural land, for industrial or housing projects or for golf courses. Second, in the name of land consolidation, the poor farmer has been losing land. Corporations and so-called cooperatives have been buying up land from the small farmers. Third, is the ongoing reversal of land reform, which is in keeping with the change in logic and which has entered agriculture. The logic in agricultural operations now has become a corporate logic or the logic of industrialisation of agriculture. Fourth, product mixes have changed from food grains to cash crops. In addition, there is a shift from coarse grains to the export varieties. The coarse grains are more environment-friendly and more nutritious but there is a cultural element to it in that the elite eats a certain kind of grain therefore those grains are perceived to be better. And worse, there is also sometimes a shift from grains to cut-flowers for export. This is advocated as one way of advancement. This hinges on technology, labour utilisation, investment, dependence on markets, which are hardly understood and definitely not under control, and an effort towards getting into greater value-added agricultural-related production which does not always come true. Fifth, the sustenance of the subsistence, or survival sector have been more or less completely destroyed or are getting rapidly eroded. The safety net of

social welfare and social security is shrinking very fast due to the cutbacks.

This leads to displacement and dislocation of people. They are thrown out of the rural areas completely. This is also related to the fact that there has been a certain kind of break-up of the community. There is pauperisation and destitution combined with migration. Entire villages sometimes leaving only the very old behind travel out for nine months in a year trying to find work. This has had a tremendous impact on the cultural fabric and has also led to conflict amongst classes, between ethnic groups. The levels of violence have been increasing. The children, women, lower caste, indigenous people, and minorities are special victims in this situation.

Finally, he expressed that the struggle is difficult in the sense that we do not find much support, and even support for the struggle against globalisation is very hard to come by. The kind of traditional support which had come from middle class, working class, etc. for agricultural struggle does not seem to be materialising in some way. In fact, the middle class has dreams of making good and the workers themselves are facing a great problem. Therefore, it becomes very difficult to identify the agencies for the struggle. He submitted that the only possibilities on the one hand, are to confront and, on the other, to subvert. There will be alternatives worked out somewhere in between. They will not be major alternatives but they might be able to sustain the confrontation.

2. *Rural Economies, Agricultural Sectors and Food Security, by Peter Rottach*

In his paper, Peter focused on globalisation and rural economies especially referring to trade liberalisation as one of the instruments of globalisation. He also dealt with agricultural innovations, especially gene technology and patenting system.

He observed that since the early 1960s, when the famous green revolution was introduced, not only new technology was introduced but also the minds of the people were changed to adopt Western standards, e.g., with regard to food consumption and diet. The attitudes of the people were also changed towards adapting to the money economy. This has forced people to look for off-farm income. The present tendency of trade

liberalisation is just to prolong or intensify such capital-oriented influences on rural societies that were introduced decades ago.

He also pointed out that in the global food market the traditional role of so-called developing countries is to be the producer of 'grocery items' (e.g. coffee, tea, etc.) whereas the North maintains its role in producing more basic foodstuffs. The South is more and more being denied the right to produce its own food whereas the North is totally controlling the global food market and this is justified in saying that the South has a comparative cost advantage. This worldwide distribution is due to the fact that food is so cheap in the world market because it is highly subsidised in the North and it is dumped in the world market by the Northern industrialised countries. He concluded that liberalisation of trade does not transform this traditional role of the South.

He also noted that liberalisation is forcing rural farmers either into poor and risk-prone subsistence agriculture or pushing them out of production and into the crowd of migrants to the cities. The devastating effects of liberalisation are translated into drastic decrease of on-farm labour force because of migration; soil erosion and soil fertility problems triggered off by ecologically disastrous extensification of farming; and the disappearance of natural flora and fauna because of uncontrolled grazing of goat, sheep, and cattle.

He described major threats/hazards of globalisation particularly in tropical and sub-tropical agriculture, including: 1) soil erosion; 2) loss of bio-diversity or genetic erosion; 3) scarcity of water.

He posed some recommendations not to stop globalisation but at least to avoid the very severe negative effects on the poor by means of, among others, involving women (though not in the traditional way) to achieve food security. He also encouraged partners in the South to establish committees on food security where lobbying organisations and grassroots organisation come together and discuss food security in their country and try to lobby their own government.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 13 on page 124.)

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Jae-ok: European and Asian countries should work together on the issue of genetic engineering. I also want to raise the problem of globalisation, economic crisis and consumers' risk. In Korea, we have a boycott of Nabisco company, which sells expired products. Nabisco said that it is because of the economic crisis. This is also happening in Indonesia and Philippines.

Rex: I wish to speak on the role of migrants with regard to sustainable economies. Migrants are not simply the manifestation of the displacement of labour, they are also the very stark expression of displacement from the rural communities. Most migrants, in Asia for example, are women from the rural areas. Once they are in the other country, they imbibe consumerist, materialist, and individualistic values of Western societies, which they bring back to their communities. If migrants are being used as agents of bringing First World consumer values to the rural areas, how can they be organised and mobilised so that they can transform the economic power that they have to help production in the communities. AMC is trying to do this by organising savings groups and encouraging migrants to buy back the lands that they sold off when they left their country. I would like to ask the panel: Is this a sustainable alternative or are we re-enforcing the presence of new capitalists in the rural areas by encouraging migrants on these kinds of projects?

Titi: I would like to raise three issues. 1) The conversion of forests into non-forest use threatens the existence of indigenous peoples in Indonesia who depend on the forests. Forests are converted into mining or used by the pulp and paper industry. 2) On the issue of loss of food diversity. Indonesians are mostly not rice-eating people. They eat sago or yam. However, because of a government propaganda saying this is primitive, many people now depend on rice. In some parts of Indonesia, they would not go hungry if they choose to eat yam or sago. 3) On the issue of pollution and deforestation. The mining and pulp and paper industries poison the river, soil, and water.

Beth: Firstly, on the issue of money. What is the role of debt and usury in the loss of land and food security? Secondly, on the question of alternatives to sustain the confrontation. What does that mean in practice?

Justice Iyer: The real reason why cash crops are produced by farmers in rural Asia and rice by the TNCs in America is because Americans want to sell Californian rice even to India, who has 5,000 years of rice tradition. With the view of creating a market, they have introduced: 1) green revolution, a case of small farmers being displaced because you can only have green revolution in big farms; 2) heavy use of fertilisers, from America; 3) use of pesticides, again from America. Finally, we have to realise the deeper consequences of what the TNCs are plotting against humanity.

Basil: There is a danger of dealing with these issues from the European historical perspective. The problem in the Third World is – there is no club to join. In the early period of trade unionism, there was a certain system developing. The last people who joined were from Asia. The result of globalisation is that even that is being dismantled in the process. We have to think not only in the Western perspective because it does not work in this region. That should be the basis from which we have to work and try to look for new alternatives.

Lew: On the impact of migrant labour on the rural situation. In rural Kerala, there has been social dislocation caused by the departure of men from the land. Receiving and sending countries have both exploited the migrants in terms of their legal vulnerability and their dehumanisation. There seems to be no handles to grab onto to begin to address the problems that migrants both create and suffer from.

Charles: One factor that we have to bear in mind is the role of governments. Malaysia used to be self-sufficient in food. Then the government decided to reduce food production because, they argued we could earn enough money from manufacturing and so we could import food. Today, as a result of the currency crisis, we spend \$12 billion per year on food imports. As a stop-gap measure, the government is asking people to grow vegetables using a great amount of pesticides. Secondly, as much as America is supposed to be food sufficient, there are 80 million people who go to bed very hungry, according to Food First. We have to be more sensitive to the problems of the North, too, because although they have so much food, these are concentrated in a few hands and not to the majority of people who are suffering.

Sandeep: For more than a year, some of us have been saying that our strategy should be – be irresponsible, be illogical, and be irrational. That is, we have no responsibility to hold up this system. We reject the rationality of capitalism. And we reject the logic of the markets.

C. Gender and Women's Concerns

1. *Economic Globalisation and Its Effect on Women Workers in Europe, by Ineke Zeldenrust*

Ineke talked about how some of the main characteristics of the globalisation of the economy in Europe are gendered. She also examined the joint effect of these trends on women within Europe, where there are huge differences between north, west, south, central, and east.

On the issue of privatisation, she pointed out that a lot of the tasks that the state formerly had are often ceded to individuals by default. For example, everything that falls under the broad dimension of care, e.g. caring for the elderly, the sick or direct dependents, are not being privatised in the sense that some corporations take them up and work them out for a reasonable fee. These come often on the shoulders of women.

She added that a lot of areas that were formerly controlled by the state now have a big reduction of coverage and generosity particularly the cutbacks on the social welfare system. Although this has been going on for the past 10 years with the most of the European community, it has become worse under the integration and under the restrictions that are being made on the economies to comply with the entry requirements of the monetary reform system.

She explained that women, more often than men, are on the receiving end of social welfare. Women have a lower participation in the labour force in almost all of the EU countries. Also, women have higher responsibilities in the private and family spheres, which is the area where the social and welfare system is focused on. Thus, women feel the general cutbacks more in all areas of their lives. The growing importance of the market that always reacts on demands and never on needs has a double negative effect on women.

Ineke also focused on the area of economic globalisation characterised by the dominance and restructuring of corporations. The tendency of corporations to be lean, mean, and flexible results in increases in part-time work. The service sector provides 70% of all the jobs in the EU. The workforce in this sector is 70% female. Part-time work has been a real demand of women because family/care work requires time. This is an essential issue for the women's movement in Europe because of the issue of choice. There are a lot of women forced into part-time work because of their home responsibilities. Another reality is that part-time contracts go hand in hand with temporary or no contracts and with an uncertain labour situation and low pay.

She also illustrated how the increase in rationalisation and restructuring of industry – leading to job loss and an increase in the use of sub-contracting and out-sourcing – affect women. In the case of Nike they have 5,000 direct employees and an estimated 500,000 somewhere in the world working for them on shoe or clothes production, a large part of which is also in Europe. This situation widens the gap between the mother company and the workers and therefore the link or any possibility for women to have a good view of who they are actually working for or what is their position, has also eroded very much.

She described the situation in north of Portugal and Poland to give face to the 'underground economy'. In the north of Portugal there are vans going from village to village, distributing the work from house to house – shoes for hand-stitching, clothes for machine-stitching, wool for hand or machine knitting. Often their husbands work in construction and come home only in the weekends. Next to their caring work and the work for cash-income, many of these women have to pay the rent to the landlord by working the land, and paying half the crop or the money raised from this. In Poland, what is labelled the 'underground economy' (or the gray or black economy) in the garment sector is largely made up of workplaces in houses where 5 to 10 families used to live. The rooms are converted into sewing areas, having maybe 10 women in a room of 25 square meters.

She argued that the concepts of 'formal' versus 'informal' sector or 'underground' versus 'regular' economy remain unsatisfactory because it suggests a

duality that does not exist. If we want to describe the reality of women's work it is much better to think in terms of an index where women's positioning can vary and is determined by job security, pay, access to social welfare, status, positioning in the workplace.

Ineke concluded that the trends described above lead to: 1) exclusion where more and more people are effectively excluded from the social benefits, citizenship rights, and employment; 2) unemployment and job insecurity; 3) breakdown of care; and, 4) poverty and the 'feminisation of poverty'. She added that the role of the state and its social system is essential to what actually happens to women.

Lastly, she talked about care in the private sphere. The whole concentration on work excludes the private sphere and the sphere of care and a number of other issues, which are essential to women especially within the EU. Having one paid worker in a household will not solve the problems of women within the European Community. She suggested that policies have to address more issues and so do our own strategies.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 14 on page 130.)

2. *Gender and Women's Concerns: An Asian Perspective, by Irene Xavier*

Irene asserted that there has been much talk about women but there have been very little effective attempts to include gender in all our struggles and even in our analysis.

She said that the situation of women workers in Asia is not much different from the situation of women workers in Europe. She raised that before globalisation came, women's greatest struggle was the struggle against patriarchy. When colonialism came to Asia, it perhaps changed the economic systems and relations but very little change took place where gender was concerned. In whatever class, gender relations remained the same. The colonial institutions used this kind of gender relations to get cheap sources of labour. After colonialism, globalisation used women as the cheap labour. They recruited young women to work in factories. This strategy was motivated by the fact that they could pay women less for a long time because they were unorganised and will remain unorganised.

She argued that the response of workers' organisations to this problem has been traditional in the sense that trade unions refuse to confront the reality of gender relations. Even in trade union courses for women there is no real attempt at discovering new methods of organising women, of accommodating women in leadership, or of relieving women of the unpaid work that they are forced to do. Trade unions do not consider work that women do at home as work in the first place. On the other hand, capitalists have understood this very well when they introduced homework targeting women. They know that it would be convenient for women because women have to work at home anyway.

She commented that the women's movement in Europe has helped the women's movement in Asia by offering the theoretical analysis. However, she pointed out the need to develop an analysis that would be understood in the first place by working class women and that would be relevant to working class women. She noted that very often our gender analysis has been very middle-class based. She emphasised that the issue of gender has not really been integrated into our analysis and has not been considered important enough, even in our political alternatives.

She argued that if we ignore gender relations, all our attempts would keep failing one way or another. This has been very much the experience of left organisations in Asia. They have consistently ignored gender relations and they have paid a high price for that because of the way they treat women in the parties. A lot of the failure of trade unions also has to do with the way trade unions treat women workers. If this does not change, whatever we talk about in this meeting, we will not meet the challenges. She maintained that we should focus on really changing the way in which we live and think and the way in which we treat each other both at home, in the work and in our struggles. If not, our solutions will be far short of our expectations.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 15 on page 135.)

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Titi: We should also include in our discussion women in the other sectors, like indigenous women and rural women. A particularly important issue is how changes are introduced in the laws on land tenure due to land

conversion, e.g. forest to plantation or other uses. Other issues include reproductive technology and patenting.

Alejandro: It is necessary to go beyond incorporating gender into our analysis. We cannot do the proper incorporation of gender into analysis unless we have incorporated gender into our individual lives and our daily social interaction. The second aspect is if we are dealing with globalisation, we are dealing with violence. Most of the victims of violence are women and most of the perpetrators are men. This is as much political as it is cultural. The question then is how do we deal with the social construct of masculinity and how do we incorporate it analytically, politically, and personally. As we speak about the globe, we more and more move away from the individual, in that we parallel the corporations.

Vicky: Some women are saying that actually globalisation is good for the women because when EPZs were set up more women have found employment and it gave them a kind of liberation instead of being made to stay in the house. This also gave them a little economic independence. The other issue is in relation to technology. Even within the feminist movement there is division because some feminists think that, for instance, reproductive technologies are good because it will remove the burden of childbearing – one source of oppression – from women.

Samy: We have to look at the credibility gap among most of the male leaders. If you look at trade union leader or activist, he may sound very progressive in a forum, workshop, or meeting. The moment he goes back home, especially in my culture, Tamil/South Asian, he behaves like a king regardless of his wife's feelings. On the other hand, there are also cases of women abusing other women. People are brainwashed into behaving in a certain way, e.g. when you are a supervisor you have to be violent. It is not an issue of man or woman. The male values can also be incorporated into women. On other hand, FTZs and the consumerist society exploit women: FTZs for cheap labour and the consumerist culture also exploit women in terms of women as commodity and dictating on women how to live.

Justice Jyer: One of the consequences of globalisation has been the intensified campaign for tourism. We have to pay attention to sex tourism, which is a kind of degeneration of the dignity of women. The other issue is custodial justice for women. The worst period in which a

woman suffers is when she is in custody of the police. These days, crimes are often committed by the manipulation of men using women as the criminal -- he expects that she will get a softer sentence therefore, the tool for committing a crime is more and more the woman. Then she gets into custody by police or army. In all cases, the worst part is while she is under police custody.

Ineke: Personalising the political has been a starting point for the feminist movement in both Europe and US. It is essential but I am not so sure about the 'we' in Alejandro's proposal. Is this something that we or that men should address. One of the main empowering aspects of the women's movement has been to share on personalising the political among ourselves, integrating our own stories and from there being able to act. I wonder if it is any use for men to go through that type of agenda, at least in the beginning, among themselves. It is our problem of course but it is your problem too in a different sense. The whole issue of violence would be an interesting starting point for that type of exercise/re-thinking. Lastly, feminist thinking in Europe addresses the question of different thinking. We can no longer permit ourselves to think about what is good or what is bad for women. We should at all times include different thinking in our perspective on what are the different effects things have on women.

Irene: Though FTZs brought jobs to women, for many women this was more liberating in the sense that they were physically out of the reach of the cultural constraints of their families. These jobs, however, were not jobs that stayed for life. These jobs created a lot of problems for women, which they had to face themselves. For example in Malaysia, many women developed all kinds of very serious illnesses. Up to today we have not been able to prove legally that these were illnesses related to their jobs but we know that these are illnesses definitely related to their jobs. Every ten years or sometimes even less than ten years, we have had cycles of mass retrenchment of women workers. The jobs that they receive are not permanent, not safe, and not secure. I do not see this as very liberating in that sense.

D. Culture and Cultural Identity

1. *The Issue of Culture and Cultural Identities in the Globalisation Process, by Kim Chan-ho and Moon Soon-hong*

Chan-ho described the problem of cultural identity in Korea while Soon-hong raised some issues and presented some suggestions in building a world civil society and protecting cultural diversity.

Chan-ho categorised the variety of spectrums in the problem of cultural identity in Korean into three generations: 1) Those who built up industry from scratch. They have found their meaning in life only in terms of material achievement. So, after losing their jobs by either retirement or being laid off, their identities abruptly come into crisis. 2) Those who have struggled for democratisation. They have experienced solidarity for the universal value but with the establishment of the formally democratic government, they lost the target against which they fought, and their collective identity is getting fragmented. The problem was that their goal did not go beyond the anti-dictatorship struggle to create a new social vision. 3) Those who have been growing up in economic affluence and a politically stable environment. They are different from the first and second generation in that they do not have any experience in pioneering struggles nor challenging struggles, and from which to derive their identity. Instead, they are forming their cultural identities by exposing themselves to commercialised symbols and commodities.

As a reaction to the identity crisis, there is a revitalisation of tradition based upon the reinterpretation of its values or aesthetics in the new context. For example, trying to bring the traditional value system into the reality, which stresses on relation itself rather than individual, especially concerning with social fragmentation and ecological crisis. On the other hand, there are some negative forms of restoring traditional values through the re-production of the hierarchical and patriarchal order. There are cases where those suffering from identity crisis will get over it by reinforcing or reinventing the conservative social order, sometimes these efforts are accompanied by violence.

Chan-ho raised the issue of guaranteeing individual dignity, while recovering collective representation. He

stressed that there is a need for reflexivity – the crucial point of which is the ability to interpret our present being. The starting point in identifying our own cultures for cultural identity is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’.

Some questions raised by Soon-hong were: 1) On the universal aspect of culture: How do we create alternative intellectuals to bring people into the power arena to break a path into a new society? 2) On the universal aspect of cultural identity: What kinds of movement do we need to rebuild individuals as the planners of their lives? How can individuals and societies be born again as a reflexivity-holder? 3) On the Asian peculiarity to solve the crisis of cultural identity: How do we find enough time to reinterpret traditional cultural inheritances in the changed context of globalisation by Asian self-reflexivity? How do we protect the Asian culture that remains in everyday lifestyles and bring something buried in our memories into the sunlight? 4) What sorts of strategy do we develop to bring cultural unconsciousness to the political scene for it to operate as one of the factors that compose cultural identity? 5) How do we diminish the gap between institutionalised old value system and emerging new values, especially promoted and spread by the mass media? How do we control the negative effects of the mass media? Is the old public sphere not yet ready to absorb the new values coming from near the private sphere? In this context, how can we take time to control the process and to let individuals have self-adjusting and ‘self-reflecting’ ability?

She posed that cultural identity is in the tension field between old tradition and new transformative society; that cultural identity is not fixed but flexible, and not formative in isolation but co-formative in correspondence with environment or the ‘other’. She stressed the significance of the time factor in the re-interpretation of tradition in this new social context. Cultural globalisation without insurance of time-span, which depends on social capability of reflexivity, directly points to cultural imperialism, which is revealed as globalisation on the one aspect, and as counter-modernisation on the other.

She suggested that global networks be created to build a world civil society and protect cultural diversity. This can be done by building a network of power based on trust and by building a network of strategies based on

a new vision. The network of power is a typical way in the condition of dispersing locus of power, in order for small NGOs to show their will and power against centrality based on violence/oppression/injustice. However, it works mainly among homogeneous groups solving the same issue. The network of strategies is possible in the case of sharing a common vision for alternative society. A new vision does not mean a utopian centrality outside of 'here' and 'now', but a minimalist version of what we need in common and against what. Even though 'here' has a different meaning in a different context for each individual and each society, and 'now' implies different times for each country.

(The full text of this presentation appears as Appendix 16 on page 138.

2. *From Needs to Rights, by Berma Klein Goldewijk*

Berma posed the question, how can we translate needs into rights? She clarified, however, that this supposes a point of view on human rights as not being fixed into a body of declarations or conventions but an integrative, open, and dynamic vision on human rights. She suggested that the main issue facing the different needs is that we may be challenged to change our conception of human rights. If human right is a process of legitimisation of different needs therefore we have to understand human rights as an open and constructive process. She emphasised the importance of identifying more the contents of those different needs because it is from this point that we can really challenge globalisation.

She pointed out, however, that not all needs justify rights. It is not need alone which creates a right. She stressed that it is very important also to strengthen, for example through educational processes, societal convictions that such needs be met. She suggested that this consultation try to identify more the different needs we are facing, and link them to societal expectations or public realm.

She commented that we cannot remain caught in some kind of a vision regarding human rights as related to the state. Because if we see for instance, economic, social and cultural rights e.g. food, housing, health, education, as basic services provided by the state, we remain very much in a vertical kind of thinking. If we

also realise that a horizontal functioning of social, economic and cultural rights is important, we also challenge ourselves as part of civil society to work in our own organisations towards the realisation of these rights.

She also focused on the element of humiliation. Humiliation as the downside of human dignity is important because it has to do with human beings as being agents of change. If the humanity of people is destroyed, then their capacity to be agents of change is also destroyed. She asserted that when we challenge globalisation, we should always try to start from the very basis of human rights which is the protection of human dignity and try to set up counter forces against the increasing humiliation of people.

OPEN FORUM (7)

Norman: Globalisation or imperialism is barbaric. It is a force of destruction. It dehumanises and destroys cultures and devalues human dignity. But we should also see it as a force which shapes and creates. Globalisation shapes culture through the media, as controlled by corporations. Also, institutional education has effected the most massive onslaught to the minds of youth and students. We should also focus on the question of institutional education from privatisation to corporatisation of education to the intensification of colonial and globalised content of the education systems and how it destroys yet shapes and creates new generations of globalised minds. We have to confront this reality with the understanding that the issue of institutional education also has a horizontal aspect in that it works on labour. The UNESCO World Conference in France is drafting a new declaration on higher education, which says that education is for the world of work. UNESCO is saying that the equation in which degree equals job is not a reality anymore. So we will have young people who will accept that employment is not a right because it is not a need. They are saying we should all be entrepreneurs. We also have to come up with a counter force that confronts and engages the institutional education. We should not only work in the periphery, not only within the movement but try to also attack the basic flaws and premises of globalised and controlled education. That means supporting youth and student movements, educators' movements, non-academic personnel working in universities, and the movements in these institutions.

Alejandro: At what point does human need become human greed. There is a distinction that has to be made and it can be dangerous if it is not qualified by two factors. One is the most elemental human right – preservation of life and security. The more we dilute human rights, there is a danger of going into some sort of cultural relativity and the more basic rights become less than the others. The second is the question of power. In the consideration of human needs, do we not reach a point in which the only way we are going to address and be able to tackle and provide for needs for the many – empowerment, not in subjective terms but in material resource terms – is going to be by the disempowerment of others. The consumption patterns and the needs of the rich are can no longer be conceived as human rights. They must be now be conceived increasingly as attempting against all other rights of the great majority of people for no other reasons than ecological and ethical.

Sandeep: When we talk about culture, we concentrate on things becoming commodities. It is necessary to go beyond that. The individual becomes a passive recipient of most of the things. The active part of their culture is taken away, the cultural practices and cultural expressions seem to be totally devalued and replaced by pre-packaged cultural commodities which have to be consumed in isolation. Any kind of activity is sponsored or controlled and is pronounced as to either legitimate activity or not. This kind of isolation leads on the one hand to an atomisation of the individual, which is related to the break-up of the communities. But on the other hand, it also seems to create a number of other problems. One is there is a certain loss of identity which is then filled up with acquisitions and accumulations. That is where globalisation goes even beyond consumerism. It goes into a kind of replacement of any kind of creativity with a continuous sensual stimulation to compensate for the loss of this self, the loss of the human spirit. All these cannot be left merely at that level because we have to also see what else is happening. There are three basic human attributes which are completely changed in today's age. One is the use of space. The space is not only extended but also intensified. Capitalism and industrialisation itself created something that is called the vertical space, which is a very unnatural thing. This use of space on the one hand isolates individuals even if they are in a crowd. On the other hand it prescribes spaces

for people, and takes people away from other parts of spaces. A number of struggles in some countries today are over even a temporary position of the public space. The other element is time. All measurements of time which is unrelated to natural events is an artificial thing required only to calculate the rate of profit and not for human life. The third is an attempt to alter the rhythm of life with the existence of the third shift. The fact of extending the day with artificial illumination. Through population control policies, they are now trying to attack on the biological rhythm of the woman. We find repeatedly that what was public is sought to be privatised and what was private is sought to be made public.

Vicky: The biggest assault of globalisation is on culture. It is flattening the terrain of culture. One of the biggest issues for indigenous peoples is the right to culture and cultural diversity. Globalisation says that you have to be competitive and efficient and from their standards of efficiency, indigenous production and resource management systems are very inefficient because they do not produce profits. This paradigm assaults all the indigenous practices in production, governance, and cultural expression. The only time when they consider indigenous culture as good is during eco-tourism. Indigenous practices and cultures then become commodified and turn into an attraction that governments are packaging to bring in 'eco-tourists'. Indigenous peoples are going to play a very major role in terms of asserting the right to maintain all these diverse cultures. Out of the 5,000 cultures that exist in the world today, almost 80% of those are found among indigenous peoples and many of these are vibrant, living cultures that are still continuing.

Jeannie: First, the legitimisation of needs into rights has a lot of potential but it can also be very problematic. Unless the question of who defines the needs is addressed very clearly and sharply, then that can be manipulated again to be used against the oppressed or in more exploitative relationships. In the development discourse, it has also been the basic needs approach. While it could look very good, it has actually been used in the global power play for Northern countries to define what are the basic needs of the South. One example is telling rice-eating people not to eat rice or drink soya milk because you need dairy and wheat. Again these 'needs' approval has to be put very clearly within the framework of who has the right to define the need.

Secondly, on the whole area of knowledge and culture production which NGOs have not adequately addressed. The more we talk about globalisation, the more we have to have a deeper and sharper cultural reading of globalisation: its effects on lives, cultures, etc. My generation of activists was somewhat more familiar with political economy and had a strong tendency to have a very mechanical view of culture as something that is simplistically defined by attached or appended social structures. That paradigm and that way of analysing has already been proven to be very inadequate. Also, we also have to look at the construction of the image of Asia and the Asian people. The role of symbols and images has something to do not only with power relationships but also with struggles and resistance. For example, the whole global construction of the image of Asian woman has something to do with the exportation of women's labour. In constructing such global images of women, of 'victims', etc., we may also ourselves be agents. Complicity in such processes is often hidden and we ourselves may also not be aware of that. Again in the construction of images and symbols, how do we actually develop a culture of resistance not only as a counter-force but as something that genuinely emerges in struggle and resistance? Some NGOs and activists are also thinking about looking at the whole symbol e.g. of victim. How are we sometimes guilty also of perpetuating a symbol of 'victim' that is also disempowering rather than empowering? As we face the complex challenges of globalisation, we need to continuously examine and re-examine the kinds of symbols that we use because if indeed culture is one area that perpetuates power relationships, it is also one way to resist and to construct new ways of doing things.

Rene: The culture of helplessness is related to the fact that globalisation has limited our choices. If you are not global, if you are not market-oriented. Indigenous culture and technology will be marginalised by globalisation. There is also the question of job creation which is related to previous 'isations'. As Irene explained, job losses from the North mean job gains in the South. This explains to a certain extent a lot of uneasiness on the social clause issue. On the part of the Northern NGOs, they do not come out too strongly on this issue for fear that they will be misinterpreted on the ground of protecting jobs in the North. On the part of the South, they are very ambivalent because if they come

out strongly on the social clause that means they will be giving up jobs that should be theirs. But the point is globalisation has also limited our choices on job creation. Job creation is a function of foreign or migratory capital coming into a country to create some jobs in some enclaves. You forget the traditional way of job creation in the rural areas, in domestic industry, in a more balanced way. That is why it all adds up to the theme of this conference: globalisation means challenging the development paradigm.

Evelyn: Free market has uprooted people to give way to a new culture that is favourable to this new market. We should go back to our roots before talking about culture of resistance. Not all have been uprooted. Some cultures that remain intact can become the seeds for a revival of this culture. We need to examine how we can go back to our roots so that we can strengthen this culture and plan our strategies on to challenge globalisation.

E. Human Rights and State, Corporations, and Civil Society

1. Reasserting Human Rights, by Tapan Bose

Tapan contended that we do not need to accept state as a given, as important and valid as it was in the last 50 years. There is a need to examine the state. We do not seem to have today any alternative to the state. He argued that if we do not start thinking or re-thinking political theory, we are going to face a massive problem and globalisation is one aspect of this. There are other areas where the state has in fact been the first agency to be able to dismantle every private or intimate space that ever existed in human civilisation. He pointed out that it is the modern state which has hijacked every space.

He defined human rights as based on a basic, fundamental, and humanitarian principle of the intrinsic value of human being. The human person is important because of the intrinsic value of life. Today the question is whether that human being is a producer or not. So, the things that a human being should receive – education, health care, the child care, etc. – is all connected with whether that human being at the end of the day is going to be able to produce something or not. And if you

don't produce, then you have no value. He strongly opposed this and stressed the intrinsic value of the human being.

He explained that what we find with the state is a situation where it is dividing us in terms of completely taking over our personalities and identities in terms of citizenship. The concept of nation-state has been around for 70 years. Its capacity to divide and entrap and to make us think in terms of the dominant ideology and the identity that it is creating from time to time is enormous. It has completely taken over the minds of people. We live in an era of democratic 'unfreedom' – you have the freedom to say no but you really don't have the freedom to question this whole mindless logic that peace can only be maintained through deterrence. Therefore the well being of humanity can only be preserved by investing more and more and directing all human energies into the production of weapons of mass destruction. You have no right to question. You have to accept it. And we got into that kind of thinking.

He said that the most valuable set of ideas that is coming out of this crisis of our time, the post Cold war period, is that human rights is reasserting itself, essentially re-emerging as a basic human concept. We are reasserting humanism. We are talking about creating a society where the basic dignity of every individual is going to be respected; that every person has a right to be whatever she wants to be and she does not necessarily have to be a worker or a producer. She has a right to be recognised and she has a right to get that space. This is the basic ground from where a new political theory can be constructed.

He argued that by going back and resurrecting identities to then use them as political weapons to challenge the state, we are also falling at times in the trap of replicating the evil concept which we are fighting against. Most national identities, ethno-nationalist identities, today want to be the same bad state that it wants to reject. Our experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in South Asia (the struggles in Kashmir and north east), or in Somalia and Rwanda, does not give us any hope to think or believe that these struggles to form new states or alternative states are actually going to humanise us.

Tapan stressed that to return to the concept of human rights is essentially to go back to reasserting human dignity. But human dignity also needs to

recognise that every human person therefore must have that space to be able to grow/develop her personality and doesn't necessarily have to fulfil an economic function. We should be able to de-link the two to return to respecting the intrinsic value of human rights.

2. *Reinventing Solidarity, by Brid Brennan*

Brid focused on the questions around reinventing solidarity. She seconded that human rights is reasserting itself very strongly as a kind of impetus for the 21st century. Whether it is in the question of the framework of the nation-state or the question of the multilaterals, we are finding that the core struggles that are asserting themselves are in the area of human rights.

She described that the European nation-states and the spokespersons and government representatives of the European states very often like to project themselves as the great guardians of the universality of human rights. However, she pointed out the fact that Europe probably has one of the most blatant and glaring current manifestations of the abuse of human rights in the presence of thousands of migrant workers who are deprived of their rights. The whole issue of migrant rights is one of the very intense and developing political struggles in Europe. This can be seen in the question of the immigration policy on refugees and migrants. She added that as Europe has pursued its course of integration as an economic and political entity, the question of the rights of migrants have been at the core of the political debate and discourse in Europe.

She explained the manifestations of resistance pushing the parameters of human rights in migrant struggles. One of the things that has become normal in Europe is the forced repatriation of migrants and refugees. One of the women who first stood out against this forcible repatriation was a Nepalese migrant worker in London. Unfortunately, in the case of one African woman, as she was resisting forcible repatriation, she was suffocated with a pillow by two immigration officials and died. The extent of the resistance is actually one of the very inspiring moments of struggle. These are certainly the new images of the South in the North. They are very inspiring but they are also really challenging the whole, and in a sense, even the complacency that we have about human rights. Brid stressed that in our rethinking of human rights, we need to specially factor in the question of migrants' rights. Especially in Europe, there is a need

to do that because despite the fact that the UN has a quite comprehensive instrument for the protection of the rights of migrants, not one European State has ratified that convention.

She also talked about the question of how states have made themselves so thoroughly subservient to corporate interests. Europe is run by a council of ministers who are the premiers of the different states in Europe. But at the decision-making level, it is the commission in Europe which is the body where major decision-making is taken. In the run-up to the inter-governmental conference in Europe, which was to review the Maastricht Treaty, it became obvious that the representatives of corporations have undue influence on the decision making of the commission and the council of ministers. There is a body called the European Industrialists Forum, which represents 45 of the biggest TNCs in Europe. They have extremely cosy relations with the commission affecting not only the very fundamentals of domestic policy in Europe but also foreign policy that is geared to the interests of European MNCs and their investment and trade interests internationally.

She also talked about the question of ASEM. The Asia Europe Meeting was formalised in Bangkok in 1996. She said that emerging regionalisms, or inter-regionalism in the case of ASEM, are just parallel manifestations and forums to advance the neoliberal agenda of the policy and corporate elite in Europe and Asia. She said that two years ago, our friends in Asia and Europe were very shocked to discover the level of internationalism that has been achieved by the policy and industrial elite of Europe and Asia as expressed in ASEM. ASEM has set a mandate for itself to look not only at the issues of economic cooperation but also at political and security dialogue and on the issue of civil society.

On the question of civil society, she raised that one of the main arenas of struggle is against the huge effort being made by the policy and corporate elite to redefine civil society. They are putting the majority of struggling peoples whether social, environmental, or migrant movements – people's movements – in the 'no-people' category and redefining civil society of the 21st century strongly represented by the interests of corporate capital. In creating the vision group for ASEM, there were former prime ministers and former presidents, corporate

chief executives and their minions basically. She stressed that this is a very important signpost to us who are trying to re-imagine and reinvent the kinds of solidarity we need for the 21st century. The gauntlet has actually been thrown down. We have very little choice in a sense but to find more effective and more appropriate ways in which we can struggle for the reassertion of the people's interest to put the core concerns of our people's agenda central to our debates and discussions.

OPEN FORUM (8)

Robert: While we saw the state's primary function as that of the agent of oppression and of domination of people, in this period, it actually seems to be more the corporations who are having problems with the state rather than the people. When do we see it as something which protects the more vulnerable against just outright corporate rule? But then again when do we also see it simply as an agent of corporate rule which subjugates the citizens in favour of the corporations or of the ruling classes? My difficulty with a complete anti-state or non-state viewpoint is the question of what do we see replacing it in the context of the epoch that we are in. At the moment, I only see more oppressive direct corporate rule with no election, essentially corporate fascism, rather than being ameliorated by the state even if it has only existed for less than a century anyway.

Lothar: For Tapan, the way you started out well, even the liberals would agree to that. They too think that the state is really hijacking every space and that it should be pushed back for that reason in order to give more freedom to economic interests. What do you see is the function of the state today in the context that Robert has just addressed and how do we differ also from communitarian critiques of the state. As for Brid, you have well stated the critique of ASEM but I would say, to have ASEM is a reason not to critique ASEM as such in order to get rid of it but in order to do politics within this set-up. As we have more of these regional structures, there are more possibilities to do politics actually. We should not see this arena simply as something in addition which makes our leeway of manoeuvre smaller but actually it enlarges our leeway of doing politics, of doing something, of addressing issues.

Bartom: ACFOD had a chance to organise the Forum of the Poor composed of organisations from ten countries.

As we talk about the regional and international levels, let us not forget the national level because that is the base. In Thailand, through the Forum of the Poor, the people formed themselves to fight at two levels: first at the national level and also at the ASEAN and ASEM summits. We have to pay closer attention to people-to-people initiatives. Even though we talk about human rights and democracy, still they are the ones who have to fight for it. Together – the poor, the indigenous people, labour, farmers, fisherfolks – they have a bargaining power. We have to encourage the ‘unpeople’ more and create more political space for them so that they can also take part in the regional and international levels. If we want to take our people to participate at the regional level, they have a lot of ‘handicap’, e.g. in terms of language, so they have no chance. The basic thing is how to go back to the ‘unpeople’, and get wisdom from them. We have to go back to strengthen the national level, so that we may come up with more viable solutions at the regional and inter-regional levels.

Basil: I wish to speak on the question of the state. From a human rights point of view, if you take a place like Burma, you get a regime without a state virtually. If you take Cambodia, it is not possible to create a state if you take it from where Pol Pot left. You only have a regime and the regime does not allow a state to come up, therefore a state that has the monopoly of the use of violence. In the past, what the state has achieved is to bring limits to the exercise of the monopoly that the state has. On the one hand, one of the functions to delegitimise the right of the state to use this right of use of power in that way. Using the state as the sole protector of everything and thereby giving it the monopoly of the use of power – of course the rules are very often changed as they like – is a real problem. In Sri Lanka, when the whole process of readjustment came, the political mechanism was to dismantle the state mechanism and allow all sorts of people to kill in broad daylight – 35,000 people disappeared in 2 years. On the one hand, we say that if we have a state, maybe the situation is better. Is it wrong for us to raise the issue of constitutionalism or the state that respects human rights? But then what do we do? I agree that the main form of human rights activity should not be state-directed but community-directed. It should be towards reinventing and strengthening of the community.

Alejandro: From a Latin American perspective, the question of the state is crucial because what we witness is the outright privatisation of the state on behalf of corporate capital and governmental and corporate interests in the North. The question then is can any of that actually be arrested from the standpoint of popular interest? Even though we wish to conceive of a society without a state, that is one thing but in the meantime, we might have to struggle for the state in order to be able to slowly devolve its authority. And that will not simply depend on local conditions but also on international ones. Secondly, we have to be very careful with these notions of communitarianism and community. The sum of local democratic communities does not make a national democratic nation. It is a trap that we have to be very careful to avoid. Third, is the element of how would you distinguish the notion of the defence of the public interests in a political and institutional way without dealing with some sort of state, governmental and institutional apparatus that will protect the collective will against the excesses of individualism and uncontrolled private capital flows.

Lew: MECC is a regional ecumenical organisation composed of 23 different denominational groups made up of Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant. We are concerned about everything that makes up the agenda of being Christians, which includes human rights, globalisation, political emancipation, political enfranchisement, and a variety of concerns that impinge on the environment. I wonder whether or not we ever can freeze culture. Culture is by nature interactive. One of the things that happen in the cross fertilisation of cultures in our day, especially in the Middle East, is the exploitation of individuals. It has become a major conscience problem for the churches in the region. The migrant phenomenon began in the gulf for us. And that was very convenient because the church was the migrant and the exploiter was the Muslim majority. What has happened is that the migrant phenomenon has migrated north. And now it is the Christians who have to probe their own consciences as to how do they deal with other human beings. How do we then support those basically who have taken the risk to jump over the edge in a cliff to see what's at the bottom without any wings? How do we put a railing up to keep people from jumping into disaster?

John: The 'left' in the US had no illusions about Bill Clinton. He was responsible largely for bringing the Democratic Party to the bastion of neoliberalism. Many of his subsequent moves as president illustrate his neoliberalism particularly on the issue of globalisation. Bill Clinton came after 12 years of Reagan and Bush. And it is understandable that many people in the US had great hopes that anybody would be better than that. At the beginning of the Clinton administration, there were a number of initiatives that we had a great deal to hope for – the stimulus package, health care plan, prospect of a peace dividend. None of those really have come about. But Clinton, in a meeting with progressives, leaned over and said, folks, if you want these programs, you have to turn up the heat on the street. He had plenty of policy people or programmes on all of those issues but our failure was we did not bring enough people to the streets. We did have some victories: defeating fast-track NAFTA, tremendous coalition between environmentalists and labour, etc. For us, like Africa and LA, we too had our lost decade. It was a lost decade for people practically speaking, an enormous number of poor people, an erosion of standard of living. It was also a lost decade for us on the 'left' and one of the reasons why we are failing today is because we are fighting rear-guard actions, we are just trying to get back to where we were back in the Nixon era. We too, in the US, are making these struggles.

Day 3: October 9, 1998

The workshop group sessions were held in the afternoon of the previous day and continued on to the first session of the third day. Workshop group reports were heard during the plenary, which was moderated by Basil Fernando from the Asian Human Rights Commission. The following is based on the written reports submitted by each workshop group.

WORKSHOP GROUP REPORTS

A. Labour Concerns

Rapporteurs: Rubina and Janneke; *Members:* Rene, Ramon, Robert, Alejandro, Binda, Surya, Lew, Pietje, Klaus, Bien, Aster, Apo, Ana, Selma, and Bong.

1. General Framework

The challenge is the fragmentation and growth of the informal, unorganised workforce, for example migrants, service sector, home-based workers, and cottage industries. This implies the need for new forms of representation and organisation. Established trade union movements and other organisations need to be more attentive to this new global phenomenon and more supportive to the informal labour sector.

2. Instruments

Instruments which can be used to improve the labour situation:

- a) International regulations such as: social clause in WTO, strengthening ILO, OECD guideline in MAI, etc. and other institutions where you can make a link to labour rights; and
 - b) The codes of conduct.
- To use these instruments we must focus on:
- a) Workers' education;
 - b) Complaints procedures;
 - c) Recognition that workers are the primary actors, including the unemployed and the informal sector;
 - d) The need to express solidarity with migrants, who are a vulnerable sector in the globalisation process;
 - e) Implementation of international regulation and of codes of conduct;
 - f) Workers' involvement in such implementation; and,
 - g) Codes of conduct are not meant to replace trade union movements or national legislation. They are a tool for those instances when there is not a (strong) trade union movement or (implemented) legislation.

B. Rural Economies, Agricultural Sector and Food Security Issues

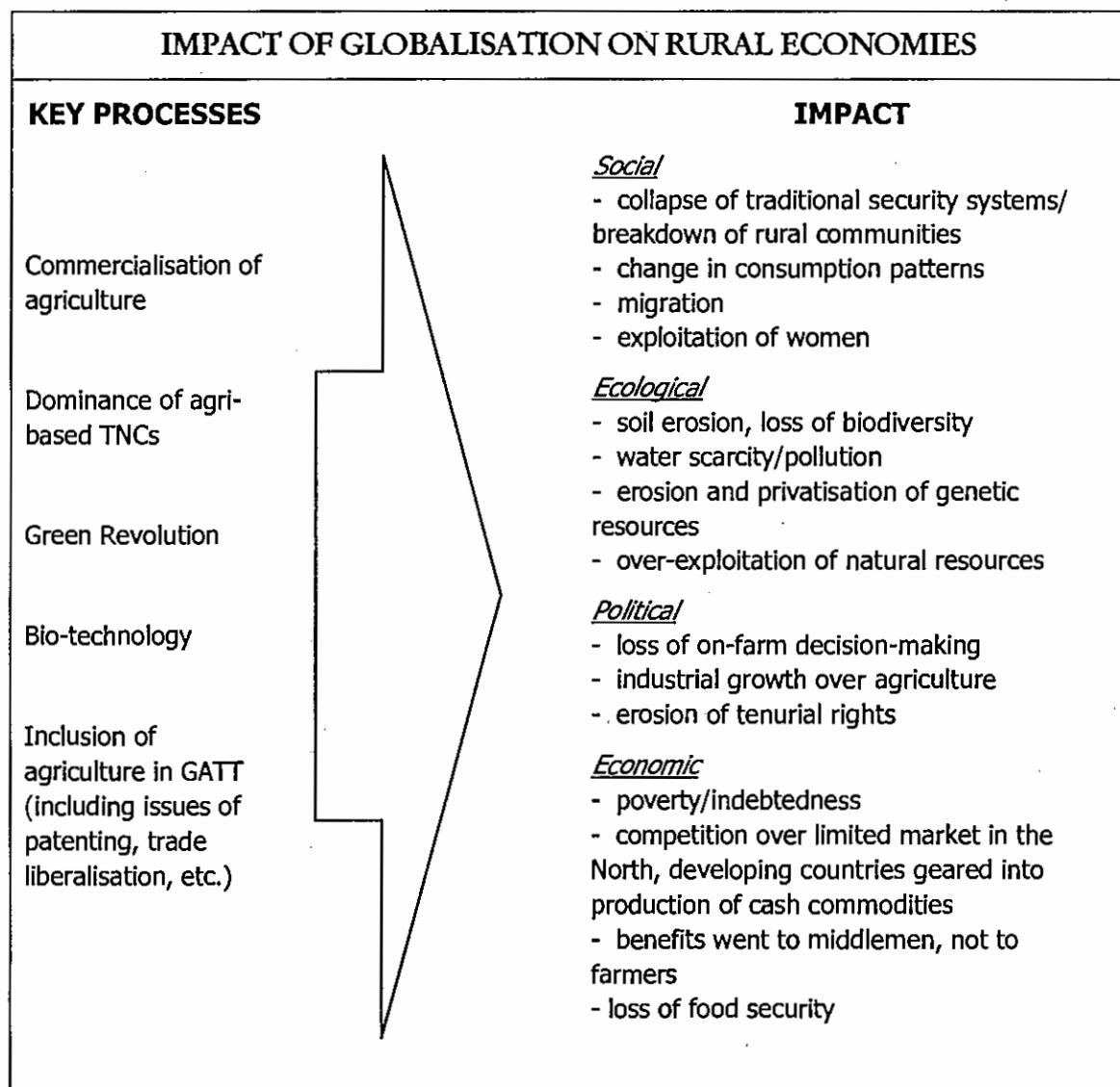
Rapporteur: Roel; *Members:* Bamrung, Bantorn, Li Lin, Peter, Jae Ok, Sandeep, Jeannie, Titos, and Cecibel.

