Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya from Sri Lanka is a leading spokesperson of Third World Theologies. He is the Director of the Centre of Society and Religion in Sri Lanka. He is the author of numerous books, including <u>Eucharist and Human Liberation</u>, <u>Planetory Theology</u>, and <u>Mary and the Human Liberation</u>. Published by Christiava Sahitya Samithy, Tiruvalla 689 101, Kerala, S. India, November 2000. Used by permission of the publisher. This material was prepared for Religion Online by Ted & Winnie Brock.

(ENTIRE BOOK) Globalization has created a crisis. The root of the problem is "world apartheid" promulgated by the Western superpowers (white European). Meanwhile, globalization has become a religion of "money-theism." To counter this, this the author calls for *all* the world religions to work together to realize a spirituality based on the core values of love and sharing.

Forward

The present stage of globalization is a remnant of colonialism. It is more hegemonic and comprehensive in its approach and has succeeded in capturing not only resources and labor but also the public consciousness. With effective control over discourse, colonialism, known as globalization, assumes itself to be normative and desirable, and presents itself as the empirical embodiment of utopia.

Introduction

Communications and travel make people aware of the harm done to workers, women and children and to the environment -- in rich countries as well as poor. This is a new phase in the consciousness raising of people throughout the world. Religions, led by persons of good-will and generosity as they endeavour to work together, can give meaning to the search for solidarity and the safeguarding of the environment.

Chapter 1: Phenomenon of Globalization: A Holistic Approach

The overall impact of globalization is to incorporate all the peoples of the world into one single world unit for production, consumption, trade and investment, information flow and culture. The processes of globalization is technological, economic, political, socio-cultural and religious -- all linked together. It is the visible force and migration laws of the superpowers that keep the land-hungry people away from the empty spaces of the world which were occupied in the days of

colonial expansion.

Chapter 2: Consequences of Capitalistic Globalization

There is as yet no power able to deal with the major structural changes that are required for justice in the world, so that all persons may have what they need for decent human existence, existence that the modern world has ample means to provide.

Chapter 3: Politics, Culture and Environment Under Globalization

The "free market" does not bring about a just economic equilibrium in a world of grave social, political and economic inequalities. Capitalistic selfishness of individuals and companies, raised to the level of a supreme principle of public policy, does not promote true liberation of humans from selfishness, hatred and delusion, but rather worsens the human condition almost everywhere.

Chapter 4: Deeper Approaches and Alternative Long-Term Goals

The poor countries are poor not so much because they lack natural resources, but because their resources are being taken by others, often at very low prices. Since we are bombarded daily by the mass media with news and views on the economy and economic policies, it is necessary to be trained to demythologize the orthodoxies claimed by economists, academics, policy makers and media programmes,

Chapter 5: Religions And Globalization

Since it is based on solidarity, Christianity should advocate among those who have accumulated capital and resources, a sense of global responsibility for sharing and global transformation. From the context of poverty, this advocacy should respect religious plurality and human rights.

Chapter 6: Globalization; A Human Rights Perspective

Human rights are realized by struggle against the values and structures of oppression that dominate most of the world. The Bible from Genesis onwards emphasizes the obligations of humans, as responsible persons, to care for one's neighbour as a child of God, and also to care for nature.

Chapter 7: Human Rights Within World Apartheid

The author reflects on the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in relation to globalization: It is the visible force and migration laws of the superpowers that keep the land-hungry persons from the empty space of the world occupied in the days of colonial expansion. The present growth of capitalist globalization is the continuation of the economic and sociocultural order built up by the earlier Western military and colonial domination.

Chapter 8: Globalization and Spirituality

The teaching of the world religions is diametrically opposed to the values of capitalistic globalization. The development of science and technology can improve human life, but the capitalistic values that inspire the social relationships are disastrous.

Chapter 9: Human Solidarity in the Context of Globalization

The old paradigm of the world system built on nation-states to suit white peoples is inadequate to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. Humanity must find peaceful and just means of adopting a new paradigm in which human beings are more important than the national frontiers. All these are far less costly, and far more profitable than space travel.

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Forward

Towards a theological critique of globalization

One of the widely discussed terms of the present time is globalization. Of course, globalization is not a new phenomenon in the history of humankind. It denotes a paradigm through which the people in the world interact each other. When one breaks the boundaries of his or her own world and interact/influence the other, that process involves the meaning of globalization. The wars that the nations fought each other, the interactive knowledge systems of the world, and particularly the religious wisdom that traveled across boundaries and found space for itself in other land, the trade practices, and all such

engagements that brought them into contact with a different space of their own are the signs of globalization. Such interactions that relate to knowledge systems, culture, religious faiths, and for exchange of basic products have a long history. Through these interactions people exchanged their knowledge systems and technologies. Chinese trade of precolonial period demonstrates the history of interaction where both parties in the trade exchanged their skills and technologies. Moreover, for Christians, universality has appeared to be a professed goal. The gospel mandate to take the good news to the corners of the world and the symbolic representation of Eucharist as a cosmic banquet where people from the East and the West and from South and North participate with a sense of oneness and belonging epitomizes the urge for universalism.

However, since 16th century a different form of interaction has emerged between the nations. These new relations appeared within the grab of colonial domination guided the creation of a polarized society. Instead of mutual learning and exchange of resources and knowledge, colonialism was a process were a brutal one way flow of resources was regulated. The long history of such out flow of resources from the southern nations and the

accumulation of it in the colonial centres widened the gap between people and nations. As the institution of colonialism strengthened its grip on other nations, the flow of resources from the colonies to the colonial powers intensified and thus the gap between them made wider. And this polarization later divided the nations into industrialized and non-industrialized countries. Under this new arrangement the exploited nations were integrated into the rich nations of the north as providers of raw materials and other products.

Colonialism was based on a perceptive and ideology that proposes rationales to counter human urge for equal and participatory sharing of resources.

The emergence of nationalist tendencies in the colonies started to challenge the political domination of the industrialized countries, and as a result, the direct political domination by the rich over the exploited apparently became weak. Since independence, many nations followed the path of development planning and that has helped some of them to move faster towards partial industrialization. Some of them achieved a faster growth and certain others slower. But in both these cases, the ideology behind their industrialization venture was informed by their determination

to participate in the global process, but with independence.

This attempt by the former colonies for development or industrialization with independence is the context of the emergence of the new form of globalization. For the industrialized nations, such determination is inimical for their interest to maintain domination over the others. Therefore globalization process has set in motion to thwart the striving of former colonial nations to seek an independent course of development. Promotion of development as an ideology, the impending debt crisis, Structural Adjustment Policies to manage debt and other measures need to be perceived within this context.

There are two major features of the present stage of globalization. (1) A growing trend towards globalization of production and thereby homogenization of consumer taste. A wide range of commodities like cigarette to liquor to nylon thread to Honda, Toyota and Cocoa-Cola are seen all over the world. The rational for this mass production is not informed by the demands of consumption. Instead the objective for production is the global market. Thus consumers are created for the mass products by homogenizing their tastes. Moreover, as a logic of the market led production, the interest of the owners of capital is met at the expense of the majority. Given the reality that the 20% of the world population owns 85% of the global resources, production is naturally geared to satisfy the interest of the rich. They also have the power to regulate the entire process of production by integrating others into their systems of market.

(2) Transnationalization of capital. Capital is not space bound and it transcends all geographic boundaries. In order to facilitate the freedom of mobility of capital, a control over communication service, industries and knowledge systems by the movers of transnational capital became imperative. These conceptual changes in society have been brought primarily by the dynamics of the market societies, what Karl Polanyi called as the self-regulating markets, where the society has became an adjunct to the market forces. Instead of economics process being embedded in social relations, in such market societies, social relations are embedded in economic system.

Such form of market, that we experience today, has four basic principles.

1. The fundamental principle of the market economy within the liberal tradition is its right to private property. The concept of freedom is tied up with the right to accumulate property, these two rights individual freedom and right to property is said to have better maintained only in a market society. Therefore, all resources should be under the control of private ownership. It implies that, nature and humans in its varied forms of land, water, forest and labour need to be kept under private control in order to facilitate exchange in the market. The inventory for privatization now includes the accumulated knowledge and memory of the people, the cultural and religious wisdom as well as symbols and people's ability to find pleasure are reduced as a commodity in the market place. According to the more zealot prophets of market, there may be nothing that could not be privatized and thus commoditized. Community formation, community interaction and of course collective or community ownership become incompatible to the professed morality and logic of the market society.

2. The second fundamental principle of market economy is the primacy of the market for mediation. The neo-liberal ideology that governs the present changes offered the agency for mediation, between individuals, groups and nation exclusively to

the market. Market controls the social and economic relationship of people. In all practical sense market became the true 'ecclesia'. In the new ecclesia, the principles of market replaced the moral foundations of social relationships. That means the dynamics of market such as profit motivation and completion has become the regulatory principles of society. Moreover, success in the market is determined by its ability to convert all realities as exchangeable commodities. Not only land, people and culture has transformed into raw-materials. labour and tourist souvenirs, but all symbols that provided meaning to life has turned into commodities Those realities that refused to assume itself in the form of a thing (commodity) have rendered valueless. The major causality of such thingfication is our understanding of the divine. Unless the divine appear in the form of a colourful thing, and muster ability to compete with other divine images, it deprives its charm. Ramifications of market ecclesia in societal relations are many:

a. Promotion of aggressive self-interest, within the structures of market, is considered as normative because of its inherent potential to bring aggregated good. The famous quote of Adam Smith is alluded to accentuate this point in the annals of market doctrine. "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love." The unbinding self interest has negated whatever society considered as ethical and spiritual. Love is

replaced by aggression, co-operation by competition, community by individuality and so on. Bishop Newbigin refers to this crisis when he laments at the present crisis. He observed that so far we considered our responsibility towards the other, responsibility based on the principles of common good, is the most cherished value of life. That has changed. Private interest and profit is the only determining spirit of peoples consciousness now.

- b. Concept of value got an empirical explanation under market principle. Value need to be analyzed objectively within a quantum analysis. Only that could be assessed within the empirical quantum analysis will be accepted as value. This objective empirical dimension is part of a mathematico-logical rationality where objectivity within the realm of measurable possibility is considered as rational and only rational is acceptable. Such changes thrust society into a deep swamp of materiality where materiality became the foundation of value. Materiality has replaced morality.
- c. When materiality replaced the norms for life the distance between 'having' and being was ostracized as unreal. When having determines the being, our sense of being is realized through the countable measures that we possess in history. Money provides a sense of being" to people, and hence the divine becomes dysfunctional in peoples lives. Or Money with a capital M replaced God in the market led globalization. Divinization of money is an existential need of the market for legitimacy. However, while money was divinized, the Divine was monetized under the new religion of 'money-theism'
- d. Market function with a philosophy of exclusion. It is a common cliche that the entry into the market is regulated by ones proximity to resources. Because entry is needed only for those who have in their possession, either commoditable commodities, services, skills or commoditable money. The majority of the people in the globe have neither commoditable money nor commoditable commodities. Since economic

activities are confined within the preview of market, such exclusion will make them expendables. Market forces are now suggesting that 20% of the population will suffice to keep the world economy going. And only this 20%, in whichever country will actively participate in life earning and consumption, counting out 80% as expendables and unwanted. According to UNDP report around 40,000 people die every day due to starvation because they are excluded from the economy of the market. They are the expendables of the modern civilization.

- e. Poor women, children, untouchables and other marginalized are socially and economically excluded and their nothingness is translated as an ontological expression of their being. Further, in the consumerist market, while the bodies of the women are converted as commodities, they are also coopted into the mechanism as the single largest consumers in commodity mass production. The consumerist market forces a crisis in the being of woman when they were turned as puppets at the interest of the market.
- f. Market domination in economy created centres of power by accelerating the growth of unemployment and regional disparity. This process has help to widen the abyss between the rich and the poor. In the context of India it has resulted in strengthening the traditional inequalities such as caste and ethnicity.

- g. Market has radically altered the traditional approach to people and life. As an ethical instruction Immanuel Kant has observed that people need to be the objective for determining the course of production and distribution. People and their creative power should not be reduced to objects for production and growth. Papal encyclical (*On Human Work*) offered a different emphasis to the same nuance. Capital should be at the service of labour and not labour at the service of capital." However, in the market paradigm these principles were reversed and people assume the role of an instrument or means to expand production and market value of capital. Expansion of value is the cherished goal of economic process.
- 3. The third feature of global market is the nature and function of culture. Capital now controls the communication service, industries and knowledge systems and had shown its ability to create and control moral norms and values. In the level of discourse. market attempts to maintain a hegemony in order to control the mind, what is now paraphrased as the re-colonization of the mind in order to homogenize the thinking and desires in relation to the ever expanding demands and challenges of its forces. Culture became and ideological apparatus in the hands of the market forces to mold people as consumers in society by invading the inner-core of subjectivity of every individual. Fr. Sebastian Kappen has remarked that global market has reduced the subjecthood into intuitions based on a single interpretative act, which has often been translated for the urge for having more and more. Such processes deny all cultural memories and reduce the richness

of life into images of mass consumption. Therefore art, religion, faith, sex and whatever has been considered as sublime and spiritual was transformed as commodities in the shelves of the super-markets. People are been consumed by capital now.