1. Workshop Objectives

a) To examine the causes of the breaking down of rural economies and look at effects on people;

b) To identify strategies for responses, role of regional and international organisations for support and advocacy of solutions and alternatives, etc.; and

c) To share about current responses and alternative measures to revive and protect the rural economy (such as, for example, the Wheat Revival Movement in Korea, etc.)

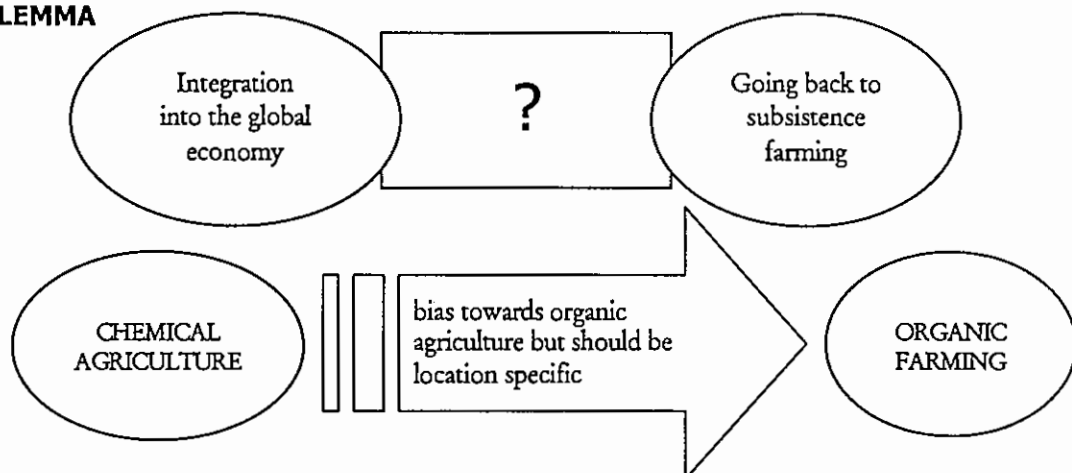


ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS

1. TRENDS

- going back to rural areas (eco-villages)
- recognising the importance of food self-sufficiency

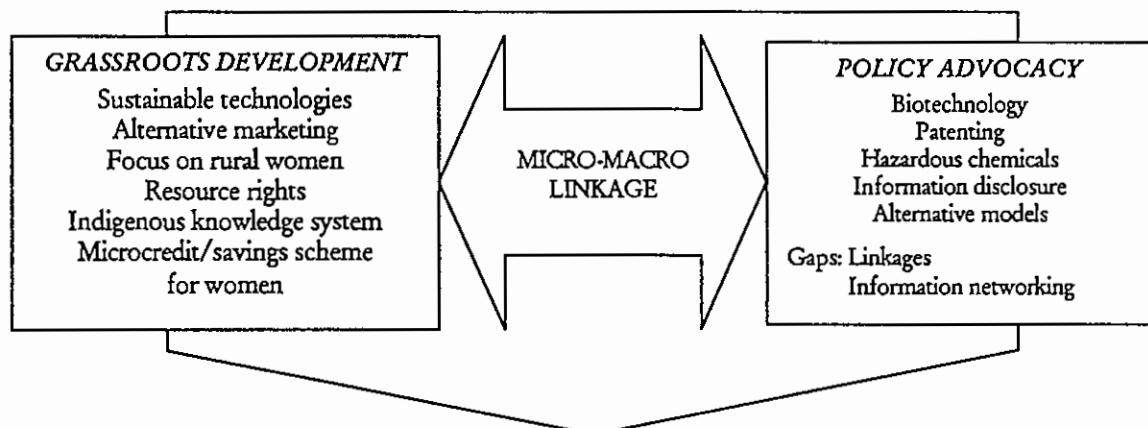
2. DILEMMA



3. PARAMETERS

- which indicators to use?
- replicability, mainstreaming
- view the situation from the people's perspective; village as a unit of analysis

4. COURSE OF ACTION



CONCRETE ACTIVITIES:

- farmer to farmer exchange
- revival of volunteer service
- information exchange

C. Gender and Women's Concerns

Rapporteur: Irene; *Members:* Chanida, Titi, Karin, Dinah, Ineke, Rex, Nelsy, Shan Shan and Dolly.

The group looked at the variety of relations, situations of women in Asia and Europe in various conditions and societies, both in capitalist and social systems.

1. General Framework

a) Must challenge and resist the patriarchal control and intensification of neoliberal exploitation.

b) Exploitative, patriarchal systems and practices which have brought multiple oppressions on women have been progressively used, carried over, adopted, intensified and exploited by succeeding stages of society (primitive, feudal, capitalist; neoliberal globalisation)

c) Have not been effectively challenged.

d) Intensified, manipulated by globalisation; creating new forms/patterns of exploitative relations?

2. Themes on Impacts and Strategies

a) Valuation of Work, Care Tasks

- Value is derived from paid work (only), therefore women's work is undervalued, has no value or devalued;
- Valuation is usually in economic/ monetary terms;
- 'Commons' are controlled, privatised, commodified; women lose access to the commons (therefore excluded/marginalised more); in many communities, women's access to resources are only through these 'commons'.

b) Community Resources

- Use, ownership, control, management of community resources has traditionally been in the hands of power elite (mostly men); with globalisation, corporations are increasingly taking control;
- Control, use, etc. should be exercised by the community, and should be infused with real (and not hollow) gender equality.

c) Public Services

- They are lacking or absent, especially for women; in the west, more women than men rely on these to sustain themselves/family;
- These services must be tied to individual and not household rights;
- Under globalisation, these are withdrawn, rolled back; governments/states are not anymore taking responsibility of these services.

d) Role/Status/Power of Women, Position in Society, Participation

- Role, status, position of women must be elevated;
- Participation, prior consent, information, decision-making structure; basis of power.

f) Culture/value system/religion/education mass media

- Have been used to reinforce/perpetuate patriarchal system; further exploited by neo-liberalism;
- Should be challenged;
- Should utilise 'resources' which we have to challenge patriarchal system, neoliberal exploitation;
- Should have opportunity for choice for women.

g) Migration, displacement, uprooting of women and people

h) Intensification of work; time as a resource; stress

3. Alternative Action

- a) Common joint international strategies
- b) Alliances, etc.
- c) Alternatives to globalisation
- d) Permeate all sectors in the North and the South
- e) More grassroots

4. Proposed Strategies

- a) Guiding Principles:
 - (See themes/general framework)

- Country-level initiative
 - Should permeate all sectors/concerns
 - Build alternatives to globalisation/ patriarchal system
 - More focus/links with grassroots
 - Build alliances, networking
 - Common/joint actions on women/gender issues
 - Empowerment, leadership building, organising, grassroots movement up to regional or international level
- b) Examples:
- PSW: SEA meet, campaign, and concert
 - Circulate our outputs/information
 - North and south links, more grassroots
 - Use multimedia, current technologies
 - Feminist economists/activists
 - Raise local issues at regional and international
 - Asia-Pacific People's Assembly (APPA)
 - Clean Clothes Campaign, consumer actions
 - AMC: migrant training and organising/unionism, joint Asia documentation/campaign
 - CAW: women's departments in trade union, grassroots organisations/empowerment, advocacy work, urgent appeal/actions, and information exchange
 - Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC): structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), women's network on debt and development issues, mainstreaming gender concerns
 - To utilise significant dates in a campaign, e.g. March 8th, May 1st, December 10th

5. Key Issues

Feudal, patriarchal, and religious structures exist in and support globalisation. The invisible work of women is not recognised as valuable, and the dominance of the

market economy has intensified the struggle of women to win recognition for this work. The financial crisis focuses more attention on work for pay, drawing funds and attention away from the private sphere. Globalisation both intensifies the old norms, and creates new problems.

a) Women must participate in shaping society and in shaping policy. Women must confront the structures that are supposed to be helping us.

b) Women must confront the values of neo-liberalism.

c) We must use whatever resources are available in order to do this work.

d) The role of religious structures in supporting patriarchal systems, particularly Hinduism and Islam, must be confronted.

e) Every structure (i.e., trade union, state, etc.) must be analysed to internalise a gender perspective.

6. Conversations

How do Globalisation and the Financial Crisis impact women differently than men?

Before integration of the economy, women suffered disproportionately to men. With globalisation, the cycle quickens and intensifies. The market dominates, and with it, the values of compete, achieve, and consume. The financial crisis removes attention from the private sector, which is the most important sphere for women. Therefore, the problems in the private sector become intensified.

Intellectual Property Rights: In the area of traditional medicine, intellectual property rights rob women of both resources and knowledge. When the medicinal use of bitter gourd is patented in the process of cancer research, not only is access to this medicine eliminated, the knowledge of the women who originally administered the medicine also disappears.

Examples of how women are harder hit: When water is too difficult to obtain, it is the women who carry it. When families must accept rice donation for survival, it is the women who risk the 'loss of face' by waiting on line. Unemployed men beat women more frequently in Japan. Tensions between women intensify over work-

related issues. Sexual violence increases. Emphasis on paid work is greater than ever, further lowering the visibility of unpaid work.

We should focus not only on how globalisation impacts differently on women than men, but also on how to ensure that solutions benefit women.

What forces draw women into migrant labour? The effects of globalisation can be measured by the number of women drawn into migrant labour.

In Sri Lanka, the breakdown of the rural economy means that women go to the cities, and work for five years to earn money for their dowries.

In Malaysia, during the time of small-plot farming, there was a division of labour between men and women. When plantation farming was established, and land ownership was made official, land was put in the names of men. On plantations, the work was so DDD ("dirty, dangerous, and demeaning") that the men left, and the women did the work. Then the plantations moved to Indonesia, and the women were without work. In the case of one factory, they tried hard to eliminate from the workforce women who had been working there for many years. They did this by offering higher wage-increases to the younger women. But the women organised an action and invited the press. They were able to get the equal pay and increases they sought. However, with the financial crisis, these women in their 30s and 40s were given 'voluntary' early retirement. These women may never find factory jobs again.

We should distinguish between migrant workers and displaced people. Free traffic on investment results in the displacement of indigenous communities. In India, women are forced into inter-state displacement due to large government or transnational corporations establish projects. They are not moving by choice; they are displaced to other states, where the language and customs are different, and they are not accepted by their host communities. When the husband drinks or leaves under the pressure, the woman is forced to cope for herself and her family. In Europe, a distinction is made between refugees and migrant workers, but the area of 'economic refugees' combines the two.

Choices: In some cases, especially in Europe, when women leave their homes and families to find work in factories, this is an act of will, and the women gain in personal freedom by seeking work elsewhere. These women should not always be classified as victims, but should be appreciated for solving the challenges with which they are faced. For them, it might be better in the FTZs. However, choice is not always an element. In Thailand, daughters must support their parents, and they will seek any way to do this. And in some Asian cultures, women only have temporary freedom. As soon as they marry or return to their families, they re-enter and return to the same status they had before.

What specific challenges do women in Asia face?

Women in the East have not effectively challenged patriarchy or religion. It is difficult to challenge these forces now that globalisation and the financial crisis grip countries and economies. In the Philippines, whose population is 80% Catholic, divorce and abortion are illegal. In Muslim countries, women feel guilty for challenging their 'gods'. In some Asian countries there is a fear of government reactions to new ideas, so even the expression of ideas can be seen as a risk.

Throughout Asia, girls and women are second-class citizens. All along, boys receive more opportunities than girls. Girl children receive less educational opportunities than boy children. In Hong Kong, this meant that young women eagerly sought factory jobs that could be secured with little education. Now those women are middle-aged and are being laid off. Because of their lack of education, it is difficult for them to find new employment. Some find jobs in the service sector, but there is no job security for them. In India, there is free education for girls until the age of 12, but instead they stay home and take care of their siblings. This reflects the status of the Indian woman. She is first controlled by her father, and then by her husband. In India, a woman must pay her family back for bringing her up. Indian domestic workers are not paid directly; instead their wages are sent to their husbands back in India.

As in Europe and the US, victories that look good on paper may not be good in fact. For example, in India it became compulsory to include women on local government committees. Women now make up 34% of

committee members. But when there are committee meetings, the woman stays home and cares for the family. Instead her husband goes and participates in the meeting, and brings the decision back for her thumbprint at the end of the meeting.

7. Other Comments

Few people connect the issues of women and the environment. Most women work at the local and national level, and not at the international level.

We must strive not romanticise the idea of 'women' as a whole. Even if women were made equal to men, the problems of all women would not be solved.

Technology has both positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects include labour-saving devices that have the potential to improve the lives of women, such as access to clean water, and to washing machines. However, labour-saving devices often do not increase the time available to women, for two reasons: Whatever time is available, the market takes. And labour at home remains the work of women, it is not shared (A UN report found that in the last ten years, men's work in the home has increased an average of five minutes a week.)

Women become agents of globalisation after participating in globalisation.

D. Culture and Cultural Identity

Rapporteur: Vicky; *Members:* Soon Hong, Chan Ho, Gus, Jan, Justice Iyer, Berma, Norman, James, Faith, Bart, and Santha.

1. Workshop Objectives

- To search for implications of culture and cultural identity;
- To examine cultural dimensions of globalisation;
- To analyse impacts of globalisation on our cultures vis-à-vis people's way of life and their value systems;
- To search for movemental strategies of resistance to the aggressive wave of homogenisation of cultures through globalisation and participation in the evolution of people's cultures.

2. Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation

- American hegemonistic corporate power and American cultural empire dominating the world which is eroding the cultures and cultural roots of peoples;
- 'Bastardisation' of cultures;
- Homogenisation of cultures and values;
- Values of competition, crass materialism, individualism are promoted;
 - The richer you are the more respected you become
 - Spiritual essence of a person is gone
- Rising xenophobia
 - Culture is used to fight against the other group within and between countries
 - One group determining what is the right kind of culture
 - Ethnic conflicts
 - 'Us-them' divide
- Growing intolerance of other cultures
 - Other cultures that do not reinforce capitalist values and worldview are to be suppressed or dominated.
 - Indigenous languages, ways of life, production systems, religions are not allowed to be practised in some countries
- Indigenous peoples' cultures and cultural identities which are very much linked to their territories, resources and ways of resource management and production are destroyed when they are displaced from their territories. Thus their assertion of their right to culture, language, and development is intricately linked to their right to have control over their territories and resources.
- Interconnectedness of culture and economy is also clear in agrarian economies: different phases of rice production have accompanying cultural activities – songs, rituals, etc. – when rice production is changed with rubber plantations this culture disappeared.
- Content of media is heavily entertainment and very little information
 - "We Amuse Ourselves to Death"

- Overpowered by superficialities of life
- Escapism, consumerism, cultural hedonism
- j) Culture has become a commodity: media creates and distorts images of people and misrepresents their realities.
- k) 'Americanisation' of language
- l) The capacity to integrate and assimilate other cultures as seen in religions could also be a source of strength
- m) Little or no respect and recognition for other cultures' concepts and utilisation of time and space.
 - Consensual decision-making processes of indigenous peoples are not recognised
- n) Multiculturalism is not allowed to flourish
- o) Content of education being redesigned to conform to the globalisation agenda
 - Denigration of social sciences and liberal arts in favour of subjects which will provide students with skills which will make them competitive in the global market
 - Proliferation of modules instead of more integrated and comprehensive curriculum-building
 - Social responsibility consciousness is lost
 - 'Fast-food' education
- p) Privatisation of education
 - Funds for public universities are cut
 - Private universities are funded by corporations and while the standards of education maybe improved, the fees are too expensive.

3. Identified Problems

- a) Tendency not to integrate culture or gloss over culture in our analysis of situations – the focus is usually on political economy.
- b) We are usually caught in the dominant and minority dichotomy discourse and there is a need to break away from this kind of discourse. (Much discussion went into this because others feel that there is a need to identify factors, barriers or constraints that prevent other cultures and worldviews to exist.)

c) Sometimes we are caught up with our own jargons and refuse to surrender our power based on knowledge which we also impose on the people whom we wish to be empowered. We don't allow them to do things in their own way.

4. Recommendations

- a) There should be a conference focused on culture and globalisation. This will start from a cultural perspective and it will endeavour to bring in films and documentaries, which are made by different Asian peoples.
- b) The International Covenant on Cultural, Economic, and Social Rights should be given more attention and parallel instruments should also be developed in the national level.
- c) The need to generate or support the movement among students and educators which is critical of the content of education being given in schools and universities.
- d) The need for more research on the issues and concerns related to culture and cultural identity.
- e) The need to push for multiculturalism to be recognised and respected.

Tagore wrote to Gandhi:

*Can't you see the colour of the sun rising in the morning?
Or the colour of the blooming of a rose?
Or the beauty of the singing of the birds?*

Gandhi replied:

*When I see the colour of the blooming rose on the cheeks
of a child,
When I heard the singing of the birds in the voice of the
people,
When the people see their hopes in the rising of the sun
in the morning
Then I will see the beauty in all of these.*

E. Human Rights and State, Corporations and Civil Society

Rapporteur: Boonthan; *Members:* Titi, John, Karin, Philip, Charles, Evelyn, Heiner, Taneeya, Chanida, Revrisond, Tapan, Brid, Lothar, Basil, and Samy.

1. Workshop Objectives

- a) To identify the basic areas of cooperation in the future on the basis of North and South dialogue;
- b) To identify the major themes or issues which we can work on together;
- c) To develop approaches on the various issues especially considering the different understanding of issues; and,
- d) To come up with a clear strategy.

2. General Discussion

- a) State: importance of the state. Should we strengthen the state?
- b) Civil Society
 - Does it include the market?
 - Is the free market economy a new form of democracy?
- c) Trafficking of women and children, migration, refugees
- d) Failure in developing effective human rights strategies
- e) Economic, social, cultural rights
 - Very prominent in the context of globalisation
 - Under SAPs, governments have cut down social services, refused their responsibility - education, health, welfare
- f) Solidarity support (North-South): solidarity support, networks weakening, collapsing after the conditions changed (e.g. international support for Philippines against Marcos; anti-apartheid); on the other hand, successes e.g. anti-landmine
- g) NGOs
 - Relationship of NGOs with WB: collaboration with WB or cooptation by WB?
 - GO-NGOs (government organised NGOs) - attempt of government to hijack funds from WB, etc.
 - Regulations/controls against NGOs
- h) Debt
 - Indonesia: debt is US\$1,000 per capita - higher than per capita income. Loans are needed to

pay the salary of public officials, therefore how can the country survive?

- There is widening poverty. So does globalisation contribute to the livelihood of the people?
- i) Set up/strengthen NGO working groups
 - On WB - set up several years ago
 - To gather information on economic, social, cultural rights
 - ASEM NGO working group was set up 2 years ago
 - Collaborations, campaigns, joint actions

j) Can North help South groups to link up with relevant groups to ensure that collaborations happen? Especially for action groups to improve their effectiveness and reach.

3. Challenges

- a) Role, function, reliability, accountability of the state
- b) Relationship of state and civil society. What is the role of the market?
- c) Democracy: What sort of democracy? How to implement?
- d) Partnership: What kind of partnerships do we want to see especially in the North-South linkage?
- e) Free market economy and democracy vis-à-vis participatory democracy: What form? How can we counteract the free market economy?
- f) Bretton Woods institutions: What actions are we going to take?
- g) NGO vis-à-vis the state and NGO vis-à-vis the WB: the question of cooperation or cooptation.
- h) How to cut across the barrier between the NGO and people's organisations in the North and the South.

4. Areas of Possible Cooperation

- a) Clarify the roles in partnerships between the North and the South.
- b) Strengthen people-to-people solidarity and exchanges, i.e. North-South, South-South.

- c) Information sharing and continuing co-ordination and communication.
- d) Joint campaign and mobilisation, e.g. economic, social, and cultural rights in the context of globalisation.
- e) Advocacy work at the international level, e.g. UN, ASEM, and at the local level.
- f) Capability-building for NGOs and civil society.

OPEN FORUM (9)

Alejandro: If we are going to talk about globalisation, we should talk about the globalisation of solidarity. I suggest highlighting the dimension of the solidarity that this group is able to extend to South and North. Secondly, the element of South-South solidarity. In terms of the themes, we have to deal with a fundamental one, which is the element of debt. Debt is increasingly the political and campaign symbol of this latest phase of colonialism called neoliberalism. It is important that debt not be seen as a concern only of Africa or highly indebted countries. It is a part of a greater problematic.

Vicky: The division and fragmentation that is happening between and within countries and sectors is because of lack of solidarity. The main task is solidarity, especially in this age of footloose industries (e.g. moving out of certain countries after a campaign against them). To strengthen solidarity, we need an exchange of experiences and have common campaigns.

Ineke: We should also look at the role of banks and financial institutions when we have corporate-based campaigns.

Lew: We must address issues in a manner that churches can pick up and use them. There are strong voices that can rise with ours in promoting solidarity.

Robert: One area we need to look at, on the global and local basis, is what the state is doing to us as the repressive arm of the globalisation process.

Sandeep: On the gender and women's concerns workshop. The statement of 'valuation of work' was an important debate in the past. It helped a general theory of transformation, corrected certain 'blindnesses', and helped the movement. That theoretical moment is over. An insistence on that is not really much of help because it will only lead in a certain way to an intensification of

the exploitation and oppression. It is not just the value but we have to look for something else. What happens is at one stage while strides are made the system at one level de-feminises the woman. At the other level, it objectifies to the extent of denying the humanity. This is simultaneously taking place. The word that should be used is humanisation. Instead of 'valuation of work', we should use 'dignity of work' because it relates far more to the dignity of labour and of activities which are carried out. Second, on 'alternative to patriarchy'. You can only smash the patriarchal system and not create alternatives to it because an alternative would be a matriarchal system. The problem is with 'archy' and not much with patri- or matri-. So let us find other terms for that. This also relates to the report on culture. We need to mention the patriarchal roots of the new constructed, imaginary identities, which are the bases of most ethnic conflicts. Also, what do we mean by 'bastardisation' of culture? Every culture has become what it is because it has interacted with other cultures and absorbed from each other. We ought to oppose that commercialisation and not try to create walls, which will exclude other cultures and their influences. Also, what do we mean by 'Americanisation' of language? If there is power politics involved, let us oppose that power politics.

Rex: Solidarity is a main concern that we should address. But what are the bases of our unity? Second, on the gender workshop, we are not looking for alternatives to patriarchy. We are saying we should be careful that our alternatives should smash exploitative and anti-gender practices, including some indigenous practices, which are neither sustainable nor gender fair. Lastly, if globalisation is primarily an economic movement at this point, i.e. neoliberalism, what kind of other economics should we evolve? What kind of economy do we want?

Basil: Solidarities are defined in the streets. All that conferences can do is to recognise the emerging solidarities and define the things that we could not do on time and what we could do this time.

Taneeya: We are living in an era of economic movement. In the labour concerns group, I want to propose that the labour movement advocate for the comparative living wage.

Lothar: In how we see the problem, we should distinguish between globalisation and neoliberal politics. We cannot find alternatives to globalisation because it is a process

that has been going on. But we can find alternatives to neoliberalism. Secondly, on the basis of solidarity. One of the problems is that the TNCs move around the world if wages and costs are too 'high'. This situation where we find a solid ground could be the basis of our solidarity. Thirdly, we need concrete measures and mechanisms to enforce international agreements and access to legal remedies.

Lew: At a time when issues are global, we see the atomisation of civil and power structures. This reduces the effectiveness of coalitions. Part of what makes the globalisation model work is the weakness of local institutions.

Klaus: We have to realise that having these minimal social standards (e.g. wage, working conditions, etc.) is not enough for companies because it is a much more complex situation that makes companies decide where they go. Some companies can go anywhere because it is easy for them to change. Other companies cannot go at all because they need a very complex environment. The first step is to distinguish between companies and we have to address the issues that are much more involved. This involves democratisation and political stability. And that has to be reconciled with the need for social struggle.

Rene: Capitalist globalisation is the outcome of neoliberal policies. When you talk of challenging globalisation, you have to challenge the neoliberal ideology – its economic, political, and cultural components. On the issue of minimum labour standards, the problem is that TNCs that set up shops directly are sometimes the best employers. The worst employers are the domestic capitalists doing sub-contracting work for the TNCs. The worst exploiters are corporations from Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan compared to European and Americans. We should also address this.

Irene: On the 'valuation of work'. We are saying that if you get a value for yourself as a human being from the market place or from the surplus value you produce, that is not enough because it denies a person who does work in the market place the dignity as human being. This form of value to a human being based on this should not be accepted. There is more to a human being than just the amount of labour they can sell. While housework should have a value, it should not be based on economics only.

Klaus: If we want to formulate alternatives to neoliberal policies, we have to address the institutions where the neoliberal policies are created and developed. Therefore it does not make sense only to formulate demands like reject the WTO because it is one of key regulators of neoliberalism. These institutions are very powerful and are not working in a democratic manner. Resistance alone will not change the policies. Resistance is important because it has the power of changing agendas. NGOs of North and South have to formulate alternative proposals to their agendas and policies.

Alejandro: In the way we frame our position, if we do not have an alternative, it does not mean that capitalist alternative is an alternative. This must be the starting point of our argumentation. Which does not mean for us that the efforts and direction of advocacy in the case of engagement or negotiating with the WTO and other institutions is a mistaken one. History tells us that there will be no fundamental change without the element of social struggle. Advocacy without social struggle is not going to take us anywhere. The nature of that social struggle should be preceded by active non-violence because we do not want further destruction. I don't believe that solidarity has to be technical, specific, or based on databanks. Solidarity does not come from the mind but from the heart. The simple expression of identifying with a protest has a political value because it is a symbol. And symbols are part of politics because the technical alternatives are not in place. But they will never get into place unless we do our work at the level of symbols, of tenderness, and of heart. That is what solidarity is about.

Robert: I was concerned that we are actually talking past each other. In these types of consultations, the main thing is to recognise our differences and the geo-political place from where we come and how that impacts on where we think we can do the best. It not only a North-South thing, but also exists within our own countries and even our own organisations. We have 3 types of people. One is the stone thrower. When they see an injustice, or are often the victims of injustice, and want to throw stones at it in order to destroy it. The other is people who are prepared to go on a long march, but through institutions. The third are the alternative-builders who can pre-figure a future could be like both in policy and in the micro level. A problem in the past is, in order to justify importance of what we are doing, we will criticise

others. All of these are necessary and important. In all of those things, we have the obligation to ensure that in all of our strategies and tactics that the people who are the subjects of what is trying to be attempted are the people themselves, and not NGO leaders. In some ways, the game that we are playing is just we as the NGO elite are relating with the global elite and again the people who matter the most to us miss out once again.

Peter: One of the dilemmas is that we consider globalisation as a problem, but at the same time we are part of the problem. We all benefit from globalisation. If we cannot stop globalisation, we should look into our lives and do our best to change our lives so as not to contribute to globalisation.

Janneke: Not all aspects of globalisation are bad. We can learn from each other's cultures, take the best from it, and make personal choices.

Jae-ok: Solidarity is, "to know is to love." It is very important for me to meet this new group. I discovered that we could actually work together. For solidarity we need more networking and we need to know more about other organisations and their activities.

Beth: How many of us are willing to let go of our email and internet and look at the role of globalisation in our personal lives in the way we communicate with each other, as we articulate our protest and create our solidarity? The issue is much deeper and harder than that.

Jeannie: I want to make a plea for us to think more about dialogues, conversations and common studies together to have a common language and conceptual clarity which will help in searching for alternatives. When we talk of globalisation, are we saying all types and processes of international economic relationships and interdependence are part of globalisation? Some say globalisation is simply imperialism continued. Some say we are facing something totally new and which was never before predicted stage of capitalism. Sometimes, however, we wonder whether we ourselves are victims of globalisation discourse that ultimately disempowers? Can we say that everything is attributable to globalisation? In the framework paper, we said globalisation itself is not a homogenous process and it has many contradictions. This consultation is too limited a venue to discuss that. In our effort to focus on the key dominant issues, we

have not deepened our discussion on the contradictions. For example, we talk about the homogenisation of culture. Globalisation cannot homogenise culture totally. Are we led to believe that globalisation has succeeded in homogenising culture? Secondly, for our future discussion may be we can talk about "smashing patriarchy." Is patriarchy something very visible and tangible that can be smashed, or is it something that operates within us with all kinds of complex complicities?

Brid: It is not only globalisation that we have to analyse. We also have to subject solidarity into much deeper discussion. Maybe we have different solidarities years ago, but situations have changed. It is encouraging that there is an explosion of solidarity and of people's responses to globalisation. I suggest that in developing new forms of solidarity, we put it side by side with the reality of people's struggles.

Basil: Solidarities are constantly being created wherever there are struggles. Let us turn to those struggles and what we have been discussing can have fruits far beyond what we are thinking at this moment.

Day 4: October 10, 1998

The Asian and European Regional Caucuses were conducted in the morning. The moderator for the plenary session in the afternoon was Janneke van Eijk of the Clean Clothes Campaign in Netherlands.

PLENARY

A. Regional Caucuses

1. Asian Caucus

Irene reported on the discussions in the Asian Caucus. She said there was not enough time to discuss. There was just a sharing of what each of the organisations were doing and what the experiences were with the Northern groups particularly with funding agencies. Most of the groups talked about how they have begun to form alliances and working relationships with other organisations in the South. Some have organisational experiences with countries from all over

the world. There was a trend towards building up South-South alliances and North-South alliances. Below are some of the statements made by the members of the group, which represent the majority of concerns:

- To form North-South alliance on the issue of substantive democracy.
- To give priority in the North to issues related to the implementation of international instruments.
- To get the message across to the North, that in terms of economic, social and cultural rights, globalisation is posing extreme possibilities of death and impoverishment, e.g. Indonesia, Indonesia, and Burma.

Some of the questions posed included:

1. Are we in the South sub-contractors of the northern agencies?
2. Are we donor-driven?
3. How do we develop partnerships that are more effective?
4. Are we honest in our motives and in the way we operate?
5. Are we beggars?
6. Are our salaries justified?
7. Do we acknowledge the problems that we have about working with one another in terms of duplication of work, etc.?
8. What is the relationship that we have as NGOs with people's organisations and political parties?
9. Do we acknowledge their criticisms of us just as we attempt to get them to listen to our criticisms of them?

Irene quoted some of what was said which was posed in the form of a challenge to the South:

"How do we get the North to understand and learn from us. We realise that we have very few friends in the North. It is important that they listen to what we say and we communicate with them. This communication is important because in the final analysis what happens in our part of the world will determine the kind of life that they would have in the North."

"They have the money but we have the struggles and perspectives on the struggles. Therefore, they should work on their own governments and international agencies that are

supported by their governments and by TNCs that originate from their countries. They should work on those issues because our interests are common because what happens in the South will ultimately affect what happens in the North."

2. *European Caucus*

Ineke reported on the discussions in the European Caucus. They expressed frustration in that discussions were mostly about Germany, Netherlands, and a little about EU and there was no discussion about Central and Eastern Europe where the situation is very different.

She shared that they defined solidarity work to mean two things: changing our own societies within Europe and changing the relations between Europe and Asia. They put forward some proposals on how to continue the work that are being done on what they are engaged in now and how to further this.

1. Develop a vision on sustainable global development. As development-oriented organisations, we miss out on the difficult connection with more environment-oriented groups within the European context. We need to change our own societies. We need to jointly work on programs and study the consequences in terms of the whole development paradigmatic dialogue or in terms of development in general. For example, what are the consequences for some of the Asian economies if we would actually go for a much more sustainable Europe? For e.g. the cut-flower campaign which called for improving labour conditions in the cut-flower industry in Zimbabwe or Colombia for the European or Japanese market. The environmental groups said cut-flowers should be grown in Europe and not imported. On the other hand, there were the trade unions in Kenya and in other places saying this is protectionism and they will lose jobs in the cut-flower industry.

A real need also from Asia is to relay back on the part of giving comments on our plans but also on a realisation on what it means within an Asian context if we would actually go on like this. This means we have to link in trade in investment with sustainable development. What does the challenge of sustainable development mean in relation to specifically ASEM trade and investment policies?

2. Work on the role of the EU in the IMF response to the crisis. This is partly the lobby work that should go on in addressing the EU. Specifically with respect to their part in IMF policy: explaining the poverty that is going on, the consequences of the crisis and try and change to a large extent the way the EU has been handling the whole IMF input.

3. We need to cooperate in mapping the consequences of the policies and not just in South but within the EU and the former Eastern European bloc. In addressing our own governments and their role within the EU and what type of things that we need then also from Asian partners to be able to this in an effective way. Do we have an information gap? Sometimes we do not lack the information as lack the ideas on what to do with the information.

4. We feel a need for an increased discussion on mechanisms for TNC accountability. Within the European context, we feel we have done a lot of work on TNC campaigns: the codes of conduct, monitoring, and state involvement. But we need a more focused discussion on mechanisms to make them accountable and more of a joint agenda on what type of mechanism should entail. We will lose a lot of momentum and a lot of political relevance in the sense that we will not be asking for something that is far forward. But we will keep on asking for something that has by now gained a lot of ground. We need to further this thinking.

5. We need a European component, which challenges the behaviour of European people, not so much the institutions. That means that mining campaign is interesting when it links to the financial institutions not just because these are important but also because people have accounts at banks. It enables us to address people on their own responsibility within this system. It creates scope for awareness raising in a much more direct way than if we have to raise awareness about institutions and about things that go on elsewhere. That is something to think about when campaigns are being developed from an Asian point of view that we need that element for us to be able to work on our side of our own agenda which is to change the European context.

6. We need to further our development of an information strategy. This means increased inter-European cooperation in what our demands are from our Southern partners when it comes to studies and

information about what our companies and governments are doing. If we all commission studies, it will be a lot for you to do and a lot to read for us. An element of this strategy is the changing nature of what type of information you need. For example when it comes to TNCs we no longer need general stories about how bad working conditions are. What we need is linking back to actually who is creating those working conditions. This should work both ways, with Europeans learning about Asia and also Asians learning about Europe. We have to look at this from a strategic basis and not just incidental demands.

What do we need/expect from our Asian partners?

Firstly, we need legitimation for this whole effort to point out the necessity of having increased sustainability in our own countries, from an Asian perspective. We are a very marginalised group in some sense. Most of our own networks will come back and say, you are supposed to help the poor in the world, you are supposed to be working on development issues, why do you want to address what is going on in our own countries. A clear legitimation from Asian partners that this is an agenda that is necessary is for us crucial.

Secondly, we need to engage on fighting or addressing neoliberalism specifically in Europe. That also requires more thinking and more knowledge from Asian people about what's going on. On this knowledge, we should make a contribution to this as well. We came up with the idea of mapping initiatives in Europe towards an alternative Europe. There are a lot of things going on in different parts of the EU which have to do with this and which has not been brought forward.

Thirdly, we should include migration as an issue much more than what we have done. We discussed the enormous differences in Europe between migrants and refugees and asylum-seekers. More linking of the migration network should be done.

Fourth, there must be a broadening of the European participation in these kinds of meetings and in our future work.

OPEN FORUM (10)

Lew: We are in a spiritual crisis worldwide. We in the South must understand that our Northern partners are in crisis as well. This is one of the bases for solidarity in its

actual sense. We need to be able to say to the West, North, South and East that our concern about globalisation is really a concern about the solidarity of humanity and will not be seduced into buying the gospel of atomisation of the human soul.

Tanazya: If the majority of peoples are starving, will NGOs go back to welfare-oriented work because that means we will fight in solidarity with the people who are suffering. I ask NGOs to be less self-obsessed and look at what is happening to the masses.

Tapari: We, in Asia, should take up the issue of religious divide or the construct of Islamic fundamentalism. Other concerns we need to take on board are: the issue of militarisation; the relationship between the state and the process of globalisation with the internal militarisation; issues of violence; how religion or sects have been used or how they are coming in connivance with the globalisation process to perpetrate that process of atomisation. We have to take these concerns on board and discuss with our Northern partners.

Evelyn: In the Asian Caucus, there were also some self-criticism particularly the inability to define clearly what we want and to express this as clearly to our Northern counterparts and also our weakness in terms of connecting to each other in solidarity in Asia. Part of this self-criticism is also to see clearly our role as NGOs in relation to the mass movements and the people we claim to represent and we have been talking about – the taking of the people's perspectives in all the areas of discussions that we made.

Boonthan: Our resources are not only in the form of money but also in the form of collaboration and human power. We have to go beyond the donor-recipient relationship. There must be change in the form of solidarity to something more meaningful than money. In this meeting, we have put not only our heads together but also our hearts. The heart is a basic component in forming strong solidarity and commitment.

Norman: The questions raised were thought provoking and self-critical as well as putting into perspective the criticisms that we have with each other. But there were some which were left out. One, on an organisational frame, how our friends in other regions look at movements who are in Least Developed Countries. Two, we can see a universal basis in terms of values on

how these forms of cooperation are being articulated, asserted and sustained. We have to understand that we cannot replicate these things and the viability also rests upon the specific conditions of these countries or the level and processes of development of the actual movements and NGOs which have come up with such forms. Lastly, if we are going to proceed with coming up with specific forms of cooperation, there are two things that need to be prioritised: 1) exchanges not only on the level of information but mainly people-to-people exchanges; 2) sustaining our own movements by organising and mobilising more people into the movements.

Robert: Let us talk of commitment and then talk about 'deliverables'. Maybe we can look at both of those things. There are certain things that we can commit ourselves to doing but then actually we have to very specific. Firstly, on relationship building which must always be part of solidarity. It is probably easier for us to have ongoing relations with non-funding bodies because the issue of coming together or partnership is never been the funding issue. Is it possible to keep having relations, which are not predetermined by or will only exist on funding? Too often because the relationship have been project-based, when the funding finishes and we do our final report, our relationship ends. That is not a healthy two-way relationship. That is one of the commitments I like to see. Secondly, on the question of ideas and viewpoints. We have to identify fundamental differences of viewpoints even within the people's movements of the South and the North, and try to bring those people together to try to thresh out some of those things. That will also help us. There will always be similar conferences. When agencies come, if they are also able to support a trade unionist or a women's movement activist or an ecologist that would be good so we can have multi-leveled and multi-layered dialogue. Thank you for this exercise, it is a much-needed step for our future work.

Klaus: The problem often is that we, in Misereor for example, have a strong arm of development education, awareness raising. We are running campaigns but on different issues. I started cooperation with Apo and CIC since 1995 on the toy issue that had nothing to do with funding. I have made commitments here with people from Philippines to contact regarding the Jubilee 2000 campaign, all things apart from funding. I think it is the

lack of the funding agencies that this aspect of our work is not often very present in relations with Southern NGOs. We say it would be good to have a network of competent partners on this and that issue, e.g. issue of building up alternatives under the paradigm of sustainable development. They can include funding but it is not the main issue. We have to create forms of information on what we are doing so that Southern NGOs can link up or produce printed materials for partners in the South.

Evelyn: You asked for legitimisation, how can we in the South do that?

Klaus: We had a lot of problems with the study of sustainable Germany because many people questioned us. Our legitimisation to take up the debt issue comes on the one hand because of Catholic agency, the Pope raised the issue. But on the other hand, from partners in the South who say we are suffering under the debt crisis and our projects are going down, our efforts in the past are destroyed. So we urge you to become active for example on this issue. This creates awareness also in our organisations. Our offices are mainly targeted towards funding proposals but if you send them political letters, they begin to sweat. I will not say everybody. Majority of them are very aware but they have to do something. They have to give you an answer. As the discussion process starts within the organisation that is the way of legitimisation. Because we always have to argue with our bishops while we only react to demands of our partners. It is not our agenda; it is the agenda of our partners.

Basil: Your participation in taking up an issue like that makes you a minority in Europe. I do not see great difficulties in the process of fighting various ideas on the alternative Europe. But those ideas are in the agenda particularly after the collapse of Eastern Europe and the new situation. But if you are talking about globalisation in a serious way, there is no alternative except some massive changes in the European and American scene. In that sense, the ideas that you generate, the viewpoints that were mentioned are very important to us. In real sense, this is not a partnership of projects. It is a partnership of ideas and fundamental changes. On your part, it is a question of an alternative Europe. For us, at the moment when people are even in an unconscious sense fighting for an alternative Asia in the streets of various countries at the moment, various movements

going on in every country, the whole issue of democratisation and having some real changes are the fundamental issues. I hope that in this meeting, even in a smaller scale, we are able to speak of ideas and various viewpoints. If we can keep that aspect, I will consider this as an extremely important meeting.

Sandeep: When reference to Eastern Europe came up in this discussion, which was not very substantive, it was in view of the kind of crisis situation there and how that also is proving to be a burden for the entire European society. But on the other hand, one remembers some years ago there were very exciting ideas about alternatives from Europe, e.g. then East Germany, Poland, Soviet Union, in terms of people's power and sustainability. It is essential that at some stage those kinds of ideas also become a part of this kind of dialogue at least at the level of exchange of ideas. That effort should be made. The same applies to the Arab world. They should also be a part of an Asian dialogue.

Brid: Just to immediately respond to the previous comment. This is one of the limitations in a sense, both of time and the preparation that we were able to have for this consultation. What we are talking about requires us also to have an adequate way of sharing with our Asian partners in this context, the realities, conditions, struggles in Europe. Maybe because this was not explicit enough in the pre-stage, we weren't able to get into it. I agree so much that even our statement now does not reflect also what is our fundamental sentiment that, for those of us in Europe, our eyes do burn when we see how the peoples of Eastern Europe have really been brought to their knees. The dynamic of what's going on in Europe will be very important for us, in the methods and forms in which we exchange information with our Asian partners. The other thing, I feel because we are talking about legitimisation, this has implications also for our methods. I think we have to criticise ourselves in Europe for, in a sense, our Southern partners have been part of our activities as 'Exhibit A'. We have to pay more attention to creating situations of a real exchange between people in Europe who are involved in alternatives and change, with our Southern partners who are also involved in change. This goes also to our speaking tours, we have to get more into the idea in which when our Asian partners speak to our policy makers in Europe, they do so together with Europeans who are also involved in change in Europe. This will

strengthen and legitimise our efforts. Likewise here, when Europeans come to Asia, they come for sharing with the struggles here. Maybe we could also develop very concrete approaches to our embassies in Asia, and also to the policy makers in the European Union in the same way that Europeans and Asians will approach these points in Asia itself.

Tapan: One of the areas of expanding partnership into a larger area of cooperation is that since most of the donor/funding agencies have expanded their work from purely developmental cooperation to cooperation in the areas of advocacy and conscientisation, they could also think therefore in terms of expanding the network or horizons of these contacts in their own countries. Those of us who are working for example on migration issues, could also be helped in getting in touch with organisations in Germany, France, and Holland who are dealing with these issues. Often this kind of link can help and reach each other's work. This is a platform through which you have to increase the area of exchange. It could be co-ordinated so that during visits we could maximise the opportunity and also arrange for similar exchanges here. Apart from all these, there is a specific area which we have not looked at and this is not funding cooperation. There was a very large solidarity until the end of Cold War expressed through the peace movement. For those of us living in South Asia, we know how the issue of nuclearisation is returning to us with vengeance and the threat of war is increasing. The problem of militarisation has never left us.

Janneke: There is still a peace movement in Europe, e.g. there has been a peace camp in Scotland protesting the nuclear submarines that are there. It is not as massive as it was in the 80s but there are still groups active on this issue doing research, publication and raising awareness.

Titi: Based on my experience in my NGO in Indonesia and with the groups in Germany, Holland and US, I know that if we campaign for the same issue, it is easier to work together. For example the campaign on Mamburamu Project where German companies wanted to build a big industrial complex in Irian Jaya and cut millions of hectares of forest. So we campaigned on both sides, and it worked so good that the German company said that they will postpone the project. If we understand the same issue, it is easier to work, but the problem is if we have issues or understanding that are

very different. For example, I raised the issue of conservation in our group in a conference on biological diversity. We met many people who had many different understandings. We asked the people what could we do together so we can move on a certain issue. We need to have good communication so that we may understand and respect one another and work on our differences.

Vicky: If European partners say they are committed to fight neoliberalism in Europe, then this will go a long way in terms of addressing this issue. If we work in a more focused manner, we will have hope that things are going to change. Secondly, maybe we should be more forthright and honest on both our parts to confront the differences that we have because we cannot just brush them aside. We need to confront major issues so that we can work better. Thirdly, while project-funding relationship is not really a major one, we should not underestimate this because a lot of us have been able to carry on our own struggles and our own issues because we received that amount of money from our partners. That kind of relationship has been deepened because we are dialoguing with each other every now and then. Lastly, one of the weaknesses of this conference was we did not put much attention on the issue of environment.

Ineke: One of the problems we have in relating as primarily development-oriented groups to more sustainable or environmental groups in Europe has a lot to do with our differences in interest. Because we are economically linked, such as workers in the South producing a lot of goods for the North, it is exactly the nature and amount of goods that are being addressed. Maybe it will be interesting to think about, for example, McDonald's, there is a plan to focus more on the toy production for McDonald's. For us that will be on the one hand an opportunity to link with the anti-McDonald's campaign which is going on in Europe. On the other hand, we will have a hard time convincing them of the need to produce under safe and healthy conditions the toys for McDonald's because they feel McDonald's should not exist at all. It is the epitome of being environmentally bad not just in Europe but outside. And it promotes consumerism as well. We need to address these issues jointly.

Klaus: This is a specific information that we can work with. German companies have various projects in different countries. Then we can use our instruments, be

it in parliament, or through the ministries. Then we can lobby the company in Germany; we can involve journalists and so on. We request for specific information. If we get concrete approaches where we have a chance to do something, that helps us a lot.

Lew: We need to include in the next meeting some representatives from Africa.

Taneeya: I would like to request for consultation with local groups and the children themselves, in the case of child labour, before any campaign work is undertaken at the national level. There must be understanding on and from both sides. The way that some organisations are selective about information is heart breaking. In Cornell University, child labour is attached to the industrial relations study. How can we analyse child prostitution, which is the worst form of child labour, under industrial relations studies? Even for child labour, the children are always excluded and marginalised. Another kind of power group just co-ordinate, e.g. trade unions in Europe or America support campaigns against child labour and when children are involved with different viewpoints, they are attacked verbally. Some work that support vocational training or viable options at field level were destroyed. Please involve the whole range of concerned people including children's organisations, in discussing child labour.

Rubina: We must build-up networking on specific issues and exchange information on what we are doing in our respective countries. The support we receive from within and outside of our country means a lot to us who work in the grassroots.

Irene: In Malaysia, we have benefited greatly from solidarity work particularly from people in the North as well as Hong Kong and other parts of the world. We have had many crises in Malaysia, e.g. in 1969 when the solidarity links were not developed so the people who were victims of political repression at that time suffered long periods of detention, movements were practically destroyed. When we had other problems later on, when the links were much more developed, there was a lot of difference in the response of the government to the solidarity expressed. This kind of solidarity should carry on.

Gus: We also need to share on what we have already achieved and not only our problems. Celebrations should be part of conferences.

Roel: Our organisation has been in existence for the last 19 years but I admit that many of you I have met for the first time. There might be some reason why this is so. First, the issue of agriculture has been marginalised for quite a while, investment in agriculture has been going down for the last 10 years. The issues related to agriculture have been better dealt with at the local or national level, e.g. landlessness or agrarian reform. Second, there has been a gap between most of these NGOs working on agriculture and advocacy groups and those working at the field. But it is changing right now especially with the inclusion of agriculture in the GATT agreement. More and more those who are working in the field or working on agriculture now realise the need to appreciate the importance of that in addressing the rural economies. With that in the future, it might be good if we can facilitate the filling up of the gaps and that the solidarity will have real meaning for all of us.

B. Declaration of Solidarity

On behalf of the Drafting Committee, Lothar, Rex, and Jeannie presented the draft of the *Declaration of Solidarity, The Final Statement of the Consultation*. After a thorough discussion, recommendations from the participants were gathered and incorporated into the text. The final form is at the beginning of this document.

CLOSING SESSION

Jan and Apo closed the consultation with a few remarks. Courtesies and appreciation to the hosts, organisers, and participants followed.

Jan said that he is most happy about this conference because for the first time with so many friends and partner organisations he has been working with for a long time, this we did in such frame. There is a discussion going on at the much larger WCC and much of the talk is about CUV (Common Understanding and Vision). That was what we talked about in this consultation and we did something more, we tried to actually do some first steps of thinking and planning to

put this very practically into practice. We did this in a unique group – in regard to experience, expertise, to achievement, there are a lot of achievers sitting here together. In spite of uneasy feelings about relationships which will certainly last longer than this conference because they are there in all relationships as also in ours. I think having agreed on a common basis like we did and on plans as concrete as possible, this conference was a sincere and a good contribution to building trust. And that is something very important in itself. As Boonthan said, we put our heads and hearts together. We agreed on ideas and on ways how to put solidarity into practice, how to try to do it at least. How it will work, we will only find out after some time. But we laid a good basis and there are concrete pledges and the next step is how to follow up the pledges by the persons represented here. I think this conference has marvellously been prepared and organised. I must say and thank very sincerely and I think I do that in the name of all of us. I should also like to sincerely thank the resource persons which really helped us in clearing our minds and also in challenging us where that was necessary. I want to say sincere thanks to the secretariat. I live through many conferences and it is very rare that there was a conference which was accompanied so smoothly and so quietly and made life so comfortable and agreeable for us. As it was said, we should pat each other on the shoulder and say alright, we did a good job. I say this is a very unique group of people in the sense that it will never meet again in this form. I think that is good. It is good if we leave now, if we spread in all four winds – East, West, North, South – and carry the message and go to work on the plans we made and share them with others and maybe that will bring some of the broad effect we could not have reached here but which is possible.

Apo shared two insights. One was on the proliferation of NGO meetings. He was struck when Rex expressed frustration about APEC meetings. Rex mentioned there were 5 parallel meetings in the Manila APEC meeting. In Vancouver, there were 2 parallel meetings. Fortunately this year, there is only one APPA. And then Robert said that there would be no more parallel meetings in New Zealand. Apo felt that this is a positive sign that we are narrowing our focus and getting rid of these redundant NGO meetings. However, this remains to be seen. Secondly, despite not being a Christian himself, Apo studied in a Catholic school, has

been in the Christian labour movement for 15 years, and, has been getting a lot of funding from the church. He then shared a story from the Bible, the New Testament:

A certain man went down from Jerusalem (this Jerusalem is Asia) to Jericho (we change it to London) and fell among the thieves (like Soros, IMF, WB, WTO, SAP, etc.). And these international bilateral instruments stripped him off of everything. This is the result of financial crisis. This has been described many years ago. And then departed leaving him half-dead – such as the Indonesians, Koreans, etc. And then we have a certain priest (I hope he is not from Misereor) came down that road and when he saw him, he passed and said God bless you. And then we have lawyers, academics passing by. And then the Samaritan came and helped him and then came two more men, one is Jan Reinders from EZE and Apo Leong from AMRC. This is new New Testament. We say now is the chance to organise a meeting learning from the good example of the Good Samaritan.

Apo called on everyone to challenge neoliberal globalisation and in solidarity with the Indonesians, Koreans, to search for new alternatives.

The Organising Committee presented a token of appreciation to the HKBU Social Work Department, to Henry Mok, Jimmy and Cosine for all the help and support in running the conference and for the use of the facilities.

A gift was also presented to Jan for his support throughout the years with EZE. This was his last 'public' appearance in an official capacity. Jan has worked with us and because he is going to retire, we shall miss him. But we hope to continue dialogue, to keep him busy with our requests. We still very much welcome him when he visits Asia for whatever purpose.

As a gift to participants, they were given some seeds in the hope that it will grow in their respective countries, in courtyards, in mountains, and that they shall bear fruit

and, we hope that we share these products in the coming days in other meetings somewhere, sometime.

The Organising Committee thanked and expressed appreciation for the active participation and valuable contribution of all participants during Consultation. We hope that you share with us the initial impression that, on the whole, the Consultation served as a significant

platform for raising critical issues, agenda, and challenging perspectives for the continuing dialogue and cooperation between NGOs in Asia and Europe. We trust that the discussions, commitments, and partnerships shared and strengthened at the Consultation will bear fruit in the succeeding months and years as we face common challenges together.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

PROGRAMME AND SCHEDULE

OCTOBER 6, 1998

Arrival and Registration
NIT International House
Hong Kong Baptist University (HKBU)
Renfrew Road, Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong

Moderator: Jan Reinders
"Economic Globalisation and the
Challenge of Sustainable Paradigms"

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz
Lothar Brock
Alejandro Bendana

6:00 pm Dinner
Briefing of the participants

7:30 pm Briefing: Resource Persons,
Moderators, and Organising Committee

4:00 pm Tea and Coffee Break

4:30 pm Presentations and Discussions (continued)

OCTOBER 7, 1998

8:30 am Opening Session:
Lam Woo International Conference Centre

Moderator: Bart Shaha

Opening Remarks, Introduction and
Orientation (Organising Committee)
Roll Call – *Cecibel Perez and*
James Joseph Keezhangatte
Setting up of Standing Committees:
Steering Committee
Drafting Committee

"Governance, Democratisation,
Human Rights and Security"

Justice Krishna Iyer
Berna Klein Goldewijk

6:00 pm Dinner

7:30 pm Meetings: Steering Committee and
Drafting Committee
Venue: NIT International House

OCTOBER 8, 1998

9:00 am Plenary: Panel Presentations

10:00 am Tea and Coffee Break

Moderator: Shun Yuen Shan

10:30 am Framework Setting:
1. Perspectives from Europe
- *Jan Reinders*
2. Perspectives from Asia
- *Jeanne Nacpil-Manipon*

Labor Concerns:

Rene Ofrenco
Klaus Piepel
Robert Reid

12:30 pm Lunch

Rural Economies and Food Security Issues:

Sandeep Pendse
Peter Rottach

2:00 pm Presentations and Discussions

- 10:30 am Tea and Coffee Break
- 11:00 am Plenary: Panel Presentations (continued)
- Gender and Women's Concerns:
- Ineke Zeldemust*
Irene Xavier
- Culture and Cultural Identity:
- Kim Chan Ho and Moon Soon Hong*
Bemma Klein Goldewijk
- 12:30 pm Lunch
- 2:00 pm Plenary: Panel Presentations (continued)
Open Discussion
- Human Rights and State, Corporations
and Civil Society:
- Tapan Bose*
Brid Brennan
- 3:30 pm Tea and Coffee Break
- 4:00 pm Workshop Groups
(Small group moderators, rapporteurs and
members, room assignments, guide questions,
etc. will be announced by the Steering
Committee)
- Workshop groups are expected to prepare
concise written reports and brief oral
presentations.
- 6:00 pm Dinner
- 7:30 pm Continuation of Workshops
- OCTOBER 9, 1998
- 9:00 am Continuation of Workshops,
Finalization of Reports
- 12:30 pm Lunch
Workshop reports to be collected by
Secretariat, copies to be given to Drafting
Committee.
- 2:00 pm Plenary
- Moderator: Basil Fernando*
Report of Workshop Discussions and
Recommendations Identification of Key
Points and Recommendations
- 4:00 pm Coffee and Tea Break
- 4:30 pm Plenary (continued.)
- 6:00 pm Dinner; Drafting Committee Meeting
Drafting of Joint Statement on Globalisation
- OCTOBER 10, 1998
- 9:00 am Regional Caucus
Discussions and Recommendations on
Partnerships, Relationships, and New Forms
of Cooperation; People-to-People Initiatives
- 10:30 am Tea and Coffee Break
- 11:00 am Plenary: Sharing of Regional Discussions
- Moderator: Jarneke van Eijk*
- 12:30 pm Lunch
- 2:30 pm Plenary: Presentation and Discussion
of Draft, Joint Statement
- 4:00 pm Tea and Coffee Break
- 4:30 pm Presentation, Discussion, Adoption/
Confirmation: Joint Statement on
Globalisation
- Concluding Remarks:
- Jan Reinders*
Apo Leong
- 7:00 pm Dinner
- October 11, 1998 - Check-out from hotel.

STEERING COMMITTEE:

Bantorn Ondam (ACFOD, Thailand)
Berma Klein Goldweijk (The Netherlands)
Chalida Chayapate (FOCUS, Thailand)
Heiner Knauss (EZE, Germany)
Irene Xavier (WDC, Malaysia)
Janneke van Eijk (CCC, The Netherlands)
Klaus Piepel (Misereor, Germany)
Bart Shaha (AAYMCA, Hong Kong)
Shum Yun Shan (CAW, Hong Kong)
Basil Fernando (AHRC, Hong Kong)
Rex Varona (AMC, Hong Kong)
Henry Mok (DSW-HKBU, Hong Kong)
Including all representatives from the Drafting Committee and the Secretariat.

DRAFTING COMMITTEE:

Kim Chan Ho (Korea)
Lothar Brock (EZE, Germany)
Peter Rottach (BfdW, Germany)
Pietje Vervest (TNI, The Netherlands)
Rene Ofreneo (Philippines)
Sandeep Pendse (VAK, India)
Tapan Bose (SAFHR, Nepal)
Titi Soentoro (APWLD, Indonesia)
Volker Kasch (DED, Germany)
Samydarai Sinapan (AHRC, Hong Kong)
Rex Varona (AMC, Hong Kong)

SECRETARIAT:*Overall Coordination:*

Apo Leung (AMRC)
Jeannie Manipon (ARENA)
James Keeshangatte (ARENA)
Henry Mok (DSW-HKBU)
Cecibel Perez (DAGA)

Documentation:

Rex Varona (AMC)
Faith Varona (AMC)
Henry Lee (AMC)

Ways and Means:

Selma Hayati (AMRC)
Titos Escueta (ARENA)
Kathy Tung (ARENA)
Aster Suguitan (AMC)
Jimmy Choi (DSW-HKBU)
Cosine Lee (DSW-HKBU)

Ticket Reconfirmation and Reimbursement:

Shum Yun Shan (CAW)
Dolly Enos (CAW)
Law Wai King (ARENA)

Special Events:

Santha Fernando (AAYMCA)

Pre-Consultation Preparations:

Nam Boo Won (AAYMCA)
Bong Angeles (AMRC)

APPENDIX 2

DIRECTORY OF PARTICIPANTS

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PARTICIPANTS

- | | |
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| <p>ACTION/KATAPAT <i>Rene S. Ofreneo</i></p> | <p>University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines Tel: 63 2 920 7717 Fax: 63 2 920 7717 Eml: ofreneo@info.com.ph</p> |
| <p>AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC) <i>John Feffer</i> <i>Karin Lee</i></p> | <p>1501 Cherry Street Philadelphia, PA 19102-1479, USA Tel: 1 215 241 7014 Fax: 1 215 241 7026 Eml: eaqiar@aol.com</p> |
| <p>ASIA PACIFIC MISSION FOR MIGRANT FILIPINOS (APMMF) <i>Ramon Bultron</i></p> | <p>4 Jordan Road, Hong Kong SAR Tel: 852 2723 7536 Fax: 852 2735 4559 Eml: apmmf@hk.super.net</p> |
| <p>ASIA PACIFIC WOMEN FOR LAW AND DEVELOPMENT (APWLD) WOMEN SOLIDARITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS <i>Titi Soentoro</i></p> | <p>Jalan Otista III C17, Jakarta, Indonesia Tel: 62 251 331 578 Eml: euron@indo.net.id; soliper@centrim.net.id</p> |
| <p>ASIA PACIFIC WORKERS' SOLIDARITY LINKS (APWSL) <i>Robert Reid</i></p> | <p>P.O. Box 11 123, Wellington, New Zealand Tel: 64 4 384 8963 Fax: 64 4 384 8007 Eml: robert@apwsl.wgtn.planet.co.nz rreid@actrix.gen.nz</p> |
| <p>ASIA PARTNERSHIP FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (APHD) <i>Philip Setuanga</i></p> | <p>600/1309 Moo-Ban Sivalee, Soi 6/1 Vipavadee Rangsit Road, Tumbon Kukot Amphur Lumlukka, Patumtani 12130 Thailand Tel: 66 2 992 0115-7 Fax: 66 2 992 9118 Eml: aphd@ksc.th.com</p> |
| <p>ASIA-PACIFIC PEOPLES ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT (APPA SECRETARIAT) <i>Charles Santiago</i></p> | <p>57 Lorong Kurau, Lucky Garden 59100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Tel: 60 3 2836245 Fax: 60 3 283 3536 Eml: appasec@tm.net.my; nov1@tm.net.my</p> |

- ASIAN CULTURAL FORUM ON DEVELOPMENT (ACFOD)
Bantorn Ondam
Boonthan T. Verangwongse
494 Ladprao 101 Road, Soi 11
Bangkapi, Bangkok 10240 Thailand
Tel: 66 2 370 2701, 377 9357
Fax: 66 2 374 0464, 370 1202
Eml: acfodbkk@ksc15.th.com
boonthan@mozart.inet.co.th
- ASIAN FORUM ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT (FORUM-ASIA)
Evelyn Balais-Serrano
Union for Civil Liberty, 109 Suthisarnwinichai Road
Samsennok, Huaykwang, Bangkok 10320, Thailand
Tel: 66 2 276 9846-7 Fax: 66 2 693 4939
Eml: chalida@mozart.inet.co.th
- ASIAN NGO COALITION FOR AGRARIAN REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (ANGOC)
Roel R. Ravanera
P.O. Box 3107 QCCPO
1103 Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines
Tel: 63 2 433 7653, 433 7654 Fax: 63 2 920 7434
Eml: angoc@angoc.ngo.ph
Website: <http://www.philonline.com.ph/~angoc>
- ASIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (ASA)
Norman Uy Camay
353 Shanghai Street, 4/F, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Tel: 852 2388 0515 Fax: 852 2782 5535
Eml: asasec@netvigator.com
- ASSEMBLY OF THE POOR
Bammung Kayotha
99, 3/F, Nakorn Sawan Road, Pom Prab
Bangkok 10110, Thailand
Tel: 66 2 281 2595, 281 1916 Fax: 662 281 1916
- BREAD FOR THE WORLD
Peter Rottach
Staffenbergstr. 76, D-70184 Stuttgart, Germany
Tel: 49 711 215 9464
Eml: p.rottach@brot-fuer-die-welt.org
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS INTERNACIONALES (CEI)
Alejandro Bendaña
Apartado 1747, Managua, Nicaragua
Tel: 505 2 785 413 Fax: 505 2 670 517
Eml: aben@tmx.com.ni; cei@nicarao.org.ni
- CHILD WORKERS IN ASIA (CWA)
Taneeya Runchavorn
P.O. Box 29 Chandrakasem Post Office
Bangkok 10904, Thailand
Tel: 66 2 930 0855 Fax: 66 2 930 0856
Eml: cwanet@loxinfo.co.th
- CLEAN CLOTHES CAMPAIGN (CCC)
Ineke Zeldernust
Janneke van Eijk
P.O. Box 11584
1001 GN Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel: 31 20 412 2785 Fax: 31 20 412 2786
Eml: ccc@xs4all.nl

- DEUTSCHER ENTWICKLUNGSDIENST (DED) - Kladower Damm 299
GERMAN DEVELOPMENT SERVICE D-14089 Berlin-Kladow, Germany
Volker Kasch Tel: 49 30 368 81 173 Fax: 49 30 368 81 271
Eml: st1@ded.de
- EZE Mittelstrasse 37
EVANGELISCHE ZENTRALSTELLE FÜR D-53175 Bonn, Germany
ENTWICKLUNGSHILFE E.V. (PROTESTANT Tel: 49 228 8101 126 Fax: 49 228 8101 160
ASSOCIATION FOR COOPERATION IN Eml: eze-asia-2-int@eze.org
DEVELOPMENT)
Jan Reinders
Heiner Knauss
- FOCUS ON THE GLOBAL SOUTH c/o CUSRI, Wisit Prachuabmoh Building Chulalongkorn
Chanida Chayapate Bamford University, Phayathai Road, Bangkok 10330, Thailand
Tel: 66 2 218 7363/64/65 Fax: 66 2 255 9976
Eml: admin@focusweb.org; c.bamford@focusweb.org
Website: http://focusweb.org
- FREEDOM FROM DEBT COALITION (FDC) 34 Matiaga Street, Central District
Dinah M. Fuentesfina Diliman, Quezon City, 1100 Philippines
Tel: 63 2 921 1985, 924 6399, 433 5537 Fax: 63 2 921 4381
Eml: fdc@skyinet.net; fdc@phil.gn.apc.org
dinahf@mailexcite.com
- GENERAL FEDERATION OF NEPALESE P.O. Box 10652, Putali Sadak, Kathmandu, Nepal
TRADE UNIONS (GEFONT) Tel: 977 1 248072 Fax: 977 1248073
Binda Pandey Eml: gefont@mos.com.np
- Goldewijk, Benna Klein* Laan van Meerdervoort 1438
2555 CK Den Haag The Netherlands
Tel: 31 70 368 8096 Fax: 31 70 323 9872
Eml: b.klein.goldewijk@wxs.nl
- INDONESIAN LEGAL AID FOUNDATION (LBH) Jalan Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320 Indonesia
- LEGAL AID INSTITUTE OF JAKARTA Tel: 62 21 314 5518 Fax: 62 21 314 5518
Surya Tjandra Eml: ylbhi@ylbhi.org
- INITIATIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL 27-D Galaxy Street, GSIS Heights, Matina
DIALOGUE (IID) 8000 Davao City, Philippines
Augusto N. Miclat, Jr. Tel: 63 82 299 2574-5 Fax: 63 82 299 2052
Eml: gmiclat@skyinet.net; iiddvo@skyinet.net
- INTERNATIONAL NGO FORUM ON Jalan Duren Tiga Selatan No.15, Jakarta 12760 Indonesia
INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT (INFID) Tel: 62 21 799 5400 Fax: 62 21 799 5400
Reunison Baswir Eml: infid@nusa.or.id

- LIFENET FROM KOREA
Moon Soon Hong
Yongsan Park 101, Hangangro 3-40-882
Yongsan-ku, Seoul, Korea
Tel: 82 2 793 9111 Fax: 82 2 323 4948
Eml: lifemv@chollian.net; sukimoon@chollian.net
- MIDDLE EAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
(MECC)
Lewis R. Scudder
P.O. Box 4259, 3722 Limassol, Cyprus
Tel: 357 5 586 022 Fax: 357 5 586 496
Eml: scudder@spidernet.com.cy
- MISERIOR
Klaus Piepel
Mozarstr. 9, D-52064 Aachen, Germany
Tel: 49 241 442 406 Fax: 49 241 442 188
Eml: piepel@misereor.de
- OXFAM INTERNATIONAL
OXFAM HONG KONG
Chan Wai Fong
Lim Kwok Choi
13/F Breakthrough Centre, 191 Woosung Street
Jordan, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Tel: 852 2520 2525 Fax: 852 25275307
Eml: admin@oxfam.org.hk
- PESTICIDE ACTION NETWORK (PAN)
CITIZENS' ALLIANCE FOR CONSUMER
PROTECTION OF KOREA
Kim Jai-ok
K.P.O. Box 411, Seoul 110-062, Korea
Tel: 82 2 739 5441/5530, 738 2555 Fax: 82 2 736 5514
Eml: cacpk@chollian.dacom.co.kr
- SAHABAT WANITA
Irene Xavier
21, Jalan Muhibbah 8, Taman Muhibbah
43000 Kajang, Malaysia
Tel: 60 3 837 8380 Fax: 60 3 837 8380
Eml: psww@po.jaring.my
- SOUTH ASIA FORUM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
(SAFHR)
Tapen K. Bose
G.P.O. Box 4906, Kathmandu, Nepal
Tel: 977 1 541 026 Fax: 977 1 527 852
Eml: south@safhr.wlink.com.np
- TEBTEBBA FOUNDATION
INDIGENOUS CENTRE FOR POLICY
RESEARCH AND EDUCATION
Victoria Tauli-Corpuz
P.O. Box 76 91 Garcom-Baguio (752)
DAPO 1300, Domestic Road, Pasay City, Philippines
Tel: 63 74 444 7703 Fax: 63 74 443 9459
Eml: vco@skyinet.net; vtcorpuz@phil.gn.apc.org
- THIRD WORLD NETWORK (TWN)
Lim Li Lin
288 Macalister Road, 10400 Penang, Malaysia
Tel: 60 4 226 6159, 226 6728 Fax: 60 4 226 4505
Eml: twn@igc.apc.org; twnpenn@twenn.po.my
- TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE (TNI)
Brid Brennan
Pietje Verwest
Paulus Potterstraat 20, 1071 DA Amsterdam NL
Tel: 31 20 662 6608 Fax: 31 20 675 7176
Eml: tni-asia@worldcom.nl

UNIVERSITY OF FRANKFURT University of Frankfurt, D-60054 Frankfurt, Germany
Lothar Brock Tel: 49 69 7982 2075
Eml: brock@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES University of the Philippines
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL WORK AND Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT Tel: 63 2 929 0491 Fax: 63 2 929 8438
Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo Eml: ofreneo@info.com.ph

UNIVERSITY OF YONSEI Department of Sociology, University of Yonsei
Kim Chan Ho Seodaemun-ku, Shinchon-dong 134, Seoul, Korea
Tel: 82 2 644 5037
Eml: chanho7@yonsei.ac.kr

VIGIL INDIA Satgamaya M.G. Road
Justice Krishna Iyer Ernakulam, Kochi, Kerala, India

VIKAS ADHYAYAN KENDRA D-1, Shivdham, 62 Link Road
Sandeep Pendse Malad (W), Mumbai 400064, India
Tel: 91 22 882 2850, 889 8662 Fax: 91 22 889 8941
Eml: sandeep.pendse@mailexcite.com
vak@bom3.vsnl.net.in

WORKING WOMEN ORGANIZATION (WWO) c/o All Pakistan Trade Union Federation, 114 Industrial
Rubina Jamil Area, Gulberg III Road, Lahore 54660 Pakistan
Tel: 92 42 571 2511, 571 2512 Fax: 92 42 571 2682
Eml: wwo@brain.net.pk

WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION Kiu Kin Mansion 12/F, 568 Nathan Road,
ASIA-PACIFIC (WSCF-AP) Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Cynthia Yuen Tel: 852 2385 2550 Fax: 852 2782 3980
Eml: wscfap@asiaonline.net

GUESTS/OBSERVERS

Beth Goldring Unit D, 7/F, Mongkok Commercial Centre,
ASIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION 16 Argyle Street, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Eml: bethgoldring@hotmail.com

Lakshmi Daniel 4 Jordan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
ASIAN MIGRANTS CENTRE Eml: lakshmi@hk.super.net

Tarsi Fernando and Corrie Regalado c/o FEONA, 399-401, 1/F, Shanghai Street, Mongkok,
ASIAN MIGRANTS COORDINATING BODY Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Tel: 852 2522 8264, 2647 1718 Fax: 852 2526 2894

Chan Ka Wai and Kwan Ming Wai Alice
HK CHRISTIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE
Room 704-5, Metropole Building
57 Peking Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Eml: hkcic@hk.super.net

Kwok Nai Wang
HONG KONG CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE
11 Mongkok Road, 10/F
Mongkok, Hong Kong SAR

Linda To Kit Lai and Wu Mei Lin
HONG KONG WOMEN WORKERS
ASSOCIATION
Tsui Ying House, Tsing Ping Estate, G/F
Kwun Tong, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Tel: 852 2790 4848 Eml: hkwwa@hk.super.net

Rudy de Meyer and Paul Vandevoot
NATIONAL CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION
Vlasfabriekstraat 11, 1060 Belgium
Tel: 32 2 539 2620 Fax: 32 2 539 1343
Eml: rudy.demeyer@ncos.ngonet.be

Ho Hei Wah
SOCIETY FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
(SOCO)
52 Princess Margaret Road, 3/F
Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR
Tel: 852 2713 9165 Fax: 852 2761 3326
Eml: soco@hk.super.net

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

- ASIA ALLIANCE OF YMCAS 23 Waterloo Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong
Bart Shaha, Santha Fernando and Nam Boo Won
 Tel: 852 2780 8347 Fax: 852 2385 4692
 Eml: aaymca@hk.super.net
- ASIA MONITOR RESOURCE CENTER (AMRC) 8B 444 Nathan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong
Apo Leung, Bong Angeles,
Selma Hayati and Ana Enriquez
 Tel: 852 2332 1346 Fax: 852 2385 5319
 Eml: amrc@hk.super.net
 Website: <http://www.hk.super.net/~amrc>
- ASIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (AHRC) Unit D, 7/F, Mongkok Commercial Centre
Basil Fernando and Samydonai Sinapan
 16 Argyle Street, Kowloon, Hong Kong
 Tel: 852 2698 6339 Fax: 852 2698 6367
 Eml: ahrchk@ahrchk.org
- ASIAN MIGRANT CENTRE (AMC) 4 Jordan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong
Rex Varona, Henry Lee, Bien Molina, Jr., Nelsy Hasibuan,
Greena Naw, Faith Varona and Aster Suguitan
 Tel: 852 2312 0031 Fax: 852 2992 0111
 Eml: amc@hk.super.net
- ASIAN REGIONAL EXCHANGE FOR NEW
 ALTERNATIVES (ARENA) Flat B1, 2/F, Great George Building
Jeanie Nacpil-Manipon, James Keezhangatte,
Titos Escueta, Kathy Tung and Law Wai King
 27 Paterson Street, Causeway Bay
 Hong Kong
 Tel: 852 2805 6193 Fax: 852 2504 2986
 Eml: arena@hk.net
- COMMITTEE FOR ASIAN WOMEN (CAW) Unit E, 4/F, Skyline Tower
Shun Yun Shan and Dolly Enos
 18 Tong Mi Road, Mongkok, Hong Kong
 Tel: 852 2722 6150 Fax: 852 2369 9895
 Eml: cawhk@hk.super.net
- DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK Hong Kong Baptist University
 HONG KONG BAPTIST UNIVERSITY Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong
Prof. Henry Mok, Jimmy Choi and Cosine Lee
 Tel: 852 2339 5561 Fax: 852 2339 7145
 Eml: htkmok@hkbu.edu.hk
- DOCUMENTATION FOR ACTION GROUPS 96, 2nd District, Pak Tin Village, Mei Tin Road
 IN ASIA (DAGA) Tai Wai, Shatin, New Territories, Hong Kong
Cecibel Perez and Nelson Mok
 Tel: 852 2697 1917 Fax: 852 2697 1912
 Eml: daga@hk.super.net

APPENDIX 3

FRAMEWORK-SETTING: PERSPECTIVES FROM EUROPE

Jan Reinders

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

To stand here and speak to you, at the beginning of this consultation – I do feel that this is a privilege and an honour – and a burden. Let me confess straight away that I feel rather ill at ease. On the one hand, because the only reason for this privilege is, that in the planning and the preparation of this meeting, I was present from the very beginning (and that alone is a pretty poor reason, I feel.) Then, among the European participants here, we did not have the chance to sit together and work on a common presentation of this sort, like our friends in Hong Kong – and so, what I can say here is definitely and by force non-participatory. I do not like that either. And finally, according to our programme, this is supposed to be “an outline of some key questions and issues to provoke and stimulate discussion on the issue”, as one might understand. Right after these remarks, we will hear this exactly from our friends in Hong Kong. And I must say that is what we came here for, and they should have the first word on it. And I feel, as a European representing a church funding organisation here in Asia, at the present point in time, my role should rather be to sit back and listen.

So, nothing, or only little from me on the great global challenge we are up against, and on how to possibly grapple with it. There are eminent experts in our midst to stimulate and provoke us later on, speaking about a situation which is provoking, indeed – no, for so many people: just heart-rending. For my part, and instead, I thought it might be useful to try and start by turning our attention to ourselves. Aren't we ourselves part of the frame that is supposed to be set at the beginning?

I will try to do my part in this by first telling you a bit about what made people like myself, what made organisations like the one I belong to, want to have such a consultation. Why we think we need it, and why we are so happy to be invited here. I hope you will forgive me

for speaking at some length about my own organisation. I know it best, and so it is easiest for me to try and be both concrete and straightforward, using it as an example. I think, it is important to at least remind some of us, and to provide a glimpse to others – a glimpse of how European NGOs confronted by globalisation – try to react to its effects, may get entangled in loyalty conflicts, may also redefine and hopefully sharpen their identity, allegiances, loyalties.

I. The idea to have this consultation was born here in Hong Kong, among the regional organisations that then afterwards organised it. I had the privilege to be part of these first discussions. At that time, I must stress, there was nothing in sight, which could be called ‘Asian financial crisis’. The scourge affecting so many peoples nowadays, and inflicted by whom? Still, what also at that time was very obvious, was the impact of economic globalisation, the sometimes devastating effects created or aggravated by it, effects on the livelihood of millions of marginalised people already at that time, people, organisations like ours try to work for and with.

Apparently, we were up against a new dimension of problems, of powers worldwide. And the harm done seemed to be not only economic, but spread to other fields as important: social conditions, livelihood and food security, the environment, cultural identities, political structures and their powers to countervail such onslaught being questioned, weakened, also given up.

On the other hand, there were, however modest, efforts of what we now call the civil society to try and counteract this onslaught, also to ask for alternatives, to rally together and support each other – a mixed crowd, differing from country to country, trade unions, citizen's initiatives, church groups, women's groups, NGOs of all sorts. Some of these activities were regional, inter-regional, and even global themselves. NGOs lobbying at the UN conferences, from Europe, from Asia – the

WCC, the World Association of Engaged Buddhists and other similar bodies trying to do their part – PP21 comes to my mind as an Asian initiative, having invited also European friends to take part – and so on. I am speaking of the years, 1994 to 1996 or so.

Like others, my organisation, EZE, the Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development, had at that time been going through a rather lengthy process of re-defining our objectives, trying to adapt them to the new situation.

For more than 30 years, EZE – an NGO founded and funded by the German Protestant churches – had been supporting development projects and programmes of church and non-church NGOs in Africa, in Latin America, and – of course also in Asia. It was and is what is called a 'private aid organisation' or a 'funding agency' or so. Funding we did and we do this mainly by using public funds, having of course also access to church resources. I don't want to bore you with our mandate. It always was, I think, fairly progressive. I remember battling with our board about introducing notions like 'empowerment of the poor' at the beginning of the eighties. From time to time, concepts were revamped, taking care of new international development – may I say: fashions? But by and large, EZE was always restricted to supporting partner activities in the 'South'.

After the dramatic and worldwide changes at the beginning of the nineties, it turned out that this was not enough. Together with other European sister organisations – British Christian Aid, Dutch ICCO, German Bread for the World, we started "discerning the way together." That was the name of this process of analysis and re-orientation we engaged in. Afterwards, we went at it on our own, and finally, in June 1997, we could publish our new policy guidelines. The main new feature was this: a new field of work, in addition to our continuing tasks of lobbying, doing advocacy work – "defending the interests of the poor", as the document states, "within the church and vis-à-vis the state" – at conferences, in the NGO committee of the World Bank, and so on.

How to do that? Of course, there was some experience. Good results of lobbying at the Copenhagen Social Summit, for instance. There is access to parliament, to government in Germany, there is the backing of the church, the reputation of the organisation

itself, its board members, which are useful assets. But still: what about the contents, the aims of initiatives, of campaigns like that? Who or what would allow a German church organisation like EZE to legitimately, credibly stand up and argue for the interests of say, Asian civil society, and how German policy should take them into account? The obvious answer, in the barren language of policy papers, is this: "(EZE) feeds the experiences and concerns of its partners, and their expertise, into the development debate in Germany and Europe."

II. Now, this statement of intent shows EZE as a 'late bloomer'. Others had gone ahead, had taken additional steps in the same direction, working for social justice and sustainable development North and South, or starting to do so. Misereor published a critical study on 'sustainable Germany', and went into a campaign about it. The American Friends Services Committee (AFSC), the justice and peace oriented development organisation of the American Quakers, is a good example for an NGO that had worked in a similar way, since a long time ago.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the shortcomings, our statement in my view also shows rather clearly why people like me are here and why this is important for us. It also says something about a relationship undergirding – well, I should say – our very identity. This is where organisations like EZE do depend on their partners overseas, from where they draw a good part of their credibility, their legitimacy in acting.

This connection, this dependence is also pointed out in a very pertinent study published by the Transnational Institute (TNI) in Amsterdam: *Compassion and Calculation, the Business of Private Foreign Aid* it is called and edited by David Sogge. He makes this point, as I said, and then adds this about 'fundamental purposes and identities' of private aid agencies like mine. The question for them is:

"... whether to anchor their work in emancipatory agendas, and to root or ally themselves with others pursuing those agendas North and South, including social movements, other non-profits and responsible public authorities; or to follow agendas set by institutions with other vocations, which may at best be indifferent to emancipation." [S. 16]

Sogge argues that his first choice means for the respective NGOs to keep at

"... a critical (if often necessarily negotiated) distance from the far larger institutions of the official aid system and interested parties in the charity market and media." [S. 15]

This, of course, takes us to the problem of loyalties in conflict; maybe not for groups like the Clean Clothes Campaign in the Netherlands or in Germany. Quite differently, I assume, for professors who at the same time are commissioners of important committees of their churches, *justitia et pax* and, on the other hand 'development and environment'. Organisations like Bread for the World, Misereor and EZE are – like their sisters from other European countries – mandated by bodies of their churches, and depend on church funds, on public funds, or on both, for their work. And such

"... funding authorities and much of the media have decked agencies in the cloak of love – as long as they don't begin to make unreasonable political noises, that is. Agencies should be seen but not heard." [S. 144]

That was David Sogge's voice again. He points out a real problem – one we have to deal with consciously: a contradiction, which harbours dangers, but also chances, which often asks us for a high degree of brinkmanship. With regard to this consultation, I hope to have been able to show what for some of us it is at issue, where we hope for support and encouragement out of a meeting like this one.

III. Talking about 'emancipatory agendas', to be followed by something like an alliance of NGOs South and North – that was David Sogge's claim – dealing with that, we have to look at visions and values connected with such a notion, in the context of the present socio-political reality. We will do so, in the afternoon, led by expertise and experience of high calibre. Here I only want to sketch in a few lines what may lead to some further insights into the present situation of European NGOs.

Take Germany as an example or nearly any other European country: one of the most serious developments aggravated by economic globalisation is the rise of unemployment, of long-term unemployment, it seems.

And to a higher or lesser degree, differing from country to country, employers, governments, and media alike seem to see the remedy, if there is any. In another acceleration of economic growth, in job creating investments, – and, in order to reach these, in a package containing – among other measures – reductions of salaries and social benefits for workers, savings on publicly funded social services generally, also less spending on international aid and relief.

It is true, both government and the churches in Germany have less income than still some years ago; so they have to save, anyway. So, churches too have been closing down their own social institutions. They also pass on financial cuts and restrictions to others, to NGOs, to ecumenical institutions supported by them – as it is being done by other European churches as well. One example, and a drastic one at that, is the World Council of Churches. Within two and a half years, because of diminished subsidies of member churches, they had to reduce their staff and the respective established posts by more than half. Now, this of course is not a direct consequence of globalisation and I do not mention it as such. Rather, I point it out for two reasons:

First, it may well show how – in the present rat race about investments and employment and about priorities in social services – the old saying "charity begins at home" may gain a new and really not acceptable meaning. What is the ranking for international solidarity, for finding ways for (and financing) common action linking 'emancipatory moves' of underprivileged people North and South? To be fair, I must say that in view of the shrinking resources of our church, we are still comparatively well-off, and I have high respect for the struggle, some church people take on to secure funds for our work. Still, there have been severe cuts everywhere, and the trend is downward.

Secondly, it should be said here, that the ecumenical movement, definitely the WCC, has been playing a very important role in promoting human rights and liberation for poor and marginalised people, worldwide. Their visions which were summarised in well-known slogans like the 'just, participatory and sustainable society', later on 'justice, peace, and the integrity of creation', led us in our work and still do so with a truly global perspective, by the way. Furthermore, in quite some cases, when Christian NGOs had to confront their governments or

society at large – on issues of social justice or the like, WCC backing was of great help. In spite of standing for just one of the world religions, they were – and still may be – an important protagonist for global civil society.

Now the WCC goes through a deep crisis. There are various reasons. Among others – and that may again be of interest here – a growing denominational and national consciousness of (mostly Orthodox) member churches. That makes for a tendency to “first put our own house in order” – also in this case. But there is something else, and that should, I think, be a sign of hope.

Friday last week, I got a copy of the new issue of *Der Überblick*, an ecumenical German magazine. It held an article by Konrad Raiser, the secretary general of the WCC, describing the 50-year-old organisation and their visions, in preparation for their general assembly in December in Harare, Zimbabwe. His main conclusion, as I understood it, amounted to the conviction that the WCC, that Christians of the member churches had no chance to stand against the forces of economic globalisation on their own. On the contrary, there was a critical reflection on Christianity having so often in history transported the very ideologies of accelerated progress and growth that now, in their unabated surge forward, seemed to do more harm than ever. There was in this article a particular reference to the Asian crisis, and then a very frank plea for an alliance with the other world religions and, of course, that would mean Asia again.

I do indeed hope that the Harare Assembly will take up this plea. That might go a long way towards what we here are trying to bring about too, of course in our own modest and more practical way.

IV. Let me, towards the end, concentrate on us as we are assembled here. We just introduced ourselves to each other. In spite of that, in spite of some of us having met once or several times before, we know little about each other. Of course, we have all of us quite some experience in meeting, in discussing even sensitive subjects – across cultural and religious borders.

And – may I say: luckily? – we carry images of others, we have each and every one our own preconceived ideas, nice ones and less nice ones, lingering somewhere in the backrooms of our minds. If I

know little about someone, am at least used to use labels, mostly harmless ones like these:

- I am German.
- She is an Asian.
- He is European, and not American.
- He is a social worker.
- She is an officer of a funding agency.
- He is a Buddhist, or a Muslim, or a Christian.
- They are socialists, still.
- I am a professional.

Whatever one or the other label may mean for different persons with their different experience, they all carry connotations, for instance associations like these:

- Jan Reinders – EZE – money pusher – not ‘easy’ money at all – red tape, after all.

or:

- Professors know little about practical everyday NGO struggles.

or:

- What knowledge about rural women can you really expect in a Hong Kong-based regional organisation?

or:

- I like social workers; my daughter is one.

Of course, we know very well that even when talking to each other we may sometimes rather reinforce such notions, may suddenly feel that because of some vague inner voice it is really difficult to get across to our counterpart. That is when we may revert to strictly concentrating on subject matters, deliberately excluding all reference to matters relating to our relationship, or so we think to do. An old men’s trick actually, at least in Europe, it doesn’t help much, it may land us in misunderstandings, in entanglements we may afterwards not be able to unravel – like in one of the little texts of the English psychologist Ronald Laing, texts I like very much because in all their modesty they are so revealing of how very normal, very well meaning friends, friends like Jack and Jill from the English nursery rhymes, deal with each other. Let me, please, quote one of those texts:

Jack can see that he sees
What Jill can’t see.
But Jack can’t see

That Jill can't see
That Jill can't see it.

Jack tries to get Jill to see
That Jack can see
What Jill can't see.
But Jack can't see
That Jill can't see that Jill can't see it.

Jack sees
There is something Jill can't see
And Jack sees
That Jill can't see she can't see it.
Although Jack can see
Jill can't see she can't see it
He can't see that he can't see it himself.

I hope you will forgive me this little reflection at the end, which is rather self-critical, I confess. When preparing for this meeting, I suddenly got very much aware of how much mutual trust is needed to achieve something here – trust to be invested by everyone, trust to be built and to be built on by all of us, while we are here. I hope to be up to it – and I do know what will help us along is another kind of trust and hope we all have, because otherwise we would not be here:

The trust in the incredible creativity, power of survival and fighting spirit of the suffering people we all of us have pledged to serve, in our own modest way.

APPENDIX 4

FRAMEWORK-SETTING: SOME INITIAL PERSPECTIVES FROM ASIA

*A Collective Paper of the Organising Committee
presented by Jeannie Nacpil-Manipon*

I. *The Asian Financial Crisis: A Crisis of Structures and Paradigms*

"It is an extreme irony that the most dramatic indications and impacts of the crisis are in the very countries which were held up as models for the other developing countries in the region and the world." [The Participants, Consultation on *The Financial Crisis: Our Response*, June 1998, Hong Kong.]

By the end of this year, an estimated 30 million people in the seven areas most affected by the financial crisis (Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Japan) will become unemployed. This is nearly five (5) times the population of Hong Kong, and nearly twice that of the Netherlands.

We can only imagine what nightmares the future will bring to these 30 million people and countless others in Asia.

The immediate effects of the so-called Asian financial crisis have been staggering, alarming, and excruciatingly painful for many sectors of Asian societies, and yet we fear that more is still to come. As the crisis that plagued the Asian region begins to spread across the globe, the future of Asian economies continues to be uncertain. Despite the much-publicised and much-debated 'bail-out packages' of the IMF, and the puny protective and regulatory measures belatedly initiated by some governments, no effective and decisive solution to the crisis has been rigorously undertaken.

While many causes triggered its eruption, the roots of the crisis lie deep in the processes through which Asian economies have been rapidly and recklessly

integrated into the global free market system, or the process of globalisation. As participants at a recent conference said, it is an "inevitable consequence of this indiscriminate, unregulated, neo-liberal development model... a system that prioritises the profits of the few while ignoring the livelihood of the many... a profit-oriented, structurally inequitable system that has been aggressively imposed upon peoples in Asia, a process which many have referred to as *recolonisation*." The Asian financial crisis has indeed revealed a deep and serious crisis of structures and paradigms.