The fourth issue in 4. globalization is the issue of governance. Globalization paradigm has invariably brought a political system-borrowing a term from Prof. Rajni Kothari "dictatorship of money". Regulatory principles of society are dictated by the rules of money. Political state, which was considered as the political agency of people, was reduced to a policing agency to protect freedom and mobility of transnational capital. Capital in the nature of speculative capital with the ability to move from place to place searching for quick returns has freed itself from any forms of social accountability. In the absence of social control, as M. A. Oommen has metaphorically stated, capital turned the entire world into a global casino, where the few rich play snake and ladder with the lives of the millions of poor and the marginalized. Priority of economic activities thus has shifted from maintaining life to expanding value. What is at stake is not just the right to governance but also the radical

reinterpretation of the moral imperatives at the interest of capital. For example, the concept of freedom speaks of a condition where capital has the ability to embark and disembark in a country without any approval or regulation from a social agency in which individuals and community set different priorities to seek perfection in life. In market, moral imperatives are dictated according to the interest and rules of money.

The transnationalization of capital has defeated all the given economic theories as well. Value was supposedly be the creation of a complex interaction between varied forms of raw materials. capital and labour. Invalidating this traditional view, transnational capital creates value from nothing, from the void (considered as the exclusive domain of God). Interaction with the raw materials or labour is not needed to create value in the global market. Therefore the traditional control over labour, land and raw materials is not detrimental for creating value in the new dynamics. This has changed the nature of political forces as well.

This possibility of creation from nothing further weakened the possibility of social accountability over transnational capital. 5. Ecological and environmental crisis is the fifth critique. Ideological precursors of the market, the modernization schools, (both the sociological school of Marion Levi and the Economic School of W W Rostow) measured civilization in relation to the preferable distance from nature. What is close to nature, according to them are allegedly primitive and what is opposite to nature is modern. Such understanding promoted the uncontrolled exploitation of nature, resources and people. It dispossesses nature of its spirituality and life and regarded earth as a spiritless flesh to be raped and exploited. Modernization points to a crisis of the under-standing of civilization.

Religions accentuate the primacy of life and consider life as a greatest gift to be cherished. With a total disregard to this cardinal religious principle market seeks the expansion of value in mathematical variables as its directing principle. Therefore we convert rice field for rubber cultivation and other cash-crops, including horticultural plantations, develop capital intensive production units (in countries like India where the major strength is its labour power), thereby denying majority of people their right to work. The objective of production is no more the sustenance of life but on the

contrary, life has become a means for expanding value in the market place.

Globalization is not just an economic system based on the primacy of market, but it represents a religion; a religion under the regulating principles of "money-theism". Money-theism has its own concept of the divine, priesthood, rites, liturgies, missionaries, theologians, modern churches and cathedrals. Moreover, money-theism presents its god as the omnipotent and real god and attempt to domesticate the god images of the existing religions including Christianity into its realm of influence.

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya's penetrating analysis attempt to encounter and negate this ungod of moneytheism. Witness to the life giving God warrants the identification of such false gods in religion and in the secular systems.

By qualifying the present economic process as global apartheid, Fr. Balasuriya argues that the underdevelopment of the third world nations was a European creation. During the long history of colonialism, Europeans were able to transfer vast amount of resources, including precious metals, establish control over land by conquering several continents and also install dominance over labour

through the capture and trade of slaves and forced labour. In practice it means, global resources, land and labour were controlled by the few European powers. Using such hegemonic power they initiated a radical division of labour with the help of industrial revolution and accordingly the economy of the colonized nations were restructured towards producing raw materials and cash crops and of the West for technologically advanced industrial productions. The result of such division was the development of two types of capitalism, and auto-centric dynamic capitalism in the West and a blocked, lumpen capitalism in the colonized nations. While the auto-centric capitalism had the possibility to grow faster and extend its area of operation, the lumpen capitalism was stagnant or otherwise declined in generating capital and resources.

Fr. Balasuriya argues that the present stage of globalization is a remnant of colonialism. It is more hegemonic and comprehensive in its approach and succeeded in capturing not only resources and labour but also the public consciousness. With an effective control over discourse, colonialism, known as globalization, assumed itself as normative and desirable and presented itself as an empirical explanation of the utopia.

Practice of faith need to be redefined in such context. Unfortunately faith has reduced as a definition of, in ethical categories, "what is" and it has assumed the social function of rationalizing the present. Therefore a "collective penance is required for the social sins that have damaged human lives so much and for so long". Fr. Balasuriya further argues that "the religions have thus to go through a process of internal renewal to range themselves unambiguously and unhesitatingly on the side of the future of humanity and of Nature." Redefining faith and spirituality thus is the challenge of the time.

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Introduction

Globalization and Human Solidarity

1. People's Struggles

As I am writing this introduction, there are media reports of tens of thousands of people protesting in the streets of Prague against the sessions of the IMF in that city. Such protest marches are not new. There have been anti-IMF demonstrations in poor countries for some years. The most well known campaign in the rich countries was at Seattle in the USA in December 1999. It resulted in the IMF programme not being able to proceed at that stage.

Such well orchestrated exercise against the IMF and World Bank

indicate that public opinion in the world is being formed and articulated concerning the unfavourable impact of their policies. They show further that large numbers of peoples are adopting strategies of action against some global agencies such as the TNCs (e.g. Nestle's, McDonalds) that have an unfavourable impact on people's lives. The communications and travel make people aware of the harm done by some policies to workers in rich countries and various interests such as workers, women and children, the environment in poor countries.

This awareness becomes a catalyst for public actions in both rich and poor countries for social change. The world media carry the news of such campaigns and generate similar or sympathetic actions elsewhere. This is a new phase in the consciousness raising of people throughout the world. It is an indication of the type of non-violent struggle to be expected in the coming decade.

These protest campaigns also reveal that the discontent against these agencies is not only from the poor in the poor countries, but also from groups of considerable power in the rich countries. This provides the background for potential global coalitions for bringing about changes in the world order set up under the

UNO. It also shows the strength of nonviolent means for bringing about changes in very powerful agencies such as the IMF and WB and the TNCs. When people are convinced of the need of radical changes, they devise strategies within their means, and build alliances for given short term objectives.

Some groups are then prepared to face the risk such as of opposition by the police, barricades, arrest and even imprisonment and court trials. These in turn communicate their cause to a wider world audience provided by the print and electronic media. Their struggle is thus almost instantaneously communicated universally. Goals which seemed rather far-fetched and utopian a few decades ago, now seem realizable due to the very linking of peoples globally due to the modern means of communication. The impact of capitalistic globalization is bringing about a search for remedies to its evils.

2. Present Capitalist Globalization

It is now generally accepted by UN agencies such as UNOP, UNCTAD, UNICEF and ILO that the present globalization process inspired by motivation of profit maximization for capital is leading to increasing inequality and injustice in the world.

Poverty, unemployment and exclusion of the weaker sections of society are increasing even in the rich advanced countries.

The few very rich persons and the global corporations, TNCs, substantially control global production, marketing, prices of raw materials, advertising, the mass media, and consequent culture values of most peoples of the world. The "free market" is proposed and glorified as the solution for the world's socioeconomic problems. But the theoretical conditions required for the satisfactory operation of the free market do not exist in the real world due to the gross inequalities in capital, production, transportation and mass media ownership. The nation states and world political agencies are unable to bring about justice in these areas, as these bodies are being de-emphasized, disempowered, and in any case heavily influenced by the dominant TNCs and powerful countries.

3. Global Solidarity

Globalization is taking place within a socio-economic and historical background that is grossly unfavourable for the poor countries. This includes the:

- centennial

unfavourable and unfair of trade towards presently poor countries, former colonies

- already accumulated inequalities
- imputed foreign debt and debt servicing by poor countries.
- "other debt" of past colonizers, (not acknowledged by them)
- land grab by colonizers, perpetuated under UN world order
- technological advances benefiting the developed countries very significant changes in size of population of countries,
- changing age composition of populations, ageing the West immigration laws limiting migration from poor countries
- the prevailing understanding of human rights, that neglects socioeconomic rights of peoples

The discussion of globalization usually takes account of the economic factors of the present global order, the communications revolution and the cultural impact of the mass media, but turns a blind eye to above longer term factors. They are implicitly taken for granted and considered just and justifiable. The UN system including the IMP, WB, WTO are also considered legitimate and part of the world order. The fact they are dominated by the developed countries, their officials and the TNCs inspired by the powerful "free market" ideology is not usually referred

to in the evaluation of their contribution to world development.

4. World Apartheid and Racial Justice

While appreciating the immense value of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights we must work for its amplification to include global racial justice as in relation to population and land and resources. There should be provision for the adjustment of land distribution and use to the changes in population. This will undoubtedly be part of the demanding and troublesome human agenda in the next few decades, as very significant changes in the distribution of world population have been and are taking place in the past century and in the coming decades.

The population of South Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) has increased by 900 million since 1945, whereas Australia and Canada have still a combined population of less than 50 million. What was the justice in this situation?

While the Indian sub-continent of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh with 387.3 million hectares of land will see a population increase of 531 million between 1998 and 2025, the three quasi sub-continents of Australia, Canada, and Russia and Ukraine with

3,437.1 million hectares of land will experience a population decrease of 9.3 millions. The Indian sub continent is an area of great malnutrition, in which a good number of the 800 million undernourished people of the world live.

The population of China increased from 927.8 million in 1975 to 1,255.7 million in 1998, and is estimated to be 1,417.7 million by 2015. This means an increase of 327.9 million in 23 years. (UNDP Human Development Report, 2000, OUP, 2000) This has been at the human price of compelling this one fifth of the human race not to have more than one child per family. Between 1975 and 2015 there will be an estimated increase of 589.9 millions in China. But the land area of China will remain at 929.1 million hectares. Canada's population is esteemed to remain around the 30 million or so in the next 25 years.

The population of China and the Indian sub-Continent will increase by 750 million between 1998 and 2025 while that of Canada, Australia and Russia with Ukraine will decrease by 9.3 million. Yet the land distribution is expected to remain the same as at present. Russia controls the immense land mass of North East Asia including Siberia, inherited from the colonial expansion of White

Russia into Asia in the 19th century.

Due to population increases in the poorer countries, there is less land available for the agricultural population in spite of an increase in the total area under cultivation. On the other hand in the "developed regions" the decline in the agricultural population has led to an even more a favourable land / worker ratio. In 1976 North America had 232 million hectares of agricultural land and a land/worker ratio of 78.4 to 1. Whereas Asia and the Pacific, of the underdeveloped market economies, had 266 million hectares and a land/worker ratio of 0.98 to 1. The situation was worse in the Asian centrally planned economies, including China, with 141 million hectares of agricultural land and a land/worker ration of 0.51 to 1. These figures of course hide the hundreds of thousands of acres owned by Western and Japanese multinational corporations in the poor countries.

Inequities in the relationship of population to land will worsen in the coming decades, because the populations of the affluent countries are not growing at all, or not so rapidly as in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Secondly, the white peoples or 'more developed regions" have an ageing

population. According to UN projections, the "more developed" countries, including Japan, will have 13.2 percent of their population over 64 years of age and only 21.5 percent below 15 years. In 2000 Russia has 12.7% of its population over 65 years of age and only 18% below 15 years. On the other hand the "less developed regions" will have only 4.6 percent above 64 years and 34.2 percent below 15 years.

It is estimated that Europe will need an additional population intake of about 75 million in the coming 50 years in order to maintain its work-force and provide for the pensions and social securities for its elderly population. To meet this need European immigration policies encourage the immigration of skilled youthful human power from the Southern countries. They thus obtained skilled and trained persons without paying any compensation to the poor countries for the effort involved in bringing them up to this stage. The USA, Canada and Australia follow similar immigration policies. This is a form of unrecompensed brain drain from the poor to the rich countries.

What is the justice in this situation? Where is the "free economy", level playing fields", and respect for human rights in this changing situation? The

population-land ratio is the most blatant injustice in the world. White racism and its colonial and present immigration polices are the cause of grave imbalance. Human solidarity would require that humanity is able to use the resources of the earth for the good of all people in the world. There must be means by which this injustice can be remedied. Our struggle for human rights and our spirituality that requires that food be made available to the needy must bring about a change in this sad situation. But strangely even the well meaning UNDP reports do not highlight these aspects of the world's inequality. They take the national frontiers as given. This is indeed a premise of the prevailing positive international opinion that would not want other nations to interfere with the internal problems of nations.

The world cannot postpone this problem for long. Peoples without land and food are likely to reach out toward uninhabited or sparsely inhabited lands. This has been the broad historical trend over the centuries.

Hardly any international body that deals with the problems of world development considers this aspect of the question seriously.

Development and underdevelopment are regarded merely in terms of gross national product (GNP) or

industrialization. Only the factors of population, capital and productivity are considered as variables. The present distribution of land is taken as an untouchable absolute.

The ideology and practice of capitalistic globalization is within the parameters of this world apartheid. Thus the idea of the "free market" does not operate in relation to people and land. There is no free or rationally planned and just mobility of people to the free and unused lands of the world. In this regard there is no invisible hand that brings about equilibrium between supply and demand of land and resources to people. On the contrary it is the visible force and migration laws of the superpowers that keep the land hungry persons from the empty spaces of the world occupied in the days of colonial expansion. The IMF, WB and WTO are not concerned with level playing fields or equilibrium of supply and demand in relation to land and population. This is an aspect of the utter hypocrisy of the dominant world system that passes for "developed", just, democratic, peaceful and even Christian civilization.

The grave problem of AIDS is another factor in global injustice. The rich TNCs are reluctant to make the medicines for AIDS available to the poor (African) countries at affordable prices. They invoke the arguments of TRIPS, trade related intellectual property rights, to demand prices which the poor countries cannot afford, due to the heavy costs of research. But they do not think of the compensation that the USA has to pay Africa for the millions of slaves taken there forcibly from Africa by force during several centuries. Nor do they take into account the reparation due to Africa for the immeasurable contribution made by African slaves to the development of the USA. Even the bodies concerned with international justice or morality do not taken these factors into consideration in viewing this present challenge of combating AIDS.

The agglomeration of these forces of institutions, power, technology, money, markets, information, communication, culture, that operate globally favouring the already powerful, needs to be contested and transformed.

In these perspectives the entire rhetoric of spirituality, world justice, human rights, peace, debt payment and aid has to be rethought. There has to be a deconstruction of the dialogue on development and international law and justice. But since the rich powers and their academia and media condition the cultural framework of thinking on such

issues, the just interests of the poor are not taken into account in the discussion of the rich as at the summit conferences of the G8. It is not highlighted even in the discourse among the governments of the poor peoples as in the Non-Aligned Movement.

5. Demands of Human Solidarity

Human solidarity requires all these issues be dealt with and where necessary transformed for the common good of all, beginning at the local level. Human fellowship demands a provision of the urgent needs of all human beings before the luxuries for a few. This entails a more equitable distribution of resources such as land, physical resources, capital, skills, knowledge and technology. Humanity must work out means for ensuring a genuine and effective concern for the needs of all, irrespective of prevailing distribution of power, wealth and incomes which is grossly unjust and unsustainable.

Human solidarity in the context of present day globalization necessitates a radical transformation of the world order and relationships among peoples in the direction of sharing of resources and caring for all. In addition to changes at the national and regional levels, there has to be transformations at the world

level too. The free market system has to be regulated not to harm the weak and marginalized. There have to be means for an effective regulation of global mobile finance that can operate m a manner as to upset the economy of countries as in the South East and East Asian crisis in 1997.

The UN institutions including IMF, WB, WTO have to be reformed and reorganized to serve the common good of all, instead of adding to the present inequalities and inequities. This can be helped by a strengthening of a coalition of people-friendly UN agencies: such as the UNCTAD, ILO, UNDP, UNICEF. The people's movements, linking across the national frontiers, can be networks for an alternative economic order, as demonstrated at Seattle.

For changes to be effective and lasting there would have to be not supportive national governments, but also a world authority order capable to implementing measures over and above the desires and powers of nation states. A sort of world parliament or global peoples' assembly would be required to exercise a regulatory function on the socioeconomic forces such as companies, financiers, markets, mass media. A world political authority would have to be

buttressed with media. A world political authority would have to be buttressed with sufficient power to enforce its decisions. The present Security Council of the UNO is controlled by an dependent on the big powers and hence cannot have an impact if the big five are the wrongdoers.

6. Spirituality of global solidarity

It is in such a context that we can reflect on the personal and collective motivation that can foster the movements for transformation of the values of peoples and of the relationships and structures of the present capitalistic globalization. The role of religions and peoples' movements can be very significant for the mobilization of the disadvantage groups throughout the world, around particular limited objectives. Hopefully such a trend will grow into a movement of vast human solidarity that becomes a powerful force for desirable personal and societal transformations. In this connection we offer some thoughts on the lines of humanistic and spiritual reflection that can be an inspiration for a global solidarity of peoples to strive for the common good of humanity.

Spirituality is a human quest for self-realization of the noblest

aspirations, for holiness and perfection in union with the Transcendent, the Divine, to the extent possible in our earthly existence. It engages a person and a community in the effort to overcome selfishness, to care for others, to share with others what each one has so that the human happiness and fulfillment of all may be increasingly realized. The world's religions and the best genuine humanistic thinking indicates that human happiness depends on the striving for love, sharing and understanding among persons and in society.

Since the realization of the conditions for human life are now very dependent on local as well as global forces, it is essential that those interested in spiritual development of persons be engaged in the global aspects of the human problems of living as of food, housing, employment, justice, peace and social cohesion in actual life. Otherwise, a mere individualistic spirituality in the context of global manipulation of human relationships by uncontrolled world forces such as white racism and the profit oriented transnational corporations, risks being a self delusion or deception and a conscious or unconscious betraval of the human cause. Such an individualistic and a social spirituality would even be a danger in acquiescing in the

existing and growing evil in the world.

Persons or groups seeking spiritual betterment, even in an isolated rural area, have to be conscious of the impact of global forces on the life of those around them. The food they buy may be imported from other countries. This in turn may affect production, employment and social contentment in one's own country. Their spirituality has therefore to include an effort to better the situation locally, and this may involve a struggle against the forces of selfishness and evil that impinge on village life. In times past the spiritual seeker was more conscious of one's locality but less on the bearing of worldwide forces on one's home area, or of one's own people on others.

Meditation, worship services, rituals, spiritual ministrations, counseling were all limited in their impact to the local realities. This was not quite adequate even in earlier times, as when Western Christian mystics meditated on the divine in colonial times but did not think of the evil being done by their fellow national and Christians in colonized regions.

Billions of prayers had no bearing on colonial exploitation or on slavery, or on the position of women in the Church or of the Dalits in Indian society. Unless spirituality includes the dimension of social liberation from evil forces such as wealth accumulation and exploitation, it will not be adequately related to integral human betterment in the real world.

As against glorified selfishness, the principle values of an alternative society should be the togetherness of all persons beyond divisions such as of gender, birth, income, wealth and status. There should be respect for all persons and a sharing of the earth's resources among all persons and communities. This can be summed up as "human solidarity", the search for the realization of the values of love and sharing that are expounded by all the world religions and humanistic ideologies.

7. Role and Responsibility of Christians

Among the world religions Christianity has the greatest obligation to help remedy the evils of present globalization due to several reasons:

Christianity, based on the liberational teaching and example of Jesus Christ and the Magnificat of Mary, has a radical spirituality of love of God and neighbour and consequent identification with

the poor, oppressed, and excluded.

Christian moral theology and spirituality demand that the resources of the earth, provided by God for all humanity, be equitably and carefully used for the good of all persons and communities, present and future.

Christians have the most organized form of religious living, many of them meet every Sunday at the Eucharistic service, which recalls the Jesus message of universal love and sharing.

Some Christian churches claim to have the divine right to teach all peoples the (absolute) truth on matters of faith and morals.

The Christian teaching even encourages the conquest of countries for the spread of the faith.

Western Christians are the main beneficiaries of the present inequitable and unethical distribution of land to population. It is European powers that brought this about. Their rulers drew the map of the world according to their colonial expansion since 1492.

the TNCs are controlled

mostly by persons who claim to be Christians, and are located mainly in countries which consider themselves Christian.

Christianity is the religion with the most numerous and most widespread body of followers or adherents throughout the world. If the Christian churches and their world wide membership seriously contested the evils of capitalistic globalization, there would be a very considerable impact on the entire world situation. It may be worthwhile recalling that most Christian churches strongly opposed Marxist Communist regimes from the Russian Revolution of 1917. A principle reason from this was the materialistic and atheistic philosophical background of Marxism and of Communist regimes. These governments often persecuted Christians, and did not tolerate religions. On the other hand capitalistic globalization generally tolerates Christianity and endeavours to make an ally of the Churches.

It is only when some church leaders took the side of the poor people, as did Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador and Fr. Michael Rodrigo of Sri Lanka, that capitalist dictators opposed them. The impact of the Catholic "Radio Veritas" was crucial in the support of the people's struggle to

overthrow Ferdinand Marcos, the Philippine dictator.

To contribute towards such a development throughout the world many changes would be required in the churches also. Thus the clergy would have to be formed to be builders of human community, and even to participate in non-violent struggles for justice. Training will have to include social analysis, and formation in ways of contesting the structures of selfishness, of greed, Mammon and bringing about desirable change in values, relationships and structures. This is much different from the traditional formation for an intra-ecclesial male clerical ministry. The liturgy can be a powerful means of peoples' conscientization and mobilization for local and regional action.

8. Role and responsibility of the Religions

Since religions are, or are considered, the principal agents of promoting spirituality, it is important that they pay attention to the global dimension of spirituality. The core values of the world religions advocate love and care for all persons and nature. They have generally evolved as communities that have been concerned with mostly personal and rural realities and their own

self growth. The teachings of the religions have often times been adjusted to suit the dominant social order as of male domination, slavery, the class and caste system and not contested their evils over long periods of time.

Though their messages are universal and open to all persons and times, they have not generally been concerned with their application to global realities, especially in relation to the worldwide organization of socioeconomic life. There are modern trends for making religions relevant to people's integral needs. Some religious leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkhar and Martin Luther King have in their day contested these evils to some extent. They developed spiritualities and methodologies of nonviolent contestation of these evils based on their religious inspirations.

While religious fundamentalisms lead to unfortunate social conflicts, religious values can be the underpinning base for coalitions for world justice and peace. World religions, as international agencies with a message of justice and goodwill to all, have the opportunity and obligation to face this crisis of humanity. Religions, led by persons of good-will and generosity can be bases for global

networking of the people of goodwill. They must endeavour to work together for the realization for their core values and thus give meaning to the present search for human solidarity and the safeguarding of nature for future generations.

This is a more difficult task than that conceived by Karl Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1847. Perhaps it is mainly the religions, with their liberational messages, that can inspire such total transformations of our societies in favour of the weak, poor, oppressed, outcastes and excluded. To bring about such changes the mind-set of people have to be influenced by a culture of inter-religious cooperation and human solidarity that cuts across all these divisive barriers. They can thus be both beneficiaries of a reformed globalization and contributors towards a more meaningful future for all peoples in our one world situation.

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Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya from Sri Lanka is a leading spokesperson of Third World Theologies. He is the Director of the Centre of Society and Religion in Sri Lanka. He is the author of numerous books, including <u>Eucharist and Human Liberation</u>, <u>Planetory Theology</u>, and <u>Mary and the Human Liberation</u>. Published by Christiava Sahitya Samithy, Tiruvalla 689 101, Kerala, S. India, November 2000. Used by permission of the publisher. This material was prepared for Religion Online by Ted & Winnie Brock.

Chapter 1: Phenomenon of Globalization: A Holistic Approach

There are different strands in the phenomenon now called Globalization: they are generally continuing long term trends, heightened now, with some specificities, and impacting on one another towards exponential growth of global interdependence itself. Certain trends are centennial relation to modernization and the 500 year build up of the present world order. Certain others are recent, especially since the fall of the USSR and the greater opening of China to foreign trade and investment.

Their overall impact is to incorporate all the peoples of the world into one single world unit for production, consumption, trade and investment, information flow and culture. The processes of globalization can be technological, economic, political,

socio-cultural and religious linked together.

1. Capitalistic Globalization

A unipolar system of international capitalism with many centres of power, mainly under US dominance, is now imposing itself as the only viable alternative available to economic and social life. In this we can distinguish the contribution of science and technology that can positively help all humankind, and the critical values that motivate the decision makers in power to give a direction to this process.

Globalization may be defined as the transnationalization of capital (with finance capital dangerously separated from the real world on a self- expanding path of its own), transnationalization of production and standardization and homogenization of consumer tastes. It is an extension of the principles, policies, and practices of capitalism to the global scale aided by the modern means of research, communication and transportation. The world is made one unit for production, distribution and the rapid flow of money through computerized electronic means. The present globalization is influenced and even very much determined by the financially powerful countries and groups within them.

This process is fostered mainly by the global transnational corporations (TNCs) using international agencies such as WB/IMF/WTO, the governments of industrialized states, and collaborating local elites. The TNCs control the greater share of the production, trade, finance, transportation, insurance, and mass media of information and communication in the world. They can thereby impose economic, social and political policies on poor (often debtor) countries for the advantage of capital.

TNCs try to set up production and distribution units in countries and within trading blocs like ASEAN and SAARC to be inside such tariff area, while the capital may belong in part or wholly to the parent global company. They can thus benefit from the regional market and yet transfer profit to wherever they want thanks to the liberalization of financial transfers. The entry to the growing Asian markets is now one of their prime targets.

The scientific and technological aspects of globalization are capable of being used, according to the values of those who employ them, for human betterment or human oppression and building inequality. Genetic engineering gives a certain laboratory and market control over human,

animal and plant life. They are part of the reality of modern society. Human progress will not be in ignoring them, but rather in using them as instruments to serve and improve human lives. On the other hand efforts at genetic modification of seeds, plant and animal life can lead to dangers to human life itself as seen in the recent instances of the mad cow phenomenon in Britain and the pollution of chicken meat due to the dangerous chemicals in their feed.

These policies, often imposed by the IMF and the WB on debtor countries, and together called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and include

- liberalization of trade with open market trade policies, and of exchange with freer movement of money as between countries
 - more opening of countries of foreign investment
 - national and foreign ownership of the means of production privatization of public sector enterprises
 - setting up of stock exchanges free trade zones
 - promotion of export crops, export industries and tourism constitutional guarantees for foreign capital
- State to provide infrastructure of communications, roads and transportation for private enterprise and foreign companies,
 - reduction of budgetary deficits, regressive taxation reduction of taxes on capital,

worsening income distribution

- reducing public sector in the economy, and even administration
- cutting subsidies for social services such as education and health, transportation and even water and irrigation reduction of rights of workers, easier termination of services, with harmful impact on gender, race and ethnic relations
- recently WTO move towards "free market" in services, and intellectual property
- there is an effort to ensure for TNCs greater power and incomes through Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) such as over patents.
- and to open up poor countries to TNC investment under Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) and a Multilateral Agreement in Investment (MAI).