II. The "One Global Village": Many Myths but No Miracles

Globalisation is often presented as both desirable and inevitable... it promises that the transformation of the world economy into a single market and a single production site will lead to increasing wealth and prosperity... yet unemployment and underemployment is increasing throughout the world, and rather than the 'developing' countries catching up with 'developed' countries, what actually happens is that labour standards, wages, and working conditions in the 'First World' are being brought down to force the 'Third World' to compete. [*Confronting Globalisation*, Asian Labour Update, August-October 1996.]

Globalisation is commonly used to refer to the net effect of various economic trends such as the free flow of foreign investments, international trade, capital and technology flows seeking to integrate all national economies and make them respond to global rather than simply local impulses. It has come to mean the dominance and domination of corporate interests and corporate-led activities in international trade, finance, and investment, as well as the efforts of governments to support these by breaking down traditional trade barriers and national boundaries.

On the other hand, we are also witness to other realities such as: the deepening of the 'North/South' divide, the intense capital mobility between and within regions, the emergence of regional and sub-regional

growth centres, increased intra-regional economic activities, etc. Such trends need to be further analysed and examined to see whether they are primarily counter-trends going against the dominant grain of globalisation, or whether they play a paradoxical role which complements and at times facilitates the globalisation process.

It has become more and more evident that globalisation is not a single, homogenous, unilinear, and monolithic process, rather it is full of paradoxes, contradictions. What is clear to us is that while globalisation has promised all kinds of miracles, it has only offered many myths.

A. Neither Free nor Fair

Under the pretext of creating the 'one single global village,' and the slogan of the so-called 'free market,' the dominant forces of globalisation have actively and aggressively sought to influence, shape and dictate economic, political, and social policies on nations all over the world. This is being done often unmindful of the far-reaching consequences on people's lives and the devastating environmental and social havoc which such policies and practices create. But globalisation is not only about the breaking down of barriers and trade restrictions, the imposition of structural adjustment programs, the unbridled flow of capital for the quick profit of international speculators, the opening up markets, the widespread and global access to information technology, and so on. Globalisation is also about the creation and emergence of a system of 'global financial governance' that has increasingly become well-entrenched and is able to control, penetrate, invade, rule over, regulate or influence all aspects of life – consumption patterns, knowledge and belief systems, tastes and lifestyle, the production of food and basic necessities, decision-making processes, etc.

Within this so-called 'global village' competition is not only encouraged, it has become the rule. Competition is accepted as necessary for profit maximisation to the point that it has come to mean not just seeking success over but the elimination or destruction of the competitor. Competition has become an end in itself. This highly competitive system clearly is biased towards those who are already at an advantage. For those who are already at the disadvantaged position,

The 'free market' is actually nothing but a myth – for it is neither free nor is the so-called competition fair. The current 'market' as we know now very clearly privileges, benefits, and primarily serves the economic elite in our midst: the wealthy and powerful nations, the transnational corporations, big local capitalists and landowners, and, often the higher echelons of bureaucracies and political elite. Whereas, consistently, the 'weaker' sectors and economies and especially the already disenfranchised 'poor' and the marginalised are rendered even more disadvantaged and vulnerable to the whims and caprices of the so-called invisible hand of the 'market forces.'

B. Growth of Poverty, Poverty Despite Growth, From Growth Back to Poverty

The second big myth about the 'free market' system is the promise of wealth and prosperity. The proponents of neoliberal globalisation have agitated poorer nations to race and compete with each other and pursue the 'fast-track' to economic growth. Indeed, there was concern about poverty (as shown in World Bank reports, etc.), but it was often asserted that such rapid economic growth is the only sure way to eradicate poverty. The agenda of 'redistribution of wealth' has, in international debates, been pushed to the background and dismissed as being not viable economically and impossible, but politically and ideologically unfashionable. To counter the resistance of the victims of globalisation, what mainstream and neoliberal economists have promoted is the infallible 'Growth with Equity' model, citing the miracle economies of Asia as inspiration.

What lie hidden in such claims are among many things, firstly, the social and environmental cost of such fast-track pursuits to growth, the impoverishment of many peoples of Asia at whose expense 'miracle growth' has been zealously pursued, and secondly, the long-term unreliability of such economic models.

In fact, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened even more, despite the recent and sudden expansion of the 'middle class' in the NIEs. Some economists have pointed out the growth of 'the new Asian middle class' to claim that absolute poverty has been eradicated in many areas of Asia. What was hidden in such claims, however, was the truth that despite the seeming increased consumption capacity of 'the new Asian middle class,' it remained in a precarious position

and that its new found economic security was illusory or at best temporary which could so easily and ruthlessly be destroyed. The recent Asian financial crisis has dramatised this.

'Miracle growth' can indeed be achieved, but only at the expense of people's lives and well-being, not to even mention its environmental cost. The only real miracle that neoliberal globalisation has exhibited through the Asian financial crisis is that it can so easily almost in a day turn and throw a miracle economy back into the 'Third World'. Globalisation gives what it can so easily snatch away.

C. Exploitation: Beyond the Issue of Exclusion

James Wolfensohn, in his memorable opening presidential speech at the World Bank-IMF meetings in Hong Kong last year eloquently declared that the issue we face now is the issue of exclusion. Exclusion because, in the process of globalisation, the weak (weaker economies, weaker sectors, etc.) has been largely excluded. Excluded from decision-making processes, excluded from enjoying the benefits of economic growth, excluded from the game where the major and decisive players and actors, and who benefit from the game, remain to be the powerful and the affluent. What we face now, he argued emphatically, is the challenge of inclusion.

We couldn't agree more with Mr. Wolfensohn's observation that smaller economies and vast masses of people all over continue to be marginalised, disenfranchised, disadvantaged, excluded. However, for those who suffer the negative effects of globalisation, the issue goes beyond exclusion. The simple and basic truth is that, whatever successes of 'miracle growths,' wealth, and prosperity that the forces of globalisation have reaped, these have clearly been at the expense and exploitation of the 'weak' – the factory workers, the displaced indigenous communities, the rural populations, etc.

What is currently being 'globalised' is the capitalist practice of reducing human beings and natural resources into 'commodities' to be measured for their 'market value,' to be bought, sold, and traded off in the 'global market.' People, nature, communities, and societies have been reduced to "their potential for the accumulation of

money." This 'commodification' process shows the continued exploitative relations between capital and those who own and wield capital on one side, and labour, people and communities, and even nature on the other.

Exclusion is not an accident or side effect of neo-liberal economics – it is a requirement. Because the 'free market' operates on the logic of aggressive exploitation of labour, natural resources, technology, capital, and the vulnerabilities (called 'relative advantage') of people, communities, economies, and the environment in order to gain maximum profit. Capital cannot globalise unless it also exploits globally. The exploitation of the poor and the 'weak' is an integral part of the whole process of neoliberal globalisation.

The disadvantaged position of relatively weaker economies and exploited sectors is not only maintained and perpetuated, it is aggravated even further. The Asian economic crisis is one example of how this happens. Instead of actually 'bailing out' the impoverished Asian economies by addressing fundamental imbalances in the global economy, the solutions offered by the so-called 'saviours' from the international community are basically the implementation of the same policies that caused economic collapse, and are coming from the very actors who had contributed to the 'weakness' of Asian economies. The end result of the 'rescue programs' only strengthened the IMF's and international financial institutions' hold over the impoverished economies and increased their dependence on foreign capital. Moreover, the crisis is being used by TNCs and global capitalists to gain control of the best and biggest economies in Asia, of basic industries and strategic economic sectors previously inaccessible to them (e.g. banking, finance, transportation, power generation, heavy industries, telecommunications, etc.). The real burden of saving the economy is passed on to the ordinary consumers, small producers, and labourers – in other words, those who suffered in the past are being asked to suffer even more for the sake of the elite.

Beyond the issue of exclusion therefore, the fundamental issue we face remains to be the issue of exploitation. Any calls for 'inclusion' of the weak and the marginalised remain empty unless the logic of exploitation, so deeply imbedded at the core of neoliberal economic globalisation, is discarded.

III. The Politics of Globalisation: Some Issues and Challenges

It has been argued that, in this era of globalisation, there is no more room for authoritarian and dictatorial rule, that the forces of globalisation promote democracy and require democratisation. It is true that many Asian governments have experienced strong pressures from the international community to undertake political reforms and institute basic mechanisms and processes for democracy. But a close look at realities on the ground could make one wonder about what kind of democracy is being promoted.

A. The Displacement of Democracy

The economic processes introduced by globalisation require tremendous transformation in the political framework of all countries and in particular the Third World countries. A central part of this transformation is the displacement of whatever consensus-building mechanisms exist in society. Governments are being pressurised to adopt quick decision-making processes, which enable the execution of orders to achieve the aims of globalisation. The state is also encouraged to maintain forms of secrecy relating to agreements entered with international financial agencies and TNCs. Such serious decisions as the sale of national property and assets, sale of industries, the building of dams which result in the displacement of large numbers of people, and the policies which lead to massive unemployment and rise of prices are taken with little or no information made available to the people.

The process of globalisation displaces the state itself making way for multinational companies to operate unhindered by state authority. The state is pushed to renounce its functions to guarantee equity, social justice, and security for the people. The state is strengthened only in its repressive functions so that it could use harsh measures to control people who oppose the policies of globalisation.

In effect, the globalisation process involves the displacement of democracy and encourages cultures and sub-cultures that condone authoritarian styles of leadership, dictatorial practices, and the use of violence. The process of displacement of democracies and the consultative processes existing in societies necessarily bring about violent confrontations between various

sections of the population and the state. The most vulnerable groups are the poor and the young. National security laws are severely enhanced in order to empower the state officers to use violence against the population. In this process even the limited democratic culture established over long years of struggle gets displaced. The rule of law is thus lost to an ideology which insists on the maintenance of order even without law.

Human rights in this context are confined only to deal with the gravest forms of violations while a regular state of violence continues within society. Overcoming this political culture generated by globalisation is an essential part of the struggle against it. Thus the struggle against national security laws and the struggle for restoring the rule of law on the basis of international norms and standards set out by the UN human rights instruments should receive the consideration of all those who are concerned with the struggle against globalisation.

B. Democracy, Good Governance, and Political Reforms

A political culture of participation is an essential prerequisite of democracy. The present forms of representation, which are merely confined to periodic elections, do not guarantee participatory democracy. New forms of participation including rural and local participation need to be developed and given constitutional recognition. Regional autonomy should be strengthened in order to enhance greater participation of people in decision-making and achieving greater transparency. Good governance should not merely mean purely formal democracy of a limited nature as it exists now. The administration should be open and conducive to constant consultation with people. Providing them with greater opportunities for actual participation should especially enhance the interest of the poor, the minorities and the indigenous people. For example, the participation of women should be enhanced through practical measures such as making provisions for 50% opportunities in all national and local fora such as parliaments, local government bodies, administration and the judiciary. To make the participation genuine, the persons at the bottom of the social strata should be provided with special opportunities through education and other means to gain access to and undertake leadership.

Participation will remain an empty word till structural changes are brought about to make the participation possible, effective and meaningful. It is the structural changes that make real the rights to information, to speech, and to free assembly. Without such rights transparency and accountability become empty words. To make them real there is need for legal reforms, police reforms, judicial reforms and electoral reforms for national and local constituencies.

'Civil society' – as in the emergence of civil society, the mobilisation of civil society in democracies, and the calls for the building of a 'global civil society' – is also another catchword that has triggered renewed interest in this era of globalisation. But it seems that civil society is a word that has become very much sloganeered without genuine attempt to consider how it can be brought about. The national security laws in Asia have been directed primarily to cripple the civil society. Any attempt to activate the civil society must be accompanied by attempts to replace political systems based on national security law with those based on participatory democracy.

IV. Workers, Migrants, Women, and the Consequences of Globalisation

It is impossible to 'measure' comprehensively and accurately the impact and consequences of a process as complex and far-reaching as the current phenomenon of globalisation on the lives of people, communities, and societies. The 'short' and 'long-term effects' are just as complex as human life itself. But some of the most critical, visible, and urgent issues that are emerging are those that directly have a bearing on the economic, cultural, and political survival of entire sectors, communities, and peoples, particularly:

- the indigenous communities who have increasingly been uprooted, displaced, and denigrated by large-scale development projects, who are rapidly losing their own economic and cultural resources, even knowledge systems are being commodified and commercialised, and whose very existence is threatened by mega-development and other projects;
- agricultural and farming sectors displaced by capitalist intrusion into and destruction of rural economies and whose survival, as food

producers, is seriously threatened by poverty, increased indebtedness, and loss of food security;

- workers and especially migrant workers who have consistently been subjected to increasingly exploitative working conditions and relationships, who now face loss of protection and bargaining power; and
- women who face multiple forms of exploitation and discrimination in fields, factories, in the homes, whose productive and reproductive labour continue to be regulated, whether in the public, private, or even in 'cyberspace';

Without belittling the issues of other sectors and communities, we would like to highlight some important aspects of the challenges faced by workers, migrant workers, and women.

LABOR

In recent years prior to the outbreak of the Asian financial crisis, neoliberal economic policies and practices had already been eroding, reversing and undermining whatever labour and social protection laws and mechanisms existed. These were all done in the name of global competitiveness. Competing for 'comparative advantage' in the labour market is translated to mean how economies can outdo one another in keeping labour a cheap commodity and a controllable, even disposable, economic resource. Labour flexibility and labour mobility have been promoted as indispensable keys to economic growth. This is done to ensure that there is perpetually a captive and ready source of cheap labour – for example migrant labour, women workers, etc., – which can be utilised and be readily available on a regional/global scale. And who could even be used to plug gaps in a tight labour market during boom years or terminated in times of recession or economic crisis

'Labour flexibility' has resulted in changes in labour policies for the worst and in diminished or privatised social welfare and public services. The implementation of labour flexibility schemes have resulted in loss of job security, increased practice in sub-contracting and the use of informal and migrant labour and the deployment of tactics of so-called human resource management to further exploit labour and evade responsibility for protection. Export Processing Zones (EPZs), sub-

regional 'growth areas' and other special zones have been set up to attract foreign companies and have often been maintained as 'union free zones', exempt from international and national labour standards. In such zones, workers are kept under strict surveillance and control.

As economies in Asia try to outdo each other in economic liberalisation and in attaining the status of regional hub economy, workers are being subjected consistently to attacks, harassment, and deceptive, divisive, and devious tactics to break down unionisation, prevent organising and erode collective bargaining power. The 'individualistic' approach to bargaining for wages and benefits is actively promoted and encouraged by management to lead the workers away from united action.

There is a critical urgency in the need for workers to resist the onslaught of neoliberal economic policies on their rights. There is a need to create a broad transborder solidarity among workers that cuts across traditional barriers in the formal and informal sector, among women, between domestic and migrant labour, between workers communities, trade unionists – to resist the isolation, fragmentation, commodification and exploitation imposed by the neoliberal globalisation process. Workers need to re-discover commonalities and inter-connectedness, re-build unities, links, alliances and connections to link workers from all countries, to regain control of production, and to develop new patterns of relations.

MIGRANT LABOUR

Throughout human history, migrants have served as the backbone of labour force in the building of monumental infrastructures – the roads, bridges, the mines – which have been demanded by fast growing economies all over the world. In this era of globalisation, however, the utilisation of and dependence on migrant labour – largely kept as cheap, undocumented, and often unprotected – has become a permanent yet often unrecognised feature of today's globalised economies. Migration of labour has become widespread, massive, and a constant phenomena. The old distinctions between the 'rich receiving countries' and 'poor sending countries' are also becoming blurred as labour everywhere is being encouraged to become more and

more mobile, often following the whims and caprices of transnational capital. Migrant labour is also seen to be – and are kept – at the mercy of several layers of authority. Unlike domestic labour which is often employed directly, migrant labour pass through several layers of control: from recruiting agents, to the labour and immigration authorities in their own countries, to the hiring agencies in the receiving countries, and to the immigration authorities and the employers. Because of this, migrant labour are seen to be more docile, less likely to organise and more easily controlled because they are always kept in a state of insecurity. Migrant labour therefore is the embodiment of the ‘flexible, mobile, and controllable’ labour which suits globalisation’s interests best.

The estimated 15 million documented and undocumented Asian migrant workers are the living mass manifestation of the economic displacement and disintegration of families/communities, local jobs, and socio-cultural systems that are a hallmark of neoliberal globalisation. Long before the Asian crisis, it had been feeding on the exploitation of migrant labour. This was how many receiving countries (especially the ‘miracle’ dragon economies) boosted their growth and weighted down local workers’ wages, benefits, organising and bargaining power. This was how sending governments generated billions in hard foreign currency to salvage their economies, provided mass employment, and pre-empted labour unrest and activism. Migrant workers were also utilised as a very convenient tool in eroding and depressing labour wages and benefits, and in creating diversions and divisions within the labour front. Migrants have become the convenient scapegoat by both the government and local workers for economic woes. Migrants have been blamed for rising criminality, the spread of diseases (including HIV/AIDS), and for stealing local jobs.

Labour migration in Asia today is not simply a phenomenon of several individual workers “seeking greener pastures” abroad. It is part of massive institutionalised import/export of labour as a commodity and factor of production whose ‘comparative advantage’ must be exploited for optimal profit and global competitiveness. This is the niche that migrant labour occupies in the schema of neoliberal globalisation.

But for over 20 years, the experiences of Asian migrant workers have been full of stories of human rights

violations, inhuman working conditions, injuries, deaths, abuses, sexual attacks, discrimination, diseases. Migrant workers therefore are among the worst-end indicators of the situation of workers in any given receiving country.

The Asian crisis delivered its harshest, most direct and immediate blows to the migrant workers who became the first targets of layoffs, arrests, and deportations in the wake of the Asian crisis. Even governments’ immediate reaction was to repatriate migrant workers or bar the entry of new migrants. The Asian crisis has put migrants in a “between the devil and deep blue sea” situation. They are not wanted anymore in the receiving countries; neither are they welcome in their home countries. They literally face the deep blue sea as they are deported (usually forcibly) or left stranded due to inability to buy air tickets. Upon return they face the devil of record unemployment, hyperinflation, and the worst economic crisis in recent history. The previous ‘push-pull’ dynamics has become a ‘double-push’ situation. Where will these one million displaced migrants and 30 million local unemployed workers go?

WOMEN

Economic restructuring in many societies and shifts in production patterns due to globalisation have displaced many women from their traditional sources of livelihood, particularly those whose livelihood depends on the informal economy, rural farming communities, and in subsistence economic activities. Dramatic changes leading to the weakening, and sometimes collapse of rural economies has forced many women to migrate as a means to survival from rural areas to the cities, from their homes to countries overseas. For the past two decades, the level of women’s participation in the labour force has been increasing in Asia under the export-oriented industrialisation policies in many countries. Women workers were not only regarded as flexible and cheap labour force; they were also expected to take up most of the low-skilled, repetitive and low-paid jobs, notably in export-processing zones.

However, technological progress which sought to maximise profit at cheaper production costs, has increasingly displaced many women from the factories. This has pushed many women into other forms of work such as part-time, occasional, subcontracted or home-

based work, where working conditions are usually poorer and where job security is not guaranteed.

The process of globalisation has also often aggravated existing patriarchal relations or has been linked to many factors that have triggered the resurgence and emergence of oppressive patriarchal relations in the workplace as well as at home. While some economic analysts have argued that modernisation, industrialisation and integration into the global capitalist economy are processes that have integrated women into the workforce and have provided more opportunities for women – even, for example, some forms of ‘economic independence’ – these phenomena have also created new problems and have not erased, but rather have often even relied on existing oppressive gender relations.

While there is the feminisation of labour force, therefore, it has also been accompanied by the ‘feminisation’ of poverty. For example, the recent financial crisis in Asia has resulted in massive retrenchment and dramatic job losses for many women. Often women workers were the first ones to be retrenched. Women have also been expected to act as ‘buffers’ to cushion the impact of the crisis by bringing in additional income to the household and national economy, and have been expected to ‘protect’ and ‘save’ the men as well.

Gender discrimination and sexual harassment continue to be practised in almost all workplaces. Discrimination based on age is also practised widely by management, often targeting middle-aged women for retrenchment.

Women are increasingly finding themselves saddled with multiple responsibilities of augmenting family income, if not serving as breadwinners, as well as undertaking the basic tasks of the reproduction of life – from care-giving, to housekeeping, to reproduction of cultural values, etc. With economic crisis after another, with decreased state support for social services, these tasks become more and more daunting and difficult. Economic crises also trigger other, often hidden problems for women. Women in the family are always the likely targets of domestic violence by jobless, frustrated spouses, and as such domestic violence particularly increases during periods of financial crisis and mass retrenchment.

The trafficking of women and children for the sex industry has also intensified with the poor economic situation of many Asian countries. The most significant factors leading to this include: the worsening of poverty and living conditions, the growth of tourism industry in many parts of Asia, the weakened role of the state and mechanisms for enforcing law and order and for protecting borders against crime, job loss and employment crisis for women, the rising cost of education and cost of living in general, and others.

V. Facing the Challenge: Solidarity and Search for Viable Alternatives

A. Postscripts on the Global Financial Crisis: “To Close or Not to Close”

Now that the financial crisis which has plagued the Asian region threatens to explode as the worst global financial crisis in fifty years, the debates that have erupted among the power elite have intensified and have revolved around how to confine and deal with it. Many economists and politicians in the west (e.g. Milton Friedman, US congressional leaders, George Shultz, etc.) have questioned the credibility of the IMF. In Asia, there has grown a groundswell of anti-IMF sentiments, especially among the people (e.g. in Korea, “IMF”=I’m fired, IMF=Indonesia Must Fight, etc.), and government leaders as well (e.g. Malaysia, Korea, Indonesia, Thailand). Despite all their rhetoric, however western and Asian leaders have reaffirmed their binding commitment to the neoliberal process. Most recently, in his seven-hour whirlwind visit to Hong Kong and China, the French Prime Minister echoed the position of the G7 and global economic elite “to make another Bretton Woods” – i.e. to “give fresh impetus and greater powers to the IMF and Bretton Woods institutions to stabilise the world financial/monetary system and enable them to act quickly on global financial problems.”

All these prompted desperate actions especially from Asian government leaders to salvage their still-sinking economies. Hopes of an early bottoming out of the crisis have evaporated. Observing that the countries which were not as openly and fully integrated into the global capitalist market (China, India, and Taiwan) best withstood the crisis, the calls for more protection and government intervention grew stronger.

In August, in a historic move, the Malaysian government instituted sweeping capital and investment controls, reversing decades of neoliberal policies. The government fixed the *Ringgit's* exchange rate at 4 to the USD. Then in another shocking move, Hong Kong, the bastion of free market economics, intervened in the stock market for several days in August and spent USD 15 billion to defend the Hong Kong Dollar. In late September, HK Financial Secretary Donald Tsang will embark on a tour to Europe and the US, and attend a meeting of the WB and IMF to explain the government's action and to ask more countries to do similar moves to help their economies.

Now the argument about the best way to deal with the crisis has grown stronger. The debates have polarised around those who advocate "closing the doors" and those who are pushing for "opening it more." There is some anxiety among observers about whether these debates will escalate into conflicts among the different capitalists and capitalist interests (for example, between governments in Asia whose domestic interests are also coming into play, and international financial speculators whose interests know no national borders and allegiances).

For the people and countries victimised and exploited by the neoliberal process however, the "open doors" and "closed doors" of the financial markets are just two sides of the same coin in the sense that both continue to exclude, and perhaps ultimately exploit "the people below." Whichever way prevails, the end goal is the same: how to salvage and strengthen the very same exploitative neoliberal system, how to protect and benefit the interests of the global economic elite, and how to squeeze the people even drier. Whether the capitalists are in conflict with each other or in collusion, it is the "small people" below who are affected. And so as an ancient saying go, "whether elephants fight or make love, it is the grass below that gets trampled upon."

Therefore to 'open' or 'not to open' is not the final question. The fundamental question is which and what is the best way to stop the process of exploitation of peoples, communities, natural resources, and how this current crisis can open the opportunity for people and societies to construct an open, transparent, viable and sustainable alternative truly benefiting the people and communities.

B. Globalisation is an Impoverished Concept

The recent crisis strengthens our belief that neoliberal globalisation is an impoverished concept. First of all, we believe that this paradigm of neoliberal globalisation does not encapsulate the totality of human experience. Rather it is only one part of the matrix of human relations. We need to admit that there is sometimes a tendency among activists and analysts alike to attribute to globalisation all existing human problems of a political, socio-economic, and cultural nature. The reality is, many such problems in Asia pre-dated the onset of the neoliberal globalisation process. We need to re-examine our ways of analysing such problems so that we can do our analysis rigorously within historical and analytical frameworks.

Secondly, we believe that human experience is much more varied and diverse than the homogenised picture that the dominant proponents of globalisation imagine and portray. While there is pressure, even violent push, from such forces of globalisation to 'homogenise' cultures and communities, to monopolise knowledge systems, to assign roles and tasks to people and economies in a neat assembly line, and effect social control – the absolute success of such efforts are never guaranteed for they are based on fault and distorted assumptions about people, cultures, and economies.

Thirdly, we believe that people are not simply a homogenous mass of passive and silent victims. People's resistance are already taking place everywhere, defying globalisation, exposing the impoverishment of the neoliberal globalisation paradigm, experimenting with alternative community-building, trade and economic relationships, and other forms of alternative practices. People's movements and alliances are also being built and initiated, crossing traditional borders and boundaries, linking grassroots organisations, NGOs and other similar groups.

C. We refuse to accept the belief that "there is no way out."

We reject the idea that globalisation in its oppressive and exploitative mode simply has to be accepted because it is 'inevitable' and 'totally irreversible.' We remain convinced that, while the long-term consequences of globalisation seem irreversible (such as the effects on

culture, environment, etc.), the 'man-made' policies and practices and 'man-made' structures, institutions, and mechanisms that implement and facilitate globalisation as an oppressive process can be changed, reversed, replaced. There seems to be a need to 'demystify' globalisation the way it is often portrayed as a 'super-human,' invincible, undefeatable, meta-force that has imposed itself from above on its unwilling, passive, and silent victims, and as if the policies, structures, mechanisms, and practices that make it happen were not humanly created, as if all the actors that are involved in it were super-human and beyond human reach. If globalisation were to be seen only as a unilinear, monolithic, singular and homogenous process imposing itself without human actors on its 'passive victims' then indeed its oppressive processes could be accepted as irreversible and inevitable. But such view is not only an inadequate grasp of realities, it also leads into paralysis and despair.

But the processes that make globalisation possible are complex, full of paradoxes and contradictions, and involve a variety of agents, which include local actors, both willing and 'unwilling'. Facing the challenge of globalisation requires not only resisting and critiquing its negative impact, but also discovering hidden opportunities for new ways of struggling as well as new strategies for building alliances and seeking alternatives.

D. Resistance, Alliances, and Alternatives: A Few Points for Discussion

For the grassroots who are everyday resisting and fighting battles for survival, the urgent task remains – to organise, organise, and organise. But in organising, we have to build new forms of organisations and patterns of relationships that are more equitable and just, that integrate popular participation, and that generate new cultures that go against the logic of neoliberal control and manipulation and that generate fresh approaches to the question of alternatives.

There is a need to strengthen and evolve existing organisations such as unions, but at the same time we have to acknowledge and encourage new types of organisations, new forms of 'unionism' that seek to respond to the increasingly complex challenges posed by globalisation.

New, creative, and effective strategies for resistance need to be continuously evolved. There is a need, for

example, to address ongoing debates among NGOs such as the debate on "confrontation or engagement strategies," on "North/South" divisions among NGOs, on the issue of cooptation, of the politics of 'civil society,' etc.

The agenda of 'redistribution' of resources and 'democratisation' of political and economic resources need to be recovered and re-asserted. The marginalised productive forces need to reclaim economic initiative and control over production and their own resources.

Cross-border solidarity and people-to-people alliances are most urgently needed. Such alliances are strengthened by the realisation and growing consciousness that issues across borders may not necessarily appear to be the same but they are often interconnected. We need to continue to strengthen international solidarity, campaigns, and joint-action alert mechanisms. We need, however, to radicalise the notion of alliance building so that it is appreciated not only as 'political projects' but becomes the basis for cross-cultural dialogues and inter-paradigmatic exchanges, thereby enriching not only the struggle for resistance but also the common search for viable alternatives.

Neoliberal globalisation seeks to isolate, exploit, divide, and fragmentize. Our task as NGOs is to build unities, reclaim communities, build linkages, and seek alternatives that enable peoples and communities – respectful of diversities – to coexist and benefit from mutual interaction.

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APPENDIX 5

FROM THE ASIAN CRISIS TO WORLD DEPRESSION? THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALISATION AS VIEWED FROM EUROPE: A SHORT PAPER

Lothar Brock

From Bangkok via Moscow to Rio and New York: What is happening?

Only a year ago, the world, as viewed from Europe, still seemed to be quite in order. True, there was the Asian crisis, but true also that most people in Europe did not worry too much about it. Perhaps there was even some hidden satisfaction that Asian assertiveness was being dampened and that the whole debate on the Asian way seemed to turn out as nothing but a convenient camouflage for specific forms of corruption served by political authoritarianism. Besides, many thought that the worst part of the crisis would be over by early 1998, anyhow.

But instead, the crisis deepened and a new crisis developed much closer to home: in Russia. In spring, Russia finally had seemed to be on the right road when the new Prime Minister Kiriyenko embarked upon a bold course of restricting money supplies and enforcing tax discipline. There was a lot of confidence that things were moving into the right direction. Even experts saw no use any longer in continuing to construct scenarios which would help to prepare for a failure. But then the old power bloc began to obstruct new attempts at reform. Against the backdrop of falling oil prices and growing nervousness about international capital caused by the Asian crisis, the opposition against Kiriyenko succeeded leaving Russian economic policies in shambles. In July, it still was regarded as sensible to help alleviate the situation with more IMF money. By the end of September, this was considered as hopeless under the prevailing political conditions.

At the same time, it became more and more questionable whether Latin America would weather the storm. Much will depend on Brazil. Brazil, however, is

in a very precarious situation. In August and September nearly 30 billion US dollars left the country. By increasing interest rates, the government was able to slow down but not to stop the outflow. Just three days before national elections on October 4, an international stand-by loan of over 30 billion US dollars was patched together in a concerted effort by the IMF, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the US and Western European countries.

In the meantime, there occurred a considerable shake-up at home caused by the insolvency of the biggest Hedging Fund, LTCM, in which European banks, too, were heavily involved. Fear of contagion with potentially devastating consequences prompted spectacular rescue efforts for LTCM. This bailout, though not financed through public money, nevertheless was administered under public tutelage (i.e. The Federal Reserve Bank).

But that did not really help much to mitigate public anxieties. To the contrary, they were further stimulated when the IMF revised previous figures on the prospects of the world economy, concluding that there was the possibility of a world recession. As a result, even Europeans are beginning to wonder and to ask nervous questions which their bankers cannot answer. Today, an increasing number of people fear that behind the possibility of a world recession there may even lurk the danger of a world depression.

From New York to Frankfurt: What is going on?

When the Thai *baht* began to tumble in early July 1997, unleashing a chain reaction in Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea and, more faintly, in the Philippines, many

Westerners were convinced that they knew what was at the root of all this: bad economic policies spurred by crony capitalism. Thus the crisis appeared to be, as the IMF saw it and continues to see it, "mostly home-grown" [Fischer 1998, 2]. Domestic factors certainly did play a considerable role. Among these, missing transparency of political decision-making, the unclear demarcation line between the public and the private in the Asian brand of corporatism and the resulting lack of accountability probably were prominent.

However, if the crisis was mostly home-grown, the IMF and foreign investors should have seen the upcoming danger before the crisis developed. Apparently they did not. The IMF did warn Thailand as of early 1996, that pegging the *baht* to the dollar for too long could lead to risky rigidities. But nowhere did the IMF address the structural weaknesses of the Asian countries in a way that could have served as a warning that something resembling the present crisis could evolve. This is not surprising because the economic fundamentals of the countries were considered to be sound – despite large external deficits. Thus it would seem that the present crisis, or, rather the present crises, came as a surprise to the IMF and most of the other economic actors and observers, but that none of them is prepared to interpret these crises in a way that would call for substantial changes in the policies pursued so far. Will the dominant actors get by with a policy that amounts basically to business as usual? In addressing this question let me turn to the issue of globalisation.

The capitalist economy has been a world economy from the beginning. Yet, the world economy of today differs from the world economy of the "long sixteenth century" to which Immanuel Wallerstein dates the emergence of the modern world system. Ever since then, there has been, if in a discontinuous way, an intensification of global economic interchange. Thus the world economy has moved from trade to the internationalisation of production and to global sourcing of economic factors be they labour, capital, raw materials, or real estate. This development went hand in hand with structural changes in the world economy. The centre of activities moved from the agrarian, to the industrial and now to the tertiary sector.

This has grave repercussions on the balance of social forces in each country (cf. the crisis of the trade unions),

and on the ability of governments to control economic activities in accordance with political priorities. In this regard, the formation of the world financial market after the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in the early seventies is of crucial importance. While unprecedented possibilities evolved to mobilise financial resources, the free flow of capital in connection with floating currencies created also unprecedented possibilities to make money on speculation. Hedging against fluctuations of exchange rates turned into a profitable business of its own, which is not interested in medium or long-term investment but rather thrives on short-term movements of huge amounts of virtual money.

The big players in this game are, of course, not interested in reducing, let alone in overcoming risks. They are only interested in risk management, since they make money on dealing with risks. In contrast, states are interested in risk avoidance. So there is a basic tension between the two, which in many states is dissolved in favour of the market forces. The latter internalise profits and try to externalise losses, playing on moral hazards which arise not only out of corruption, but also out of the fact that the line between the risks of individual firms and systemic risks is becoming thinner as the volume of speculative capital moved by single firms increases. This becomes quite evident if one compares US policy vis-à-vis the Asian countries with the way the LTCM affair was handled. While the US government tells the Asian countries to let banks fail in order to increase incentives for intra-bank reform, LTCM, as already mentioned, was rescued under public tutelage. The argument here was that a breakdown of LTCM would have unhinged financial markets around the world. So this was considered to be a systemic risk which calls for public action, whereas the faltering of Asian banks is seen as an individual risk calling for government restraint. However, as the developments referred to above clearly demonstrate, the massive faltering of Asian banks adds up to a systemic risk, because it may unleash dangerous chain reactions around the world. The International Economic Organisations (IEOs) are, of course, aware of these systemic risks. But as long as they prosper by hedging systemic risks through bailout measures combined with structural adjustment pressures on individual countries, they are slow in realising the need for substantial changes in their philosophy and their general strategic orientation.

The present world financial markets certainly came about with the help of governments. But in this respect one has to take into account that government does not equal government. There are, as we all know, vast power discrepancies. And while even the US government cannot manoeuvre without paying attention to business, government influence on how things are being done in the international economic system obviously differs tremendously from country to country. Thus the implications of globalisation have to be seen within the context of the political hierarchy existing between the states. Under this perspective, globalisation, paradoxically, means something different to every one of them. So it comes as no surprise that the "Americans could easily ignore their own principles," as Tadashi Nakamae, president of Nakamae International Economic Research in Tokyo, said when he contrasted the LTCM bailout with US advice to Asian governments to let their banks fail [Landier 1998, 1].

Globalisation does not mitigate but rather accentuates the importance of political power discrepancies between countries in their respective attempts to make the most out of globalisation. This has been overlooked by LTCM. The Fund speculated on converging interest rates around the world and thus on more evenness in the economic policies of the various groups of countries. LTCM failed because the contrary happened: the gap between interest rates widened because the IMF keeps pressuring crisis countries into raising their interest rates even at the price of choking domestic economic expansion, while OECD countries are expected to lower their interest rates in order to stimulate domestic economic activity and thus the world economy. The contradictions of this policy are becoming ever more apparent. So the IEO have now joined the Group of 24 and are calling for a global reduction in interest rates. But unless they are willing to change the focus of their strategy from appeasing international capital to encouraging the mobilisation of national development potentials, this will not amount to much.

With a view to the international distribution of bargaining power, the Asian crisis has led to a levelling of power discrepancies between Asia and Latin America while widening the discrepancies between North and South. Asia, as viewed from the West, is not any longer to be considered as a counter-force to Western ideas on

globalisation but rather as a group of states which is forced to adjust just like the Latin Americans have been forced to adjust.

At least for the time being, the North-South divide, which seemed on its way out as Asia prospered, has been reconstituted and widened by including many of the former socialist countries. In this sense, globalisation has sharpened the unevenness of world development. While there is no genuine interest in keeping up economic unevenness of world development, there is genuine interest in keeping up existing political power hierarchies because they are regarded as determining the margins of adjustment under which national economies operate. In other words, under complex interdependence, strong states, while being sensitive to changes as every other state, are far less vulnerable than weak states.

However, this is only half of the story. On a medium-term basis, relations within the triad US-Europe-Japan are changing substantially. On the one hand, there is little talk of the hegemonic decline of the US any longer. Gone are the days when the American president (George Bush) virtually fainted against the backdrop of Japanese economic power and when even the exertion of US military power seemed to depend on financial assistance by its allies. While Japan has been tied down by economic stagnation for seven years now, the US has experienced a remarkable upswing. The unipolar moment, which was proclaimed prematurely after the fall of real socialism, has materialised after all.

On the other hand, economic integration in Europe is entering a new stage with the introduction of the Euro. At first, the possibility of financial integration in Europe was played down by the US. Now, with the Euro coming, US-policy makers and economists realise that they are confronted with an unprecedented challenge to the US position on the world financial markets. With a view to most other indicators, differences in economic potential between Europe and the US have gradually faded. However, with regard to finance, the US up to now clearly has kept its dominant position. Forty-eight per cent of world trade is being cleared in US dollars, and the US holds 54% of world currency reserves. Thus, the global economic weight of the dollar is double the US share in world trade or in the world social product. This is likely to change as the Euro begins to work. As one of our colleagues from the Peace Research Institute

Frankfurt has recently stated, "For the first time since the early seventies, the dollar is confronted with serious competition and this competition is of a zero-sum nature: what the Euro gains, the dollar loses" [Spanger 1998, 31]. Under normal conditions this could be expected to occur gradually. In the context of the present crisis, however, there could develop a flight into the Euro. This may curtail US ability to finance its huge external trade deficit. This may lead to restrictions of capital movement as they were applied by Germany in 1974 when the Bretton Woods system broke down and the German market threatened to be flooded by dollars which would have threatened German national stability policies. However, with all likelihood, the result would not be a better-regulated world system, but increased bilateralism on the part of the strong at the expense of the weak.

So just as with climate change, the global political economy may change much faster than heretofore anticipated. Such quick change could create a considerable degree of turmoil within the OECD world, which could interact in an unpleasant way with the new North-South issues. A couple of years ago, Western authors believed that they could clearly distinguish zone of peace and zones of turbulence in the world [Singer/Wildawski 1993]. These days may be over, too.

What do we want to happen?

There are various ways of reacting to present developments. One would be affirmative: go ahead with deregulation and liberalisation until all states have been reduced to producing the institutional preconditions necessary to enable market forces to do their benevolent work undisturbed from political interference. Apart from many other things, this solution would presuppose a world in which power differentials play no role. Since the opposite holds true, this solution to present problems is not feasible.

A contrasting approach could be derived from the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte. He suggested in the early nineteenth century, that world peace could be established and maintained only in a world consisting of closed trading states: highly integrated within, highly autonomous vis-à-vis the outside. This would presuppose an equal distribution of

resources and would call upon governments and populations to forego the advantages of international trade. The one (an equal distribution of resources) does not exist, the other (abandon international trade) would not make sense and is therefore unlikely to happen on a consensual basis.

Fichte was aware of this weakness of his concept. So he suggested that the states should be constituted within 'natural boundaries'. Against this Friedrich Gentz, another German philosopher of those days, polemised that endless wars would have to be fought over the demarcation of such borders. Surely, we would not want this to happen.

What is most likely to happen is a continuous effort on the part of the world economic institutions to enhance liberalisation and to reduce the systemic risks going along with it. The latter they will try to achieve through more transparency and better bank supervision on the part of the emerging market countries. The emerging market countries, on their part, will try to enhance the regulatory power of the state and will be tempted to do so by protectionist and other restrictive practices. However, with a view to the incipient power shift in the world economy, the US, too, may be tempted to re-emphasise strategic aspects in its foreign economic policy with the possible result of a strong re-politicisation of the world economy. Power shifts in the North in combination with increasing systemic risks of the global economy may lead back to the future, i.e. to a policy resembling the "beggar thy neighbour" attitude of the thirties. This again is not what we could want to happen.

Would we be better off without the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO? I do not think so. These institutions are unpopular not only in the Third World but also in the US – for good reasons. They tend to develop a dynamic of their own. They are part of an institutional set-up, which in my reading helps to mitigate the impact of inter-state power politics. This observation does not preclude criticism of the policies pursued by these organisations.

So what is left?

First of all, there is dire need for a less dogmatic attitude towards the control of international capital flows. Instead of pressuring Chile into watering down the

measures it has taken up to now in order to decrease capital volatility, there should be a serious debate on the feasibility of spreading such measures to other countries.

Secondly, governments should be encouraged to depend more on domestic savings than on foreign capital for financing development. Thus crisis management should not be geared predominantly towards luring capital in through high interest rates but towards encouraging economic activities from within, which may call for low interest rates.

Third, in order to counterbalance the near-monopoly of the OECD-world with a view to defining present problems and strategies, serious inter-governmental negotiations between North and South on world economic issues should be reconsidered after twenty years of silence on this level of world politics. Many of the issues taken up in the talks of the early seventies are re-surfacing again as relevant and urgent. They should not be simply pushed aside as out-dated. Perhaps the time is ripe now to do what was prematurely attempted in the early seventies: to cope with the basic challenges of uneven development in an ever more integrated world economy. Among the issues to be dealt with, there is, of course, the debt question and the improvement of present schemes to bring about debt relief especially for the most seriously indebted poor countries.

Fourth, the example of Europe suggests that regionalism has a role to play in the future. Thus it would seem that other areas in the world should study the European example more closely. With a view to Asia, regional consultation now far exceeds what was deemed possible only ten years ago. But it lags behind regulatory needs in the area. Of course, I am talking here of an open regionalism which is geared not so much towards shielding the national economies with the help of regional restrictions on extra-regional economic interests but rather towards an intensification of intra-regional economic relations which remains open to outside participation. Regionalism as a way to create greater leeway of adjustment to world change would also include some regional approach to the regulation of currency issues, which would not replace the IEOs but interact with them. We need the IEOs because with more regionalism there is also an increasing need for inter-regional co-ordination.

Fifth, all modern economic history has been accompanied by social struggles over the relationship between the state and the market. During the last two decades there has been a global streamlining of state-market relations in favour of less state and more market. It seems, however, that under the conditions of uneven development in an ever more integrated world economy, there is no general measure of what is feasible or desirable in this respect. Thus there is need for a more pragmatic policy towards different national form of state-society relations. In the OECD world itself, there are still considerable differences between the Anglo-Saxon, the continental [Rhine] and the Japanese way of organising state-market relations. As it seems now, the Anglo-Saxon model is by no means superior to the others. This implies that we should not only protect natural variety in this world of mono-cultures but also social variety in order to enhance the ability of each society to adapt to change and to make an impact on it.

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About the author: Prof. Dr. Lothar Brock is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Frankfurt and Research Director of the Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt. He is also the Head of the Advisory Council on Environment and Development of the Protestant Church of Germany. His recent publication is on Human Rights and Development, Globalisation and Democracy, and Environmental Conflicts. Presently he is working on the impact of Globalisation on inter-state and state society relations.

APPENDIX 6

GLOBALISATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE PARADIGMS

Alejandro Bendaña

Globalisation and post-Cold War neoliberal doctrine claim that liberal democracy and the free market go hand in hand combining to produce prosperity for every one. In reality there is a fundamental tension between the two. There may be nominal equality in the face of the law but there is no equality in the face of the market. The same policies that liberalise markets and privatise state holdings also tend to promote private affluence at the expense of communal rights and responsibilities. There is now ample evidence that reckless liberalisation, including privatisation, have had an diverse impact on the enjoyment of the rights to education, access to health care, particularly for the poorest, while at the same time undermining the right to self-determination.

However, there is a tendency to shy away from this fundamental fact. People in the North become outraged and wage huge campaigns in regard to child labour, child prostitution or land mines. Immediately they, and sometimes their governments, demand that something be done. But when the child is denied an opportunity for schooling, when the prostitute is on the street on account of unemployment, when mines have to be eradicated from the heart as well from the land are we equally upset? How about the right to education, the right to economic opportunity, and the right to peace? Or do we just simply say, let us hope that social programmes over the next generation will deal with this problem so that this child's grandchildren will not have to suffer? What about the fact that 90% of the pharmaceutical industry is in the hands of Northern transnationals whose monopolistic pricing policies make it impossible for millions to have access to essential medicines? Where is the outrage here?

Liberal globalisation therefore reinforces the false dichotomy between socio-economic and the civic-political rights. As if the right to life did not entail the implementation of measures and use of resources to

reduce infant mortality, that increase life expectancy, that eliminate malnutrition and epidemics, that attack the causes of domestic violence and which help people to resolve their conflicts non-violently.

It is, of course, easier and safer politically to challenge the abuse of state power than to challenge economic injustice. Some effort has been made to address women's rights as human rights taking into account the fundamental principles of equality and non-discrimination. But much more is needed: challenging economic injustice means challenging structural adjustment policies. In the context of donor countries it would mean challenging their own financial ministries or their representatives at institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund who take major decisions in this regard.