The public debt of poor countries gives the WB/IMF combine the leverage for enforcing their "structural adjustment programmes" on debtor countries in need of funds especially for meeting their balance of payment deficiencies.

Such SAP and WTO changes in a country's policies are supposedly

intended to bring about rapid industrialization, transfer of technology, with availability of credit, and foreign aid as loans, grants and investment. These affect a country's entire economic activities and social relations. On the basis of accepting such terms and adjustments funds are made available, often with external debt repayment as an immediate objective. Through these policies countries are integrated within the world economic system under TNC dominance and primarily for their benefit. Corporate strategic planning under the aegis of the TNCs allied to the Washington based IMF/WB agencies and academicians is replacing the national planning by many countries.

2. Globalization within world Apartheid

A basic factor englobing the entire question of globalization is that it takes place with the prevailing world order which is one of world Apartheid. Apartheid is a system or social order in which there is an imposition of superiority of one group over others, as of the white race over the blacks in South Africa. The whites took the best lands, had the best jobs and higher incomes and civil and political rights in that state. This was defended not only by political and economic power but also by

theological claims of divine election. I described this situation in the 1970s and 1980s as follows:

"There is almost universal disapproval of the policy of apartheid - separation of the races followed by South Africa. Few stop to think, however, that the whole world system is based on a sort of apartheid. Each nation state is confined to its present territorial limits and is expected to develop within them. The different racial groupings of the one human race are allotted separate 'preserves' in which they have to live. The yellow peoples have China, Japan and the adjacent lands. The blacks have Africa. The brown peoples are allotted India, Pakistan and South East Asia. The Arabs have North Africa and the Middle East. The rest of the world - Europe, North, Central and South America. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and USSR - is largely reserved for the whites. When black, yellow and brown people have been free to migrate, it has generally been as slaves or as cheap labour for whites -for example, blacks in the Americas, Indians m Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the West Indies, Koreans in Japan."

The fall of the Soviet empire did not change this aspect of racial apartheid. It is within this apartheid that economic globalization is taking place. It is noteworthy that hardly any writers on globalization, whatever their ideology, accentuate or even refer to this basic reality of the world distribution of land among the racial groupings.

The apartheid is the result of the colonial expansion of the Western people, including Russia, during the period from 1492 till 1945. During these centuries enormous resources including gold and silver were transported from the colonies to the colonizing nations. This helped in the development of Western capitalism and in building their economic power base. The present growth of capitalist globalization is the continuation of the economic and socio-cultural order built up by that earlier global transformation under Western military and colonial domination.

This is the most fundamental reality of the world order, a result of the conquests, plunder and genocide of centuries of imperialism. It is grossly unjust, though it is now legitimized under the prevailing positive international law and the United Nations Organization set up by the victors of World War II after 1945.

The events of the 20th century did not change this situation of world

apartheid. Neither the decolonization of the post war era, nor the collapse of the Soviet Union changed the distribution of land among the world's racial groupings. The situation in South Africa changed after the transfer of power to the majority blacks in 1994. But where the whites had settled as the majority their domination continues, with the native and black people having a greater say in the countries of South and central America. In the 2000 the map of the world according to racial distribution of population to land remains more or less the same as in 1900. Now this is further consolidated as the UNO is legally empowered to preserve this status quo, and the TNCs take over lands and resources of the poor peoples for the benefit mainly of the rich in the rich countries.

All our discussions of globalization, of justice and of world peace must be within this racist framework of the world system or global disorder. Every aspect of the consequences of globalization mentioned in the subsequent pages has to be placed within this perspective. But the influence of the cultural conditioning by this system is such that most universities and educational systems and even international lawyers, ethicists and moral theologians do not consider this aspect of the world

injustice.

"As long as the nation-states maintain their present boundaries, it is unlikely that a just world order can be realized. In fact the growing pressures on the land in the poor countries are likely to lead to phenomenal political explosions that could ultimately overthrow the world territorial structures. We are perhaps at a stage in world history, as in the fourth, fifth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there will be mass movements across countries and continents."²

The foreign debt of poor countries is another factor that affects the way globalization operates today. It continues the earlier phenomenon of the transfer of resources from the poor to the rich countries. On the other hand the real debt is of the rich former colonial powers to the colonized countries. But this too is not considered seriously in the inter relationship of the nations. This longer term debt of the colonizers is several times more than the present debt of the poor countries to the rich ones.³

In these perspectives the entire rhetoric of world justice, human rights, peace, debt payment and aid has to be rethought. There has to be a deconstruction of the dialogue on development and international law and justice. But since the rich powers and their academia and media condition the cultural framework of thinking on

such issues, the just interests of the poor are not taken into account in the discussion of the rich as at the summit conferences of the G 8, but is not highlighted even in the discourse among the governments of the poor peoples as in the Non - Aligned Movement.

The ideology or philosophy of capitalistic globalization is within the parameters of this world apartheid. Thus the idea of the 'free market" does not operate in relation to people and land. There is no free mobility of people to the free and unused lands of the world. In this regard there is no invisible hand that brings about equilibrium between supply and demand. On the contrary it is the visible force and migration laws of the superpowers that keep the land hungry persons from the empty spaces of the world occupied in the days of colonial expansion.

Endnotes:

- 1. Tissa Balasuriya: *Planetary Theology*, Orbis, NY, 1984, pp. 28-29.
- 2. Tissa Balasuriya: op.cit.pp 29-30.
- 3. Brain MacGarry: *Christianity* and Colonization and

Globlisation: Logos, Vol. 36, Nos. 3 & 4, p.26 (Calculation of the debt of Britain to Zimbabwe for the lands taken over between 1890 and 1917).

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Chapter 2: Consequences of Capitalistic Globalization

a. Economic Impact

The argument for globalization is that the productivity of the world increases, marvelous technological advances are available for all, including long distance instantaneous Communication, the resources are used more efficiently, humankind's needs can thus be satisfied. Capitalistic globalization is said to have triumphed definitively over all other approaches. This is the way the rich countries can help the poor ones. It is argued "there is no alternative (TINA)" possible; this is the inevitable path for all countries in the future.

Private capital, that is the principal agent of present globalization, has as its primary goal the maximization of its own profit. It pays less attention to objectives such as the promotion of the good life of all, production for use, employment, fair trade, or safeguarding nature. It is rather amoral as to the way companies and individuals earn their money, such as traffic in arms and narcotics.

Poorer peoples face many drawbacks of such globalization. Cheaper food imports may discourage local agriculture and make the poor countries dependent on the advanced countries for food. Local industries may close down or be integrated within the dominant TNCs, through the stock market operations. The rich countries too may find their production bases being moved to countries where labour is cheaper, leading to long term unemployment in the rich countries too. Though a free market' is said to operate under this dispensation, often there is less competition due to mergers, take-overs, monopolies and oligopolies.

The enforced opening of the markets of the poor countries to foreign imports leads often to the capture of these markets by the TNCs that have much advantages in international trade. The evolving trend is for five or six large corporations to control the bulk of the transactions and determine prices in international

trade. Much trade in the world is now intra--and inter- company trade; 75% of world trade is controlled by the TNCs and their affiliates.

A particular and essential characteristic of present day globalization is the power of mobile global finance. The possibility of moving massive amounts of private finance capital almost instantly through the banking system and instantaneous communication gives immense uncontrolled power to the owners and managers of investable finance available in immense quantities to the very rich individuals and companies. \$2-3000 billion are said to move daily in the world today. Most of this is for buying shares in the share exchanges or for speculation in the global currency market; only a small percentage of this corresponds to new productive investment or exchange of goods.

This recent development provides avenues for immense financial profit-making without entering the productive process at all. The sudden outflow of such mobile speculative currency in large amounts is one of the main causes of the financial, economic and social crisis of the South East and East Asian countries since July 1997

The big financial houses are transnational in the sense of being beyond the control of national states or even the UN agencies. There is as yet no power on earth that can bring such financial movements effectively under control and public accountability. This makes for the instability and volatility of the stock markets that can cause chaos in the economies of countries and even globally, unless early remedies are found for this situation.

There is a continuing transfer of hundreds of billions of dollars worth of resources (financial and material) from the poor to the rich persons and countries, due to unfair trade, debt services, transfer payments for technology, patents and as profits from investments. Capital is being accumulated by a few and its power is being affirmed and increased through global institutions. Capitalistic globalization aggravates the inequalities within and among countries.

The relentless, remorseless persistence of rich taking over resources, lands from the poor is legitimized with intricate and sophisticated theories of economics and jargon. (The sophistication of names, acronyms, such as WTO, TRIPS, TRIMS mystify the economic processes for most people).

This is a form of re-colonization that does not need any military intervention: it is done unceremoniously by a mere legal transfer of ownership of the shares of enterprises, helped by the previously mentioned international agencies built around the UN system. The workers of poor countries become labourers for foreign companies, with the collaboration of local elites. Children are born in poor countries with a burden of debt round their necks, perhaps to be paid during their whole life time. The governments of poor countries have to maintain this system to survive in power with the support of the collaborating local elites. Though the rich countries proffer development aid, resources in effect flow from the poor to the rich countries, increasing the gap between them.

b. Social Effects

Privatization of state enterprises increases prices of services such as electricity, water and irrigation, roads and transportation, and tends to subsidize rich private investors. The process of privatization has often involved sale of state enterprises at well below market value. Governments are pushed to this by the operation of the economy with increasing costs of production, losses of peasant farmers and local companies, with dumping of

subsidized foreign goods into their liberalized market. The corruption often involved in all these makes for the instability of elected governments.

While capitalistic globalization confers many advantages to the owners of capital and the local elites of both rich and poor countries, with the availability of more consumer goods and their participation in the TNC - led businesses, it has gravely harmful effects on the poorer sections of almost all societies. There can be economic growth without its benefits being shared by the poor and marginalized due to the growth m inequalities. What the system produces is often what can be sold to those who have money, and not the necessities of the many who are poor.

There is a commercialization of most aspects of life: education and health services, water supply, transportation and even leisure and sports. Governments, harassed by the burden of debt service payments, reduce public expenditure on health and education and other social services to balance their budgets.

SAP creates more unemployment through the process of privatization, retrenchment of workers, the closing of local industries due to import liberalization, the displacement of small farmers due to foreign subsidized imports and cut in agricultural subsidies such as for fertilizers and water and reduction of marketing facilities. The big companies even cause unemployment by their planing and rationalization of production for profit maximization. Unemployment increases in both poor and very advanced countries. Thus there are about 35 million long-term unemployed in Western Europe and North America. Unemployment in the US went up from 5.1% in December 1994 to 5.8% by January 1996. In Britain it was 7.8%, Italy 11.5%, France 11.7% in November 1995, in Belgium 14.5%, Canada 9.2%, Ireland 13.1% and Finland 17.0% in December 1995, Germany 12.0% in January 1996 and Spain 22.7% in third quarter of 1995. (World of Work, Magazine of International Labour Office. Geneva, No. 16, 1966, p. 5.) The rich countries have enough resources to ensure social security to their unemployed. All the same there is homelessness, youth frustration and unrest, crime in rich countries too. This unemployment is structural due to movement of platforms of production out of these countries. It seems irremediable within the "free market system" and aggravates social conditions.

With unemployment the informal sector increases almost in all

countries. Theirs is a strategy of survival, doing whatever work that is available. They would be unorganized and hence without trade union rights, or rights to minimum wages. The new WTO effort to relate trade to human rights of workers such as child labour, working conditions and pollution control may in effect result in greater unemployment in poor countries.

As the foreign debts increase there is pressure of the IMF/WB to cut economic and social subsidies for balancing the budget. The poor whose incomes were earlier related to such subsidies suffer much with these cuts, and due to inflation and control of trade union activities. In some areas these cause famine. Wages are kept low, inequalities increase and the social services built up in the previous era are reduced if not abolished. Strikes are effectively banned. Job security is reduced and labour laws tightened against workers. Cost of living rises.

Inequalities grow in and among countries. Rich are becoming enormously rich and the poor hopelessly poor in the poorer Asian countries. According to the 1996 UNDP report 358 billionaires earn incomes totaling more than the combined income of countries with nearly half the world's population. In 1994 the

income of the richest 20% of the world's population was 78 times that of the poorest 20%, thirty times higher than in 1960. A relatively small elite of 10-15% of the population are better off than ever before. Vulgar affluence is visible amidst growing poverty of the masses in South Asia. Tourism can aggravate the show of affluence. Infant mortality rates and maternal mortality rates are rising in many countries that are subjected to structural adjustment. In some countries the resistance to disease and life expectancy are decreasing.

Urbanization grows, especially in the South, with new, often footloose production complexes for world market. Inhuman shanty towns are growing with increasing population and the exodus from the villages.

Unemployment leads to internal and external migration of labour and populations: as migrant workers, settlers, refugees; now mainly from the South to the North. The free market ideology recognizes freedom of movement for goods and capital, but not for labour. The rich countries are closing their countries against migration from the poorer South. The free market operates within the world system of nation states established by the colonial expansion of Europe during the five centuries after 1492. This is

in effect a consolidation of the advantages of Europeans in the control over land and resources in the whole world. Now the rich companies and owners of capital can still roam the world and buy up land and resources, but the poor people cannot move away from where they are to the richer and under utilized lands such as that of the Americas and Australia.

Globalization may give women greater freedom of movement, communication, employment opportunities, and reduce the burden of domestic chores. But women suffer more due to these trends as they are at the receiving end of its negative consequences. The high prices and food shortages and worsening conditions of health place heavier burden on the women. Housing and education, health services and transportation are more expensive and commercialized. Home conditions become difficult: many mothers have to bring up children, as single parents due to divorce, labour migration and deaths in civil conflict.

Women are pressured to go abroad, due to the inadequacy of a man's income for the family needs. Migration of workers, especially of women changes values and life styles of families both for better and for worse. They earn higher incomes, but there may be a disruption of family life, neglect of children, trauma effects on them etc. These will have serious long term moral and social consequences.

Women suffer the most due to civil wars, being subject to rape, becoming single parents, made refugees and having to bring up children without proper schooling, social services and their traditional cultural environment of home, the extended family and village or town.

The rapid growth of tourism has been both boon and blight to poor countries. Tourism, conducted on the basis of flexible morals, will "if unchecked despoil the environment, denude culture and denigrate sexual morality" as is happening in Indonesia with the 4 million tourists at present in 1996, expected to rise to 6 million in 1998.(Terence Netto quoting James Spillane in Catholic Asian news April 1996, p. 2. Fr. James Spillane S. J. is lecturer in Business Ethics at the Gregorian University, Rome and at Sanata Dhanna in Jogiakarta, Indonesia.)

In many poor countries, due to such worsening social conditions, there is increasing social discontent, crime, violence, and civil war. These lead to an increase in expenditure for defense, prisons, law and order and refugees. As the countries become relatively poorer and there is less of a surplus for the ruling classes, there is a tendency for them to resort to other forms of manipulation of the people.

With worsening social conditions, poor countries become almost ungovernable democratically. Political leaders then tend to divert popular attention away from economic issues, which are beyond their control, to social cultural issues such as ethnonationalism, language and religion. These are in part the cause of the many ethnic, tribal and religious conflicts in the poor countries. The example of Eastern Europe and the republics of the former USSR show how ethnic conflicts can be engendered when such situations arise. One of the results of unemployment in industrial countries is the growth of racism against immigrants. Fascist approaches are resorted to by persons who see the foreigner as the enemy of their welfare. The fact that the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka coincides with the liberalization of the economy and the strengthening of the SAP measures leaves room for questioning whether the civil war is not partly the result of the SAP itself.

In the coming decades civil conflicts are to be expected in the poor countries which are being

subjected to structural adjustment policies. While there will be peace in North America and within Western Europe, the conflicts of the early 21st century will be mainly in the South and perhaps in Eastern Europe. Low intensity conflict (LIC) is one of the means for keeping up arms sales to the extent these poorer countries can bear it. On the other hand the rich countries, while selling arms to combatants, will also undertake programmes for conflict resolution through peaceful means, and ensuring of human rights in conflict situations. There is as yet no power to see to the major structural changes that are required for justice in the world, so that all persons may have the wherewithall for a decent human existence, that the modern world has the ample means to provide.

The sense of meaninglessness of life felt in the rich North too, may be mainly due to unemployment, inadequate housing, breakup of family life, drugs, wasteful consumerism . . . in spite of social welfare measures, or because of long term dependence on them.

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Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

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Chapter 3: Politics, Culture and Environment Under Globalization

a. Political Consequences

In the 1970's and 1980's the world capitalist powers supported political dictators in the poor countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Zaire, Nicaragua and Chile. They favoured the 'national security state' repression of people's rights. Now with such control over the globalized economics, the dominant world powers find that the system of liberal democracy with the party system and general elections to choose governments is a better safe-guard of their interests than political dictatorships. Political democracy can be manipulated in the unipolar world to make whatever party that comes to power dependent on the global economic powers. Public officials dealing with the economy too find that their future is best ensured by being on the side of capital: both local, foreign and global. Thus leaders of most major parties and officials tend to support the global capitalist system as there seems to be no reasonably viable alternative to it (and for them) in the short term. To win an election they need the support of business, and to govern till the next election they need local and international foreign investment and loans.

Globalization with structural

adjustment advocated reduction of state power and activity in the economic field as a condition for economic growth. The IME and WB insist on reducing the role of the State in economic life and in public social welfare. This is linked to the policy of the private sector being considered to promote the engine of growth. The subsidies for the local enterprises and for the needy are reduced with devastating effects on economic and social life. The role of the State is to be reduced to an agency that provides the infrastructure facilities and security for the private sector and international capital. The private sector is weak in many poor countries. Hence when the countervailing power of the state in the economy is removed, the poor countries are rendered defenseless against the powerful TNCs which take up most sectors of the economy. The power of the TNCs grows with their mergers and take over of state and private enterprises.

The governments agree to donors conditions m order to survive. The sovereignty of poor countries is thus undermined by the conditionalities placed on aid. A poor country cannot advance economically today without a certain openness to foreign research, investment and trade much of which is controlled by the TNCs.

The de-regulation of private enterprise in the poor countries leaves room for much corruption and favoritism even in the process of privatization. Despite the rhetoric of democracy there is a lack of transparency m discussions of officials with the IMF/WB authorities and their decisions regarding conditionalities often imposed on the debtor countries without clear exposure even to Parliament and its select committees, much less to the general public affected by them. The record of such corruption is not limited to poor countries as seen by recent exposures in Japan, Italy and Britain.

The main policies of national budgets of debtor countries are determined by foreign donors, influenced by TNCs through the IMF/WB/WTO combine. National frontiers are not so effective for determining or controlling financial flows, trade and investment. Economic factors rule over politics; poor countries lose effective control over their own economic policies. TNCs can make and unmake governments. Money can be moved across national frontiers without effective checks by governments.

Interestingly the NICs, the fastest growing economies of Asia, such as South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, China and in a sense Hong Kong, have been those which did not respect democratic elections at least for a couple of decades. These were able to withstand the pressures of the world establishment and its neoliberal policies and ensure a stable economic policy and growth of their productive capacity based on their national self-interest, even if the workers too were suppressed during this process.

The rich powers use their leverage of aid and investment to divide the poor countries, and prevent them coming together to foster common claims on the global scene. The poor countries do not control their own destinies. The Non-Aligned Movement has been rather ineffective during the 1990s.

The United Nations is in an ambivalent position on this issue. On the one hand, the UNO sponsors bodies such as the ILO, UNCTAD, UNICEF, UNDP, UN on Refugees, UN High Commission for Human Rights and the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. On the other, the super powers that dominate the UNO support the agencies such as the IMF, World Bank, and the WTO which impose structural adjustment programmes on poor countries. The TNCs and the affluent everywhere benefit from these.

b. Cultural impact

Culture refers to the values, ideas, relationships, and patterns of behaviour that are meant to give meaning, identity and security to a people in a given place and time. Culture gives an interpretation of the world and guidance for life according to such beliefs, values, and attitudes. It implies an intellectual and moral discipline or training. Culture involves specific actions or rituals to be performed in a given way at different stages of life such as birth, marriage and funerals within a community, and these acquire the value of tradition. Culture also includes the aesthetic and artistic activities and realizations of a people, including those of the past.(Robert J. Schreiter: The New Catholicity -Theology between the Global and the Local Orbis, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545, 1998 Pp 28ff.)

Cultures of people are diverse, even when dealing with similar realities. They mould a people's way of life and thinking and give distinctiveness to a community. The process of globalization tends to bring about a homogeneity of cultural behaviours throughout the world, at least in certain aspects of life such as in food, dress, leisure, music, and sports. The mass media and advertisements create wants, especially for TNC products such as McDonald's

food (present in 111 countries), Coca cola, jeans and rock concert music. The universalization of the demand for these goods may give the impression of a pervasive global mono-culture. There are more opportunities and goods in the market, but at a price, and this affects the poor unfavourably. The ideology of the 'free market' plugged by the media and academics as the panacea for the problems of economy and society may help the spread of such elements of a mono-culture. Both the affluent and the poor may internalize these tastes and values.

A culture may be seen to be, in a sense, a simple reality of a pattern of relationships. On the other hand it can be made up of intricate nuances that may not be so easily understood and appreciated by outsiders to the culture. The building of togetherness within a country and among countries depends on the acceptance by different cultural groups of a basic equality in dignity and rights among them. Cultural groups that are powerful or are a majority in a country must recognize the rights and dignity of other cultural groups. There may thus be a genuine cultural integration in a community without an attempt at assimilation of the smaller group into the cultural ethos of the majority. Failure to do so leads to cultural and even violent conflicts

as in Sri Lanka in recent decades.

Different cultures may be harmoniously integrated within a community when their identities and rights are recognized and respected. Cultures when not given the due respect can be a line of division within a community and in the wider world. The divisiveness may be due to the sense of difference and discrimination as well as of superiority or inferiority of cultures or sub-cultures on the basis of religion, social class or caste. The differences of cultures are thus often a cause of conflict among peoples, especially when economic conditions are difficult. Ingrained perceptions of cultural superiority of one group over others have led to conflicts such as the European invasion of the rest of the world to "civilize" them, and of Hitler Germany's attitude of ethnic purification towards Jews. Centuries of Christian religious legitimation of and support for Western imperialism was based on the conviction of a necessary Christian salvific mission towards others.

Globalization may reduce the impact of such differences due to the commonness brought about it. In that sense there could also be a breaking down of barriers as of gender or caste within the same nation due to the modernity of

globalization. Migration of peoples for settlement or as migrant workers or refugees also bring different experiences and circumstances that make for encounters of several cultures. These make people try to safeguard their culture in ghetto type relationships and structures, and / or to evolve new cultural mixes that may at first seem merely hybrid, but in the longer term could bring about new patterns of relationships. Globalization thus pushes in both directions of closing in as well as of openness to other cultures.

Cultures can be a factor in a resistance to capitalist globalization. Mahatma Gandhi had recourse to the Indian people's values of self-reliance and non-violence to lead the people in the struggle against British imperialism. The spinning wheel was a symbol of resistance and an expression of Indian economic nationalism. The indigenous people's closeness to and care for nature can help counteract the attack of the multinational logging companies on the forests of their countries as in Latin America.

When there is economic pressure on a people due to the policies imposed by the globalization process, there could be an accentuation of the differences among them based on cultural or religious factors. When food is scarce, or jobs are in short supply, the differences of cultural, social, ethnic and religious groups become more conspicuous, especially if one group is seen as more advantaged over others. Then social conflicts can arise, as in many parts of the third world during the past two or three decades. In such situations cultures can be divisive and even destructive of a people's unity and harmony.

In all this much depends on the influence of the leadership. The post independence history of formerly colonized peoples bear ample witness to this. The influence of leaders like, Jawaharlal Nehru, Julius Nyerere, Lee Quan Yew, Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela helped maintain the unity of their countries and peoples in a world of rapid social change. Leaders like Conrad Adenauer, Charles de Gaulle, Alcide de Gasperri and Schuman contributed much to the peaceful rebuilding of post war Europe. The process of the unification of Europe after 1945 has been helped by the common cultural roots of several European nations, in the background of the bitter experiences of two world wars and the economic challenge from the rest of the world.

The communications revolution

which is an integral element of

globalization, aided by modern technology, is both a help and an obstacle to genuine human development in these decades. Modern communications help the networking of movements within countries and internationally for various causes: of capital, elites, TNCs, rich countries, of peoples movements for peace, human rights, women's rights, ecology etc. It can be a great help for peace with justice, but may also foment conflict and war.

The modern communications media can be a very valuable and necessary means of fostering human rights and human values, freedom and democracy everywhere. Good and rapid communications and travel raise the consciousness among the (oppressed) groups and help in their local and global networking for the realization of their rights. Censorship fails to be effective due to satellite communication. Internet has the advantage and the risk of not being under the control of any power and of being open to anyone with the computer equipment. Good communication can break down the barriers of religions, race, gender, caste and nationality. Myths, prejudices and ignorance that are harmful for just human relationships can be removed by the spread of true information and attitudes of understanding and goodwill.

Unfortunately modern communications can also aggravate conflicts. Media and scientists are now as important for war as generals. Violence of different forms is so often presented in the media as to have an effect of fostering crime. Arms producers use the media to promote arms sales by fostering conflicts within and among countries, often using cultural prejudices for it.

"The word is awash in 'lowlevel' conflicts, today there are some forty wars on around the globe, involving more than one quarter of the world's nations. U.S. strategists are convinced that the United States has 'vital' interests - i.e., interests that might need to be defended through the use of military force - in nearly every one of these hot spots."(ed. Michael I. Kiare and Peter Kornbluh: Low Intensity Conflict, counter-insurgency, proinsurgency, and anti-terrorism in the Eighties," Pantheon Books, NY, 1988 p.80 et alibi.)

The control of the global mass media by a few transnational combines /(some nine, six of which are based in the US), give them the ability to influence the thinking of vast sections of humanity. The leisure activities of many are influenced by the mass media mainly the T.V. The media, controlled mainly by the TNCs,

commercialize even sports and the arts. They build the consumer tastes and impact the values specially of the youth throughout the world.

c. Environmental Harm

Whereas modern science and technology offer immense new potentialities in relation to nature such as use of solar energy, and improvements in medical science, yet overall nature is being badly exploited by the present pattern of development. Mother Earth and the life supporting system are abused and adulterated. The air. sunlight, soil, forests, various life forms and water are all being affected adversely by the modern industrial, commercial culture which is not establishing a sustainable relationship with the natural world. The hole in the Ozone Layer, the warming of the earth, the exhaustion of non renewable resources, pollution of the environment, the poisoning of the soil with insecticides, the soil erosion, the attack on aquatic resources, the reduction of biodiversity are all continuing, in spite of much concern being expressed about this by concerned persons.