Building Alternative Paradigms

From a human rights and equity framework – the only paradigm that can save humanity from extinction – we must be clear about the so-called globalisation phenomena. It used to be termed neo-colonialism, but the word went out of fashion even though the practice did not. Now we are told that nothing can be done about globalisation, any more than anything can be done about the weather. And although the supreme political and money managers in the US do not themselves for a minute believe such nonsense, everyone else is asked to repeat the denial of basic economic and social rights insofar as it is part of a supposedly amorphous and universal phenomenon of capitalist modernisation.

Thus the first step in grounding the new paradigm is to reject forcefully the new religion of corporate globalisation. How convenient – a mask to hide oppression, mass impoverishment and ecological

destruction. Globalisation is not the main cause of the poor employment opportunities and conditions prevailing in some countries. National policies and ruling elite play a more significant role. And whatever diminished capacity states may have to regulate capital is not, as the World Bank suggests, an outcome of globalisation but rather the result of deliberate political pressures applied by the G-7 and enforced by the IMF. New instruments are being created to further restrict states and communities while providing even greater freedom to capital. Such is the case with the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). These are purposeful man-made decisions to deregulate governmental controls over trade and investment, along with their capacity to protect labour and the social rights of citizens.

The new paradigm – which is not really new save for its sense of environmental urgency and the pronounced gender dimension – demands that activists ask more searching questions about the nexus between human rights and political economy. The alternative is to remain hopelessly naive or to act in singular bad faith. Societies and communities have as much rights as individuals. Rather than focusing on special cases or emergencies in isolation, we must look at politics, economics, and development as integrally related.

We need traditional definitions of human rights and human needs that focus on civil liberties, food, and shelter. We must also defend and enhance needs and rights that are equally basic such as the right to a livelihood, protection from abuse, affection, understanding, participation, leisure-time, an identity and freedom. As Max-Neef has argued, only a democratic participative culture can produce a democratic state capable of generating the active direct participation necessary to defend and practice human rights. The trappings of formal democracy will only be temporary cosmetic ones if their social foundation does not allow for genuine participation. Democracy cannot be politically applied from the top-down or from the outside-in societies and economies that are fundamentally undemocratic in their organisation and dynamics.

What this means is that human rights advocacy and human rights jurisprudence must continue to move forward in the direction, not of economics, but of ethics: to raise issues of moral duty, not simply among human beings but between them and the environment; and to

concentrate even further on the ethical perspective, and not simply as a philosophical exercise but as a prelude and means to shape political understanding and practice.

Globalisation and Human Rights: The Challenge of the North-South Differences

The global human rights consensus is weak and under attack. Urgent action is necessary to keep the consensus from unravelling. Differences persist. The North often poses as the sole custodian of human rights and moral values, appearing to act as a God's terrible avenging angel. The South sometimes shields itself somewhat arrogantly, assuming an inverse moral high ground claiming cultural identity, poverty or war as pretexts not to admit the universality of human rights commitments.

The worth of a human being must not be determined by their output measured in economic terms. Such an approach means we know the price of everything but the value of nothing. This practice is not confined to East Asia. It is much broader than that, and indeed has its most dangerous expression in the North. Values and definitions of humanity are increasingly handed down and presented as an adjunct of the market and globalisation. As the Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi has said:

"The challenge we now face is for the different nations and peoples of the world to agree on a basic set of human values, which will serve as a unifying force in the development of genuine global community. Only then will we be able to look to a future where human beings are valued for what they are rather than for what they produce."

Having said this every attempt must be made to avoid the risk of human rights strategies that dangerously entail taking refuge in a self-defined, moralistic, finger-pointing 'political correctness'. Human rights promotion thereupon comes to be defined not by the questions it asks, but by a specific set of answers.

We have basic universal norms, but questions appear when we draw links (or fail to do so) between human rights, development, peace and democracy. The insistence, for example, by the United States and other countries in the North on elections and judiciaries as the

hallmarks of human rights and democratic processes has deflected much attention and resources from the much more important mission of strengthening developing strong communities, providing for basic human needs and stimulating processes oriented toward collaborative problem-solving. Of course, the resort to state terrorism in the form of US bombings only underscores the fundamental hypocrisy of much of the Western human rights discourse.

We, however, cannot afford cynicism. Let us dare put our politics where our principals are. For the NGO community and human rights activists in donor countries it is imperative that the concern for the rights of people in the Third World be matched with an understanding of the concerns of workers, women, and the poor at home. Integrating human rights, peace, democracy and development may make life more difficult for NGOs as integrating domestic and external advocacy may raise a few eyebrows – but they have no choice. We must have the courage to say that human rights is not a foreign policy issue nor is it solely domestic, it is a framework of obligations affecting law and policy, affecting morality and justice which are indivisible. Because Nigeria and Great Britain have about the same ratio of income inequality, do we criticise them equally?

As part of a new paradigm, we in the South must broaden our actions to take up the concerns of people in the North particularly minorities, that contingent of the South that lives in the North. This may raise eyebrows among our fielders but we cannot pretend to be struggling for peace in Nicaragua and not be offended by the bombings of Afghanistan and Sudan, or racism in Germany. In our globalised world we must practice solidarity in all directions for it to be effective. The days of the missionary are over. And if we are to practice humanitarian intervention, then let it flow both ways, and let it be defended both ways. Otherwise, we undermine the global consensus and the human rights field becomes one more battleground between North and South.

The entire scheme of delegated democracy is in danger, increasingly restricted by global power structures and by our own failures to build countervailing networks and power structures. Elections may be routine, but democratic practice reflected in accountability, participation, representation and the true rule of law and justice is in still in the emergency ward. Yet at the same

time the information revolution creates more opportunities for communication and mobilisation among citizens which can help ensure that delegated democracy gives way not to democracy as a paper exercise, but to a participative model which is more capable of standing up to the new threats.

The new paradigm is above all a human paradigm. It is the only one that can rescue humanity from the danger of destroying itself both ecologically and morally as the product of the failure to recognise and redress suffering. Such failure, wherever it may exist, entails the diminishing of our own individual humanity. We require inspiration and faith, and if we look hard enough around us I am convinced we will find not one but a hundred alternatives in the making.

The Power Dimension

Will people have to resort to violence in order to clear the way for a new paradigm? In Latin America at least, it is too early to render judgement. What is certain is that we cannot give up on the process of pushing social change. The enemy is poverty and violence. Moreover, poverty is a form of violence. Power is at the heart of this equation. Because both poverty and violence are linked to the lack of control over resources, land, skills, credit, knowledge, capital – and more broadly market – as well as a lack of influence of the majority poor over government decision-making. Without access to resources, the vast majority of people will be trampled upon by the few and the powerful. Clearly then, there is a connection between the means to sustain human rights and human rights themselves. Progress is needed on all fronts.

Most suffering in this world are connected and far from inevitable. In fighting for human rights and democracy paradigm we cannot limit ourselves to the symptoms but rather put our energies and resources into understanding and undermining the causes. There is in effect a great danger that, without radical vision and practice, we may well end up strengthening the very institutions that are at the roots of violence and injustices. Instead, there must be a great spirit of rebelliousness against injustice, poverty, and anything that oppresses people. In each setting we must know

when to confront, when to negotiate, and when to combine both and how.

There are no blueprints, only moral guidelines. This requires a mixture of processes, achievements and mistakes, intuition and much, much reflection and dialogue. We must learn unconventional skills in order to wage battles without violence, particularly after the standard strategies of compromise fail. Only in this way can we begin to create alternative non-violent structures and institutions, encompassing both personal and communal transformation.

NGOs: Global Civil Society or Global Civic Struggle?

Whether we choose to admit or not, we NGOs take part in a global contest that may be one or lost on the basis of ideology and consciousness. Throughout history, capitalism's principal weapon has been in the realm of culture and ideology. In many ways, development and advocacy NGOs reflect the crisis of the left, which is mostly a crisis of intellectuals involving an outright failure of nerve that is unfortunately being transmitted to the South and communities in struggle. Some of us would like to know, for example, if advocates believe that the basic Marxist critique of capitalism is valid, and if not what do they offer as an alternative analytical framework. Are we now all called upon to follow the lead of ex-leftists in the North in discovering 'civil society' and 'NGO engagement', and then going on to embrace identity politics and cultural relativism to fill in the niches left by global neoliberalism?

On the other hand, the 'traditional' left – North and South – must relate to changing expressions of politics, including NGOs. Labour unions, for example, that ignored the growing *maquila* industry in Central America found their place quickly supplanted by women's associations and their NGO supporters abroad. Some parties and unions in Latin America are reaching out constructively to the unprecedented spread of activity and civic organisation among women, youth, human right activists, ecologists, communal and ethnic movements, and sometimes even gay ones, although this is more difficult for the '*machistas-Leninista*'. Other parties are slower and some insist that the organised working class still have its traditional leading role to play in social

advance. The important point, however, is that NGOs and social movements have respective roles to play in the integration of institutional struggles with global, feminine, ethnic, and cultural ones. Government funding of NGOs obviously poses a handicap in this regard, but this reality should not be defensively elevated to the level of virtue.

NGOs and advocacy campaigns will have a very important role to play on global issues demanding global responses. They can be good advocates and fund-channelers to local development efforts. But let us not underestimate the power of the global power structure that is also reflected in its capacity to absorb the pressures of superficial change as a defence against deeper challenges. Like social and patriarchal systems, the global apparatus will allow some change to take place, and in the process leave the deep structures untouched and even invisible.

Token modifications or occasionally isolating the United States give the illusion of change. And NGOs can play the role of acting as a systemic shock-absorber, keeping us focused on symptoms while root causes are slighted, deflecting the power we need to take to go to the heart of the matter. We are daily encouraged and sometimes even funded to take the path of least resistance, to accept and even adapt to neoliberal to the point of undermining genuine movements for social systemic change. Perhaps it is impossible to avoid any sort of participation. But we can choose how to participate, how to identify paths of least resistance and mainstreaming laid out before us. And in this way not to become part of the problem but part of the solution: to raise critical questions about the nature of the system itself and our part in it. Must we necessarily go along or even defend our own submission? There is a huge difference between being stuck in a defensive moral paralysis and looking for forms to participate in the process of development of critical alternatives at all levels.

Part of the problem, from our perspective, is that many national and international NGOs can be derivative about politics at the national level, or even politics as a whole. With good reason sometimes, but our organisations should not follow the path of ex-left academics who claim to be making a virtue of necessity by joining the chorus condemning state intervention and

the struggle for state power. There is a danger with post-modernist notions of "small is beautiful." Given interlocking national and international power structures, the sum of 'local' democracies does not equal national democracy. Egoism is now often derided as a form of localism, of depolarised forms of engagement. Until some other system is invented, elections and political parties do make a difference. Perhaps not everyone is ready to turn their backs on the need to attain representation at the state level, because, at this stage at least, the democratic movement cannot afford to dispense with the State.

NGOs should constantly remind ourselves that the principal efforts and sacrifices to attain development, democracy and peace with justice will be made, as it always has, principally by the impoverished. It follows that they, a majority are in the South, should be the principal beneficiaries, lest we continue to be confused by the amorphous notion of civil society. NGOs have done very positive work – particularly when they work with and not simply for people, but we must also envision a steady and systematic replacement of NGOs with people's organisations capable of acting at the local, national and international levels. The internationalisation and concentration of capital and power must be followed by the internationalisation of people's movements and organisations.

Act Locally, Act Globally

Many of us see the building of the justice paradigm as synonymous with the strengthening of many existing struggles now taking place in the economic, political and cultural field, particularly the struggles of the most oppressed, against the violence in everyday lives. Our mission is to seek the inclusion of the excluded, to help make people subjects and not objects, of peace and democracy, to deepen and extend community consciousness of their rights and to help communities work towards building just societies.

No one has more expertise and knowledge than the people do on the ground. 'Experts' on poverty and peace have failed us miserably time and again, perhaps because they themselves have never experienced sustained deprivation and war. There are no easy ways out. We must also be wary of local and national

sensitivities and the damage inflicted by the creation of dependency syndromes and mentalities. Sustainable paradigms that entail sustainable violence-prevention capacities, including reconciliation, must be rooted in indigenous communities as part of their struggle for justice through non-violent strategy.

The real knowledge required by bodies interested in supporting justice is the knowledge of who is there on the ground, which is doing the best work, who is trusted and who is in for the long run. And having found out who, to secure support for them. This perhaps is the best contribution that NGOs can make: to channel information about local efforts to those in a position to provide funding and support, to help these efforts secure the legitimacy and recognition, as well as the resources, that are often critical to success. We cannot however be over-optimistic in terms of the shortcomings often witnessed at the level of willingness and political capacity of big external institutions to respond effectively to grassroots activities in the light of their own need to publicise their efforts and work to their domestic constituents.

Yet the struggle against injustice and violence (both direct and structural – let us never neglect the latter) requires both internal and external processes. Sometimes they can be at odds. At the external level it is vital that the international agencies demonstrate more willingness to help peacemakers within different nations, not simply to contain violence, but also to build just structural and relational conditions for peaceful social relations. Internally, it will be incumbent upon the parties to make conscious decisions to abandon violent approaches to their problems and for them to begin to see the advantages of non-violence. The challenge therefore is for the people themselves to envision non-violent futures and only then to begin to devise the steps towards them with the support of the international community.

Logically, such awareness-raising on justice, equity and peace-building issues may not be in the interest of local, national or international power elite. Their conception and practice of peace and reconciliation maybe more 'stability'-oriented. Secondly, not only major powers but also local cultures perceive conflict and conflict-management differently. Broad generalisations become difficult and often dangerous. More so as foreign governments and organisations who intervene in

Africa or Central America for example – no matter how good their intentions are – also have interests, carry some ethnocentrism in their world view and are preoccupied with crisis situations resulting in superficial analyses and a fundamental lack of respect for local actors. We are regarded as either villains or victims; hence the objects rather than the subjects of peace and development initiatives. Not surprisingly, the initiatives are frequently ineffectual or counter-productive.

But new thinking and new capacities must always be welcomed. The enhancement of human rights and the curtailment of communal violence may not be so much goals as consequences of both attitudes and practices that tackle the substantive causes of injustice. In this context, the resolution of whether conflict is positive or negative depends on a contextual judgement of what is to be

changed, to what end and by what methods. In the context of poverty and oppression, we would be naïve to think that conflict can be avoided; that it is not a natural response. Indeed, that perhaps it should not be avoided. The challenge then becomes not to suppress rebellion and anger but to manage it and channel it in an ethically constructive way. This is the path for transformation.

About the author: Mr. Alejandro Bendana is from Nicaragua. Currently, he is president of Centre for International Studies in Managua. He works with displaced people and ex-combatants in post-war rural communities. He was formerly an Ambassador to the United Nations under the Sandinista Government. He has a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University. He is author of several books, the latest is *Power Lines: US Dominance in the New Global Setting* (1996).

APPENDIX 7

ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE PARADIGMS

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

Just a few weeks ago most of the major international magazines carried articles on the global economic crisis. A scan of some of the cover stories shows the following:

"Global Capitalism, R.I.P.", *Newsweek*, 14 Sept. 1998.

"Global Crisis Time to Act" *Business Week*, 14 Sept. 1998.

"Boom Goes Bust", *Time*, 4 September 1998.

"Global Capitalism, Making it Work", *Economist*, 12 Sept. 1998.

"World Economy on the Edge", *Economist*, 5 Sept. 1998.

"Saving Asia, Its Time to Get Radical", *Fortune*, 7 Sept. 1998.

Just making a collage out of these covers would already be a graphic description of what the world economic situation is. *Newsweek* said, "global capitalism – whose triumph once seemed inevitable – is now in full

retreat, perhaps for many years. If you doubt that, look at Hong Kong. It's a citadel of free-market thinking. Yet even Hong Kong's overlords have resorted to government intervention to make the market behave." [*Newsweek*, 14 Sept. 1998]

That we are holding a conference that will challenge globalisation and search for alternatives at this time and here in Hong Kong is symbolic. Who would have thought that the Asian financial crisis will take place and will have such a tremendous impact not only in Asia but in the whole world?

The leaders of the G-7 countries and their finance ministers and Central Bank governors who are in Washington for the IMF annual meeting are forced to admit that the world economic crisis is deepening. The IMF was quoted in yesterday's papers saying that the global economic outlook has 'worsened considerably' and this is the "worst global economic crisis in 50 years."

One can almost feel vibrations of panic from all these statements. Maybe this is good news if it means that finally the root causes of the global crisis will be dealt with. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Thus, here we are trying to make sense of what happened, coming up with our own analysis and challenging other actors and ourselves.

What I will do first is to present the highlights of the nature of the global crisis and the key factors which brought this about. Then I will share my views on what this situation demand from us. How can we respond to this global economic, social and ecological crisis?

Global Economic, Social and Ecological Crisis

For those of us who have been activists since the 1970s and who have been trained in structural analysis, we somehow know that what is taking place now is the inevitable crisis of capitalism. We know that the globalisation which we are witnessing is nothing else but the attempt to globalise the capitalist market economy. With the demise of socialism in Eastern Europe this globalisation agenda was made easier.

All the perceived barriers to the free trade (from the perspective of G7 countries) have to be removed. The unfettered flow of production and finance capital has to be guaranteed. Thus, the coverage of GATT Agreements had to expand. It started from just manufactured goods, then to agricultural products, services, investments and then to intellectual property rights. GATT metamorphosed into the World Trade Organisation and now the agreements are re-baptised as the WTO Agreements.

Production and finance capital got more concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer corporations. Deregulation of national investment regimes has to take place to allow for the easy entry of foreign capital. Even before the TRIMS (trade-related investment measures) of the WTO came about, the IMF and the WB have for several decades played their role in pushing countries to deregulate and liberalise their economies. This is part of the structural adjustment policy package which indebted countries have to adhere to for them to avail of another round of loans. The

Philippines is a concrete example of this. Our Investment Incentives Act had to be amended several times to allow for bigger equity for foreign investors.

Since it was not so easy to ram through an investment treaty within the WTO because some developing countries were making a big fuss about it, the OECD started negotiating the MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investments). Fortunately, NGOs got wind of this and started making noises about it, alerting the developing countries and other NGOs from the North and South.

When the Third World Network, particularly Martin Khor, started talking about MAI and MIA in 1995, it did not receive much response from many NGOs. In fact, I clearly remember one NGO activist telling him that this is a losing battle because all countries want investments. Now there is widespread campaign against the MAI, which led to the postponement of its approval, originally planned to take place last April 1997. The OECD will try to conclude the agreement by this month, but NGOs all over the world are geared up to prevent this from taking place again.

When the Asian crisis took place, the easiest explanation for it was 'crony or state capitalism'. This explanation, however, does not say that this practice of crony capitalism is also integral in the economic boom of the Asian tigers for three decades. Now, many analysts are agreeing that while corruption may have contributed to the collapse it is 'financial manipulation' which is the driving force behind it.

Walden Bello says, "a close look at the rise and fall of the Southeast Asian tigers reveals the central role of a development process sustained not principally by domestic savings and investment but by a huge infusion of foreign capital." This foreign capital is found in portfolio investors and big international banks. He also indicted the IMF, which mediated the relationship between the investors and the banks. The IMF "incessantly pushed the Asian financial authorities to liberalise their capital account and open their financial sector more fully to foreign participation."

The main bulk of foreign funds, however, is speculative capital which come in the form of derivatives, forward foreign exchange transactions, currency options, hedge funds, index funds, etc. All these seek for high

and quick returns. Michel Chossudovsky, a Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa, calls this 'financial warfare'. He says there is no need to recolonise lost territory, "... the control over productive assets, labour, natural resources, and institutions, can be carried out in an impersonal fashion from the corporate boardrooms, commands are dispatched from a computer terminal or a cellular phone."

In the midst of this Asian financial crisis, however, the other aspects of the crisis got overshadowed again. At the Earth Summit in Rio, in 1992, governments and NGOs already acknowledged that there is a global environment and development crisis. It was here that unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, particularly in industrialised countries, were identified as the major cause of environmental deterioration of the global environment. It was also here where the need to address environment and development in a balanced manner was worked out.

NGOs at that time, and even before were already critical of the economic growth paradigm that they believe is also a root cause of the crisis. The economic growth, as recorded, does not factor in the contribution of nature, unpaid labour of women and the subsistence economies of indigenous peoples. This growth is only for the world's billionaires and the elite from the North and the South. The UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 says that the wealthiest 20% of the world population receive 82.7% of the total world income. This means that 1 billion people live on \$1 a day and another 3 billion live on \$2 a day. For sure, this situation has worsened several times over now with the global recession.

The 1996 Human Development Report also showed that over the past three decades only 15 countries enjoyed high growth whilst 89 countries were worse off than they were ten years ago. With the global depression there will be even fewer countries enjoying growth. This report identified five types of growth, which are the following:

- jobless growth (overall economy grows but there are no jobs)
- ruthless growth (economy grows but the rich get richer and the poor get nothing)

- voiceless growth (economy grows but democracy and empowerment of the majority do not keep pace)
- rootless growth (cultural identity is submerged or outlawed)
- futureless growth (present generations squander the resources needed by the future generations)

The social crisis, which was also addressed at the Social Summit in Copenhagen, is another facet which should not be sidelined. The impact of the Asian crisis on the various sectors of society, especially the poorer sections, clearly illustrates these linkages.

Some Key Aspects of Globalisation

Some of the key aspects, which characterise today's globalisation, are the following:

1. The breaking down of national economic barriers, resulting in an acceleration of the international integration of finance, trade, and investments.

- This basically means the removal of national barriers in the areas of finance and financial markets, trade and direct foreign investment to allow for the unfettered flow of finance, trade, and investments.
- Opening up of international trade in foreign exchange which has expanded and boomed at spectacular rates. It is estimated that only about 2% of the volume traded in the world foreign exchange market is used for facilitating trade. The rest is just used for sheer speculation. In 1992, world GDP was \$64 billion per day; world exports were \$10 billion per day, and global foreign exchange transactions were \$900 billion per day. [Nayyar, 1995]
- Growth of international banking with international bank loans rising from 0.7% in 1964, 8% in 1980, and 16.3% in 1991.
- In proportion with world trade, this proportion rose from 7.5% in 1964, to 42.6% in 1980, and 104.6% in 1991.

2. The internationalisation of production by transnational corporations and the unprecedented growth and concentration of the power of TNCs.

- Establishment of more branches and subsidiaries in more countries to produce and market a wider range of products, even those formerly produced by small domestic firms and farms.
 - Internationalisation is made possible by lower transportation and communication costs, growth of information technology and other industrial processes allowing firms to divide up different operations in different locations.
 - Growth and concentration through mergers and acquisitions, i.e. Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas (1996), Ciba-Geigy and Sandoz (1996), UBS and Banque Suisse (1997), Time-Warner, etc.
3. The development and spread of technology which facilitates financial and economic globalisation.
- Information technology revolution which led to internationalisation of financial activities linking-up banking systems, foreign exchange, and equity markets. This has made possible the trading of a trillion dollars daily.
 - This has also created tremendous wealth for people like Bill Gates, who earns \$750 a minute even while he sleeps.
 - Communications technology and product expansion which has led to an international flow of information, images, and cultural products.
 - Rapid growth of modern biotechnologies, particularly genetic engineering, which is now facilitating the commodification of life.
 - These new technologies have also pushed for the imposition of western intellectual property rights regimes on countries and peoples.
4. The spread of production and consumption patterns, and consumer and product preferences, lifestyles, and cultural identities associated with the North.
- Aggressive international sales of products and services, which includes fast food chains, clothes, cars, etc.
 - Drastically altering the tastes, expectations, lifestyles, and socio-cultural practices, values and product choices of increasing numbers of people in the world.
5. Erosion of national policy-making and appropriation of this process by international agencies (IMF, WTO, WB, etc.), TNCs, etc., resulting to the drastic reduction of the power, authority, and status of the state, political leaders, parliamentarians and bureaucrats.
- Partly brought about by liberalisation of markets and developments in technology, the free flow of capital, large sums involved and the unchecked powers of big players and speculators, made it difficult for countries to control the level of their currency and money flows in and out of the country.
 - Great policy influence of TNCs and financial institutions over governments because of their huge resources.
 - Drastic reduction in public sector expenditures and personnel because of SAPs and deregulation policies.
6. The emergence of informal and formal global networks, alliances and campaigns of peoples' organisations, citizen's groups, and NGOs.
- As a response to the dominant mode of globalisation, peoples' organisations, NGOs and citizens' groups have come together to do collaborative action on national and international issues.
 - Increased lobbying and advocacy work in international institutions.

What are the challenges for us?

The challenges posed by the present situation are complex. Some of the ideas that came to my mind are the following:

1. The need to understand more comprehensively what is happening.

So much has happened within the past three decades. Capitalism has reinvented itself many times over that it is not so easy to grasp the way it operates. While we may have the basic framework, which can generally help explain what is happening, there is a need for more substantiation of our analysis.

It seems that because many of us are very much focused on our own issues, e.g. human rights, environment, gender, indigenous peoples, etc., we sometimes just look at the trees and not the forest. In fact, I believe that the reason why sometimes there is much tension between NGOs within a country, between countries, and between the North and the South, is because many of us have given up in trying to comprehensively understand what is happening.

The global crisis impels us to go beyond our own issues and see how this links up with what is happening right now. For instance, in my case, while I am greatly focused on indigenous peoples' issues and advocacy, I know that it is important for us to understand how the world order is operating right now because this has direct implications for us. Thus, my NGO's mission is to understand this and whatever we grasped we will strive to share it with our counterparts in the rest of the world. This is the reason why I am interested to take part in conferences like this and why we are building networks not only among ourselves but also with others.

2. *The need to define the basic features and principles which will underpin the alternative economies which we would like to build.*

When socialism collapsed and national liberation movements seemed to become out of fashion, many of us chose to be more pragmatic and short-sighted. I guess this explains why in the 1990s there has been a significant increase of people doing lobbying and advocacy work in the UN and other international bodies and conferences. However, I think that even if we don't have existing models to look up to anymore we still have to be clear on what are the elements of alternative economies, which we should be working for.

I don't think we can come up with one universal model. There will be several models but maybe the basic principles underpinning these models will be similar.

Many of what I shared are reflections of others which I also believe in. Let me share this with you.

a. Emphasis should be on the production of basic needs of the local population. Societies that are basically self-sufficient in the production of basic needs can stand up against external impositions. Food self-sufficiency is

crucial. Government subsidies, support, and incentives should be channelled towards basic needs. Those who would like to produce non-essentials and luxury goods can do so without government subsidies and support.

b. There should be a narrowing of the gap between producers and consumers and more autonomy on decision-making should be given to small producers. Production decisions should be based on a realistic assessment of needs for a good quality of life. The room for the production of unnecessary things and sheer waste will be drastically reduced.

c. Priority should be put on the domestic market. Therefore prices should be affordable, profits and margins reasonable and the quality of goods acceptable.

d. An 'alternative society' should be based and should promote participatory, grassroots or consensual democracy. Democracy cannot be just be defined as having elections. This democracy abolishes the division between politics and economics, between public and private spheres. Political, economic, social, and technological decisions are arrived at through participatory democracy. No longer will elected officials be the only ones making the decisions.

e. Its approach is multi-dimensional or holistic problem-solving. It should recognise that problems cannot be solved by technological fixes. The social problems of alienation, poverty, unequal gender relations, etc., should be solved together with environmental problems.

f. There should be a shifting of paradigms of science and technology – away from reductionism and utilitarianism towards a holistic science. This means that there should be a re-evaluation and valuation of older survival wisdom and indigenous knowledge. Modern knowledge should be used to ensure that people would have control over technology and their resources and lives.

g. It should resist all efforts to privatise and commercialise the commons – water, air, soil, knowledge, biological diversity, etc. It should emphasise common responsibility over these and ensure their preservation and regeneration.

h. It should put emphasis on affordable and appropriate technologies. If there is a need for capital

intensive, large-scale technologies, these should be job-creating and should not lead to the further abolition of jobs. Large-scale technologies should be under the control of the state or cooperatives, instead of foreign corporations which do not have accountability to the local communities.

i. It should put priority to local producers. Family-based, community or cooperative-based enterprises should be given more support over that of large-scale foreign businesses. Local industry should be protected from foreign encroachment.

j. It should remove the dichotomization of spirit and matter, manual and mental, production and reproduction, public and private, culture and work, sexual division of labour and international division of labour.

k. All economic activity should pass through the screen of ecological soundness, social justice, social equity, cultural and gender sensitivity, and economic viability.

l. There should be regulatory regimes, which will control the inflow and outflow of foreign investments and the operations of TNCs. The people and the government should be able to decide on where investments should go. Portfolio investments should be regulated. Mechanisms that will monitor and counter inappropriate liberalisation and deregulation policies and measures should be set up which shall involve the participation of citizen groups.

m. To counter the increasing social inequities and injustices measures should be taken to reduce the unequal distribution of wealth, productive assets, knowledge and skills. Land reform programmes should be implemented. Indigenous peoples should have their rights to have control over their ancestral domain and resources respected. Women should also have equal rights as the men to own and till land. The poor should be helped to establish producers' and marketing cooperatives and credit unions. The generation of employment opportunities and sustainable livelihoods should be an economic priority.

n. Finally, the balance between the state, the market and the people should be established. Giving the market or the state the monopoly of decision-making on

economic activities has resulted into the various crises we have gone through.

3. The need to become involved in supporting peoples' struggles against the different impacts of globalisation.

There are already existing struggles on the ground against globalisation. These are found all over the world and among the various sectors. I believe that what we are doing in the international level can only go so far. At the end of the day, it will be the struggles of people directly affected by globalisation projects, policies and activities that will spell the difference. Every now and then these grassroots struggles should be brought into the international arena, like what happened during the WTO Ministerial meeting in Geneva last May.

Supporting local struggles especially at this point where forces of globalisation are overwhelmingly strong cannot be stressed enough. Here in Asia, after the crisis, many sectors and communities have risen up to protest against what is happening and to assert their rights. Unfortunately, the response from governments is more repression. We should be more vigilant and creative in exposing these and in calling the attention and support of other movements, NGOs and even governments.

I would also like to mention here that the struggles of the peoples' movements and NGOs in the North should also be supported. Among the many activities where they are playing lead roles is in addressing the issue of unsustainable consumption and production in the North. I think the example such efforts should be supported by movements and NGOs in the South.

4. Participation in regional and international campaigns such as the following:

- Campaigns to make transnational corporations more accountable and responsible, and campaigns against corporate rule
- Anti-MAI campaign
- Campaign to reform and democratise the WTO, IMF and the WB and even the UN, and for them not to continue imposing the neo-liberal economic model in the world.
- Campaign against the patenting of life forms.

5. *Intensifying of networking activities and information exchange between Asia-Pacific NGOs and between Asia-Pacific NGOs and European and American NGOs and between the NGOs in the developing world.*

The globalisation which is taking place among the adherents of neoliberalism should be matched in vigour and commitment by globalisation among those who are for a more humane, just, and sustainable world society. The major weakness of peoples' movements, NGOs and citizen's groups is the existing fragmentation among them. I think it is not realistic to expect that we can agree on one common analysis of the world situation and to have co-ordinated campaigns on all the issues I mentioned. However, there are times when we can agree that a particular issue is crucial and we can only win if we join forces together. The diversity which exists among us should be used as a strength.

6. *There is a need to involve and develop more youth activists.*

The way the minds and values of the young are being shaped by cable television and computer games is very alarming. We now have what is called the Generation X or the MTV generation. My son says that the description which fits their generation is that they have very short attention spans and can only be stimulated visually. Our struggles to have a transformed society will not go very far if we are not consciously developing a new breed of committed and dynamic young activists. I think this is the biggest challenge that we face.

7. *The last point I will make is the need to join hands and support our struggles as indigenous peoples.*

In this age where the dominant model of development is collapsing, the existing sustainable models, albeit on a very localised scale, are among indigenous peoples. The cosmology or worldview, the values, sustainable resource management practices, and

economic systems of indigenous peoples are still worth looking into and replicating. Not all indigenous peoples are assimilated into the dominant society. Our ancestors and the present generation's resistance to external and internal colonisation, even at the cost of lives, have enabled the survival of indigenous economic, cultural, knowledge, and governance systems. This resistance has also ensured there are still remaining patches of forests, mineral lands, bio-diversity, and other resources.

These lands, waters and resources, however, are threatened more than ever to be exploited by corporations and even governments. Thus, there is a crucial need to extend any support to the indigenous peoples who are fighting to retain these. We know that on our own we cannot win this battle. However, we are also strengthened because our models, which were thought to be backward and uncivilised a few years back, are now being acknowledged as the more viable and sustainable models. We are aware that we still have a lot to do to make our communities more democratic and gender-sensitive. However, be assured that we are working hard on this and together with all of you we will work for the attainment of a transformed world society.

I was told that when the Chinese would like to curse you they will say "may you live in interesting times." We are indeed living in interesting times. It is up to us to determine whether we are cursed or blessed.

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About the author: Ms. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz is director of Tebtebba Foundation (Indigenous Peoples International Centre for Policy Research and Education). She is also convenor of Asia Indigenous Women's Network and serves as International Committee Member of the Third World Network. She is an indigenous woman belonging to the Igorot Peoples in the Cordillera Region, Northern Philippines. She is mother of four kids.

APPENDIX 8

THE INTEGRAL YOGA OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND GUARANTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL LIBERAL CORPORATE POWER AND MANKIND'S SEARCH FOR AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM OF LIBERATION, SOCIAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Justice Krishna Iyer

Sisters and brothers of the global family, concerned humanists worldwide, friends, and comrades,

The tidal wave of globalisation, the mighty maelstrom, with pan-planetary fury, of world finance capital and the gluttony of G-7 corporate giants, under the hegemonic flag of America Incorporated, and the *deja vu* of the Great Depression of the thirties haunt humanity currently. The East, especially Asia, is reeling towards collapse. The pressure of privatisation and lashes of liberalisation have shaken up all developmental projects and prospects of the Third World and shocked the stable advance of developing nations into dysfunctional anarchy. This super-crisis spreading over the whole earth has shattered the sense of security of humanity and thrown up new challenges to human rights, breaking up human solidarity, corrupting political power, promoting authoritarian terror and disrupting just, democratic governance. We, all of the indivisible family of the human race cannot meekly succumb to the corporate globalisation-cum-privatisation and mass structural dismantling of the socially sensitive public sector, insecurity syndrome, but must, through joint consultations and dialogic processes search for progressive alternatives and for an ethos of equity and democratic governance. We are here for this global brainstorming meet, for a daring odyssey of discovery of a compassionate cosmos! Do remember:

"No man is an *island*, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the *Continent*, a part of the main, if a *clod* be washed away by the sea, *Europe* is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a *manor* of thy friends or of *thine* own were; any man's *death* diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; And therefore never send

to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee." [John Donne]

Humanity swims or sinks together. Let us cultivate a 'one world' culture, discard the West-East dichotomy and battle for universal deliverance from North versus South division. We are one; we shall overcome. From this holistic humanistic perspective we must discuss the grave problem in all its dimensions and seek an alternative global model of peace, security, democracy and just pursuit of happiness.

The world once had been parcelled out by imperial powers using the supremacy of 'skin and gun'. Rudyard Kipling is famous for his imperial verses:

"Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet, till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgement seat."

This white philosophy, backed by militarist hubris is in the debris of history. Nevertheless, exploitative injustice, through GATT, WTO, IMF and World Bank and heartless corporate cornucopia is victimising the Third World.

We live in a 'one world' in theory. But North/West captures mega-markets and resources in East/South; and information highways make a borderless globe, a seamless geography and facilitate international highway robbery of Third World natural and human resources which aggravates poverty and thwart the glorious prospect of a happy humanity and fulfilment of the agenda adumbrated in the Charter of the United Nations. The cult of global, liberal, privatisation process is dangerous. Biblically put, "beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

The proximate millennium must unmask the hidden agenda of predatory market economy at the cost of human rights and social security and strengthen a global order of human justice, moral values and democratic rule of law. If desideratum is now neglected, the survival of humanity in freedom and fraternity may be in peril. Good governance, not mere strong governments, insists on certain basic postulates of political, social, economic and cultural pluralism and democracy, decentralisation, dignity of the individual and self-determination of groups with distinctive *ethos* and *ethmos*, consistent with the parameters of sovereignty of the polity. A more liberal version of Article 38 of the Indian Constitution, with accent on autonomy, human rights, and social justice, must be the substantive structure of the world social order. Article 38 reads:

"38.State to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people.

(1) The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

(2) The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations."

This is a mini-model of a grand ideal.

Many States are despotic, sometimes draped in democratic robes; some societies are racist, communalist, even fascist, but manipulate elections, intimidate minorities and suppress their religious and linguistic self-expression. Even the 'Asian tigers' are turning undemocratic, authoritarian and economically prostrate. Many Asian-African tyrannies nakedly rule with blood and iron, leaving the masses in 'blood, toil, tears and sweat'. Some polities use national sovereignty for the economic exploitation of the many by the few and more ghastly, for the predatory operations by MNCs at the cost of the natural resources and employment potential of developing and dependent states. Social security is allergy and economic justice anathema in many countries

of the South - leaders and lackeys having been brainwashed by the West where starvation and absence of basic needs are the grim and grimy lot of the vast populace, so that the creamy layer, the 'criminy' operator and foreign corporate sector may, without let or hindrance, rob the victim countries of their natural resources through Himalayan corruption, minatory militarism, informational imperialism and moral-cultural debasement. The economic social security that people need is subjected to the gluttonous greed of Big Businesses. Even hunger of the poor nations is Big Business, say the authors of 'Food First'.

Human rights sound hollow and social security is sawdust stuff where governance is gory police *raj* and democratisation is teasing illusion and rigged booth unreality. Indivisibility underscores humanity's developmental advance, and development is Dead Sea fruit or mere ashes of deception if people's democratic participation in governance on an egalitarian, humanitarian footing, is nominally *de jure* guaranteed but actually *de facto* deprived.

The International Bill of Human Rights and the New World Order have precious values inscribed in the UN Charter. These fundamentals of the New World Order are the foundation and vision of the United Nations; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), amplified in the two great International Covenants (1966), constitutes the *magna carta* of mankind, supplemented by a wealth of other instruments and world summit declarations and resolutions. They are non-negotiable, inviolable and universal; and any social system, the world over, must accept, not blink at, these sublime quintessential of global jurisprudence. They are express, explicit and admit of no exceptions although accents and emphases may vary. Big Business, neo-imperial monetarist theology or subversive colonial values shall not erode these universal values.

I beseech every lover of human fellowship, to view with an equal eye, everyone be he pariah or *plebian* or Maharajah or patrician, and to recognise and revere the dignity and divinity of every human; and that is the cornerstone of civilisation. There is no North nor South here; every human matters. The materialist West may view this egalitarian philosophy of human rights more from a temporal rather than from a profound perspective. The East, the Asian home of ancient

religions, sages, saints and prophets, concurs in the finer substance of humanism but goes deeper and adds nobler dimensions. A glorious grasp of this human rights ensemble is basic to the solidarity of humanity to the sublime meaning of democracy, beyond mere ballot arithmetic and poll calculus – and to good governance which exceeds police power and soldier's gun but remains firmly stable based on community discipline, mutual cultural amity, and acceptance of norms and mores which eschew violence, vulgarity, hatred and economic conquest by other means.

Let me stress this 'divine' dimension and depth to drive home my synthesis of the material and spiritual facets of human rights. The basic principle on which human rights, people's self-determination, abolition of slavery and the very Charter of the United Nations are bedrock is the spiritual essence latent in every human person, the truth of our inner being or the right to be human in God's Image. "The Kingdom of God is within you," says the Bible. "Thou art that," says the Upanishads. The blend of the material and spiritual values, the perspectives and perceptions which are not skin-deep but soul-deep and the divine spark that lights our life and distinguishes humanity from the brute ancestors – these quintessential humanise our civilisation and invest our march through time and space as an endless journey towards a celestial supra-mental destiny.

"The human rights movement should itself give equal priority to economic, social and cultural rights together with civil and political rights. It should search for ways to play as prominent a role in the future in the monitoring and implementation of economic, social and cultural rights as it has in the past in the monitoring and implementation of civil and political rights. [Ian Martin, Secretary-General 1986-1992, Amnesty International.]

Our generation as heir to a great estate of human rights, must 'wipe every tear from every eye' and raise every human to his/her full personhood. Nelson Mandela's words, way back in 1992, is fitting finale to my thoughts on the UN and human rights:

"Our common humanity transcends the oceans and all national boundaries. It binds us together in a common cause against tyranny, to act together in defence of our very humanity. Let it

never be asked of any one of us – what did we do when we knew that another was oppressed?"

We live in a world where man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn! [Burns]. In our good earth, we still find evil forces which create scenes of woe the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, no human tongue can adequately tell. "O Death, the poor man's dearest friend, the kindest and the best!" – such is the lot of many for whom human rights mean nothing. They have nothing to lose except their life.

Once sure of the temporal-spiritual foundation, the changes and challenges of our era of carnivorously commercialised globalisation, assailing the social solidarity of humanity based on democratic governance rooted in 'one human, one value', we may grapple with the current crisis of *homo-sapiens* versus *homo-economicus* and *homo-barbarikos*, and discover the alternatives, if any, to restore the human family to its hallowed purpose. "Ring out the lust of gold, ring out the thousand wars of old, ring in the thousand years of peace. Ring in the valiant man free, the larger heart, the kindlier hand." [Tennyson]. We must be builders of a great society:

"Where women walk in public processions in the streets the same as the men,

Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men;

Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands,

Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,

Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands,

Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,

There the great city stands." [Whitman]

Prose and poetry apart, let us get to the grim realities of the masses and the gold rush appetite of the classes and search for a synthesis which blends freedom and pluralism, and justly organises a democratic decentralism and good governance of the people, by the people. All are people. There are no *unpeople*. The large majority of humanity receives no hearing from the rulers, no space in the media. The BBC allows 3% of peak time programmes for anything about the majority of humanity and the rest for boosting propaganda in favour of the

richer nations. "In the media's 'global village' other nations do not exist unless they are useful to us." [Page 2, *Hidden Agendas*, John Pilger] This is a sample of informational impartiality:

"The solution to poverty, which is the return of vast wealth taken from the poor by the rich, is seldom given a public airing. The 'new' system of capitalism for the powerless and socialism for the powerful, under which the former are persecuted and the latter are given billions in public subsidies, is rarely identified as such. Terms like 'modernisation' are preferred."

X X X

"Since that bloodfest, the fate of the children of Iraq has been the slowest of news. Who knows that at least half a million children have died as a direct result of the economic sanctions imposed by the Western powers? Who understands that the sanctions are aimed not at bringing down Saddam Hussein, or deterring him from building some mythical nuclear bomb, but at preventing the 'market' competition of Iraqi oil from forcing down the price of oil produced by Saudi Arabia, the West's most important Middle Eastern proxy, next to Israel, and biggest arms customer?

The children of Iraq are *Unpeople*. So, too., are the half a million children who, according to UNICEF, die beneath the burden of unrepayable debt owed by their governments to the West. One Filipino child is said to die every hour, in a country where more than half the national budget is given over to paying just the interest on World Bank and IMF loans." [Hidden Agendas by John Pilger, page 2 & 3-7.]

We are in the terminal stages of the twentieth century. Much of the South is in a state of chaos, collapse and human destitution, what with the rosy visions of the future harshly dashed by spiralling mass indigence, disparity and deprivation. Asian tigers are now a picture of disillusionment. Nay, even the working people in the North are being ground down by afflictive unemployment job jeopardy and nose-diving standard of life, in contrast to the *affluenza* of the corporate captains, their expansion of market empires and politico-military

diktats and diplomatic blandishments and browbeating. *Glitterati* are aspiring for immortality. The global economic rollback unleashed by the US to shore up the North's last long.

Alain Lipietz in *Towards a New Economic Order*:

Post-Fordism, Ecology and Democracy, tersely sums up: During the carnage of the First World War, Rosa Luxemburg, the brilliant German Marxist, made her celebrated comment that Europe faced the choice of opting either for 'socialism or barbarism'.

The Faces of Barbarism: The world is confronted with a not dissimilar situation today. Barbarism stares us in the face in many guises – in clean-shaven techno-warriors who manages from Washington the death of hundreds of thousands in Middle Eastern battlefields that they experience as sanitised digital images in electronic monitors; in Christian Serbs who rape Muslim women en masse and depopulate Muslim villages in the name of 'ethnic cleansing'; in neo-Nazi German Youth who burn down the homes of Turkish guest labourers; in French rightists who advocate mass deportation of undocumented Third World workers to preserve the 'purity' of French culture; in American fundamentalists who have declared moral and cultural war on blacks, Third World immigrants, the women's movement, and liberals in their pursuit of a mythical white Christian America." [Dark Victory by Walden Bello, page 111-7]

Currently, a reformed capitalism is being sold to the world to forge a *modus vivendi* to preserve the unjust maldistribution of wealth and income.

We have today a New Capitalism and New Democracy. The devastating logic of new capitalism as propagated by the Fund-Bank prescription, is to sacrifice social justice through State support, environment-friendly economy through State control and economic viability through distributive justice, on the altar of maximum profits with least concern for individual well-being, people-centred development being less important than markets, competition and growth with profits. This

perspective subordinates to second place social security and human rights. Walden Bello rightly argues:

"The re-integration of the economy into the community cannot be left to the invisible hand of the market, for that hand constantly erodes communal bonds and makes individual insecurity the human condition. Moreover, while seemingly blind, the market is actually skewed in favour of the groups with significant assets. Neither can this reintegration be imposed from above, by coercive state power. This was the mistake common to both Stalinist socialism and Korean-style command capitalism: coercive integration and coherence is ultimately skin-deep and is thrown-off by people at the first opportunity." [*Dark Victory* by Walden Bello, page 113-7]

New democracy, which is geo-political baloney, is what Reagan began, Mrs. Thatcher authored, and Tony Blair imitates. It is what John Pilger calls a two-third society with the top third privileged, the middle third insecure and the bottom third poor. The White House and Downing Street believe in this brand of new democracy which is a social authoritarianism inflicting suffering on a substantial section of the people even in the North. It is unfortunate that market monsters are solely profit-oriented. From their viewpoint so far as the South is concerned, there are no humans, but only commodities, putting mercantile goods and maximum profits above morality and justice and the people of the country. The world burial of socialism has been achieved with the collapse of Soviet Union, claim the New Capitalists and New Democrats. (The new trend, remember, has a clear Left slant). So far as social justice is concerned this new World Controllerate Inc., considers that all of humanity is in the funeral procession, although cynics like John Pilger hold that 'this funeral has mistaken the corpse'. Reagan called the Soviet Union an evil empire. It is dead. But many new evil capitalist empires, mini and macro, are rising. What will be their fate? So people, for the Party of Global Compassion, must – shall – stand together for sheer survival.

In our discussion we should be impartial. Only then truth, which is always subversive, will emerge and societies will glue together on the civilised fundamentals, which have brought us here together. The summons of

our time is to end the invisible apartheid. The great ideas of good governance and vibrant democracy are geared to a grand milieu where human rights may materialise. In Victor Hugo's words, we are sure of victory if we hold fast to a dynamic idea. An idea whose time has come is 'resist-less'. Let us catalyse the process. Vietnam defeated the Pentagon; Saddam withstood the might of Bush; Cuba survives the might of US.

"The hope for peace and justice in the world comes only from the tireless crusade of the common citizen, wrote Jose Ramos-Horta, the East Timorese leader in exile. The mighty Soviet military arsenal did not prevent the break-up of the Soviet Union, the freedom of the captive Baltic, and Eastern European nations, and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. The tanks of Ferdinand Marcos and Nicolae Ceausescu could not hold back the demands of Filipinos and Romanians for freedom. The Eritreans fought a dogged battle of resistance against Ethiopia for thirty years while all around them said it was a hopeless struggle, yet Eritrea has now won its freedom. In East Timor we have survived Indonesia's brutal occupation, American, French and British complicity, the hypocrisy of countries like Australia and New Zealand that have put mercantile goods above morality and justice – none of this has crushed the Timorese will to be free." [*Hidden Agendas* by John Pilger, page 14]

People's solidarity with each other in the form of active grassroots organisations facilitates a form of democracy to function despite and in parallel with fascist forces often appalled as new democracy. Remember "the seed beneath the snow." Melt the snow we must one-day, when people are enraged against macro-exploitation and utter destitution, side by side with the irony of five-star prosperity. There is a cold war now between the peoples of the earth and globalised corporate power. Harvard high Priest, Dano Rodrik, wrote what is true: "the international integration of markets for goods, services and capital is pressurising societies to alter their traditional practices (so much that) in return, broad segments of these societies are putting up a fight."

Once fascism, whose political essence is brutal dictatorship to drive out truth and justice, ruled Europe. But the struggle against it was greeted with victory because it was possible to mobilise the broadest people's movement. Today, a broad unity of the peoples of the earth is again necessary so that monopoly capital may not mayhem brutally break up human rights and democratic governance. The tension is mounting; even racism is rising, the demand of our time is a principled humanism which binds all peoples together on a cosmic compassionate basis, sternly warning against sleeping into positions of opportunism, Quislingism, Fifth columnism and corporate controllerate domination. There is no East or West any more. The oppressed of the earth make the Fourth World and desiderate a New Global Order, consistent with unity in diversity, human rights and democracy, and natural resources being at the sovereign disposal of the 'people of each country, resisting the stratagems of suppressing peoples' upsurge. Far-sighted statesmen must be able to discern the not-so-distant prospect of degeneration, a kind of moral atrophy, and a global political Alzheimer's disease. This Consultation must unite humanity, salvage the Third World and the Fourth World in all the three Worlds so as to ensure governance, democratisation and human rights worthy of the great heritage and the divine destination which is the birthright of mankind. That is our tryst with destiny.

Defense of Human Rights of People of Developing Countries, Against Nuclear Terrorism and GATT-WTO, and Emasculation of the United Nations

The greatest enemy of Humanity and Human Rights is the monopolistic menace of nuclear bombs and the catastrophic escalation of the weapons industry and trade. The atomic bomb that instantly wiped out Hiroshima on 6 August 1945 was but a baby bomb compared to the satanic nuclear versions capable of extinguishing life on our planet several times over by triggering buttons of Globoshima. Nuclear tests are a pernicious perennial experimentation by 'Nuclear-Haves' with the lethal perfection of geocidal killer power. To have and to hold a nuclear bomb is to possess Thanatos under the command of the tenants of the White House and the Kremlin, 10 Downing Street, and the other

members of the nuclear club. Other nations like India and Pakistan, hell-bent on arming themselves with this nuclear Yama with Pakoshima-Indoshima capability, and China, a member of the Club with larger ambitions, so too Iraq and North Korea and other hide-and-seek tiny terrorist groups and nations, play with the potential death-dealing nuclear business. Human rights are a hoax until the last bomb in the nuclear arsenal is destroyed. For nuclear rulers, disarmament campaigns are a zany idea of the past, a sham. They are *institutionally* against human rights except in words, abusing noble words like freedom 'and exploiting the sentiments of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.' [John Pilger, page 145] Double-speak on human rights is the stock-in-trade of Nuclear Powers. I quote some passages from 'Hidden Agendas':

"Journalists were, however, out in force at the Foreign Office the following week to hear Robin Cook speak on 'human rights in a new century'. This was his 'mission statement' mark two." x x x

Cook began his speech by saying that 'all nations belong to the same international community'.

This, as the aid workers in the audience knew, was manifestly false; there was one economy for the rich one for the poor, causing the greatest wealth disparity since records were kept. They also knew that British policy and the British arms trade were pillars of this distortion. x x x

Cook pledged that Britain would help pay for a tribunal to try war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. How ironic! An international criminal tribunal on the causes and effects of the international arms trade would see the British Government not as a contributor but as a defendant. More than two-thirds of British arms exports go to countries with appalling human rights records; and falsified end-user certificates, as exposed in the Scott Report, make this a conservative estimate.

Cook's speech was a familiar exercise in Foreign Office cynicism." [Hidden Agendas by John Pilger, page 144, 145-7]

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty of 1963 (CTBT) is more a myth than truth so long as USA has 36,000 bombs in store. And what is a monopoly to terrorise and stamp out of the map, any national geography cannot masquerade as a salvation for humanity except as a global joke. Disarmament is the *desideratum*; ban on nuclear bombs on a time-bound basis is elementary sanity. And yet with all the zigzag game of non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and CTBT, human life and sheer habitation of any form of life is a mirage so long as the last dastardly bomb stalks the globe.

So we here must press first for a total ban, globally supervised of all atomic weapons on a defunctive basis. All else is eyewash, balderdash, diplomatic baloney if yankee yen for global capture of markets is the soul of US policy.

I am convinced that nuclear bombs are a grave menace to humanity and so I oppose atomic weapons and tests by India and by Pakistan. I also strongly condemn the material American nuclear might holding the world to ransom and advancing their exploitation of global resources.

Two scores and ten years of proclaimed pacifist nuclear policy have been exploded as a macro-myth of Bharat by the conduct on May 11 and 13, 1998 of five nuclear tests as Pokhran-II series. The Indian atom and its adventurist burst and boast expose our pretence of 'peaceful uses' and shame us before the anti-nuclear sanity of humanity. The megalomaniac machismo and the intoxicated euphoria are unbecoming of the obligation, in spirit though not in letter, implicit in Article 51 of the Constitution "to promote international peace" and "foster international law" and the Rajiv-Gorbachev Delhi Declaration of a Non-Violent World Order. The Buddha-Gandhi heritage stands stultified and our tryst with destiny to prioritise basic economic justice to the have-not, the harrowing half-billion Indian humans, is frustrated, while we all remember the cost of the bomb-missile stockpile being kept on the alert.

Pakistan's nuclear rejoinder is hysterical and infantile and serves its *jihad* constituency but hardly offers nuclear immunity from an Indian blitz. It is bankruptcy of statesmanship and baloney of military parity to explode poor Pakistan people's scarce resources – madness versus madness – when vast privation is the first charge on the state. Bread, not bomb, and development not

destruction, are divinity and sanity for both the neighbours sharing common problems of immense indigence. A no-win war with nuclear annihilation of numberless people on either side is nothing but dense macabre and irreparable devastation of the two nations already abysmally low in the global scale of development and disastrously extravagant in building-up arsenals.

These are the maybes of tomorrow; but tomorrow is imminent since the new nuclear terrorism, unless quietened by statesmanship tranquillised by mobilised public opinion and controlled by parties and public figures and influential media, may hold South Asia hostage to chauvinist politics and nuclear loony militarists. An emphatic 'no' to nuclear strikes, even talk or thought of the bomb, as a deterrent or pre-emptive strategy, must rise nationally in both countries with Niagara power and Ganga spread.

Jawaharlal Nehru told the Lok Sabha on July 24, 1957: "We have declared quite clearly that we are not interested in making atom bombs, even if we have the capacity to do so, and that in no event will we use atomic energy for destructive purposes. I am quite sure that when I say this, I represent every member of this House. I hope that will be the policy of all future Governments."

Indira Gandhi declared in the Lok Sabha on April 24, 1968: "We think that nuclear weapons are no substitute for military preparedness involving the conventional weapons. The choice before us involves not only the question of making a few atom bombs, but of engaging in an arms race with sophisticated nuclear warheads and an effective missile delivery system. Such a course, I do not think, would strengthen national security. On the other hand, it may well endanger our internal security by imposing a very heavy economic burden. Nothing will better serve the interests of those who are hostile to us than for us to lose our sense of perspective and to undertake measures, which would undermine the basic progress of the country. We believe that to be militarily strong, it is necessary to be economically and industrially strong. Our programme of atomic energy development for peaceful purposes is related to the real needs of our economy and would be effectively geared to this end."

This policy of being against nuclear bombs has continued even later, as late as March 21, 1996. India's Foreign Secretary told the Geneva Conference on

Disarmament: "Mr. President, India's objectives are different. We do not believe that the acquisition of nuclear weapons is essential for national security, and we have followed a conscious decision in this regard. We are also convinced that the existence of nuclear weapons diminishes international security. We therefore seek their complete elimination."

Moreover, if a Pakistani bomb were hurled at India, remember that radiation will travel far and fast both ways and Pakistanis will also die. Bombs have no political identification intelligence. Similarly, an Indian bomb thrown on any Pakistani city will spread radiation to wipe out Indians too. What an irony that the two countries, proximate in geography, should thoughtlessly plan to kill friends and foes, people on either side and undermine the security of both countries. If China or the US takes sides, if Russia also enters the arena, we will go far beyond Hiroshima and culminate in Pakoshima, Indoshima, Asiashima and Globoshima!

We must mobilise mankind to oppose the nuclear test bomb policy. Let us campaign from State to State, city to city, village to village, against nuclear suicide on either side of the national border. Let us save every human tenant of the 'global village' from nuclear homicide.

Universal extradition of this thanatolic nuclear menace must be our agenda although I feel that the hidden agenda of the proponents of NPT and CTBT is but Orwellian double-speak, disguised as peace talk but in fact a Global Market Control Business Strategy (GMCBS).

Atomic ayatollahs abound in Iran even as Saddam's ambivalent nuclear 'hide and seek' is a game of dissembling. India and Pakistan are self-confessed culpable if the possession of nukes is a potential crime against humanitarian laws. Nuclear terrorists are almost ubiquitous and those who value human rights must challenge the West and the rest on this issue. Asia, particularly South Asia, is a vulnerable region (one-fifth of humankind) which must concern the world as a whole. John Pilger has a constructive suggestion and observation:

"Among a number of proposals is a Nuclear Expeditionary Force, 'primarily for use against Third World targets'. In 1997, six new radar-

evading Stealth bombers were commissioned into the US nuclear strike force. They will carry a new type of bomb, the B61-11, or 'penetrator nuclear weapon'. Designed to drill deep into the earth before exploding in a blast whose shock waves can destroy 'command bunkers' thousands of feet below, these low-yield mini-nukes' can also be delivered by F-16 fighter planes.

No fuss is made about the Middle East's only genuine nuclear-armed power, whose murderous invasions of a neighbouring country, all of them in violation of at least six UN resolutions and overwhelmingly condemned by the UN General Assembly, have been carried out with impunity. This is Israel, whose terrorism, known as 'self-defence', is underwritten by the United States." [*Hidden Agendas* by John Pilger, page 36-37]

It looks as if mankind's human rights and survival are threatened by a virtual free market in mini-nuclear massacre agents. National security is not involved in all these trickery. Hatred of human sublimity and addiction to market expansion and conquest of economic colonies in the Third World are at the bottom of the nuclear weaponry. A revolutionary change, through radical humanism, of military policy is necessary if the security of life is to be guaranteed over the globe. This point was most powerfully pressed long ago during the Cuban crisis by Bertrand Russel and in the appeal to the world by hundred leaders, including Einstein and Russel.

Now that we are in the post-Cold War era, there is no alibi – military, political, legal, or moral – for keeping up nuclearisation which will eventuate in a global nuclear radiation and desertification. The International Court of Justice gave an advisory opinion on the legality of the threat or use of nuclear weapons. All the important instruments emanating from the UN and the General Principles of International Law were considered. There was unanimity about the dangers of nuclear weapons to the world and its environment. Nuclear bombs are genocidal and geocidal and should therefore be rejected as violently violative of international humanitarian law. There was dissent in the court on the final opinion, although only by a very narrow majority. The Court declined to give a verdict on whether it was lawful to use

the bomb in extreme circumstances of self-defence and State survival. The general trend is that the use of nuclear weapons is illegal in any circumstances whatsoever. World opinion is supportive of the abolition of nuclear weaponisation.

John Pilger in *Hidden Agendas* exposes the humbug of the British Government and media practising the 'culture of lying'.

Between 1965 and 1980, Parliament did not once debate the nuclear arms race, arguably the most urgent and dangerous issue facing humanity. An almost parallel silence existed in the media. The 'lobby system' contributed to this. Journalists were either put off the scent of genuine stories of public interest, or they were given briefings that were spurious in their reassurance. Little has changed. The post-Cold War acceleration of the nuclear weapons programme in Britain and the United States, which Russia is again attempting to match is a non-story." [*Hidden Agendas* by John Pilger, page 512, 513-7]

Please note the cover up of nuclear disasters in Britain (that applies to other countries):

"Spanning forty years including nuclear fires, crashes, contamination and dropped and damaged weapons. In the most extreme case, reported the *Observer* belatedly in 1996, 'a United States nuclear bomber and its weapon burnt on the ground (at Greenham Common in Berkshire), contaminating the surrounding countryside with fissile material in its deadliest form'. A large part of Britain was almost turned into 'a nuclear desert'. Not a word of this was reported at the time." [*Hidden Agendas* by John Pilger, page 513-7]

Human rights are in jeopardy because of chemical and other mass killer weapons. Moreover, South Asia is among the countries which import and devote huge resources for armaments. While the basic needs of education food and shelter of vast masses of Asia remain neglected for want of resources, it is indefensibly criminal for rulers to misdirect scarce financial resources to destructive purposes. What is at stake is the survival of human rights.

The global media lords march to boost, to the beat of commercialism, autocracy and super-power recolonisation. Globalisation of finance has surpassed globalisation of production and has gained a life of its own. Finance capital at the world level is depravatory of human needs, catering as it does, to capitalist creed. This reality of foreign investments and debt trap, GATT trap, and WTO commanding heights, are all hostile to human rights. Indeed, a perilous *perestroika* and globalisation of poverty takes place under our nose because of the policies of Fund-Bank institutions and MNC mayhem. We need a humanist manifesto. Listen to Marilyn Ferguson:

"So long as we thought we couldn't do anything about the world's starving millions. Most of us tried not to think about them; yet that denial has had its price. The Hunger Project emphasises a key principle of transformation - the need to confront painful knowledge. We have numbed ourselves so that we do not feel the pain. We have to be asleep in order to protect ourselves from the horror of knowing that twenty-eight people, most of them young children are dying this very minute - twenty-eight people no different from you or me or our children., except that we have food and they do not.

We have closed down our consciousness and aliveness to a level where it doesn't bother us. So if you wonder if it costs us anything to allow millions to starve, it does. It costs us our aliveness." [*The Aquarian Conspiracy* by Marilyn Ferguson, page 456]

The Third World is in deep distress and the Eastern European countries are passing through a vulnerable phase. The new global financial order, which feeds on human poverty and the destruction of the environment, generates social apartheid, encourages racism and ethnic strife, and undermines the rights of women and children. The fundamental flaw that afflicts human rights as a whole is that the world is getting into the stranglehold of financial capital and corporate cannibalism. The social order in the Third World is under strain.

This Consultation must make a devastating critique of the assumption that poor countries are naturally importers of capital. This balloon of baloney must be

burst so that the human rights to activists the world over may realise that what is sold as 'development' is deprivation of the right to life. Big dams, costly cars, no bread, or hut! We are moving towards a crisis and a great depression, which will not spare the first world. The state of India's economy and of the rest of South Asia (and Southeast Asia) is deplorable. Russia and other East European countries are tumbling down under the impact of vicious globalisation and sensualisation. The rest of Asia is also in the grip of financial asphyxiation.

Structural adjustment is the buzzword. But who really pays? Development is another fraudulent phrase, but for whom? The poor perish and the rich flourish. This is a tragic irony and homicide of human rights. Re-read Steinbeck here:

"The fields were fruitful, and starving men moved on the roads. The granaries were full and the children of the poor grew up rachitic, and the pustules of pellagra swelled on their side. The great companies did not know that the line between hunger and anger is a thin line."

Toxic waste-trade, weapons-trade, and other unhealthy trends in the pharmaceutical and food industries, the absence of a code of ethics for multinational corporations, (remember the Bhopal tragedy?). These have a vital bearing on good governance, democracy by the people and preservation of human rights. It is a pity that instead of expanding the Public Sector to occupy the commanding heights of the nation's economy, countries are pressured to dis-invest and to destroy peoples' collective enterprise to pave the way for MNCs. 'Cola' culture, sex tourism, and a variety of other vices are projected as prosperity by the *glitterati*.

This Consultation must be an exposé of globalisation and an enlightening inauguration of the New World Human Order where the life of each creature matters, ecologically, environmentally, and in humanitarian fashion.

This Consultation must catalyse a humanist cosmos. The international integration of markets for goods,

services, and capital is pressuring humbler societies to alter their wholesome practices. In despair, broad segments of these societies are showing signs of struggle to recapture the right to life. The struggle has but begun.

The new millennium must not be a mad billionaire barbarism, keeping vast masses hungry, frustrated, and furious. Maybe, it will take time to reconstruct a human world and beat to death Tycoons Incorporated. We must have hope that human history is in our hands. The West cannot cannibal the rest. Let us be the builders of a Brave New World.

May I with a Biblical quotation suggest the absolute minimum of economic justice, which must be inalienably incorporated in any scheme of human rights:

"For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.

Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me."

About the author: V. R. Krishna Iyer (born 1915) is a former Judge of the Supreme Court of India who gave a new meaning and content to judicial activism. He was an Independent Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1952 and of the Kerala Assembly in 1957. He was a Cabinet Minister in the first Ministry in Kerala during 1957 to 59. As Minister for Law, Justice and Prisons, he introduced legal aid to the poor, and prison reforms and justice for the people. He became a Judge of the Kerala High Court in 1968 and a Member of the Law Commission in 1971. Elevated as a Supreme Court Judge in July 1973, Justice Krishna Iyer opened up new vistas in Poverty Jurisprudence with his far-sighted judgements on a variety of socio-economic issues. After his retirement, Justice Iyer has contributed to legal scholarship by writing over 61 books, delivering hundreds of lectures and participating in national and international conferences. He has become a spokesman for peoples' causes and a crusader for human rights. He is also a member of the Advisory Board of the South Asian Human Rights Commission.

APPENDIX 9

THE QUEST FOR HUMAN DIGNITY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGION, STATE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN A CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION AND CONFLICT

Berma Klein Goldewijk

The main objective of this paper is to explore the use of a human dignity paradigm in the interactions between religion and human rights. I am presenting work in progress in three distinct but interrelated perspectives: a) mapping out current changes in religion and human rights, while focusing on their transformational potential in the context of globalisation and conflict, b) exploring a human dignity paradigm to be used as a standard in approaches of religion and human rights, and c) developing a dilemma-oriented method by identifying and discerning different types of dilemmas (equity, liberty and sustainability dilemmas).

To clarify this main objective, I would like to share some of my experiences and insights in the field of human rights and religion. From there my focus on human dignity will become clearer. Indeed, people do not learn religion and human rights primarily from books, but discover their contents from concrete experiences and challenges.

My experiences with human rights in an intercultural perspective go back to the end of the seventies. The years I lived in Portugal, from 1979 to 1981, coincided with a period of transition after 48 years of fascist dictatorship [Salazar, Caetano]. For almost half a century the curtains were pulled down. Society and culture had taught people passivity as the only way to survive. Fear, resulting from lawlessness, turned passivity into implicit cooperation with rulers. Fear deprived people of a sense of social responsibility. This we discovered in a staff-team oriented by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo. Our work focused on rural women, human rights, and their often-obedient devotional religions, especially in rural areas.

In the years after 1984, when I lived in Brazil and did my research with Leonardo Boff and with other liberation theologians and social scientists, I had the

opportunity to experience situations of urban poverty in Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and Salvador da Bahia. Brazil was in a period of transition from dictatorship to formal democracy. New laws and constitutional processes were enforced, often by corrupt former officers. Slum areas were cleaned, innocent people were punished for uncommitted crimes. People doubted whether living under such laws was possible. In those slums, I also came to understand what it means that Brazil is one of the religiously most diverse countries. Afro-Brazilian religions, like Umbanda and Candomblé, with their night-long dances and trances were at that time criticised by social scientists and theologians as being opium, as breaking capabilities of people to empower themselves in the people's movements, depriving them of their capacity to be agents of change in the slums. Yet, we also discovered what these religions brought in terms of meaning to the daily lives of people in the slums. We experienced that religion itself is constantly in change, and interacts in diverse ways with social change. My dissertation on base communities and liberation theology, called *Practice or Principle* (1991), reflects this and presents a contextual methodology for relating practices to the needed theoretical innovations.

In academia, we insisted on the view that poverty and complex practices of the poor must be central to any analysis of religion and socio-economic change. My teaching at the Third World Centre (Catholic University of Nijmegen) focused on religion and social change in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, while my research at the Faculty of Theology regarded Peru and Brazil. In that climate of the eighties, much attention was given to base communities, people's movements, and the national church's role in Latin America, protecting human rights and opposing political injustices. Of course, human rights concerns also related to practices and

research on more democratic forms of church. Such concerns were expressed in conflicts between notably Leonardo Boff, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Jon Sobrino, Cardinal Arnz and the Vatican. We organised platforms, debates on strategies and international conferences which supported the legitimacy of different religions and contextual theologies emerging from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And we encouraged a joint project, the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT). In Geneva, with the support of the World Council of Churches, we oriented the dialogue also towards developing liberation theologies in Europe.

In 1992, I got the opportunity to co-ordinate an International Pax Christi delegation to Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), for the time of the IVth Latin American Bishops Conference. We were all struck by the then emerging issue of 'globalisation' and 'exclusion'. Because of the participation of members from Eastern and Central Europe in that delegation, we discussed the contribution of civil society and religious movements towards peaceful and non-violent change. What struck me most in Santo Domingo was the insistence of people from Eastern and Central Europe on the main instrument of the communist system, namely "living a lie." They strongly criticised liberation theology. Socialism functioned in those countries on the principle that society does not deserve truth and that it can endlessly be fed by lies. They affirmed that there was nothing real in 'real socialism': nobody felt secure, everyone felt mutilated. Precisely this reality of 'mutilated people' gave me also a better understanding of what I had experienced in former Czechoslovakia, lecturing in 1989 on liberation theology. While "living a lie", people were forced to practice self-humiliation. They built complicated structures around themselves, self-defence systems, which are often as destructive and immoral as those of their rulers.

Because of these experiences, my interests began to include globalisation, civil society, and the emergence of an increasing cultural and religious diversity. In the context of preparing Cebem's position papers for UN Conferences in Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995), we focused on human rights and gender, and discussed the question of what would be a renewed ethical basis for a sustainable and a just international order. Cebem and Misereor then invited me to co-ordinate a regional evaluation team in Sri Lanka. Both open and structural

violence, which we experienced there involve the risk of definite destruction, constantly affecting the inner lives of people. We experienced how much Buddhism had been used in violent conflict and civil strife, supporting and justifying ethnic inequalities and military rule.

Last two years, I was given the opportunity to participate in the Special Teaching Programme on Human Rights at this Institute. Working intensely in a core-staff with people who have orientations to Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, Syrian Orthodoxy, and Christianity, we discovered how such orientations are quietly present in developing new intercultural approaches to human rights. Participants of the Human Rights Programme, as well as participants of the General Course on Religion, Globalisation, and Conflict, are contributing impressively to such approaches. With participants from India we discussed how much Brahmins used Hinduism to strengthen their social positions and to keep the others, the untouchables, down. We discussed whether Hinduism could exist without a caste system. We also discussed how much Muslim fundamentalism has been used to declare priestly superiority and to overpower women and minorities. And we discussed colonial powers, which have used Christianity to justify the violation of the resources of other nations.

The paper I'm presenting today is written against the background of such experiences and insights. I will focus on the fundamental questions here, not so much on descriptions of religion and human rights. The main objective, as was said in the beginning, is to explore the use of a human dignity standard in studying the interactions between religion and human rights.

Human Dignity

Although often referred to, it is not so easy to discover the meanings of human dignity. The ethical and legal use of the term is reserved for human beings, although animals and the cosmos may be considered to have dignity too. Human dignity is the foundation and guiding principle of human rights and is a core-value in the world religions: it belongs to every individual as a human being. Dignity, everyone's basic status as deserving of moral respect, is unconditioned, is an end in itself. Since Kant's philosophy, having dignity is regarded as an intrinsic 'value' beyond all 'price': dignity has no equivalent since it possesses an absolute, not a relative, value. It is related to one's identity and is a source of

human originality and creativity. People have a proper 'sense of dignity' which is like a shield to resist being humiliated and dehumanised. Of course, a distinction has to be made between 'acting' with dignity and 'having' dignity. In the sense of having dignity, human dignity is a unique general normative concept, which is legally protected, and can be used as a standard. The standard of human dignity is critical to any economic or political, cultural or religious institution that either denies human equality and freedom, or humiliates and dehumanises people.

The downside of human dignity is humiliation and dehumanisation of people. Humiliation and dehumanisation occur when self-respect, as the outward manifestation of dignity, is injured [Margalit 1996]. This regards individuals but also social, cultural and religious collectivities. Definite exclusion of a part of humanity from humanity merits the name barbaric, or 'crimes against humanity'. My point is that it is a first priority in future international human rights debates that violations of human rights in different contexts be understood from their core content: the downside of human dignity.

Mapping out a new field

My second perspective relates to the need for mapping out a new field, namely to discern how both religion and human rights may provide resources and possible guidance to promote justice and to enhance the possibility of global coexistence. My aim here is to deepen insight into the ways in which religion and human rights embody constructive capacities, advancing human dignity, social justice and peace, and/or destructive forces - nurturing humiliation, inequality, and lack of freedom and violence. This requires an understanding of the nature and implications of current changes in both religion and human rights distinctively. This seems to be an indispensable foundation for a study of their interrelations.

Dilemma oriented method

Thirdly, I will briefly expose a dilemma-oriented method. I opt here not so much for a case-study approach nor for a general theoretical approach, but for a dilemma-based method. I will examine a series of dilemmas that exemplify challenges for religion and human rights in the areas of globalisation and conflict. Dilemmas reveal conflicting objectives and difficult

choices between alternatives. They create possibilities to come to more informed options. Dilemmas resist easy solutions. Of course, the dilemmas to be presented here will not be fully representative for the many contemporary issues at stake, but they are surely significant 'exemplars'.

At least three types of dilemmas can be distinguished, which are basically related to value-conflicts:

Equity dilemmas: if human dignity is a guiding principle of human rights and a core-value of religion, then what does dignity mean, when facing concrete inequalities and injustices in processes of globalisation and conflict?

Liberty dilemmas: individuals or groups, in achieving their full dignity and rights, may produce consequences that nobody, including the actors themselves, desires. To what extent should individual freedom and rights be restricted versus collective interests?

Sustainability dilemmas: how are the benefits and costs of globalisation and conflict fairly distributed from an inter-social, inter-territorial, and intergenerational perspective?

Globalisation and Conflict

Global economic and political integration has made life more difficult, especially for those dislocated and disoriented by ensuing processes of change. Processes of change in the context of globalisation appear to be disintegrating and destabilising.

1. Poverty and disintegration of states

First of all, globalisation has uncertain implications in regard to poverty and exclusion. Poverty is multidimensional, it includes a denial of choices and opportunities, which is often reflected in a short life, reduction in the quality of life, lack of material means and basic needs. Poverty in the context of globalisation also extends to public interest problems, inciting collective action, like boycotts, tax, and food riots, civil strife and conflict.

Inequalities, lack of choices and opportunities generate concrete dilemmas. In the context of

globalisation there seem to be first of all equity dilemmas, which are related to poverty and inequality. Poor societies, suffering from shortages of water, forests, and fertile land are particularly affected by the imbalances in the allocation of resources, because of the social crises such scarcities cause. This has consequences. In the context of poverty, equality of women and men needs to be related to doing justice to women. Equality cannot be achieved only by guaranteeing women equal access to legal resources; attention should also be paid to the sort of expectations of women regarding their society and the structure of social institutions. Such equity dilemmas are related to the tension between equality and justice, and need to be understood from their core impact: lack of dignity of people. In this context, precisely the standard of human dignity is of utmost relevance, continually challenging interpretations of the poor, by upholding the view that the poor are not just people in need but human beings with dignity and rights.

One of the most serious problems in the context of globalisation regards the disintegration of nation-states. Under the burden of excessive debt from structural adjustment programmes (like in Afghanistan, Somalia, Liberia, Burundi), states increasingly appear to be unable to provide basic social services. State disintegration can take many forms – as a result of ethnic wars, mass killings and genocide, or disruptive political changes. Such disintegration can be complete or partial, manifesting itself in economic collapse, massive human rights violations, and civil strife. Challenged by social chaos, states react in extremely repressive ways, as in Nigeria and Kenya.

Facing the question of disintegrating states, the international human rights movement is challenged by this sustainability dilemma: the need to support the stability and integrative capacity of states on the one hand or on the other hand, the need to strengthen civil society. Indeed, human rights may be completely neglected and negated with a breakdown of the nation-state, while precisely the instability of the state as such is the source of massive violations of human rights. In human rights organisations this dilemma sets generally the need for more emphasis on the capacity of civil society to resist fragmentation.

2. *Conflicts over competing identities*

Globalisation not only provokes more poverty and inequality, it also promotes strong tensions and conflicts in and between nationalities, ethnic groups and religious communities. Global economic and political integration does not prevent war, nor does it impede conflicts or civil unrest. A major issue on the contemporary international agenda is conflicts over competing identities, related to territorial claims and political power aspirations.

The problem is that war and conflict, as always in history, continue to be a destructive way to survive. A considerable number of contemporary wars in the South are low-tech, hand-to-hand combats. With the low-tech machetes in Rwanda, Afghanistan, Liberia and the Balkans, conflict is labour-intensive trade, in which many children and adolescents participate. War in Western countries, on the contrary, appears to have become more and more high-tech, handed over to technicians, pilotless vehicles, self-targeting missiles, no longer killing the others, but disabling their control-systems, apparently breaking the link between warfare and human sacrifice. In this perspective, human culture has significantly changed, producing new divisions “between well-to-do cultures who have abandoned war and an impoverished minority for whom war is a way of life” [Ignatieff 1997]. The problem, therefore, is not the eradication of conflict as such but the limitation of violence.

The point is, however, that the roots of identity conflicts are not in factors that can be controlled, such as the scarcity of resources, border disputes or political failure, but in deeper factors like humiliation, unchosen inequalities, the prospect of exclusion and fragility. In this sense, violent conflict and war cannot be considered rational activities and frequently end with both sides defeated. The liberty dilemma here is: on the one hand, we see people seek the blessing of their gods when marching into combat, and on the other hand, they know so much about the horror and the catastrophe of defeat. Is this linked with our ambivalent relation to violence? Would humanity then also be able to turn destructive eruptions against violence itself, pacifying “the archaic terrors deep in our psyche” [Ignatieff 1997]?

3. *Cultural homogenisation or diversity?*

Efforts of people to preserve, protect, or stabilise their particular identities are an understandable response to the pressures of globalising economics and politics, especially when their identities appear to become negated, relativised and marginalised in processes of global change. Nowadays, people are more concerned with identity and community. They challenge political institutions and national boundaries more than economic processes and outcomes [Langan 1995]. In this context of identity-conflicts, the affirmation of the dignity of one's own people easily shifts towards the proclamation of 'our' superiority and the denial of the claims and needs of 'them'.

4. *International cooperation, peace and citizenship*

The context of disintegrating states, identity conflicts and 'us'-'them' divides, may become the typical working environment for development cooperation in the near future. Humanitarian aid organisations, demanding impartial, neutral and independent action, are facing now the question of how to assist and protect people, and how to alleviate their suffering in increasingly difficult situations. They explicitly limit themselves to address the effects of conflicts and crises. Human rights organisations criticise humanitarian aid organisations since their involvement in situations of political emergency may benefit the parties to that conflict, by providing legitimacy to the party negotiating with them. Another criticism is the often-humiliating character of humanitarian aid, when e.g. food is thrown off a truck [Margalit 1996]. Also the criticism is voiced that humanitarian aid agencies are ever more interested in commercialising their product (relief aid) and globalising their markets.

Humanitarian agencies struggle on the one hand with the urgent need of their solidarity, people's need for immediate benefit of their support, while working with a select package of tools in a limited period of time. On the other hand, they care about the long-term prospects for the people they support and the protection of their dignity and human rights. Here, solidarity is in evident conflict with efficiency. How to respond to this dilemma? What may be the significance of a standard of human dignity when humanitarian agencies struggle with

their core values in changing contexts? In this perspective, the principle of subsidiarity may become increasingly important when related to the concept of human dignity.

Religion in Interaction with Globalisation and Conflict

Although religious traditions may powerfully contribute to the protection and implementation of human rights, there seems to be a continuing and widespread uneasiness and embarrassment with religion in the international human rights area. Such an embarrassment "...is shared by those who may themselves practice religion quite seriously" [Luttwak 1994, 10]. However, the embarrassment that many continue to feel when confronted with religious commitment and the underlying enlightenment prejudice, has a price in the field of international relations [Luttwak 1994, 10]. Scholars in political science are recognising now that secularising reductivism distorts analyses and policies.

Illustrative is the example of US monitoring of Iranian politics. False US diagnosis regarding Iran at the times of the Shah resulted in US prescriptions like accelerated constitutional reforms, immediate ministerial changes, measures against corruption and economic adjustment. The realisation of such orientations was followed by mass agitation and the advent of the Ayatollah Khomeini's regime. I quote: "Had analysis regarding Iranian reality in 1979 admitted that the revolt was not motivated by conventional political, economic and social dissatisfactions but by a religiously inspired resistance to Westernisation, perceived as Christianisation, then maybe things would have happened differently" [Idem, 13]. Other such examples from the period around the late 1970s, when religion regained significance in the international political scene, like the Nicaraguan revolution and the civil war in Afghanistan, could be added. In brief, in the field of political sciences it is recognised now that secular reductivism leads to "inaccurate understanding of religion and to bad policy decisions" [Johnston, Douglas & Cynthia Sampson 1994].

Stereotypes holding that religion is a matter only for 'traditional people' not for 'modern' people, approaching religion as a marginal and declining force, just like caste

and ethnicity, create other vacuums, overlooking contemporary international developments. For example, the role played by religiously motivated citizens in conflict mediation and resolution, often very distant from international diplomacy can no longer be ignored. Also the continuous misreporting of conflicts, in which culture and religion are prominent factors, identifying such conflicts, as being exclusively political or economic, has to be corrected [Luttwak 1994, 11]. In brief, such developments challenge the secularisation thesis, which is the most widespread concept of religious change.

1. *Religion and poverty in the context of globalisation.*

How to understand the religious dimension of global change? How do religion and globalisation interact? Sometimes the resurgence of religion is explained by the argument that religion helps to cope with the hardships of increasing poverty. Yet, this opinion has to be examined carefully. Is there a direct relationship between on the one hand the revitalisation of religion and on the other hand the deterioration in living conditions, failed modernisation, political violence and economic chaos? It is often said, for instance, about Islamic fundamentalist growth since the early 1990s, that it carries the discontents of modernisation and post-modernisation to religious traditions [Haynes 1993, 35-36; Waters 1995, 130]. With discontents is meant economic failure, political authoritarianism, and the inadequacy of the state to provide basic needs and to offer future perspectives.

However, more careful approaches in the field of religious anthropology and sociology indicate that there is no such simple, straightforward connection between economic decline and the upsurge of religio-politics among the poor. Precisely the paradoxical character of religion resists any such simplification or generalisation. Other examples could be added, like the rapid expansion of AfroBrazilian religions or Pentecostalism. In other words, we have to overcome functionalist religious interpretations: religious involvement of people is not the mere result of an absence of political alternatives or a direct consequence of economic disappointment.

If there is no such simple connection, why then does religion currently reappear in the public-political arena in so many countries? This may have to do with an increased search for fundamentals in a global context. Roland Robertson [1992, 164] has raised the question if

there is a growing and extensive concern of all of us with 'ultimate values' and if this is an aspect of globalisation. 'Fundamentals' here refer to tradition, identity, home, indigeneity, locality, community, 'going native' [Robertson, 1992, 166-167]. It has to do with finding a place in a changing world as a whole, with the search for identity and the struggle for its recognition. This indeed involves attempts to enhance power, at least claims to empowerment, which is closely linked to basic human dignity.

2. *Religion and conflict*

In the field of religion and conflict the sustainability dilemma to be discussed is: whether religion's place in the public realm should be kept down because its manipulation fuels conflicts, or, on the contrary, the role of religion should be strengthened as a possible resource for resolving conflicts. Apparently, in the process of drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) immediately after WWII, the UN faced the same dilemma and dissociated itself from religion: the Declaration does not acknowledge religion as a source of human rights [Hassan 1996, 2]. Against the background of the two World Wars the United Nations supposedly wanted to distance itself from any sort of identification with religion, which had, under nazism, so much contributed to divisiveness and conflict.

Religious nationalism: intra- and interstate conflicts.

It appears to be extremely difficult to identify or isolate specific religious motivations and factors from political, cultural or ethnic elements. Some forms of nationalism are closely linked with religion, like Zionism with Judaism; Serbian and Russian nationalism with Orthodoxy; Palestinian and Arab nationalisms with Islam; Croatian, Polish, Irish and Timorese nationalisms with Roman Catholicism [cf. Juergensmeyer 1993]. Regarding the close connection between religion and nationalism, most studies however point to the fact that religions being the principal cause of conflict are extremely rare.¹ They refer to economic, political and

¹ Some influential scholars, as David Little, senior scholar in the Religion, Ethics and Human Rights Program at the US Institute of Peace, affirm that there are at least three contemporary internal conflicts with central religious factors: Sri Lanka (Sinhalese Buddhists versus Tamil Hindu); Sudan (Muslim versus Christian); and Ukraine (Russian Orthodox versus Independent Orthodox versus Roman Catholic) (cf. Little 1993, 92). This thesis is highly disputable.

ideological factors as principal basis for violent conflict.² Indeed, secular powers, like the South African apartheid regime, or forces promoting ethnic cleansing in Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia, manipulate religious leaders, appropriate religious resources and distort the religious message for their own ends. It is also acknowledged that most of the current intra-state conflicts indeed do reflect a religious dimension, like the conflicts involving Hindus and Moslems in India; the different branches of Islam in Iraq or Syria; or the tensions between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. Religious issues justify and fuel inter-state conflicts as well, like the conflict between Pakistan and India over the status of Kashmir, between Iran and Iraq or between Israel and Arab states [Haynes 1993, 64].

Therefore, downplaying the religious dimension of violent conflicts following from national aspirations needs to be considered carefully. Religious and cultural factors are often clearly present in violent conflict, but the explanatory value of these factors is limited [Powers 1996]. Indeed, in a context of extremism, nationalism and ethnic cleansing, life in the sense of survival might depend on whether people are Muslim, Orthodox or Catholic, but in such contexts religious identity has lost its religious meaning, being reduced to another way of manifesting cultural, ethnic or national differences [Powers 1996]. In such situations religious traditions reinterpret their explicit justifications for the use of arms under extreme circumstances (like Jihad in Islam or 'just war' in Christianity).

In this context of nationalism and extremism, the concept of human dignity has to be further explored: while it may legitimately be used to explain the nationalist struggles of an oppressed minority like the Kurds, one would be rightly reluctant to see 'dignity' at stake in e.g. struggles of Serbs and Croats for their own ethnically pure states. To 'have' human dignity needs therefore to be related to the human rights norm to treat all individuals as equals.

Religion as a cultural factor in reconciliation and conflict resolution. There is more and more evidence about the positive role of religion in efforts to promote peace, development and democracy: it motivates people to become civil agents, deeply involved and strongly committed in trying to stop war and conflict. In other words, the changing nature of conflict manifests and cultivates an increasing role played by citizens outside government. There is a growing cadre of religious figures and spiritually motivated people in civil society, promoting peaceful change, conducting various forms of mediation and conflict resolution, often in the anonymous, 'behind the scenes' realm of diplomacy, but also sometimes in the realm of official mediation [cf. Johnston & Douglas, 1994, 4]. Conflict mediation and resolution by citizens on a religious basis and motivation, begins to be appreciated as a transformational possibility: shared spiritual convictions or religious values can motivate conflicting parties "to operate on a higher level of trust" [Idem, 5].

So long as people do not consider their culture to be threatened, the churches, temples, and mosques may remain relatively empty; but once they see their culture in danger of collapse, they return to their sacred places. In this sense, identity-based conflicts call for new approaches, less centred on state power and more related to cultural diversity and the future of humankind. In this sense, religion is involved in processes of social integration becoming a unifying force committed to conflict resolution and peace making, and strengthening possibilities for social change in terms of cohesion in global society. As to the pivotal role that religion plays in setting up culture's and societies' parameters and fixing its boundaries, religion creates resources for new identity formation and social and cultural orientation, assisting people in coming to grips with drastic social change in their lives.

Religious foundations for human dignity are, among others, found in 'imago-dei' notions or the God-likeness of the human being. Religions relate human dignity to transcendence, relating the 'human' aspect to spiritual and cosmic openings. Such openings towards transcendence may correct purely anthropocentric limitations of human rights.

² Leaders of the Islamic, Roman Catholic and Serbian Orthodox communities in Bosnia stated that: "this is not a religious war, and that the characterization of this tragic conflict as a religious war and the misuse of all religious symbols used with the aim to further hatred, must be proscribed and is condemned", 'Appeal for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zurich, 26 November 1992' (quoted in: Powers 1996, 1).

3. *Religion in international policy making*

Against these backgrounds the following dilemma emerges: since there is a growing recognition in international diplomacy and in political science, of the relevance of religion in international relations, does the religious factor also have to be explicitly integrated in future policy making? Surely new sources of conflict, like identity-based conflicts, offer new challenges and require other tools to conventional international diplomacy: identity-based conflicts appear to be resistant to diplomatic intervention. Reducing the complexity of society to political problems amenable to political reforms, or to economic obstacles to be treated by economic or social engineering ignores that "religion is an intractable force that can be quite unresponsive to all the normal instrumentalities of state power and foreign policy" [Luttwak 1994, 13]. Some scholars are promoting the option that an either-or approach (conflict mediation on either a religious or a secular basis) has to be corrected towards a 'both-and' perspective [Johnston & Sampson 1994, 3-6].

Human Rights Dilemmas

Just like religion, human rights also play their part in a context of globalisation and conflict. Human rights may be defined as fundamental freedoms and basic entitlements protected by law [de Gaay Fortman 1998b, 118-121]. The human aspect refers to the fact that these rights pertain to people simply because they are human. Most of the articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights therefore start with the term 'everyone': no single human being is excluded from this notion. Indeed, the core of human rights is the protection of everyone against abuses of power. "The international project for the protection of human rights after WW II was inspired by the conviction that massive violations of human rights, as had taken place during the war, must be prevented" [de Gaay Fortman 1998b, 121].

The international human rights project constitutes a global attempt to bind the execution of power to certain norms, based upon a universal belief in human dignity. Hence, the implementation of these rights implies a continuous confrontation with positions of power, and not only with the power of the state [de Gaay Fortman & Klein Goldewijk, 1998, 57- 58]. Yet, the affirmation of

cultural difference, group rights for minority cultures and the new emphasis on identity-conflicts within nation-states have created serious problems of conceptualisation of human rights. In this perspective, the dilemmas concern the recognition of the diversity of cultures on the one hand, and the use of universal frameworks of human rights, on the other hand.