Much of the pollution of the global environment takes place due to the wasteful life style and methods of production of rich countries, especially of North America and Western Europe. The world is reaching a situation in which the present type and level of resource depletion and environmental pollution cannot be continued indefinitely or for long without disastrous environmental hazards and resource shortage, according to present scientific knowledge.

The costs of such pollution, often hidden in the short term, are generally not borne by those responsible for them. This is part of the damage that this generation is bequeathing to the future. Economists, accountants and even moral theologians do not yet give adequate attention to these aspects of our responsibility for the consequences of our pattern of development.

Capitalistic globalization, not being motivated by ethical norms and concerns, does not pay adequate attention to the care of nature and the preservation of the natural environment for the good of all life on earth. It is the peoples movements, linked within countries and internationally across barriers of race, religion, class and gender, that are more concerned with the safeguarding of the environment.

d. Unsustainable, not Replicable and Unethical

Such globalization is a form of re-

colonization that does not need any military intervention; it is done unceremoniously by a mere legal transfer of ownership of the shares of enterprises, helped by the previously mentioned international agencies built around the UN system. The resources of the poor peoples and countries are being taken over through intriguing and insidious ways of legal financial manipulation, such as through the Stock Exchange, and cross country financial transfers through the banking system. Liberalization opens the market of our assets to foreign capital; people are losing ownership of their public enterprises, raw materials, markets and even capital savings through the eventual sale of state insurance funds, national banks and other public funds.

The workers of poor countries become labourers for foreign companies, with the collaboration of local elites. Children are born in poor countries with a burden of debt round their necks, perhaps to be paid during their whole life time. The governments of poor countries have to maintain this system to survive in power with the support of the collaborating local elites. Though the rich countries prefer development aid, resources in effect flow from the poor to the rich countries, increasing the gap between them.

The poor peoples are being smoothly, legally, systematically, impoverished, recolonized, with the willing or unwitting co-operation of their rulers, local elites and public officials.

Capitalisitic globalization is not sustainable at its present scale throughout the world due to its waste, harmful effects and running down of scarce resources. This system may be socially sustainable if new technologies increase the productivity everywhere and provide work, incomes and leisure for all in all countries. These are some of the imponderables, as we have seen in the past decade with the expansion of computerization, and communications systems.

The rise of consciousness of the oppressed everywhere will grow if the oppression increases. There will be revolutionary protests and uprisings in poor countries with violent repression of these protests. The coincidence of interests of the victims marginalized by the system in rich and poor countries may lead to a transnational solidarity of interests of workers, women, youth, peace workers and people's movements. They will begin to defend their interests in different ways. Capital will have to be controlled for the common good.

This system of liberal capitalist globalization is not replicable - globally or even only in China and India. Nature cannot afford the spread of a life style as of the USA due to limits of resources, and pollution, at the present level of knowledge.

Regional blocks will at some stage become conscious of the need for them to defend their economic self-interest, especially if they too become technologically self-reliant. They may react strongly against the present "divide and oppress system by which the poor countries are made to compete such as in the sale of their labour.

This globalization takes place in the background of 500 years of Euro-North American colonialism that carved out the map of the world to suit and favour them. The UN system, set up basically to legitimize and continue that unjust world order of Western domination, will be under pressure from the poor peoples.

The net result is that the present world order is in disarray and incapable of meeting even the minimal needs of billions of human beings. This globalization promotes mainly the search for private profit and not unselfish concern for others, fierce competition for income and wealth and not cooperation and

sharing for the common good of all, the accumulation of personal and company wealth and not their fair and equitable distribution.

Some 400 immensely rich billionaires are said to earn more than half the income of the whole world.

The free market does not bring about a just equilibrium in economic life in the world of grave economic inequalities.

Capitalistic selfishness of individuals and companies, raised to the level of a supreme principle of public policy, does not promote the true liberation of humans from selfishness, hatred and delusion, but rather worsens the human condition almost everywhere. A process of dehumanization and even criminalization of persons and societies is taking place on a world wide scale. Neither the peoples nor the countries will find genuine liberation through the search for profit maximization and accumulation of wealth by a few at the expense of the many.

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Chapter 4: Deeper Approaches and Alternative Long-Term Goals

A critical analysis of globalization would, hopefully, lead to an option for the genuine development and liberation of the people, especially the poor. Studies have to be carried concerning the economies, the social conditions of people, their human rights, working conditions, the flow of capital, the ownership of assets in a country and world, the availability and ownership of finance, the operation of agencies like the WB, IMF and WTO. We must be able to assess the impact of SAPs on the life of people. Data thus gathered and analyzed may show that the SAPs are a form of economic genocide as maintained by Michel Chossudovsky of Ottawa, Canada.("Structural adjustment is

conducive to a form of 'economic genocide' which is carried out through the deliberate manipulation of market forces. When compared to genocide in various periods of colonial history, its impact is devastating. Structural adjustment directly affects the lives of more than four billion people". Quoted by Martin Khor in *Third World Resurgence* No. 74, p.17, Penang, Malaysia 1996.)

In this connection we can appreciate the need and significance of economics literacy, computer literacy, use of media so as not to be brainwashed by the systemic forces, and dominant orthodoxies. Since we are bombarded daily by the mass media with news and views on the economy and economic policies, it is necessary to be trained to demythologize the claimed orthodoxies of economists, academics, policy makers and media programmes, as is accepted in the case of the stories of the scared scriptures. Otherwise we could be used for promoting capitalist globalization. Such training has generally not been regraded as pertaining to the agenda of the schools of social and spiritual formation.

Partial Remedies Need Deeper Approaches

Some types of action and service

are necessary, but by themselves they do not deal adequately with growing inequality and impoverishment. Thus

> charity to victims is not a relief for social injustice

is not a corrective for social injustice

private enterprise
is not a substitute
for public policy

is not a remedy for global problems

micro level action
is not a cure for
macro level needs

poverty alleviation is not a panacea for growing inequality

prayer, meditation
is not a proxy for
needed social action.

Each of these is however good in itself and must be done partly as a remedy to the immediate problem and as a useful and necessary part of the longer term solution. Some persons and institutions may be called by talent and temperament to do only such a charitable work. But society as a whole should not

be content with merely doing such relief work or giving such partial attention to issues, for it can prolong the problems. It even gives a good conscience to persons and society that do not deal with the root causes of the social problems.

Relevant action requires good information, data, knowledge and analysis. These must be made available to action groups. Peoples empowerment depend on conviction- commitment - for continuity.

In the absence of a systemic analysis persons of goodwill can be (unwittingly) used by the powers that be for their benefit:

- to take care of the victims of the exploitative system,
- to be the heart of a heartless world as Marx said of religion,
- to ensure continuity of the power system
- to educate the next generation to accept the dominant values
 - and be trained in the skills required for running it to legitimize the exploitative system
- to prevent dissent leading to revolt

Such charity and social workers will be given an honourable place in it, and even respected when they do not contest the greed and injustice of the dominant.

It is not enough to be neutral, passive or concerned with only into local issues. The dominant **system is going ahead** spreading the values of the capitalist mammonic cult, economy and power.

To be merely conservative is to be defacto collusive with the destructive system. People must be conscious of the unintended bad effects of our good intentions and dedication. Christians must learn the lessons of their participation in the first phase of capitalist led globalization from 1492/1498 onwards. With immense dedication Christians by and large helped to build the unjust world system of colonialism. Are not most Christians generally neutral during this present phase of our recolonization? If we are not active against it, we will be defacto used for it.

A good critical analysis of society should lead to an option for justice to all. People must be motivated to share wealth and not take more than a fair measure of the limited (and non-renewable) resources of the earth. This is particularly difficult but incumbent on the wealthy persons and countries. It means working practically to bring about changes

in what is produced, and in the distribution of incomes and wealth so that urgent human needs of all are met before luxuries for a few. Such loving service in an unjust world demands in addition to personal charity and social services, changes in human relationships and societal structures to accept all needy persons as equal in dignity and rights. Such social justice is a specific spiritual challenge of the present and coming generation everywhere.

A local and global struggle has to be undertaken at least to moderate the giant TNCs that now control the production and distribution of most daily used commodities throughout the world, not to mention arms and drugs production and sales. This struggle can be inspired by their religions and moral ideals, to safeguard themselves and the world from such dangers and improve their quality of life according to the genuine values that can give hope and happiness to all. Much creativity is needed in the global situation as the leaders of capital use the most sophisticated and calculated means to increase their economic stranglehold on the poor peoples. A sustained struggle is required against the globally organized power of the TNCs, the rich countries, the WB, IMF, WTO and the collaborative local elites.

Alternative Long Term Goals

The counter power and strategies of action have to include **alternative goals and** means of realizing the vision both locally and at the world level.

A Just World Order: Global Ethic

The world has the means to provide every person and people with the means for a decent life. The overall alternative to capitalistic globalization would be the utilization of the advances of science and technology for the betterment of all present and future human life on earth. The whole earth should be regarded and treated as the physical environment for all humans (too) as consumers and producers, to be managed by collective human action for the common good of all. This can be termed 'Globalism'. It was the philosophy that the poor countries urged, unsuccessfully, in the 1970s demanding a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

Such globalism is based on a collective interdependence of all in the world; not the collective dependence of South on the North as in capitalistic globalization. Where basic' needs of all are cared for before the luxuries of a few. The rise of global

consciousness can be a positive value in the forward march of humanity towards a more just and integrated civilization. This perspective is based on the position that the present capitalistic globalization is not inevitable, not uncontrollable, not irreversible. It is not viable in the long term and is not ethical. It is our challenge to work towards a more human world, that for Christians is the effort to move more towards values of the kingdom of God on earth as relevant to our times.(cf. Tissa Balasuriya: "Planetary Theology", Orbis NY; 1984 and "Global Theology" CSR Pamphlet 50; August 1991.) People need to be empowered by activities such as building local capital through savings, promotion of organic agriculture, agro-industries, appropriate technology, cooperative enterprises, local trading, foreign debt renunciation or cancellation. The poor, marginalized people have to build their strength in order to move towards an alternative socio-economic order.

A New Type of Person

All concerned with the future of humanity must try to bring into being a new type of person, whose loyalty to humankind and to our planetary home is primary. Such a person would not neglect her or his own home, locality, or

country, but rather so care as not to hurt others and the earth.

Given today's consumeristic waste and ruin, such persons would try to simplify their wants. They would not find joy in acquiring as much as possible, but in sharing with others and in demanding little for themselves. Service to others would not be only a duty but also the source of profound inner joy and societal harmony. Instead of profit maximization for self or a small group, service to all would be a powerful motivation for creativity and a fair distribution of natural resources and of the fruit of human labour.

Respect for nature will enable such persons to rediscover the original and organic beauty in the ordinary things of life-bodies of water, trees, fresh air, the sunset, the moon, birds, fish, flowers, music - and in the creative arts. This is a quality of life that urban technological culture tends to neglect. It needs to be rediscovered for the human person to find fulfillment in a way that excludes greed, acquisitiveness, destruction and waste.

This is an eminently spiritual vocation that is consonant with the best inspirations of all the worlds major living faiths. It is a call to radical change because it

entails transcending our narrow selfishness and loyalties to smaller groups that we have tended to absolutize. In accepting the other as other we have to learn to respect other race, the other sex, other religions and cultures, and not be a party to the exploitation of one by another.

The present world crisis summons us to grow in awareness of and sensitivity to others. This is a never - ending process, it is the path to other - centeredness and holiness. Those who follow it will naturally also bring an influence to bear on family and social life, on national and global relationships.

They will think of family life in relation to the good and the rights of other families. Through claiming a legitimate freedom for themselves, they will exercise that freedom with a sense of responsibility to others. In employment they will seek to make public and economic life serve the common good.

Motivation for this new type of person will be drawn from the theology we discussed earlier, in which God is seen as caring for all, Jesus is a brother to all, the spirit is present universally, the earth is our common mother, and society and history are where we can meet God in service to others. It is also a guarantee of personal

fulfillment and happiness in living not for the possession of things but in service to others. (Tissa Balasuriya: "*Planetary Theology*", Orbis NY, 1984 pp. 200ff.)

Know Strengths and Weaknesses

An important aspect in the struggle against the unjust globalization is weakness of the poor themselves. Their ignorance, laziness, corruption, selfishness, waste, divisions and conflicts must be recognized and corrected. The weaknesses and faults of the poor peoples lead to fragmentation of the liberative struggles. The civil wars in the poor countries and the wars of neighbouring countries like that of India and Pakistan lead to an enormous loss of lives and waste of human resources. Resolving these problems has to be a priority in the poor countries. Without internal peace with justice there will be no genuine development even if world structures are changed. Education for peace, communications among groups, attitudinal changes transcending narrow divisions and political and constitutional reforms are essential for resolving these problems.

Natural Resources

The poor countries are poor, not

so much because they lack natural resources, but rather because their resources are being taken over by others, often at very low prices. The OPEC countries were able to obtain a considerable share of the wealth of the world by combining to raise the price of their oil exports. The terms of trade for the raw materials of the poor countries are a grave injustice in our world system. In a sense the poor countries are poor because they are impoverished by being opened up to the world system under terms that are unfavourable to them. They are now being compelled to sell their more valuable assets, production bases and services at cheap prices, e.g. removing their minerals as raw material for industries abroad, without the technology being communicated to them. The pollution of the land, waters and air that are concomitant with this globalization affects the environment of the poor countries also sometimes without their being able to control it.

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Chapter 5: Religions And Globalization

Population as a Resource

An increasing population leads to a general optimism in and concerning a society. It means an increase in contributors to the common good and in demand and production. Persons imply minds and bodies. Asia, Africa and Latin America are still growing and youthful. These are the nations of the future century, increasing in numbers and to some extent in power.

They are the markets of the future. Hence the great effort of the TNCs to enter them and secure their markets. The poor peoples can be conscious of this and use their demand power to develop their own economies.

The West is declining and ageing in population. Some in the West may have a fear of the expansion of the peoples of the South and the East, and may be inclined to take steps to stifle their growth and advancement. The Western countries of Europe, North America and Oceania all have a growing percentage of peoples from Asia and Africa and Latin America that is changing their population composition and cultural mix.

Over recent decades the poor people of several countries have become conscious of their power as consumers, suppliers of capital through small savings accumulated collectively, (as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh), and cooperative producers using labour intensive technologies. There is more concern for socially useful and ecologically sound productivity. Consumer associations mobilize consumer power tocounteract TNCs that capture local markets with high powered advertisements e.g. McDonalds, linking producers and consumers as the Banana farmers in the Philippines and Japanese Consumer Cooperatives. In the future people's will deal with such issues on a much wider scale. Women's power is a significant force in the future people's will to deal with such issues on a much wider scale. Women's power is a significant force in the future to build the alternative society on sound principles.

Producers and consumers groups

can cooperate locally and internationally to reduce dependence on the TNCs for production and trade. This requires a networking of groups and inter-relation of actions much more than in previous periods when the problems of one country could be dealt with within a country and through the use of state power. Now local issues have global relevance and vice versa. National coalitions can lead to transnational alliances for the alternative economy and society.

The cultures of the people of the poor countries bear values of sharing, participation, community life and religiosity that can inspire the alternatives to globalization.

In the coming decades, humanity has to chart its way towards a more wholesome future in which the goals desired, the positive values and direction are known, but the paths and means are not yet clear. People would have to discern and make the way while journeying towards the goals, struggling against evils, and resisting the mammonic forces of legalized greed. In the process it is necessary to discern who and what are the allies and enemies of this great human cause. Alternatives will have to be worked out, evaluated and shared as there are no blue prints for success.

Action at all Levels will be required to meet this challenge. The counter action has to be locally based at the grassroots to be authentic and credible. But we need to be aware of the inadequacy of merely being local, as the local problems have

wider roots and implications. The alternative society has to be built at the district, national, regional, and international levels. This may seem far-fetched, but the nature of globalization requires a global response. This means that the effort must include an attempt to reform the UNO, the IMF/ WB/WTO, and their programmes such as TRIPS and TRIMS. These, in so far as they continue, must be democratized to serve and be accountable to the whole of humanity and not merely the powerful and the rich. MAI (Multilateral Agreement on Investments) has to be critically analyzed and opposed in so far as it is harmful to peoples interests and till nations control their resources. Pro-people policies such as of UNCTAD need to be supported. Different levels of action can be complementary and not competitive.

The reform of international institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the democratization of the UNO and its Security Council and the strengthening of the powers of the

UN General Assembly are also needed for dealing with these problems. The whole unjust world order, built up by 500 years of Western colonization, must be reformed to have world justice.

Methods of active non-violent social pressure need to be elaborated. This requires a type of training quite different from the traditional formation in the established mainline religions. The movements for human liberation inspired by secular ideals can also contribute to this common cause and religious forces can link with them for their mutual purification and benefit. They can together launch consciousness raising programmes starting from the local situation and proceeding to the macro and global levels and objectives. A counter-culture that truly respects humans and nature needs to be fostered by the people's movements and alternative mass media.

All these are extremely difficult tasks and will take much of the effort of the coming generation of those working for a better humanity. The hope for the future lies in the success of such approaches based on moral values.

The spirituality of integrating liberation struggles to build strength together with conviction

and power will involve:

- overcoming the narrowness of groups-of personality and identity clashes
- accepting one another as all have common problems: local and global
- coming to agreements on goals, priorities, limiting targets in the short term strategically, while keeping all the groups and issues on board as long term objectives
- making for accountability, information sharing, transparency and authenticity

In this new context, each group has to rethink its goals, priorities, means and methods. The former options made decades or centuries earlier may be inadequate to meet present challenges. Some of them may even be counter productive, as being within the overall system, while advocating piecemeal changes. e.g. religious congregations founded in the 19th century may have orientation inadequate for the 21st century world. Even NGOs begun in the

1970s may have to rethink their objectives and alliances in the late 1990s. Earlier the NGOs were more middle class and elitist with methods based on influencing the political leadership through personal contacts and media intervention. In the coming century the leadership is likely to pass to people's mass movements around popularly felt issues.

These orientations require spirituality of the leaders and of the groups to be self-critical, respectful of others efforts, and mutually supportive in campaigns, along with common evaluation of efforts. This is a difficult process due to human short-comings, divisions, distances, conflicting interests and even the policy of 'divide and rule" that the new global powers may adopt, as did their colonial predecessors.

Leadership of credible service and personal sacrifice as shown in the lives of Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther Kingand Nelson Mandela has been most fruitful for the causes they espoused.

Religions and Globalization

Religions endeavour to communicate a meaning and purpose to human life and relationships. Religions present a core teaching on how human life can lead to fulfillment and lasting happiness; they indicate a path of salvation or liberation in this life and in the hereafter. All the i≤lajor world religions advocate a basic detachment from ephemeral realities and a loving concern for all humans and for nature.

Globalization has a positive and negative impact on religions. Positively the world religions come to know each other much better with rapid communication. Capitalistic globalization, however, has no pretensions to resolve the deeper philosophical problem of the meaning of human life, here on earth and much less hereafter. This globalization is concerned with economic growth, profits, wealth and power. Its means are science and technology, information, organization, communication and speedy global networking. The issues of justice, peace, sharing, love and compassion are not priorities in the perspectives of the "free market', the invisible god of the system, visibly controlled by the super-powers and their TNCs.

Capitalism, globalized or otherwise, does not give adequate and satisfactory responses to the questions of the value and goals of human life. Many specially youth in the Western countries are dissatisfied with the way of life into which they are born and m which they grow up. They see the

immense disparities in the world, the waste in their own countries and the inability to change the situation. They do not have the sense of optimism and belief in progress that their parents and grandparents had during the course of the earlier decades. The future seems pessimistic for humanity as a whole even though the elites in the rich countries are prosperous.

The institutional and ritualistic aspects of Christianity respond adequately to the questions raised by modern life. Hence many in the West are estranged from the practice of the Christian religion in terms of attending church services and seeking directives from the institutional church sources. In that sense they are deChristianized or unchurched. Many persons in the economically advanced and developed countries, however, seek answers to the more serious questions of the meaning of life from other religion related sources such as the New Age phenomenon, the meditative approach of Eastern religions and Christian fundamentalist or pentecostal groups.

The challenge of being in contact with other agencies, both religious and secular, may lead the religions to close in on themselves, affirming their identity and distinctiveness. The pressures due to globalization may lead to religious conflicts if the religious groups behave primarily as sociological.

Communities get concerned with their material and social selfinterest, rather than according to the core inspirations of their faiths. This is likely to emerge as chauvinistic ethno-religious conflicts in the poor countries, or as xenophobic and racist approaches in the Western countries reacting against immigration from the South or from their former colonies. The religion will be a divisive force in the future too. In a situation of social pressure due to economic shortages and unemployment, there may be the tendency for social forces to raise issues of religion and target as in India against the Muslims and in Indonesia this year against the ethnic Chinese, many of whom were Christians and considered allied to the Suharto establishment.

Such inter-religious conflicts may partly be based ideologically and culturally on secondary issues such as the claims of universality and exclusivity of the message or power of the religions. The selfinterest of the leaders of the communities may also motivate such conflicts. In the wider geopolitical field, there have been governmental policies, as of the United States under President Reagan, against Liberation Theology and its social commitment in favour of the oppressed against capitalistic exploitation, particularly in Latin America.

Globalization m the context of secularization and of world apartheid poses significant challenges to Christianity, the religion still acknowledged as the spiritual inspiration of the Western peoples. Christianity in its better insights can motivate its adherents to live according to the core values proposed by Jesus Christ and the Bible. The sharing of the earth's resources justly among all humans is a primary obligation of all disciples of Jesus. It is also the core teaching of the other world faiths, or the implication of their basic values.

If the religious communities would act together in the present situation, they can contribute towards the better use of the benefits of science and technology and limit somewhat the ill effects of capitalistic globalization. The religions can be the spiritual motivation for a more just and peaceful world. They can undergird the networks of those who seek such a reordering of their economies and societies locally and even at the world level.

Christianity has a major potential and responsibility in this endeavour, being the religion that is the most widespread in the world, and the closest to the affluent of the globe. The Catholic Church with its near billion members, its global linkage and organization can be truly a multinational for human liberation of it orients its priorities in this direction. The Church can in this way try to make amend for its past collusion in building up this unjust world system. This would be a meaningful way of celebrating the Jubilee 2000 of the birth of Jesus. Naturally it will involve much rethinking, re-educating of the faithful and opposition from the powers that be. But that is the lesson of the cross, the path shown by Jesus for the liberation and salvation of humankind from the glorification of mammon.

The Teaching of the Religions and Capitalistic Globalization

In this context of increasing injustices in the world the religions could be a light to make us all aware of the false values of capitalistic globalization that cannot bring happiness and peace to persons or a lasting solution to our social and economic problems. The teaching of the world religions is diametrically opposed to the values of capitalistic globalization. The

development of science and technology can improve human life, but the capitalistic values that inspire the social relationship are disastrous.

While the religions teach a detachment from search for material wealth and that all beings should be cared for and respected, maximization of private profit is the supreme goal of capitalism that has now reached a global dimension. The core values of the religions are:

accumulation,
exploitation of
persons and nature;
- for sharing,
tolerance, respect for
all persons and nature.
The religions
advocate that society
ensures that each
person is cared for as
a human being with
rights to life and the
means to contented
living. All the
religions stress the

spirit of sharing of material resources among all humans.

against greed,

The effort to bring food to the hungry, houses to the roofless, work for the unemployed, freedom to captives, knowledge to the ignorant is a primary call of all the major religions of the

world. This is a demand of sisterhood and brotherhood that all religions stress. It is also the way to honour the Supreme Being or Transcendent Dhamma and spiritual values that all religions acknowledge. This requires a change in human relationships and social structures to accept all persons as equal in dignity and rights.

Develop a theology that is more evangelical and from our context of poverty, respects religious plurality and human rights. Based on solidarity Christianity should promote advocacy of global responsibility of those who have accumulated capital and resources for sharing and global transformation. O.T. and Gospel values to be rethought in context of globalization. The teaching of Jesus and the challenges of our situation could and should help to reform both society and Church.

A specific spiritual challenge for the present and coming generation everywhere and for religions is to make these values the guiding principles of day to day social life. In order to progress towards the ideal proposed by the religions the renunciation of selfishness by individuals at personal level should lead to a social concern for a positive loving caring for all, especially the many in dire need in our globalized society. This needs a collective rejection of the mechanism of the mere 'free market' as the guide of social policy. The inspiration of the life and teaching of their founders and seers and sages can lead people towards a movement for decent living and human dignity of all and peace among all communities. The festivities and liturgical celebrations of the religions could be the means of fostering a deeper personal and societal reflection on their deeper spiritual message.

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Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

Fr. Tissa Balasuriya from Sri Lanka is a leading spokesperson of Third World Theologies. He is the Director of the Centre of Society and Religion in Sri Lanka. He is the author of numerous books, including <u>Eucharist and Human Liberation</u>, <u>Planetory Theology</u>, and <u>Mary and the Human Liberation</u>. Published by Christiava Sahitya Samithy, Tiruvalla 689 101, Kerala, S. India, November 2000. Used by permission of the publisher. This material was prepared for Religion Online by Ted & Winnie Brock.

Chapter 6: Globalization; A Human Rights Perspective

The situation of human right has improved in general in the modem world compared to previous centuries. Slavery has been abolished. Democratic forms of government are in place in most countries of the world. The rights of women and children are better recognized and safeguarded than in earlier times. Freedom of expression and freedom of religious belief and worship are considered universal human rights. The constitutions and legal systems of many countries recognize human rights and provide for their enforcement.

All these are advances of the human race during recent centuries. The modem means of communications help in the realization of persons and peoples rights. Thus it is argued, for instance by Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen, that where there is a free press there will be no large scale famines as the rest of the world would become aware of it and help remedy such situations.

It is in the context of a general improvement of the situation that we reflect on the impact of globalization on human rights. In this we can again distinguish the scientific and technological changes brought about in modern times, alongside a humanistic culture and the unification of the world under capitalistic globalization. The advance of science and its application to life can advance the opportunities of persons for a fuller human life. In this century the possibilities have expanded for meeting the basic need of a much a greater global population. Education, travel and communications have improved understanding among people and spread the acknowledgment of human rights as everyone's due throughout the world.

1. Globalization

Despite the potential and actual contribution of capitalistic globalization to improve human life, the safeguarding of human rights or the care of nature are not among its specific objectives. Its prime objective is private profit

for the investors of capital, and now for speculators in global finance. The conception of human welfare according to its ideologues is to be brought about by the increase in material goods and wealth and not by the fostering of human happiness. Its concept of human welfare is materialistic and individualistic. Its faith is in the trickle down process of material benefits through the free market system. Human rights are expected to be looked after by the general growth process in the economy, without a direct effort to bring about a better redistribution of incomes and wealth.