1. *Human dignity, an urgent priority on the international agenda*

This requires a closer look at human needs. A needs-oriented perspective, based on human dignity of all people, would be of great relevance in facing current dilemmas in the field of human rights [de Gaay Fortman 1989]. In some situations the needs priority may be protection against torture or mutilation. In other contexts it is drinkable water, food, work, housing that challenge to transform needs into rights. Yet, often there is a mixture of such needs.

A powerful liberty dilemma in the field of human rights regards the potentialities and restrictions of individual civil and political rights. In the context of refugee flight, the legal requirement is that persecution is individually experienced. The fact that someone's uncle was tortured, or that one's own ethnic group is under attack, is not considered an adequate reason for flight unless people can show that they were personally targeted. Related to such dilemmas, the issue of citizenship has assumed a crucial place in the international human rights debate.

A liberty dilemma in the field of economic, social and cultural rights was formulated already at the end of the last century by David Hume, economist and philosopher, long before the formulation of these rights. He stated that a human being, given a choice between despotism under the rule of law which would protect property and their economic freedoms, and a democracy that would give them citizenship but no economic rights, would choose the former. Common opinion facing the Russian crisis today reflects such a dilemma.

Lack of civil and political, or economic, social and cultural rights can be an extremely humiliating experience, which is experienced differently in different countries and which sets the need for more intercultural approaches in the field of human rights. Focusing on a civilisational perspective in which minorities and

excluded people can publicly articulate their concerns and assert their cultural identities, may offer a helpful contribution to overcome the misleading antithesis between individual rights and economic, social and cultural rights. Moreover, food, housing, health, education, employment and environmental protection are often understood in a traditional and limited sense as basic social services provided by the nation-state. In the context of civil strife, globalisation and concern for the future of humanity, a shift in focus is needed, shaping the horizontal functioning of economic, social and cultural rights in civil society, next to their vertical operation in relation to the state [Klein Goldewijk & de Gaay Fortman 1998].

2. Human needs and rights in globalisation processes

The human rights project can be seen as a legitimisation-process of different needs, or as a way of transforming needs of people into basic entitlements. That legitimate needs need to be recognised and expressed in human rights terms implies future tasks for human rights organisations, development and peace organisations. The first requirement then, is to identify those specific conditions and circumstances under which needs may acquire the nature of rights. This means: when people get into situations in which their needs are denied in such a way that their human dignity is fundamentally affected, these needs have to be activated in the form of rights. And in the field of human rights this means that although the body of formal human rights declarations, covenants, and conventions is almost undisputed in strictly legal terms, human rights have to remain open and open-ended, innovative and integrative. Religious traditions may powerfully contribute to such a human rights ethos explicitly linked to human dignity.

3. Human fights in conflict situation

In identity-conflicts people seem to be more concerned with cultural and community issues than with economic processes. They challenge regional and national boundaries or political institutions more than economic systems.

The fundamental sustainability dilemma for human rights arising from identity-conflicts is, on the one hand, the global 'search for fundamentals' (home, indigeneity) in different cultures and political life, and on the other

hand, the universality of human rights. From a representative Islamic point of view, this is the main thesis: the universal conceptions of human rights need to be related to cultural and religious identities. This means that the universality of human rights might become a significant instrument for people when explicitly linked to the contents of their different worldviews, their cultural and religious practices and belief-systems [Hassan, 1996]. The cultural identity of people reveals the way in which they define their human dignity and how they are (or want to be) perceived by others. Indeed, affirmations of the universal character of human rights, including human rights education programmes, which do not allow an important place for the sense of cultural and religious belonging of people, including their language, remain disconnected, abstract and dissociate.

However, the need for a recognized cultural identity and the need for belonging to a certain territory, demand in conflict situations an explicit link to people's place in the wider world and a connection to the concern for coexistence of diverse identities. This implies that notions like 'cultural identity' need to be reformulated in such a way that they enable people to say both 'us' and 'them'. This perspective may contribute to a political consensus in conformity with the legal universality of human rights.

4. Human dignity and humiliation

It is the merit of the political philosopher Margalit to have pointed to the fact that humiliation and dehumanisation matter so much because they not only affect people's fundamental freedoms and basic entitlements, but also their capability to be agents to change their situation [Margalit 1996; de Gaay Fortman 1998, 134].

Margalit shifts the discussion away from Rawls's notion of justice as fairness. According to Rawls a just society is one in which every individual, by imaging him/herself in the possible place of every other individual, seeks equality with respect to basic liberties. Margalit, however, believes that the first goal should be a society containing institutions which avoid humiliating people. He calls such a society a decent society, which he distinguished from and contrasts with a civilized one. A civilized society requires every individual to treat every other without humiliation, while a decent society only requires that institutions act without humiliating. In

other words, decency is less demanding than justice. The distinction, however, remains unclear: Margalit himself seems to struggle with the distinction when arguing that some forms of individual humiliation – e.g. the way prisoners attack each other – have to be regarded as institutional humiliation, thus making an argument for ‘decency’. Individual behaviour and institutional behaviour cannot be so easily treated as distinct categories.

Where Margalit argues that humiliation also exists in the absence of humiliators, a powerful liberty dilemma emerges. On the one hand, such a dilemma does not alleviate the experience as such of the humiliated: humiliation is whatever you express to be humiliating. Yet it makes a great deal of difference for human rights strategies. If there are no identifiable humiliators, against who should resistance be oriented and action be taken? This relates to the more painful question of who judges who or what is humiliating. There is no easy way out of this dilemma.

Civilisational Perspectives in Processes of Social Change: Some Conclusions

My paper does not advocate radical change so much as clarifying changes that have already taken place and which are decisively challenging. The heart of the changes mapped out above reveals this trend: in contexts of globalisation and conflict there seems to be a change from where the political power lies towards a new assertion of different styles of social, cultural and religious influence, often linked to ethnic or national identities.

The outcome of my paper is a certain insight into the potential relevance of the notion of human dignity: human dignity seems to be a challenging focus, and of urgent importance on the international agenda. The standard of human dignity would require reconsideration of all those versions of religion and human rights that cannot be reconciled with notions of human respect and human agency. Much needs to be done to further examine human dignity as a standard, to explore the interrelations between religion and human rights, and to study the use of a dilemma-approach. This also regards their joint contribution towards understanding processes

of social change. There is a compelling need for such a further exploration.

Religious and cultural traditions have been great contributors but also impediments to the realisation of human dignity and human rights: where human rights are stated to belong to all human beings by virtue of their humanity, religions may hold that rights are necessarily linked to or derived from transcendental sources.

My paper constitutes a plea to reconceptualise the notions of human needs and citizenship, freedom and culture, linking these to core-values such as human dignity and universal rights. In this perspective, the present international and regional human rights standards and mechanisms can be seen as a useful though not conclusive framework for the implementation of rights. And implementation of human rights does not only mean recognition, awareness, realisation, or reception in different contexts. It also means construction: the implementation of human rights requires processes of reformulation and consensus-building in regard to collective rights, economic, social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights.

Human rights workers are more and more focusing on the capacity of civil society to resist disintegration of states and state injustice. Stability of states as such is generally not their priority. On the contrary, human rights actions are condemned by oppressive regimes for precisely threatening the stability of the state. This is also why much importance was given here to the capacity of civil societies to resist the ‘us-them’ divide and to promote justice and the public interest (the common good) as a necessary ingredient for sustainable, peaceful change. Since civil war has become the predominant manifestation of war, such civil society strategies become more and more important.

Citizenship has been related here to contemporary social and political change, with implications for problems of cultural belonging and identity. Shared values, principles, and orientations are indispensable for civil society: they are necessary components of social cohesion. In this perspective, much more study is needed on religion and human rights as sources of social cohesion. Taking human dignity seriously also affects policy concerns and has an impact on future generations.

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APPENDIX 10

LABOUR AND GLOBALISATION: TRENDS, ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Rene E. Ofreneo

In 1995, the first year of the newly established World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank came up with an exuberant report on labour and globalisation entitled, *Workers in an Integrating World* [World Development Report 1995, World Bank]. In this report, the World Bank underscored the positive impact of the economic globalisation processes on the world labour force in terms of employment and income and declared that a "global golden age" [p. 125] was taking shape.

Today, the picture appears radically different. The International Labour Office, in its recent publication

World Employment Report 1998-99: Employability in the Global Economy - How Training Matters (1998), pointed out that 25-30 per cent of the three billion world labour force are underemployed and that 140 million workers are fully unemployed. It added that the ranks of the jobless are likely to swell by 10 million more by the end of 1998 because of the crisis engulfing a number of Asian economies [p. 1], a crisis which is now threatening to plunge the world into a truly global recession.

This paper does not seek to explain the root causes of the current recessionary trend in Asia, which is a sharp

deviation from the optimistic prognosis that the economists of the World Bank, World Trade Organisation and other institutions were making in the mid-1990s. This paper has a more modest objective: to outline the major labour trends and problems resulting from globalisation and identify key policy issues and areas for advocacy from the perspective of the trade union movement and civil society.

Impact of Globalisation on Labour at the Macro Level

At the aggregate level, globalisation, which induces foreign and domestic investments to go into select industries and businesses, contributes to the generation of new jobs, development of new skills, and the creation of new wealth for society. This is what advocates of economic liberalisation keep repeating in justifying various measures promoting international economic integration such as trade liberalisation, privatisation, agricultural deregulation, and foreign investment promotion.

However, what is rarely discussed in official policy circles is the fact that globalisation has a way of rearranging the economy of a country which leads to a growth pattern that also perpetuates inequality, unemployment, and poverty.

Inequality arises from the fact that global competition does not only create winners and losers in industry and agriculture but also promotes growth in an uneven or exclusionary manner in different areas of the national economy. In the case of the former process, manufacturing industries and agricultural sub-sectors catering primarily to the domestic markets and operating on the basis of traditional or outmoded technology are generally swamped by the flood of cheaper industrial and agricultural products that now enter national markets with facility because of trade liberalisation. The winners are usually those successful in finding niches in the global market based on more sophisticated technology or those with tie-ups in the global production chain of transnational corporations. This explains the phenomenon of rapid transnationalisation of some economies, a process that is aided by the tremendous global advances in communication and transport, the widespread application of information technology and

the development of a policy environment hospitable to foreign investments.

The winner-loser process becomes problematic for countries which have more losers than winners and which have less potential to develop global market niches for their home-grown products. In many Asian countries, some of the biggest losers are agricultural sub-sectors such as the grains industry and livestock industry, which are being clobbered by the high-tech offensive of American and Australian producers. Thus to generate more investments and jobs, some governments are forced to market the 'comparative advantages' of their countries to foreign investors, advantages that usually mean cheap labour and natural resources. This naturally has dire implications on the welfare situation of workers and on the environment.

As to the exclusionary process, this is evident from the fact that globalisation is primarily a market-driven process that rewards able participants in the global markets. On the basis of this reality, government economic planners rarely give importance to non-market players such as the indigenous people and the marginal domestic-oriented economic actors such as those found in the informal sector in the urban areas and in the underdeveloped sector of the farming sector. They are excluded from the development process. Sometimes, they are even displaced by development projects such as resorts, and golf and tourism projects meant to lure global tourists.

Naturally, unemployment and underemployment remain endemic in countries with few winners and have limited success in the global markets. In some cases, economic growth is realised without any significant improvements in the employment level. This is so because growth is fuelled by sectors that have no linkage with the national economy (and therefore, have limited multiplier impact), those who use mainly capital-intensive methods (and therefore, have limited employment impact) and that are based on speculative business (and therefore, have hardly any contribution to employment).

With a narrow pattern of growth and employment, poverty is bound to persist, if not worsen. This can easily be seen in the continuous growth of the informal sector, where jobs are even more precarious.

This can also be seen in the phenomenon of rising internal and external migration, particularly of women. The feminisation of migration is a direct offshoot of the crisis in agriculture and the abject lack of jobs in the urban areas.

There is also the phenomenon of the use of child labour in industries seeking short-term competitive advantage in terms of cheaper labour.

Globalisation and Labour-focused Adjustments at the Industry and Firm Level

Because of intensified global competition and the freer flow of goods, enterprises – whether producing for the domestic or export markets – are forced to make changes or adjustments in the way the work process is managed in order to come up with products that are cheaper or cost-competitive and of higher quality. Moreover, products have to be produced and delivered to customers at the shortest lead or turnaround time possible.

All this means a continuous process of either cutting cost of operation or enhancing enterprise productivity, or both. Labour naturally figures prominently in both exercises.

This is why globalisation has, like the conveyor system of the mass production system, radically changed the nature of work and the deployment of workers. Some of the most significant developments have been:

A. Trend towards Labour Flexibilisation

One major trend is labour flexibilisation, which simply means the ability of employers to reduce the cost of labour, increase labour productivity, and strengthen management control over the work process and the workers. Some of the flexibilisation measures identified by the ILO as early as 1989 have intensified in use in the 1990s. These are:

1. Reducing the core of permanent workers, while increasing the proportion of temporary and casual employees.
2. Increasing the use of women, apprentices, and migrants.
3. Subcontracting the production of components previously manufactured within the factory.

4. Subcontracting services like transport, packaging, maintenance and security, which are carried out on factory premises.
5. Increasing the number of shifts per day or the use of overtime.
6. Replacing pay systems based on working time and length of service by systems based on piece rates and bonuses.
7. Introducing internal training systems, which facilitate redeployment of workers within the factory or enterprise. And,
8. Reducing influences from external trade union organisations by either eliminating unions or establishing a controllable union.

Central to the flexibilisation process is the ability of companies to 'reengineer' themselves by concentrating on core or flagship businesses and spinning off non-core businesses through subcontracting or outsourcing.

Still part of this reengineering programme is the promotion of a core-periphery pattern of hiring of employees within the enterprise, where those being made regular or permanent workers are only those occupying managerial, confidential, technical, professional and skills-intensive positions. Jobs requiring less skills and involving routine or repetitive tasks are reserved for peripheral workers such as the probationer, casuals, apprentices and the like.

The reengineering programme also often leads to the downsizing of 'surplus' personnel and the intensification of work programmes for those retained by the enterprise.

B. Trend towards the Informalisation of Labour

Under globalisation, the informal sector tends to grow as discussed above. However, it should be pointed out that the formal labour market itself is partly being 'informalised' because of the core-periphery pattern of labour deployment and the increasing use of casual labour and out-sourcing of work. This process is aided by the ability of enterprises, especially multinational companies, to atomise or break down the work processes into simplified modules that become the basis of international subcontracting of work to different national producers, which, in turn, farm out even more simplified

work packages to other producers, sometimes located in depressed rural areas where wages are dirt cheap. This reality in subcontracting explains why there are companies that are able to export products in their name without even maintaining their own factories.

C. Trend towards an HRD Strategy

For the core of regular workers that are retained by businesses, one major form of labour control that industry is using is the 'HRD strategy', which instils among the workers and even the union the idea that they are strategic allies or partners who are facing a common enemy: competition in the global market. The HRD strategy calls for a lot of communication and consultation with the workers on aspects of the work process that directly affect them. It also entails the acculturation of the workforce on the company culture and values, reinforced through the recitation of company creed and conduct of company exercises. Very often, the HRD strategy also leads to another form of flexibilisation: the higher type of flexibilisation where workers are encouraged to develop new skills and get exposed to various aspects of work so that they can become multi-skilled and can do varied tasks in a flexible work environment.

Impact on Workers, Trade Unions and Labour Relations

Traditional workers' rights are under attack under globalisation. Foremost among these is the issue of job security, which has become meaningless in the light of the reengineering-downsizing mania sweeping the corporate world and the various forms of labour flexibilisation and control that industry is using. The bloody strikes in the Philippine Airlines this year are all traceable to the issue of job security, given the determined effort of PAL management to downsize the company and spin off non-core businesses. On the other hand, PAL, seeking to soar amidst a depressed global market and erase the red ink caused by previous mismanagement of the company by both the government and successor private groups, appears to have really no choice but to develop a lean and mean workforce.

There are also attacks via legislation. In the name of global competitiveness and business flexibility,

governments are under pressure to restrict rules on unionism, collective bargaining, and concerted activity. In Australia and New Zealand, the formal enactment of laws recognising individual contracts has weakened traditional centralised bargaining by industry unions. In South Korea and other countries, there are moves towards official recognition of the right of employers to hire and fire as freely as possible. In contrast, there is a great deal of delay in the enactment of laws recognising basic labour rights in other Asian countries such as in the People's Republic of China.

The situation of the trade unions has in general become precarious in many countries. In the first place, the radical restructuring of industries in favour of downsized operations, subcontracting arrangements, and core-periphery pattern of labour hiring means reduced base for organising. In the second place, job tenure is often tied to the market.

Thus, one trend in labour relations is the proliferation of industrial conflicts related to downsizing, reengineering, streamlining or rationalisation being made by enterprises in response to global competition. In these conflicts, the main issues of workers are job and wage security.

On the other hand, there are also efforts of industries, usually with the support of governments, to promote cooperative or enterprise type of unionism. This is what Malaysia is trying to do.

Asian Crisis, Job Losses and Erosion of Labour Benefits

At present, the most difficult challenges facing the trade unions and workers in the region are how to stop the massacre of jobs and the arbitrary reduction of benefits, including efforts of some employers to roll back labour rights. All of these are being justified in the name of the Asian economic crisis.

According to the Bangkok office of the International Labour Organisation [ILO, April 1998], the three most affected countries in Asia registered between July 1997 to January 1998 with massive labour displacements are: Indonesia, with 1.5 million workers laid off in the seven-month period; South Korea, over one million; and Thailand, half a million.

This year, with the crisis no longer seen as a temporary one and clearly spreading like a forest fire worldwide, job losses are mounting everywhere, either as a consequence of plant closures or downsizing programmes. Workers' wages have also fallen in real terms as a result of massive currency devaluations, some by more than 50 per cent like in Indonesia. In countries or areas with stable currencies like Hong Kong, workers are being asked to accept sharp wage cutbacks.

Overall, the crisis has reinforced the anti-labour tendencies under globalisation, namely, expelling so-called 'surplus labour' from the market, reducing wage cost, and with the threat of a layoff, intensifying the work of those left behind.

Social Clause and the Problems of the Trade Unions

Clearly, the terrains for trade union struggle have become doubly difficult under globalisation and the Asian economic crisis. Historically, the base for union organising is the modern factory system oriented towards the mass production of standardised products. Under this system, skilled workers, like engineers, help in the general design and management of the work process, while a mass of semi-skilled or blue-collar workers do routine jobs on the assembly lines. Later, unionism spread in the ranks of clerical and sales workforce in the services sector.

Today, however, the mass production factory system is shrinking and firms are becoming smaller and smaller as they shed off workers through the adoption of the lean production system, spinning off non-core business activities into separate corporations and outsourcing or subcontracting peripheral jobs. Moreover, some companies have found a way of reducing the ranks of the regular workforce through the hiring of casuals or temporaries, either through labour intermediaries or through the direct hiring of casual workers.

Moreover, many unions are not ready to contest the issues of reengineering or reorganisation on economic or business grounds. The language of the trade unions is workers' protection, while the language of business is flexibility and success in the global market. Governments officially take a middle ground but, in practice, are often forced to side with business because

the dominant economic thinking favours non-intervention by the government.

The problems of the trade union movement are further compounded by the multiplicity of unions and federations in some countries. There are even unions and federations openly and bitterly fighting one another on ideological and other grounds.

The Social Clause Issue

On the other hand, the once sacred principle of trade union solidarity seems to be observed more at the level of rhetoric. Unions in countries with higher wages and benefits are wary of the relocation of investments by transnational corporations in cheap labour platforms as these naturally mean job losses and weaker bargaining position for them. Globalisation tends to pit workers against workers.

And this is precisely the reason why the social clause is important. But the debate on the social clause, roughly defined as the observance of minimum labour standards by countries participating in the WTO-managed global trade, is clouded or confused by charges of protectionism by industrialised countries and toleration of labour exploitation by developing countries.

In the 1998 International Labour Conference in June of this year, the main document discussed was the proposal to reaffirm through a formal declaration the commitment of ILO member-countries to the core labour standards: freedom of association, freedom to form trade unions and carry out collective bargaining, prohibition of forced labour, prohibition of child labour, elimination of discrimination in employment, and equality of pay between men and women for work of equal pay. The Asian countries, particularly the members of the ASEAN bloc, managed to prolong the debate and water down the provisions of the declaration, which did not even get a full consensus. It is notable that some of the countries, which registered strong objections to the declaration, are countries that are not exactly known for their observance of labour rights, such as Myanmar and Pakistan.

The challenge for trade unions everywhere is how to prevent global competition under globalisation to degenerate into a race to the bottom, that is, a race

among nations to become competitive by sacrificing labour standards and labour rights. Hence, solidarity based on the social clause idea today acquires a greater sense of urgency.

However, for solidarity on the social clause to develop in the light of the economic arguments being raised by various countries for or against the linkage of trade with labour standards, new development paradigms also need to be advocated, paradigms that will take into account the specific job, economic and industrialisation

situation of individual countries.

This is why the trade union movement today has to reinvent itself, while NGOs have to help find a way of supporting workers both inside and outside the factory.

About the author: Prof. Rene S. Ofreneo is Dean of School of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of the Philippines. He is also a Trustee of ACTION, an NGO focusing on alternative economic policy analysis. He is a member of KATAPAT, association of Filipino business and professionals advocating a balanced and pro-Filipino economic policy.

APPENDIX 11

LABOUR IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION

Klaus Piepel

I would like to present some remarks on: 1) challenges for labour in the context of globalisation; 2) instruments to support stronger social guidelines in the economic liberalisation process; and 3) actors.

Challenges

The first point is relatively easy to circumscribe. Without claiming to present a complete picture of the challenges for labour in the context of globalisation, let me present some pieces of the puzzle, which are relevant from my point of view:

1. Unemployment

Two weeks ago, the ILO published its *Third World Employment Report 1998-1999*. The report explains that today one billion workers – one-third of the world's labour force – remain unemployed or underemployed. Of this one billion total, some 150 million workers are actually unemployed – 10 million unemployed have been generated this year due to the financial crisis in Asia alone. The ILO estimates that some 60 million young people between 15 and 24 years are in search of work but cannot find it.

Of course this figures remain quite incomplete as the statistics, especially in many countries of the South, are not very valid. In LDCs the increase of people looking for a job is still higher compared to the increase of job-opportunities. Unemployment in Europe is on a high level of an average of more than 10 per cent since over 10 years. Especially young people without professional experience and long-term unemployed in many industrialised countries face great difficulties to find not only a job, but also a satisfying workplace.

In this background it is no wonder that the number one issue of our recent election campaign in Germany was the fight against unemployment. Our new red-green government has given this issue a top-priority.

Unemployment creates a pressure on social standards and social policy as employees recommend worldwide the lowering of social standards, the lowering of social benefits and costs in production as the main concept to create more jobs. Countries like China and many of the so-called 'transition economies' of the former Soviet bloc are confronted with unemployment as the biggest danger for internal political and economic stability.

Challenge: In industrialised countries, we face a double challenge.

a) A new assessment of labour: Besides paid labour in the formal labour market other types of labour (voluntary work, social work, family work, etc.) have to be newly valued and eventually recognised in monetary terms both by the society and State (second labour market).

b) A new approach to share the paid work among the people who want to work.

c) A new orientation of government policies towards a more (pro)active role of the State to safeguard existing work and creating new work opportunities.

2. *Social Guidelines for Economic Liberalisation*

Despite broadly ratified Human Rights Conventions like the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and despite a broad membership in the ILO, which requires the acknowledgement of the ILO Charter, there is no practical consensus in the international community on the implementation of core labour standards.

The highly controversial debate on 'social clause' in the WTO led – following a decision of the Singapore WTO Ministerial Conference – to a division of roles between WTO and ILO. In fact, the whole discussion on the realisation of basic labour standards shifted to the ILO, which formulated its declaration on core labour standards in its annual conference in July 1998.

This declaration is a relative progress in so far as it underlines the importance of the protection of core labour standards by all ILO-members and introduces a report mechanism on the realisation of these rights. On the other hand, this declaration will not contribute too much to the realisation of these rights as the ILO in its reports may only give general assessments of the realisation and violation of core labour standards without any linkages to concrete cases and countries' performance. The ILO stays as a relatively weak organisation having mainly moral pressure, technical advice, and support as instruments to enforce its conventions.

US President Clinton recently emphasised the US position that social and ecological standards related to

world trade should play a more important role in the WTO. This position is taken as well by the international trade union movement, which will go on with its lobby for a social clause in the WTO.

Challenge: There is no doubt that the WTO is the key player for establishing regulations for international trade which has a big impact on labour in the South and the North as well. The ongoing and yet-not-ended discussion amongst NGOs in North and South centres on their attitude and relations towards the WTO. Shall we fight the WTO, try to limit its influence (with which expectation for success?), and strengthen the UN machinery (for example the ILO); or can we try a double-strategy: strengthening UN bodies while trying to gain access in the WTO as well? Can we hope to get effective social regulations of the globalisation process outside of its key regulator, the WTO, or only by trying to strengthen our influence in the WTO?

3. *The gender-dimension: Who profits, who loses from globalisation?*

Analytical discussions amongst trade unions and NGOs must become much more aware of the importance of the gender dimension of globalisation and its effects on the labour market. Gladys Kinnoch, member of the European Parliament for the British Labour Party, said in a trade union workshop held in February 1998:

"Women in particular are disadvantaged the world over and work in low-paid, insecure and segregated jobs as machinists, assembly-line workers, packers and clerical workers.... Dawn-till-dusk unpaid domestic responsibilities are accompanied by low-paid, low-status jobs with no entitlements. Women face restricted access to the labour market and have less labour mobility.... Labour rights, as usually discussed, are not likely to touch their lives very much. So we must make concrete attempts to ensure that they do."

In the same workshop, Maria Rhie Chol Soon, Chairperson of the Korean Women Workers Associations United, explained how the pressure of international competition in the export factories affects especially women. This analysis is given broad empirical evidence in the new book published by AMRC, *We in the*

Zone: Women Workers in Asia's Export Processing Zones. She underlined the fact that women do not play a mayor role in male-dominated trade unions in most cases and that "it is a continual battle to integrate them into the concerns of the whole labour movement."

The ILO in its latest *World Employment Report* describes two opposing trends which have emerged in recent years: one is the expansion and feminisation of lower-level jobs in the service sector; the other is the growing number of high-level jobs obtained by women as a result of educational achievement.

Challenge: The main challenge in this regard seems to me to encourage more sensibility for the gender-dimensions of labour issues. Experiences of women who reflect on the specific results of liberalisation and national labour policies are very important contributions towards this aim.

4. Informal Sector

NGO campaigns on labour conditions mainly focus on the formal labour sector of export-oriented industries (e.g. textiles, shoes, toys, etc.). Trade unions organise their members as well mainly or exclusively in the formal sector of their national industries.

The broad informal sector receives, therefore, very little attention, although the problems in this sector are often bigger compared to the formal labour market. Labour laws, health and safety standards, and minimum wages are hardly implemented in the informal sector. Labour inspection and trade unions have, in most cases, no access to the workers who are, in many cases, women (i.e. homework, domestic services, etc.).

The *ILO Employment Report 1998/99* says that,

"The majority of new jobs in developing countries are being created in the informal sector, which according to ILO estimates employs about 500 million workers. Lack of sufficient job growth in the formal sector of the economy as well as lack of skills of a large section of the labour force has resulted in the growth of the informal sector where most workers are in low-paid employment in unregulated and poor working conditions." (*ILO Press Release 33/98*, p. 5)

Challenge: This big sector with huge problems regarding working conditions remains a mostly unattended challenge for many NGOs and trade unions. A problem is that the majority of workers in this sector are working for the internal market and economy. The improvement of conditions in the sector remains, therefore, a primary task. NGOs and workers' movements must also put pressure on their governments in this regard.

Informalisation of labour seems to be a global experience going along with the liberalisation of the world economy. And as flexibilisation of labour is an important demand in this concept and because informal labour is more and more corresponding and related towards the formal export-oriented sector (especially in labour-intensive industries), the 'informal sector of the labour markets' – with its specific problems of non-regulation and often even worse working conditions – becomes an increasing challenge for international cooperation of NGOs and workers' movements.

Instruments

1. International Regulations

The discussions on regulation and deregulation of world trade and financial markets are from my point of view a very important level to fight for better safeguarding of workers' rights and labour standards. Those powers (in North and South), who are lobbying intensively for further liberalisation, experienced in the public discussion and the OECD-negotiated Multilateral Agreement on Investment for the first time a strong backlash of workers' movements and civil society worldwide. The acceptance of the neoliberal model of restructuring the world economy is decreasing in the industrialised countries. The main western governments and the WTO administration begin to realise more and more that the paradigm of globalisation and liberalisation of the economy as a way to overcome poverty and achieve sustainable development worldwide is losing ground. This recent development opens up new space for organised and informed interventions in actual and soon-starting negotiations (for example, the 'Millennium Round' of the WTO).

2. National Politics

Despite the increasing importance of international competition for FDI and within world trade, the role and competence of the national State should not be underestimated. It is a wrong picture to only see the national State in the role of a victim of international powers and pressures. The regulation or deregulation of the labour markets stays mainly a national task, which is, of course, influenced by international factors.

Ending the worst forms of exploitation – be it in the informal sector or in the export-oriented industries governed by foreign investors – is the first priority, a task for the national government, perhaps supported by international pressure. Therefore, lobbying their own government stays an important task, not only for NGOs in the South but – regarding attempts to deconstruct basic elements of social policy – for NGOs and trade unions in the North as well.

3. Voluntary Guidelines and Codes of Conduct

As it appears to be very difficult to reach binding regulations on implementation of labour standards on international level, NGOs – and to a limited extent trade unions in North and South – have shifted their interest in the last years more and more towards voluntary guidelines and codes of conduct for transnational companies.

Clean Clothes Campaign, the international campaigns for better working conditions in sneakers production (e.g. Nike, Adidas, Reebok), and the international toy campaign are examples of branch or product-centred attempts to urge transnationals to take over responsibility for the working conditions of their suppliers.

This approach is very attractive for campaigning but is connected with a lot of challenges as well:

- The task of harmonisation of standards remains. There exists different approaches to establish model codes of conduct: the CEP/New York initiative for the establishment of the standard for Social Accountability (SA 8000), the approach of the British Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), the proposal of the Clean Clothes Campaign for the establishment

of a foundation for implementation of the Clean Clothes Charter, an initiative of the European Parliament to formulate recommendations for Codes of Conduct for European Companies, etc.

- Social auditing becomes more and more a new business of international accounting companies like Price Waterhouse, KPMG, SGS and quality control companies. This trend towards the 'privatisation' of supervising the implementation of social and labour standards is questionable. Those working on Codes of Conduct should discuss more how to integrate the ILO, especially, in the supervision of such voluntary instruments.

The focus on voluntary instruments can lead to the neglect of internationally agreed binding labour standards and their implementation. But the Codes of Conduct cannot replace the necessary international regulation and its effective pursuance.

Actors

1. Trade Unions

When I asked a representative of the International Department of the German Metalworkers Union what would be from her perspective the biggest challenge regarding labour in the context of the ongoing liberalisation, she answered that it would be the organisation of the workforce in strong trade unions. Majority of workers, even in the formal sector, are not organised in trade unions. And trade unions are often split and comparatively weak at the national level.

Trade unions in the North were weakened in the last years as well. They lost members due to unemployment and decrease of trust in their strategies. Talking about Germany, trade unions are on average very narrow-minded on internal problems in a double sense: restructuring of their own organisations and nearly exclusively concerned about the problems of workers in our country. The commitment for international solidarity is quite weak. The biggest union, IG Metal, for example, gives 10 per cent of its income to the national trade union centre, the DGB, but less than half of one per cent for its international work.

The conclusion for me is that trade unions of course stay important partners in all labour-related activities – but we should not expect too much from them.

2. *Transnational Companies*

TNCs are mainly regarded as our 'enemies' whom we should 'fight' or set under pressure. I share this assessment partly because TNCs are the big players of globalisation, main stakeholders of further liberalisation of trade and investment, and the main winners of the current world economic setting.

But without being naïve, we should not see them as a monolithic bloc. Beyond their interest to make good profits (which is their job) many executive managers of TNCs learn more and more that a long-term strategy for a sustainable positioning of their company requires more than only maximum profits (for example, Shell). I think it is worthwhile to discuss whether we can find allies in our battle for better working conditions in the decision-making bodies of TNCs.

3. *NGOs and Social Movements*

It is very clear to me that in the context of globalisation, NGOs need to strengthen their international contacts to be able to react together towards new developments and urgent cases of labour

rights violations. In the context of campaigns, such global networks evolve slowly and prove their effectiveness by bringing together resources of very different nature, experience, and capacity. The International Toy Campaign, which I have some experience with, is from my point of view a good example of intercontinental cooperation in favour of improving the labour conditions in a special branch. But experiences of this campaign show as well how difficult it is to coordinate the different expectations, priorities and strategies of NGOs in North and South (e.g. priority for thematic work: Health and Occupational Safety Network vs. company or product-related work/toys/Mattel). Therefore, international coordination and common development of strategies are very important – a reason why such encounters like this conference are an excellent opportunity to define a common agenda for common campaigns, lobby work on the challenge to implement social and ecological safeguards and guidelines for the ongoing globalisation process.

About the author: Dr. Klaus Piepel is with a Catholic development agency, Misereor, since 1986. He moved to the Department of Development Policy in 1991. His work focuses on trade and human rights. His recent publications are *Unfair Rules of the Game* and *Workers' Rights and Human Rights Violations in South East Asian Toy Factories*. He was born in 1956 and is married with two children.

APPENDIX 13

GLOBALISATION AND THE SOCIAL CLAUSE DEBATE

Robert Reid

Globalisation, we are told, is with us whether we like it or not. The effects of globalisation are certainly felt by workers throughout the world. But how to react to globalisation? That is an issue that is being hotly debated by trade unions. Much of the debate has centred on a proposal from unions in the 'North' for a social clause in international trading agreements. However, there is also, much opposition to this proposal, especially from unions in the least developed countries.

This short paper asks why such differences have occurred.

Trade unions were born out of the class struggle, out of the contradiction between labour and capital. But the contradiction between labour and capital is not the only one that exists. While this contradiction may be fundamental in the struggle that unions are engaged in, other contradictions will interact with it and produce different results from different material conditions.

I make this point to begin a discussion on 'social clauses' because the debate so far has produced much heat but little light. But, in my view, to understand the different positions being put forward by trade unions around the world, we need to take into account not only the contradiction of labour and capital, but also the contradiction inherent in an imperialist international order between the major powers and the third world.

But first, what is the 'social clause' and from where did it come? What is now referred to as the 'social clause' specifically relates to GATT and the WTO, but has been used in reference to other international trade agreements as well. Its genesis comes from European and US trade unions who for a number of years have been raising the issue and the concept especially within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and its International Trade Secretariats (ITSs). The idea was to take some of the basic ILO principles, such as freedom of association, the right to collective bargaining, elimination of child labour, and elimination of discrimination, and to create an instrument within the GATT (now WTO) where the signatories to this trading agreement/organisation would also be obliged to abide by these 'social clauses'.

Failure to do so would trigger a mechanism of reporting technical assistance to conform to the 'social clause'. If this failed then trading sanctions would be introduced against the offending country. The proponents argued that although the standards had already been set by the ILO, it really had no teeth. By using the teeth of WTO-induced trade sanctions, ILO conventions and policies might finally be able to be forced on countries that wish to trade internationally but are ignoring such labour rights and standards. France and the US introduced such proposals at the dying stages of the Uruguay Round of GATT but they created such controversy, especially by third world governments, that they have been held over, along with proposals on a 'green clause' for further consideration by the WTO and the ILO.

From the point of view of first world unions and the US and (most) European Governments these proposals made sense. Thousands of workers in these countries were losing their jobs due to the free trade policies of GATT/WTO due to the importation of goods made with low-paid (often child) labour where trade union

rights were ignored. The ILO was proving impotent at dealing with these issues. The European trade unions felt they had achieved some success with the 'Social Charter' provisions of the European Union (EU) and the US trade unions with the side agreements to NAFTA.

The reactions of most third world governments and trade unions to these proposals have been extremely hostile. This hostility has especially come from trade unions in South Asia. Interestingly enough, the poorer the country, the more hostile has been the reaction to a proposal that the first world proponents stated was designed to improve the conditions of workers in the poorest countries. It is also of interest that the ICFTU, which is very strong in the first world, is much weaker in Africa or South Asia where major unions are either affiliated to the (formerly pro-Soviet) World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) or are independent of both international centres, and has no affiliates in Vietnam, Indonesia or China. It is of further interest that moving around into Southeast and East Asia, trade unions that have discussed the issue are either moderate critics or critical supporters of the 'social clause'. Again reflecting the level of development of those countries as being between the poorest third world and the richer developed nations.

And of final interest is that ideologically opposed left and right-wing trade union centres in the same country often have the same position on this issue. For example, all trade union centres in India, whether pro-Congress Party, pro-Hindu fundamentalist, pro-socialist or pro-communist oppose the 'social clause'. In South Korea, both the conservative FKTU and the militant KCTU are critical supporters of the 'social clause'.

So what is the objection of those who oppose the 'social clause'. For third world governments it is seen as a new form of protectionism of the rich countries against the poor. When it is often only low labour costs that give such countries a comparative advantage in the globalised free trading economy, third world leaders point to the 'social clause' as the mechanism that the rich countries are using to deprive them of this advantage.

Most third world trade unions try to demarcate themselves from this government position. They state that their governments are antagonistic to the conditions and plight of workers in their country and that the wages and conditions of the workers must be raised. However,

the 'social clause' is not the mechanism to do it. How can we support a 'social clause', say these trade unions, in an organisation such as the WTO which has been set up as an instrument of imperialist global rule to ensure that the people of the third world remain subjugated to the plans for global dominance of the TNCs and the global elite? How can we support a 'social clause' in the WTO at the same time that the IMF and the World Bank are forcing their structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on us that are reducing the rights and conditions of workers?

These concerns are real. The conditionalities of many SAPs on third world countries have called for a cut in government spending on social and educational programmes and elimination of subsidies on many basic goods. This has meant that the social wage and workers living conditions have been reduced dramatically. Other conditionalities have insisted that labour market flexibility is increased and, therefore, the power of trade unions curtailed. So will a 'social clause' under the WTO now introduce trade sanctions against these countries because of their governments being forced to introduce anti-worker policies by the WTO's sibling organisations, the IMF-WB?

And what competence does the WTO have to decide on issues of labour rights? The WTO is not a democratic body. The richest nations and TNCs control the WTO processes. Any decisions that it makes will not be in the interests of workers but of international capital and the rich nations. There are other international bodies such as the ILO and the UN, which although not

perfect, are far more democratic and competent at dealing with issues of international worker rights than the WTO.

The trade unions opposing the social clause are not simply opposing it and putting up no alternatives. For example, a series of meeting of trade unions and labour-orientated NGOs in South Asia have developed a South Asia Workers Charter in an effort to set a series of minimum standards for workers in the subcontinent but through a mechanism that will not involve imperialist intervention from outside the region.

If trade unions from the richer countries are genuine in their motives of promoting the social clause, then they should be listening to the concerns of unions from the parts of the world that they are claiming they are wanting to assist. Unfortunately, so far this does not seem to be happening. Opposing views from the third world are often being ignored and ridden over with the same arrogance that propels the imperialist masters from these countries to shape the new global world in their own image and for their own enrichment.

About the author: Mr. Robert Reid is from Aotearoa/New Zealand. He is just completing a six-year term as Coordinator of the Asia Pacific Workers Solidarity Links. APWSL is a network of worker activists from 16 countries in the Asia Pacific. Robert has been a trade unionist in New Zealand for the last 25 years - the first 10 years as a shop steward in General Motors. More recently Robert has been organising in the footwear and clothing industries and has helped to establish the New Zealand Trade Union Centre in New Zealand. On October 1, a new union for marginalised labour was organised in New Zealand. Robert is its first President.

APPENDIX 14

RURAL ECONOMIES, AGRICULTURAL SECTORS AND FOOD SECURITY

Peter Rottach

Global influences on agriculture and rural economies are not new phenomena. Most of humankind cultivated plants and domesticated animals if we look back upon a long history of global exchange and transformation. Even traditional societies in remote regions participated

to some extent in commercial activities with the outside world. In the colonial period, agricultural production and rural economies of the developing countries were forcibly oriented towards the demands of consumers and processing industries in the North.

Globalisation in this presentation is defined as a process in which rural economies and agricultural sectors are unlimitedly penetrated by capital-driven and profit-oriented private interests. Rural economies can vary quite considerably ranging from 100,000-hectare landowners in Brazil to an intensively vegetable producing gardener in the vicinity of Johannesburg down to half an acre farm of the Miao-people in Western China. Because of this, it is important to stress that the focus here is laid on marginalised small holders coping with rather disadvantageous conditions.

Regarding agricultural technologies, a comparatively recent transformation process in the South started right after the Second World War. The famous Green Revolution tried to modernise traditional farming practices in the South according to western standards and using western technologies. At the same time unprecedented changes in food consumption patterns affected both rural people and urban consumers. Development cooperation itself, tourism and modern means of communication like radio and TV made people even in the remotest corner of developing countries long for Coca-Cola or fast food. This finally ended up in neglecting and eliminating local food crops and diets. It does not matter whether you travel through the Himalayans or the Brazilian rain forests, everywhere you can see slum dwellings with a coloured TV set and people watching American soap operas convincing them of the advantages of ketchup and chips, hamburgers or deep frozen fish. This type of global propaganda not only alters local food supply and consumption patterns, it also changes the minds of the people.

Today, moneymaking has become something like a new religion even among relatively self-reliant and autonomous farming communities. It not only creates temptations to get at least some off-farm income, but is also responsible for the abolition of traditional social security systems that traditionally were not based on financial or material remuneration. For example, in the Andes for centuries a system of mutual aid among neighbours, called *Minga*, has helped local families to overcome a temporary lack of labour force due to sickness or other reasons and has bridged individual scarcity of food by sharing among neighbouring families. With the rise of a money economy and growing financial demands such self-help systems are rapidly collapsing,

leaving many poor families in a more destitute situation than before.

The present liberalisation of agricultural trade is just the prolongation and intensification of such capital-oriented and driven influences on rural societies that had started decades ago. Based on the prevailing economic theory, production should only take place where production costs are lowest. Farmers all over the world are forced to enter into a global competition eliminating those who are not producing profitably or at least to forcing them to look for comparative cost advantages in other agricultural commodities.

In developing countries, it is generally accepted that such comparative cost advantages are to be found in groceries, colonial goods like coffee, tea, cocoa and *sisal*, to mention but a few. Whereas the comparative advantages of the northern industrialised countries are seen in food crops like meat, wheat, and maize. Why should, so an often repeated question, a farmer in Latin America grow maize when his or her farm has a potential to grow coffee and produce so much income that maize can be bought in abundance on the market? This opinion does not take into account that maize is so cheap because its production is highly subsidised by the North and dumped on the world market. The whole of Latin America is full of cheap US maize, which is what definitely makes maize a very unprofitable crop to local *campesinos*. The EU is flooding South Saharan Africa with wheat, beef, and milk products, thus avoiding storage costs at home and preventing African farmers and nomads to usufruct their agricultural activities.

The present state of the negotiations on trade liberalisation inside the WTO offers little incentives to believe that these dumping practices will expire. Instead of price and export-related subsidies, northern countries will pay direct subsidies to the farmers just expanding the US agricultural support policies to other countries, like the EU. Undoubtedly in a global competition, farmers receiving such subsidies will be in a much better position than their counterparts who do not get any governmental assistance at all. On the other hand, liberalisation of agricultural trade makes for the South to open up its market to imports from outside. Since small holders under marginal conditions by definition have no or little comparative cost advantages, they will then be even more confronted with cheap food from outside without having

the capital or the natural resources to shift to other agricultural commodities in a remunerable way.

Liberalisation under such circumstances means nothing else than forcing rural farmers either into poor and risk-prone subsistence agriculture or pushing them out of production and into the crowd of migrants to the cities. Again in Latin America, some countries already are urbanised up to 90% and migration is still going on unabated. The same tendencies can be identified in many other countries in Asia and Africa. Job searching men moving into the cities and industrialised centres leaving their wives, children, and aged people at home. Consequently, with devastating effects on on-farm labour force. Often the result is ecologically disastrous extensification of farming triggering off soil erosion, soil fertility problems, and the disappearance of natural flora and fauna because of uncontrolled grazing of goat, sheep, and cattle.

Soil Erosion

According to international scientists, soil erosion has become the biggest threat to mankind – bigger than the depletion of the ozone layer or the climate change. More than 20% of the world's ice-free landmass show signs of considerable soil erosion and degradation. More than 295 million of hectares of land are said to be severely degraded and 10 million hectares are already degraded to an extent that they are irreversibly lost to human beings. There are global estimates that every year the soil washed into rivers or oceans is equivalent to the entire topsoil of Australia. The US-based World Resource Institute is blaming both the North and the South for not taking efficient action against this environmental menace. But soil erosion control cannot be done by the governments on a large scale. It can only be effectively carried out by the millions of small farmers who normally live in erosion-prone highlands or in arid and semi-arid regions, where wind erosion accounts for the biggest losses of soil. Since trade liberalisation pushes farmers away from their homes and out of farming, its effects on soil fertility and soil preservation most likely will be very negative, jeopardising food security of the coming generations.

The winners of this global competition in a free market system are the multinational food processing and transport companies, because an ever-increasing number

of people depend on their services. They increasingly try to control the whole food chain starting at food production in the field up to the tables in urban households where food is being consumed. A striking example for this are present tendencies of multinational seed and agro-chemical companies launching a second Green Revolution, normally referred to as gene technology. This technology not only makes plant breeding a highly sophisticated and capital-intensive procedure, it also links seed production with pesticide application and food processing, all of them being controlled by one company alone.

The public opinion in the North is rather strictly against gene technology in agriculture (here called GMOs: genetically modified organisms). As a result of assessing the risks and the advantages, the promoters of GMOs – namely the big private companies – have to defend it by resorting to moral reasons and explanations. According to them, hunger in the world can be wiped out only with the help of GMOs. Similarities to the first Green Revolution's assumption 30 years back are quite obvious. Without denying present difficulties in modern plant breeding (newly released seed normally has to be replaced every 4 or 5 years because of outbreaks of pests and diseases) and the potentials of the gene technology to overcome such difficulties, the impact on the poorer sections of rural societies in the South is expected to be very negative. Since GMOs sold in the US are not cheaper than conventionally produced seed, most likely only the better-off farmers in the high potential areas of tropical and sub-tropical countries will benefit from such seed. If the yields go up as promised, marginalised farmers will be even more expelled from local and national markets and lose the last sources of income agriculture was able to offer them. Hunger, poverty, and backwardness will not be eliminated but rather be enhanced. If gene technology allows the companies to make money out of it then it does not help the hungry because the reason for them being hungry is poverty. If, on the other hand, this technology aims at helping the poor, how should the private companies make the financial profit they need to compete in a market economy that only allows the strongest to survive?

But gene technology not only makes the poor poorer and the rich richer. It could also mean a further decline in biodiversity and genetic resources and a continued or even enhanced exploitation of the South by

northern interests. The more advantages a certain variety offers to producers and consumers, the less other varieties will be cultivated in the fields. Due to the first Green Revolution with its focus on cereals like wheat and rice, in some Asian countries like Bangladesh the cultivation of pulses went down by 80%. It is very likely that GMOs aggravate mono-culture-like farming systems even more.

Loss of Biodiversity

The loss of biodiversity in the world due to genetic erosion is considered to be the second dangerous threat to food security of present and future generations after soil erosion. Today, food supply of human beings already depends on 60% of four staple food crops, i.e. rice, maize, wheat, and potatoes. Among these few crops, an ever-decreasing number of varieties are being used in agriculture. In India, for example, at the beginning of this century more than 30,000 different varieties of paddy and upland rice have been cultivated. Today, only 70-80 years later, rice production in the country is based on 70% of only 10 varieties and in some highly modernised agricultural areas like Punjab, traditional varieties are no longer applied in the fields. In the Philippines, 90% of the paddy fields are said to be cultivated with only two different varieties. And in China, from 10,000 wheat varieties counted by a scientific investigation in 1949, only 1,000 different wheat varieties can be found in the whole country, leaving collections in gene banks out of consideration. Similar cases exist in Africa and Latin America too, and for decades modern plant breeding has either ignored such losses or trusted on gene banks, where up to 90% of the earth's cereal genes are stored.

Apart from long-term fertility problems of such seed stored in gene banks, the question of ownership remains totally unsolved. Every US or European seed company can approach these international seed banks asking for any type of seed they require and get it free of charge. No fee or compensation is paid to the country or the farmers from whom this seed originates. If the genomes released by the gene bank contain economically interesting genes, the company can apply for a patent in the US or in Europe finally preventing the farmers in the South to get any financial benefit out of their traditional varieties.

How far this can go is demonstrated by a recent patent on Basmati rice granted to an American seed company although its newly bred rice variety genetically has nothing to do with the famous Basmati varieties in India or Pakistan. Now, the two countries can be obliged as part of the TRIPS regulation to stop selling several hundred thousand tonnes of Basmati rice every year or at least give it a different brand name. In the light of this, the patenting system of the North seems to be a very effective instrument to liberalise and globalise the world markets without losing control of it. It prevents the South from economically and financially usufructing its genetic resources and it aims at maintaining its technologically inferior role. Although the South holds more than 90% of the gene plasma, only 1% of the patents has been granted to southern individuals, companies, or public institutions.

Water Scarcity

The third burning issue concerning food security is water. "The wars of the next century will be over water." Such statements can be found in the media addressing the problem of an always more acute scarcity of water on a global scale. More than two billion people live in countries affected by water scarcity and their number is very likely to increase. The World Bank expects that by the year 2025 more than 34 countries will suffer from water shortages. Most of the drinking water reserves are used for agriculture (69%), the rest for industry (25%) and private households (8%). Within the agricultural sector, the bulk of the water goes into irrigation that in developing countries accounts for 80% of water use.

Urbanisation also contributes to declining water resources. More than half of China's 600 cities suffer water shortages and in some parts of northern China water tables are falling by as much as a metre a year. Since in the process of globalisation, more and more people will give up farming and move into urban and industrialised areas, as said before. An ever-increasing number of people will depend on high-potential, agricultural-surplus-producing regions under irrigation and contribute to the wastage of groundwater in urban conglomerates.

Therefore, assessing agricultural trade liberalisation and its affiliated technical and cultural trends and

tendencies, one can only come up with a very pessimistic conclusion, as far as poor rural households are concerned. There are certainly also some advantages. Global supply of food theoretically could bridge local supply gaps being caused by natural calamities or political tensions. But there are neither the logistic capacities nor the financial means to permanently transport huge quantities of food from Canada, the United States or Argentina, to mention just a few surplus countries, to hungry people in remote areas. And even if the infrastructure and the financial means were there, such a global distribution of food into deficit regions would have a very negative impact on farming in the recipient country or region itself. Experiences show that permanent food aid of the EU or the US has caused more harm to local food producers in the recipient countries than it has helped suffering people to get rid of hunger and malnutrition. That is the reason why many NGOs still pursue food self-reliance as one of their development priorities although or because it is so heavily threatened by globalisation.

Scope for NGO actions?

However, it is quite easy to criticise globalisation and its negative effects on the poor, but it is quite difficult to present viable alternatives. This presentation does not pretend to have the solution, but rather, tries to give, hopefully, good food for thinking.

In many countries, there is a tendency of an opposite migration from the cities back to the rural areas. People moving back to their farms probably have experienced the false promises of modern life and the social inequity it creates. They are willing to engage in cumbersome farm work and recognise the value of economic independence and of home-made food. Perhaps our project support should help such people to overcome initial difficulties.

It was quite astonishing to see how many people were interested in and tried to attend a conference on self-reliant, autonomous eco-villages organised around a year ago in Scotland. One of the conclusions of this conference was that globalisation can stimulate all sorts of alternative lifestyles based on subsistence food production and informal trade rather than on the mainstream economy. Whether this can become a

realistic and powerful alternative movement has to be seen.

For our work it probably makes more sense to concentrate on another sector or group of people that already is heavily engaged in a subsistence economy: rural women in their ongoing struggle to get the daily food for their families. It seems that many agricultural projects still concentrate on men because men are believed to be the driving forces behind food production. In reality, when asking men about their agricultural priorities, one can easily end up with cash crop production, a credit scheme, or improved marketing facilities, because higher income is on top of their priority list. If you ask women, normally the daily food will be given highest preferences. If our intention is to avoid the most negative impact of globalisation on the poor, our focus should be very clearly oriented towards rural women. This should not only be done in a rather traditional way with women-specific income generating activities like jam production or providing sewing equipment. Women should be our predominant interlocutors when defining and planning food security oriented programmes.

Another necessity in avoiding negative effects of globalisation would be to exert political pressure at all levels where major decisions are taken. These are, among others, the UN institutions, and the WTO. Many NGOs still concentrate project work on the grassroots level without taking into account international events adequately. It makes little sense to carry out an expensive extension programme training farmers on how to increase food production when at the same time cheap imports offer absolutely no financial incentives to produce more. That does not mean that all NGOs should start lobbying work and abolish grassroots activities. But we need a better coordination between grassroots organisations and lobby organisations in order to bring information across to each other. National food security committees consisting of both type of NGOs as well as of many more and perhaps even of governmental representatives could not only bridge those communication gaps, they could also influence the government itself. This is even more important in the light of previous negotiations during the GATT Uruguay Round or in the framework of the bio-diversity convention when southern governments were not supportive of European governments whose position

reflected strong lobbying efforts of northern NGOs to the benefit of the poor in developing countries.

A third strategy could be to help rural people in earning more money out of their farm work. If we agree that international trade and global competition undermine the chances of marginalised people to make farming profitable and if that is the driving force behind migration to the cities, then we have to look for ways to help small holders and marginal farmers in raising their income. One possibility could be what is called ethical consumerism, aiming at both the North and the growing middle class in the South. Consumers, aware of the necessity for preserving local food production and for paying a fair price to Third World farmers, are willing to pay more no matter how cheap those commodities are sold on the regular markets. In order to bring such conscientious consumption habits out of their niches and to make them an effective means of counteracting the free market economy and neo-liberalism, new and joint efforts are needed by the whole NGO community. These efforts should include a discussion on the basic assumptions ruling not only fair trade arrangements, but also development work as such. One of these assumptions is that we still follow a development paradigm that is composed of economic growth, technical progress and material wealth, simply imitating Western approaches and Western history.

Although probably many of us are convinced that Western lifestyle and consumption patterns are not sustainable neither from a social and economic nor an ecological point of view, a strategy of simply offering

more money to local producers or supporting economic development programmes does not suggest that a clear alternative to the mainstream economic development model is actively being pursued. There are many nice definitions of sustainable development, but there is little attempt to define what it means in practice. Is it the one-person-one-car ratio Europeans seem to be struggling for, or the American meat consumption pattern with around 95 kg of meat per person per year? If it is something else, then we should determine what levels of mobility, of food consumption, and of energy use would otherwise be socially just, economically viable and ecologically sustainable in order to conceive a development model that is applicable to the whole world.

Working out practical and realistic scenarios could be one of the recommendations of this consultation. They would perhaps not only give a new orientation to our joint development efforts, but also provide the measurement or a checklist to assess globalisation and its social and environmental impact.

About the author: Mr. Peter Rottach is a scholar in history geography and tropical agriculture. He worked as coordinator of a soil erosion control project in Tanzania, Africa. In 1985 he began working with the Bread for the World. He is head of food security, agriculture, and environment desk. He is married with three children. In Germany he runs a small farm of 1.5 hectares where he keeps bees, sheep, and goats.

APPENDIX 15

GLOBALISATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON WOMEN (WORKERS) IN EUROPE

Ineke Zeldenrust

First, I will look at some of the main characteristics of the globalisation of the economy in Europe, not so much describing them (that has been done very well and in great detail elsewhere), but how they are gendered. Some of these characteristics relate more to the changing

role of the State, some more to the changing role of corporations.

Secondly, the joint effect of these trends on women will be briefly looked at, taking some time to regionalise a

bit within Europe, where there are huge differences between North, West, South, Central and East. The final question the organisers posed was the strategies that European women's organisations have developed and should develop to address these effects. That is even harder to generalise on than the other questions, but I think we have time for this in the workshop. I will try to give some insight in the current agenda for European women worker issues, and some of my personal views on what possibilities exist to tackle that agenda.

The Withdrawal of the State Out of All Sectors of the Economy

1. Privatisation

This is often talked about in terms of corporations taking over former State activities. However, the State cedes tasks to both industry and individuals, though often by default. A lot of the tasks that fall under the broad concept of 'care' (caring for the elderly and for the sick, or for direct dependents) are not taken up by some companies for a reasonable fee. It is mainly women who then take up these jobs.

2. Cutbacks on the Social/Welfare System, Reinforced by the EU Integration Monetary Reform Requirements

Areas that are not being privatised are subject to cutbacks. Generally speaking, we have seen in the whole of the EU a reduction of coverage and the reduction of generosity.¹ Women are, more often than men, on the receiving end of social welfare, due to lower participation in the labour force and due to higher responsibilities in the private and family sphere, an area where a substantial part of the social/welfare system is focused on. In other words: they feel it more, in all areas of their lives.

Women are the ones primarily responsible for a families' multiple needs. At the same time, their political power and influence is (still) much smaller than that of men. The growing importance of the market, that by definition reacts only on demands and never on needs, therefore, has a double negative effect.

Downward Harmonisation as a Result of the EU Integration Process

An example is the change in Danish legislation as a result of EU legislation making the allocation of health-related support benefits dependent on the households' global income, thereby reducing the individual rights of Danish women.²

There has been upward harmonisation as well, mainly 'legislation for equality', changing discriminating laws, e.g. in Ireland and the Netherlands, to comply with EU directives.

Dominance and Restructuring of TNCs

1. Lean, Mean, and Flexible

We have to look at this in the context of growth in the service industry, by now by far the largest sector in the whole of the EU. The number of women workers in the industry has sharply declined, from 300% to 17% in 1994. The increase of female jobs has been in the service sector, over 70% of all the female jobs are by now in the service sector. It is in this sector that we also find most of the flex-jobs, the ones that are part-time and have temporary contracts.³

Part-time as such has been a demand by the women's movement in the EU for a long time, on the grounds that family-work and care-work require time, and that female participation in the labour force can only grow if the choice for part-time can be made. The key word here, of course, is choice.

What happens in reality is that part-time work and temporary contracts go hand in hand, and that women accept them because of other responsibilities while men go for the better paid, fixed contract, full-time jobs.

In the EU in 1995, 83% of the part-time workers were women and 50% of the workers with a temporary contract (whereas only 40% of the workforce in the EU are female). In the Netherlands, the temp-agencies are now the largest single employer, and 68% of all the jobs in the service sector are held by female part-timers.

Flexibilisation often also requires increased mobility, women generally have less access to transport than men and, therefore, have a harder time living up to the standards expected of a flexible worker.

2. *High Competition Leading to Increased Rationalisation and Restructuring*

The primary feature of this has been job-loss. This loss is direct as well as indirect, the diminishing of small and medium-sized industries has been an important feature of the European economy, leading to more job losses. At the same time, companies have increased their use of subcontracting/out-sourcing, transferring work into the 'informal' or 'underground' economy, where women play an important role. Major companies are concentrating non-material tasks in their own hands while handing over to others (by subcontracting) direct production tasks. The widening gulf between the mother company and the workers involved is increasing the anonymity of working relations. A company such as Nike has maybe 5,000 direct employees but 500,000 workers are somewhere involved in making shoes and clothes. The lack of nearness is accentuating lack of responsibility. We are seeing a transfer of responsibility to the middlemen. Management is controlled remotely, allowing over-exploitation of the workforce.

The underground economy has many different faces, ranging from workshops with 50 or more employees in Poland, to the home-based workers in the UK or village-based networks in Portugal.

A survey carried out by the European Home-Working Group in four regions – Portugal, Madeira, West Ireland, and the UK – found women home-workers earning far below the minimum wage with no employment rights and little social security.⁴ In the north of Portugal you can see vans going from village to village, distributing the work from house to house. Shoes for hand-stitching, clothes for machining, wool for hand or machine knitting. Often their husbands work in construction, they come home only in the weekends. Next to their caring work and the work for cash-income, many of these women have to pay the rent to the landlord by working the land, and paying half the crop or the money raised from this. The number of European home-workers is often underestimated. In the UK in 1994, it was estimated that there were a million home-workers, almost all female. Within the homework

sector, especially in the UK, we find a relative large concentration of cheap black and migrant labour.

In Poland, what is labelled the underground economy (or the gray or black economy) in the garment sector is largely made up of workplaces in former houses where five to 10 families used to live. The rooms are converted into sewing areas, having maybe 10 women in a room of 25 square metres. Here, Adidas tracksuits are made. The owner gets paid 10 German marks per piece, a very competitive price if you look at most Asian countries. According to certain research findings, it would appear that between 20 and 25% of all Polish employees work in the underground economy. The ILO estimates that the 'informal' economy worldwide has to encompass 93% of all newcomers in the labour market.⁵

The concepts of 'formal' versus 'informal' sector or 'underground' versus 'regular' economy remain unsatisfactory. It seems we spend a lot of time discussing how to fit what we see in reality into the model, and describing where the model does not fit. This has much to do with the fact that a duality is suggested that in fact does not exist. In some eastern and central European countries, for example, jobs without a formal labour contract in the private sector can actually offer women more security of employment than jobs in the state-owned factories, where women are constantly being fired even though they have a labour contract. The contract often does not have any validity in terms of benefits or chances for a new job.

If what we want is to describe the reality of women's work, it is better to think in terms of an index, where women's positioning is determined by, or can vary according to:

- job security
- pay
- access to social welfare
- positioning at the workplace.

This last element concerns both the physical nature of the workplace and its social positioning. Home-based work can mean unsafe conditions and isolation, but it can also be the place of choice for highly educated, self-employed, and well-paid consultants. This fits in with the current feminist school of 'difference thinking', that developed when it became clear that equality-based policies tended to affect women different ways and that

we have to conceptualise these differences and make them an essential part of all our analysis and activities.

The trends described above lead to:

- Exclusion: more and more people are effectively excluded from the social benefits, citizenship rights, and employment,
- Unemployment and job insecurity,
- Breakdown of care, and
- Poverty and the 'feminisation of poverty'.

European women are poorer than European men. Women on average earn 20% less than men, they are concentrated in the less well-paying sectors of industry and those sectors in the less well-paid jobs. In the clothing, textile, and banking and retail sectors, all with a high concentration of women workers, they earn an average of 63% of the salary of the men. Black, ethnic minority and migrant women are differently positioned in the sexual division of labour and even more disadvantaged, as well as being subject to racism.

In itself, this is no different from the situation in Asia. The similarities increasingly extend also to the way women's organisations and unions are able to respond to issues. Two weeks ago, Levi Strauss announced they would close factories in Belgium and one in the north of France, all producing jeans. At least 1,500 women will be unemployed despite the fact that Levi Strauss is making a profit, and Levi Strauss Belgium is as well. The plants in Hungary, Spain, and Portugal will probably remain operational, especially if Belgium and France close down. These plants are on the fringes of Europe and their wages are much lower while still being close to the market. Levi's, as a whole, owns fewer and fewer factories subcontracting out work to some 550 suppliers.

Hearing the reports from the unions and seeing the workers on TV, there is not much difference in their stories and the stories we hear when factories in the garment industry close in Asian countries. The unions were informed too late, and refused for the time being to negotiate. The workers are on strike, the women fear for their family income and are afraid they will not find another job.

The politicians are angry because Levi's led them to believe they saw a future for Belgium and apparently recently subsidies have been given based on this

understanding. The difference lies, I think, by now only in the strength of the social safety net. The Belgian and French women will receive unemployment money for some time, after this they can get welfare benefits, but how much is depending on their family situation.

The net effect of all the trends described above on women depends very much on where you are in the EU, as well as on your background/position within your community. Economic changes are 'filtered', through the states' social system. By this we mean the part of the state that encompasses the welfare system and public services. It is this system that arranges for women essential areas like child care, care for elderly/handicapped, arrangements for lone parents, unemployment benefits and other state benefits, e.g. when ill or widowed. The way the state has organised its public services and welfare system is furthermore crucial in determining the choices women have in engaging in paid activities outside the home.

The way the social systems in the EU are structured knows a high geographical differentiation and, moreover, is strongly gendered. In Nordic countries, such as Sweden, the welfare state tends to reach very wide, intervening not just in the labour market but also in the family. Caring is designated a collective social responsibility and women are almost as likely to be employed as men are. Moreover, the principle of care is established as a legitimate reason for a welfare state payment or service. Benefits are generally given on an individual and not on a family basis, an important difference for women. In these countries, female participation in the labour force is independent of the number of children.

In continental Europe (Germany, Austria, Luxembourg, Belgium, France and to some extent the Netherlands) the 'male breadwinner model' was the basis for the structuring of the welfare state. Male employment is strongly privileged by public policies, which also tend to encourage women to be full or part-time housewives and mothers. The State intervenes in the family only reluctantly, more or less when it cannot be avoided. Benefits for care are very rare.

The family as the standard unit for benefits is more common, which increases the dependency of women. The UK is a bit of an exception in the sense that employment for all is encouraged, indeed rendered necessary by low social payments and low wages.

Women tend to be in employment but paid work has to be fitted in around their caring responsibilities since the relevant public services have a moderate (and increasingly low) availability. In these countries female participation in the labour force is very strongly influenced by the number of children.

In the Mediterranean countries social policies are more diversified and still under development. Welfare state is less strong, and has a relatively low degree of coverage and, therefore, offers less of a barrier or safety net for women. The principle of payment for care is hardly established at all and relevant public services also have a relatively low availability.

Looking at the differences from region to region, it is clear that the way a possible worldwide recession will affect women's lives will be determined for a large part by the way governments will structure national level changes in the welfare system and public services.

A gender perspective here will mean we will not only ask what the amount of cutbacks is in the health benefit system, but also who will be the beneficiary of final benefit: the household or the individual.

The fact that we now have in most of the EU member states the social democrats in power does so far not seem to make for any changes in what is often called the neoliberal agenda, despite the recent years of economic growth. In the UK, a long overdue minimum wage has been introduced. In the Netherlands, where we are going into the second four years of what is called a 'purple coalition' including social democrats and liberals, the one item on the government agenda that opposes or counters this agenda is the creation of jobs. They succeeded in this, through a combination of tax reform, direct spending, and controlled wage backed by the unions. It remains to be seen though how long the jobs will hold in the face of continued rationalisation. Also, one has to ask what kinds of jobs are being created and what the net effect is on the labour situation. It has become more attractive for employers to hire people because they have to pay less social security taxes, this also means that the workers are much less protected in case of illness or when they are fired. It has become much easier to hire people because it has been made easier to fire them, so the job insecurity has greatly increased.

In Central and Eastern Europe, women are faced with rapid transformation of both the private and public

sphere. The workplace was connected with cultural activities, access to higher education and professional training, the organisation of health care, recreation and childcare. Work covered, in a good or bad sense, the whole of social and political life. The experience of unemployment not only creates economic poverty but also isolation and disorientation.

It is impossible to generalise, but evidence from Poland and Romania suggests that women with a job in the former state-owned factories or with government bodies can rely on the remnants of the system, and have good provisions, e.g. maternity leave and access to state health care. The workers in the private sector lack these facilities, either they do not (yet) exist or because the companies operate in the gaps in system in order to be able to compete. In the garment industry in Poland, for example, many women are employed for 15 hours or so per week, thereby only having access to benefits and health care provisions relating to those hours. In fact they work many hours more, 50 to 60. Poverty is also a reality for those who have a job in, for example, both Poland and Romania where the national minimum wage does not suffice. In Poland it is about 100 US Dollars per month; a living wage sufficient to cover basic needs for a family of four would be around four times this. In most Central and Eastern European countries the question of 'making a living' is the predominant one. An estimated one-third of the population in the former Eastern-bloc countries lives below the poverty line.

Issues relating to the impact of economic globalisation on women workers that have been agendised by the women's movement:

- The restructuring of the labour market and social policies, with special attention to job security and effects of flexibility (Western Europe).
- The protection of the economic and social status (Eastern and Central Europe).
- Integration of the private and public sphere.
- Poverty.
- Care.

Strategies for this agenda differ widely per organisation and per country. They include lobby with political bodies, both national and international ones, contributing to public debates, consciousness-raising,

networking, organising, direct assistance, and offering facilities to individual women.

A lot of the Polish women's organisations for example have as their main strategy to combat poverty and increase job security through the promotion of women in small businesses or 'women as entrepreneurs'. Lack of confidence in the union and in the State means that they will not easily choose a strategy based on a lobby to further their aims, as is the tactic in some of the Western European countries. Essential to any strategy is that it is rooted in the triangle of family, work, and the social/welfare system that determines women's lives. Strategies should address women not just on one identity but on the multiple identities that they possess, such as worker, citizen, mother, consumer, taker, activist, etc.

The single-minded concentration of the labour parties and most of the unions on work, work and work is perceived by the women's movement as ignoring the private and family spheres and the problems existing here cannot be solved by having one paid job per household. Keeping this on the political agenda is an important issue for many of the women's organisations.

On some of these issues, women's concerns are expressed via organisations that are not primarily women's organisations. The churches are active on the issue of poverty and more recently started an interesting offensive against the '24-hour economy' (in the Netherlands), demanding more time and space for activities in the private sphere. This received a lot of support also from groups traditionally not at all church-related. Danish unions have taken up the issue of time, demanding shorter working weeks not only to spend more time with families but also in order to have less stress (rapidly becoming occupational disease number one in the EU).

Involvement of organisations other than women's organisations, however, can be detrimental to women's interests as shows the Polish case of *Solidarnosc*. Strongly influenced by the Catholic church, they took the position that women should remain in the home and that

abortion should be prohibited. Many women then left the union.

Labour-related NGOs, including women's organisations and trade unions in a number of EU countries are involved in product-related campaigns; redefining TNCs in terms of control rather than in terms of ownership. Making visible where, how, and why women's labour is used is essential in addressing the concerns raised earlier. The focus, however, has maybe been too much on the international context and not enough on our own situation inside Europe.

Though some of the problems women in Europe face are similar to those of women in Asia (as we have seen in the example of the recent lay-offs at Levi Strauss), there are many differences as well, as they have different positions in the globalising economy. At the same time we should not over-stress these differences: as we have seen from the above, simple dichotomies as North and South are no longer sufficient (if they were ever). To build strategies for improvement we need to have an understanding of the complexity of reality and we need to work from a perspective of mutual solidarity.

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About the author: Ms. Ineke Zeldenrust works for the Clean Clothes and for Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations.

APPENDIX 16

GENDER AND WOMEN'S CONCERNS: AN ASIAN PERSPECTIVE

Irene Xavier

An Analysis of Globalisation from A Women's Perspective

Before looking at globalisation I would like to take a brief and general look at the situation of Asian women before globalisation. Perhaps the biggest influence on the lives of women in this period was patriarchy. In Asia, patriarchy permeated all aspects of the lives of women – from religion to menstruation and childbirth. The role of women as ordained by God and obeyed by society was to serve and submit to both God and man. All the present day religions that impact the world have their beginnings in Asia – Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism. The cultures that resulted in Asia were ones where women played subservient roles.

The economics of this pre-global period was mainly feudal agriculture in most countries and indigenous subsistence agriculture in many societies. The women played an important part in this process of production but their labour was mainly unrecognised and unpaid. Family wealth was owned and managed by men. There were some stark exceptions to this system. Among them is the tradition of *Minangkabau* people in Sumatra where women hold land in their name and which on their death is bequeathed to female children or relatives. This tradition is carried on even today by the *Minangkabau* people in Malaysia.

Women's roles were clearly confined to the home. Even religious participation of women became increasingly passive. It is only in animistic practices that remained where those women played prominent roles as shamans and mediums of spirits.

Politically, women played mainly secondary roles to men. Villages were units that were generally ruled by male leaders. Major decisions that affected the community were made by men.

It was into this scenario that globalisation was introduced to Asia in the form of colonialism. The

gender relations at this stage were unequal with women being thrown into subservient roles. There were few opportunities for women to develop their human potential.

Impact of Globalisation on Women in Asia

Colonial powers kept the status quo where women were concerned. In fact, they strengthened patriarchal structures through the legal system that they introduced. For instance, when they introduced land ownership laws men became the official owners of land for the family and community. Guardianship laws made men the legal guardian of their children. It is only in some cultures, for example in Muslim law, where women are the legal guardians of children below the age of 12.

In colonial agricultural practices like plantation agriculture, men were made more than women for the same job. When new economic frontiers were opened for men in the cities, women took over the jobs that the men left behind. In British Malaya for example, only male labour was recruited until the Indian Government turned off the migration tap. Then Indian women were brought to Malaya mainly to reproduce agricultural labour for the colonial plantations.

When the colonial regimes were replaced in Asia many changes took place but the changes were fewer for women. Political power transferred to male political parties and male leaders. The few Asian women who have distinguished themselves as national leaders inherited their right to lead from their fathers or husbands like Indira Gandhi, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Mrs. Golda Meir and Benazir Bhutto. It is interesting to note that these women were tolerated as leaders because the men in the party were unable to unite under one man. This in no way refers to the ability of the women to lead their nations as well as male leaders. They were capable leaders and some like Indira Gandhi managed to

accumulate almost total political control of the nation for a season through various undemocratic means. The gender relations remained unchanged at this stage in Asian history.

The Asian governments in their post independence periods experimented with various types of economic models. However, Asia remained largely capitalistic because prior to independence the colonial powers attempted to wipe out the socialist model. In the British colonies, socialism was effectively wiped out before the political mantle was conferred upon the Asian leaders. The French and American colonies like Vietnam and Korea suffered divisions in their countries in an attempt to keep both capitalist and socialist systems in the country.

In all the Asian struggles against colonialism women played a role but their part is largely unrecognised. In the capitalist states the role women played is ignored for many reasons. Among them is the fact that many women sided with the leftist groups. Another important reason is that women's contribution is not regarded as being important because of gender prejudice. In recent years research into this aspect of women's history has increased but information is scarce. The struggles of Korean and Vietnamese women against colonialism are perhaps more visible but even women who carried guns and fought alongside their male comrades have not been spared from gender prejudice.

In the next phase of globalisation when multinational corporations began to dominate Asian economies women came to the forefront of international attention. This was in the form of cheap and docile labour. The traditional patriarchal households, which had previously kept their women at home, were quick to release their hold to allow the women to work in factories. Young Asian women left home by the thousands and moved into squatter dwellings, company boarding houses or congested rooms near Free Trade Zones.

The women became wage earners almost overnight and supported their families and the building of new townships near the industrial zones. Their contributions to national incomes increased at staggering rates. Yet they were prevented from forming effective trade unions in most Asian countries.

Did this change gender relations? Generally, gender relations remained unchanged. However, women's lives changed. They were in a position for perhaps the first time in their lives to make decisions for themselves. They were able to decide how to spend their money, who to marry, where to work, and so on. Despite this change women workers were still being pressured to send home the greater part of their earnings. In addition, most Asian societies picked and built up negative images of women workers. In Malaysia for example in the 70s, women workers were called *minah karen*. This term implied that the women workers had loose morals and were more than ready to jump into bed with any man that came along. There was hardly any talk about the severe sexual harassment that the women faced in the factories and outside the factory gates. The situation has still not changed. Recently we challenged a local reporter to find out for herself. She got some male colleagues to hang out at the factory gates where thousands of men hang out every day. They were shocked at the amount of sexual harassment that went on there.

Women still continued to work longer hours than men. According to the *Human Development Report, 1995* women in developing countries work longer hours than men. Of the total burden of work, women carry on average 53% in developing countries. Women spend one-fourth of their time in paid work that is entered into the System of National Accounts and three-fourths of their time in unpaid work.

Gender prejudices are still rampant in most parts of Asia. In some countries the women's movement has been more successful than others in highlighting and addressing gender issues. In Malaysia, for example, the issue of domestic violence brought many progressive women's groups together for a long struggle for legal reform. The law was passed and implemented but in the process this issue has become a mainstream issue. The groups are finding it difficult to develop other aspects of this issue because the mainstream groups slow them down. Furthermore, the groups have started to work more closely with the government and it is difficult for them to take anti-government stands on human rights issues. This is because their work will be affected.

As far as women workers' issues are concerned the situation is difficult. In many countries there are clear obstacles preventing women workers from organising. In some countries like Korea and Philippines there are

national women workers' associations. However, how effective these organisations are in addressing issues of gender justice is difficult to say. The women workers' movement has had to deal with the issue of gender or workers' rights. Both these issues are generally seen as having different levels of importance. Generally, workers' groups have held that workers' liberation must come first. Gender equity/equality and feminism still have not achieved a comfortable place within the Asian workers' movement. In Malaysia, the so-called workers' movement is clearly divided on this issue.

Another difficulty that women workers face is trade union and political structures that are patriarchal in spirit and form. Trade unions still tend to function as hierarchical units with power concentrating at the top. Often those at the top are men or women who are the nominees of men. Trade union meetings for example do not take into consideration the domestic burdens that women carry. There are few gender discussions in the trade unions and as a result few women respond to the challenges of leadership in the trade unions and political parties. However, the women workers' movement in Korea and Philippines are striking exceptions to this. Their challenge is perhaps how the women workers' movement can influence the workers' movement to take up gender issues.

We have to note also the complexities of class and gender struggles. The ideologies of class and feminism have had a tendency to remain separate. At the grassroots level this is particularly the case. Women workers find it difficult to bring these two struggles together. As a result, feminism and feminist forums in Asia still tend to be middle-class based.

Responses to Negative Impact of Globalisation

Globalisation has brought with it much negative impact on women in Asia. I will mention only a few here.

The first negative effect of globalisation I wish to highlight is the lop-sided economic development that has happened in Asia. Economic development and growth have become increasingly tied up with the vagaries of the international marketplace. At every downturn of the national economy thousands of women have been retrenched. No solution has been developed for this insecurity because such a solution will involve major

structural changes in the economy which both international capital and the national governments are unwilling to make. In the current Asian economic crisis, thousands of women workers have lost their jobs and thousands more will continue to lose their jobs.

Another negative effect has been the weakening of national governments, which have literally traded the labour of their people, particularly of women, for low wages and anti-worker legislation. Asian economies have competed among themselves causing wage rates to eventually come down. This again has largely worked against female labour.

Globalisation has also caused women to take up paid work without attempting to share the domestic burden of women. Thus women work longer hours and earn low wages. In Asia, women contribute 36% of all market hours, with fairly even shares in industry, service, and agriculture [*Human Development Report, 1995*]. Asian women contribute the major share in household tasks especially on weekends. The multiple tasks that Asian women undertake has increased with globalisation because paid work requires of women long and intense hours of work especially with forced overtime work and shift work.

Globalisation has also evolved work methods that try to ensure that the multiple tasks of women continue. This is done by offering contract work and homework to women. Thus women with young children can stay home and carry out both paid and unpaid in the same premise. This resulted in a lowering of wage rates especially among the higher paid women workers in Asia such as the East Asian workers.

Globalisation has also caused the price of essential goods and services to increase. Owing to the de-regulatory processes in the Asian economies food, healthcare, water, electricity, and fuel have become more expensive.

We have yet to see and calculate the damage that has been done to women's health. However, we know that such stress must result in a deterioration of women's health.

In all the above-mentioned effects we see that an erosion of women's democratic space in economics, politics, and culture. Gender relations continue to be unequal.

Forms of Cooperation in the Past

It is a fact that a great deal of work among women was undertaken in Asia because of the support that came from the developed world in the form of financial and technical support. In areas of work where there is little local support the support from funding agencies was crucial. As a result of such cooperation a greater understanding of the problems of women in Asia resulted. This cooperation has definitely enriched the lives of thousands of Asian women as well as women from the developed world. Yet many stresses have developed too because of this cooperation.

Women's groups received a great deal of financial support from funding agencies for work ranging from human rights, gender to child development. The relationship has tended to be unequal in many senses. Firstly, it becomes the onus of the receiving group to justify its programmes and expenditure. The receiving groups have generally been judged on their successes and the kinds of reports they wrote. A dependent relationship then evolved.

Secondly, in trying to develop better working relationship between donors and receivers, new tasks have been put upon the receivers. In countries which have 'good' economic indicators such as GNP and per capita income there has been greater pressure upon the women's groups to raise their own funds. This has been a difficult transition for many receiving groups to make, especially among groups in countries where there is no tradition of support especially for non-mainstream women work.

Thirdly, there have been gaps in understanding what the receiving groups are doing by the donors because of the lack of information and communication. Many groups that do work have not developed effective techniques of presenting their work to the donors. Other groups do not see the need for such communication. Thus communication is reduced to annual reports. Thus donor agencies find it difficult to assess the work that is being done in Asia.

Future Forms of Cooperation

It is difficult for me to suggest future forms of cooperation at this stage. My thoughts on this are still undeveloped. However, what I would suggest is a cooperation that suggests an alternative to the forms of globalisation 'partnerships' that exists among MNCs and Asian governments. I believe alternative structures have to be international if they want to be effective. As the national-local groups work on issues on a micro-level, international efforts needs to be made as well. I would like to see the financial support continue especially for difficult and controversial work. At the same time funding agencies should try to include activities besides fund-raising just as Asian NGOs are trying to do their own income-generation.

About the author: Ms. Irene Xavier is deeply involved in women and labour issues in Malaysia since 1970s. She is the founder and Secretary of Sahabat Wanita (Friends of Women) - a group working with organising women workers. She has also worked hard to put gender issues into trade unions, and for health and safety in electronics industry. Organising domestic workers is also an important part of her agenda.

APPENDIX 17

THE ISSUE OF CULTURE AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN THE GLOBALISATION PROCESS

Kim Chan-ho and Moon Soon-hong

The scope of the issue of cultural identity is very broad and inclusive. And it is also one of the fundamental problems in discussing what to do about the dehumanising effect of the present globalisation, for we

can be motivated to stand up against the realities only in so far as we have some clear and confident self-concept. In that sense, the identity crisis in Asian countries can be said to be one of the important conditions for the

expansion of global capitalism, as well as the result of it. What is the essence of the cultural identity crisis caused from globalisation? It is the fact that the 'self' is uprooted, marginalised, distorted, and negated. It is always accompanied by the destruction of tradition.

I am not qualified to represent the general situation in Asia; instead let me focus on what the problem of cultural identity is like in Korea. Korea has established economic growth with unprecedented speed in the world. And for the same period democratisation movement has been also very active. So we are sometimes regarded as one of the countries which achieved economic prosperity and political stability within a very short time. The social change has happened so fast, in that we have a variety of spectrums in the problem of cultural identity. I would like to summarise it by categorising Koreans into three generations.

The first category of generation is those who built up industry from scratch. They have found their meaning of life only in terms of material achievement. So, after losing their jobs by either retirement or being laid off, their identities abruptly come into crisis.

The second one is those who have struggled for democratisation. They are different from the first generation in that they have experienced solidarity for the universal value. But with the establishment of the formally democratic government, they lost their target to fight against, and their collective identity is getting fragmented. The problem was that their goal did not go beyond just anti-dictatorship to create a new social vision.

The third generation is those who have been growing up in economic affluence and politically stable environment. They are different from the first and second generation in that they do not have any experience of pioneering nor challenging, from which to derive their identity. Instead they are forming their cultural identities by exposing themselves to commercialised symbols and commodities. They are making identities in their own way through the electronic networks covering the global arena, and through the peer groups mediated by a variety of images. Their identities are characterised as being unfixed, temporal, and a sort of patchwork.

That is the general configuration of how the problem of cultural identities is posed in the Korean context. We are noticing some reactions to the identity crisis. Among them, the most outstanding one is the revitalisation of tradition based upon the reinterpretation of its values or aesthetics in the new context. Through that kind of trial, we have been able to restore our pride in tradition in some degree. To take an example, we are trying to bring the traditional value system into reality, which stresses on relation itself rather than individual, especially concerning with social fragmentation and ecological crisis.

On the other hand, we are witnessing some negative forms of restoring traditional values. It is the production of the hierarchical and patriarchal order, to which feminism is very sensitive. We have a lot of cases in which those suffering from identity crisis will get over it by reinforcing or reinventing the conservative social order, sometimes accompanied by violence.

Of course, it should be a distorted form of tradition. Then, is it possible for us to guarantee individual dignity, while recovering collective representation? I think that is one of our tasks. What we need now urgently is, I think, the reflexivity the crucial point of which is the ability to interpret our present being. That is the starting point to identify our own cultures for cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'.

Some Questions

1. Universal Aspect of Culture: We have to include culture as a paradigm in looking at the world. How do we create alternative intellectuals to bring people into the power arena to break a path into a new society?

2. Universal Aspect of Cultural Identity: "I am a person being able to move in power to create my life." What kinds of movement do we need to rebuild individuals as the planner of their lives?

How do we restore individuals as the subject with autonomy to organise their own lives? Asian societies are lacking in individualisation process as the result of welfare state as well as in identities formed by traditional ways. Evidently, the role of building cultural identities cannot be expected from each individual, but should be the task of CSOs. That is one of the Asian realities.

How can individuals and societies be born again as a reflexivity-holder?

In the Korean situation, with movement history and limited capability of civil society's transformation, we are attempting to bring the meditation programme (one of the ecological awakening education programmes) to the cities and towns, which are suffer the worst emptiness of 'I-consciousness' and helplessness.

3. Asian Peculiarity to Solve the Crisis of Cultural Identity: How do we find enough time to reinterpret traditional cultural inheritances in the changed context of globalisation by Asian self-reflexivity?

How do we protect the Asian culture that remains in everyday lifestyles and bring something buried in our memories into the sunlight? This question does not indicate the protection and preservation of cultural inheritance as cultural assets, such as UNESCO programmes, or the collection of minority languages as projects for linguistics. These activities focus on keeping them in museums or institute stores. Rather than this, our concerns start from the recognition of traditional lifestyles have high affinity with local ecological systems, and seek for reinvention and activation of traditional lifestyles as a form-giver of cultural identity.

In reality, cultural identity might be said as being in the tension field between old tradition and new transformative society. We can say cultural identity is not fixed but flexible, and not formative in isolation but co-formative in correspondence with environment or the 'other'. The re-interpretation of tradition in this new social context needs a time factor. To compare Asian societies and European societies in this context, the former relatively and absolutely might not have enough time to translate their own identities into new condition.

Cultural globalisation without insurance of time-span, which depends on social capability of reflexivity, directly points to cultural imperialism, which is revealed as globalisation on the one aspect, and as counter-modernisation on the other.

Cultural imperialism, which points to the relationship of dominance and dependence between cultures, is requisite to the negative effects of globalisation. In reality, its other faces are appearing as environmental imperialism and technological imperialism. Giving a focus on cultural imperialistic

aspect, the real meaning of globalisation is converted to 'lobalisation'. This refers to the process removing all sorts of locality everywhere and in every social sector, no matter what economy, technology, culture, or ecology, etc.

4. What sorts of strategy do we develop to bring cultural unconsciousness to the political scene for it to operate as one of the factors that compose cultural identity?

Another aspect of bad effects of globalisation is counter-reaction against rationalisation, which is a black box of definition. For example, we perceive that the boycott movement of consumers based on the sense of strong nationality, persecution of foreign labour in labour market, etc. In spite of this dangerous possibility, we need some strategies to appeal to the latent-hidden cultural core and use them, in order to build participatory solidarity, like the following:

- a. Advantage of local languages (dialect) to promote understanding that is the beginnings of a new sense of community.
- b. Using local cultural festivals to build a sense of solidarity.
- c. Developing one-issue movements to multi-purpose movements thereby combining local culture, local techniques, and local economy.

In the Korean context, the consciousness about how to protect cultural inheritances not as dead things but as something fused into concrete social activities, was formed after the popularisation of environment movement and the second local election. It has been taking shape as eco-village movements, back-to-the-country movements, putting old local languages into practice, and creating some businesses connecting with cultural technologies and lifestyles.

5. How do we diminish the gap between institutionalised old value system and emerging new values, especially promoted and spread by the mass media? How do we control the mass media's negative effects?

How do we protect ourselves from the negative influences of the mass media? Even if the bad effects from broadcasting programmes and using Internet are universal issues, it is definitely more serious in the Asian

situation in terms of intensity, although we recognise the difference of every societal condition. This inquiry leads us to the next question: Who is filling the vacuum of an individual's identity with what? The commercially maiden culture through mass media, that is a presumable answer.

Secondly, mass media has been invading private lives and disarming cultural identities shaping in that sphere, way ahead of the emergence of new public sphere, no matter which invisibly institutionalised value system or materially institutionalised system. So the greatest problem is: Is the old public sphere not yet ready to absorb the new values coming from near the private sphere?

In this context, how can we take time to control the process and to let individuals have self-adjusting ability (self-reflection)?

Suggestion

1. Let us create global networks to build a world civil society and protect cultural diversity.

a. Network of power based on trust

The network of power is a typical way in the condition of dispersing locus of power, in order for small NGOs to show their will and power against centrality based on violence/oppression/injustice. However, it works mainly among homogeneous groups solving the same issue.

b. Network of strategies based on a new vision

The network of strategies is possible in the case of sharing a common vision for alternative society. A new vision does not mean a utopian centrality outside of 'here' and 'now', but a minimalist version of what we need in common and against what, even though 'here' has the meaning of different context for each individual and each society, and 'now' implies different times for each country.

This network can be effective especially in the reality of unequal development of globalisation.

2. Let us think about the imperialistic aspect of 'the public sphere'.

About the authors: Mr. Kim Chan Ho majored in Sociology and has been teaching Cultural Anthropology for the last ten years at Yonsei University in Korea. He is a board member of Green Consumer Network, and Committee member of Seoul YMCA. He is interested and works in the areas of Ecological Movement and Local Community. His doctoral thesis was on Community Building in Japan. He was a visiting scholar in Osaka University from 1996-97.

Dr. Moon Soon Hong has a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in the University of Sungkyunkwan in Seoul. She was a visiting scholar to the Universities of Berlin and Munich and has just completed a Post-Doctoral Research at the Department of Political Science in the University of Melbourne. She is Director of the organisations such as Korean Institute of Eco-Society, Program Committee, Buddhist Academy for Ecological Awakening and Committee of Live Network, Committee of Environment, Korean Women Federation for Democracy and Sisterhood. She has several publications and the most recent one is *Ecological Discourse: Chaos of Concepts* (1998, Seoul).