There is in a sense a basic contradiction between globalization and the realization of human rights. For human rights to be respected there should be a primacy of the dignity of the human person, particularly of others, over material realities such as profits and selfish individualism. Neo-liberal globalization is based on the search for (unlimited) profit and the motivation of greed raised to a supreme value. Hence in principle itself it is not likely that human rights would improve with such globalization.

In its present neo-liberal capitalistic form globalization operates in the background of the inequalities within and among countries. It further aggravates inequalities. Theoretical equality of rights in a context of such grave economic inequality is illusory. The bad consequences of globalization, referred to earlier, reduce the actual realization of human rights in many areas of the world.

Globalization hinders human rights due to its consequences such as:

- TNC domination of global economy; production, trade and services.
- link to electronically mobile finance capital that can rapidly destabilize economies of countries and regions.
- increase in the poverty of many poor people, diminishing their means of livelihood and economic self-reliance such as through domestic agriculture and industrial production.
- increasing inequality of incomes and wealth within and among countries.
- increase in the indebtedness of poor peoples and countries. long-term endemic

unemployment.

- creation of wants through advertising and the demonstration effect of the wealthy life styles.
- spread of a culture of heartless competition and consumerism.
- the control of global mass media by a few persons and companies.
- its political impact of reducing the countervailing power of the state in poor countries, and fostering a reduction of subsidies for the needy in society.
- spreading the causes of social frustration, crime and violence.

it attack on nature and the exhaustion of the earth's non-renewable natural resources.

Thus both in principle and in reality the situation of human rights is likely to worsen with capitalistic globalization.

2. Human Rights

Historically there has been no agreement on the basis and content of human rights among the worlds peoples. The presently

discussed theory and practice of human rights are very much as evolved in and by Western society during the past few centuries. The human rights thinking and constitutional expression were advanced through the course of the centuries from the Magna Carta of 1215, the Bill of Rights of 1689 in England, the American Constitution of 1782, and the French and Russian Revolutions.

In this process there were differences as to

- a) source of foundation of human rights,
- b) the content of rights, and their inter-relation,
- c) the enforceability of rights.

Concerning the source there were some who claimed human rights on the basis of religion and revelation in the Bible. In medieval and modern Europe there was

a) the claim of the divine right of monarchs as a counter to papal absolutism affirming supreme authority as given by God,

- b) the natural rights theories that based rights on reason and natural law, linked to the concept of the supreme dignity of the human person as a creature of God, who alone had sovereign right over all,
- c) theories that based rights on a social contract as expounded by Hobbes,
 Locke and Rousseau,
 d) socialist theories stressing the right to equality.

During the years of colonialism the peoples of the colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas were not considered as subjects with fundamental rights to be respected by the European colonizers. The values on which these societies were based were not seen by the colonizers, as meaningful for human living. In evolving current concepts of human rights it is often their own rights that the colonizers defended. The voiceless victims were neglected and expendable, Thus while the European people were endeavouring to safeguard their rights in their countries, they did not generally think of the rights of the people of other parts of the world. On the contrary, their thinking justified the world system built during the centuries after 1492 by the forcible expansion of European peoples to the rest of the world. The American War of independence was the struggle of a colonial

people who fought to enjoy the rights of English people.
Subsequently they too became a colonial power over other peoples.

The discussions on rights were within the framework of Western European Capitalism and the liberal democratic tradition. This tradition stressed civil and political rights and generally neglected the social and economic and cultural rights required for these civil and political rights to be realized even in Europe. A nominal or even legal declaration of rights, though valuable, is not effective in itself, if the conditions for their actual realization are absent. The realization of human rights requires certain minimum conditions such as a measure of equality. As is commonly said, there is no value in the right to freedom of going to the Ritz hotel if one does not have the means to foot the bill there.

Socialist Tradition

A socialist understanding of human rights was evolved in Europe due to the oppression of the European working class under mercantile and industrial capitalism. The socialist schools of thought, including Marxists, stressed the need of social equality as a condition for even the right to freedom to be meaningful. They wanted

structural changes in society to be carried out by the State in which hopefully the proletariat would take over power. Civil liberties, especially the right to property, had to be restricted for the sake of equality and justice. This tradition while accentuating the need of equality, suffered from the practical neglect of the value of freedom necessary to ensure equality. In Western Europe the socialist parties still have a considerable popular support as against the capitalistic conservatives.

Much of the second half of the 20th century was a period of cold war between the countries organized on these two differing ideologies and social systems. The collapse of the USSR had made for the triumph of capitalistic globalization and the Western individualistic concept of human rights. Human beings rejected the Soviet Communist social order due to its oppressive nature and abuse of power. Now ten years after the break up of the socialist order, many in Eastern Europe see better the advantages they had earlier, even though without political freedom.

It is noteworthy that the *Chinese* experience of a socialist order has been differently received and has had different results. China does not have same democratic freedoms as understood in the

Western tradition, but the one fifth of the human race in China have realized a considerable improvement of their overall human condition during the past few decades, with changes within their "socialism with Chinese characteristics". Despite its serious limitations, the Chinese experience and experiment deserves attention as a significant effort to deal with the problems of modernization with certain restraints that do not open the country fully to capitalistic globalization. The Chinese economy has remained one of the fastest growing economies in the world during the past decade that has seen many changes such as the fall of Soviet Communism, the East Asian financial crisis since July 1997, and some disenchantment with neo-liberal capitalism. The Chinese people have recovered a sense of identity and dignity in the modern world, though there is much room for the ensuring of human rights within China especially in the civil and political spheres.

Christianity and Human Rights

Christianity has contributed much to the intellectual and moral basis of human rights, due to all humans being regarded as children of God, and hence endowed with inalienable rights. In Genesis the Creator entrusts to the first human family the entire

earth to be developed and cared for. Cain is held accountable for the life of his brother Abel. These are the foundation for moral responsibility and obligations towards others and nature.

Though the early Church was quite concerned with social justice as a sign and fruit of the teaching of Jesus, over the centuries Churches have had different perceptions on rights, according to their social alliances and theological elaborations. Historically the Churches have generally been rather on the side of the wealthy and powerful due to the common interests of the Churches and of the affluent in society. The colonial enterprise too linked the Western peoples and the Churches in their economic interests and convictions about the goal of the Church to save souls. The human rights of the colonized peoples were subordinated to the interests of their salvation which was said to come from Christ through the Christian mission.

The socialist thinking on human rights was very much outside the perspective of the Christian religion which then did not approve of socialism, for fear that it would destroy freedoms including the right to religious freedom.

During the past century, the

Christian churches have been able to evolve a balance between the rights of the individual and social justice with the common destination of eradicating all poverty. Hence the more articulate Christian thinkers. including the Pope Leo XIII, Pius XI and popes since the world war, have been critical of both capitalism and totalitarian socialism. They have contributed the idea of subsidiary of the state and public authorities to the other smaller agencies in society, and the solidarity of the human race. These two concepts have helped in the articulation of human rights theory in the Western countries.

Christian liberation theologians have been clear in their emphasis on human rights of the peoples oppressed due to racism, colonialism or gender. Their argument for human rights was biblical and theological based on the view that God has opted in favour of the liberation of the oppressed as the path towards the realization of the kingdom of God on earth. Human rights were to be realized by a struggle against the values and structures of oppression that dominate most of the world. More than right as such, the Bible from Genesis onwards emphasizes the obligations of humans, as responsible persons, to care for one's neighbour as a child of God, and also for nature.

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Chapter 7: Human Rights Within World Apartheid

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 agreed to by the nations of the world under the aegis of the UNO is perhaps the most important document of human rights that the peoples of the world have agreed on. It is therefore most helpful in the struggle for the understanding and implementation of human rights in different situations in the world. It has also been a guideline for the drafting of constitutions of nations when they achieved freedom. Some of its articles such as on torture and on freedom of expression (Article 19) have been signposts in the peoples struggle for human rights during the last half century.

All the same it is necessary to see also the limits of this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as it depended on the persons and groups that drafted it in the aftermath of World War II and the victory of Allied Nations. In an analysis of human rights one has to examine who is it that defines these rights, and whom do they benefit. The understanding of human rights tend to be generally dependent on the self-interest of those who articulate the right and struggle for them. This is seen in the long neglect of women's rights in a male dominated world.

Since it maybe difficult to agree on any single concept or code of human rights, valid and binding on all, we shall reflect on the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD) in relation to globalization. It incorporates the social, economic and cultural rights alongside the civil and political rights. This was a definite advance in the thinking on human rights even though it is within a particular perspective of the power relations of the time after World War II.

In order to have a framework of reference we shall comment on the rights enshrined in the declaration, while noting some aspects in which it needs further development especially to meet the aspirations of the poor victims of the poor countries. I am not arguing from an ideological or theological point of view except on the understanding expressed in article 1 that all humans are equal in dignity and rights and "should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood", and that the

whole earth is meant for all humans.

The Universal Declaration is de facto based on

- i) the acceptance of the sovereignty of nation states as then constituted,
- ii) on a rather individualistic understanding of human rights. It did not provide for an effective balance of rights as between freedom and equality, between individuals and society, for human rights to be meaningful.
- iii) It did not have specific arrangements for the enforcement of these rights. It is a document on rights and not one on obligations for respecting such rights.
 - iv) The UD is designed to protect citizens against violations of human rights by States and governments, even if ineffectively. It does not take into consideration the other, and perhaps now more important, violators of human rights viz, the transnational corporations and finance houses.

Human Rights within World Apartheid

A basic factor englobing the entire issue of human rights is that, de facto, it takes place within the prevailing world order which is one of world apartheid. Apartheid is a system or social order in which there is an imposition of superiority of one group over others, as of the white race over the blacks in South Africa. The whites took the best lands, had the best jobs and higher incomes and civil and political rights in that state. This was defended not only by political and economic power but also by theological claims of divine election. I described this situation in the 1970s and 1980s.

"There is almost universal disapproval of the policy of apartheid-separation of the races-followed by South Africa. Few stop to think, however, that the whole world system is based on a sort of apartheid. Each nation state is confined to its present territorial limits and expected to develop within them. The different racial groupings of the one human race are allotted separate preserves m which they have to live. The yellow peoples have China, Japan and the adjacent lands. The blacks have Africa. The brown peoples are alloted India, Pakistan and South East Asia. The Arabs have North Africa and the Middle East. The rest of the world Europe, North Central and South America. Australia, New Zealand, South

Africa and USSR-is largely reserved for the whites. When black, yellow and brown peoples have been free to migrate, it has generally been as slaves or as cheap labour for whites-for example, blacks in the Americas, Indians in Malaysia, Sri Lanka and West Indies, Koreans in Japan."(Tissa Balasuriya: "Planetary Theology", Orbis NY, 1984 pp. 28-29)

The fall of the Soviet empire in 1989 did not change this aspect of racial apartheid. It is within this apartheid that economic globalization and the decisions on human rights are taking place. It is noteworthy that hardly any writers on globalization and human rights, whatever their ideology, accentuate this basic reality of the world distribution of land among the races.

This apartheid is the result of the colonial expansion of the Western peoples, including Russia, during the period from 1492 till 1945. During these centuries enormous resources including gold and silver were transported from the colonies to the colonizing nations. This helped in the development of western capitalism and in building their economic power base. The present growth of capitalist globalization is the continuation of the economic and sociocultural order built up by that earlier

global transformation under Western military and colonial domination.

This is the most fundamental reality of the world order, a result of the conquests, plunder and genocide of centuries of imperialism. It is grossly unjust, though it is now legitimized under the prevailing positive international law and the United Nations Organization set up by the victors of World War II after 1945.

The events of the 20th century did not change this situation of world apartheid. Neither the decolonization of the post-war era, nor the collapse of the Soviet Union changed the distribution of land among the world's racial groupings. The situation in South Africa changed after the transfer of power to the majority blacks in 1994. But where the whites had settled as the majority their domination continues, with the native and black peoples having greater say in the countries of South and Central America. Is 2000 not the map of the world according to racial distribution of population to land roughly the same as in 1900? Now this is further consolidated as the UNO is legally empowered to preserve this status quo, and the TNCs take over lands and resources of the poor peoples for the benefit mainly of the rich in the rich

countries.

All our discussions of human rights, of globalization, of justice and of world peace have to be within this racist framework of the world system or global disorder. But the influence of the cultural conditioning by this system is such that most universities and educational systems and even international lawyers, ethicists and moral theologians do not consider this aspect of the world injustice.

"As long as the nation-states maintain their present boundaries, it is unlikely that a just world order can be realized. In fact the growing pressures on the land in the poor countries are likely to lead to phenomenal political explosions that could ultimately overthrow the world territorial structures. We are perhaps at a stage in world history, as in the fourth, fifth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there will be mass movements across countries and continents."(Tissa Balasuriya: op. cit. pp. 29-30)

In these perspectives the entire rhetoric of the world justice, human rights, peace, debt payment and aid has to be rethought. There has to be a deconstruction of the dialogue on development, human rights and international law and justice. But since the rich powers and their academia and media condition the cultural framework of thinking on such issues, the just interests of the poor are not taken into account in the discussion among the rich as at the summit conferences of the G 8. They are not highlighted even in the discourse among the governments of the poor peoples as in the Non-Aligned Movement.

The ideology or philosophy of capitalistic globalization is within the parameters of this world apartheid. Thus the idea of the "free market" does not operate in relation to people and land. There is no free mobility of people to the free and unused lands of the world. In this regard there is no invisible hand that brings about equilibrium between supply and demand. On the contrary it is the visible force and migration laws of the superpowers that keep the land hungry persons from the empty space of the world occupied in the days of colonial expansion.

While appreciating the immense value of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights we must work for its amplification to include global racial justice, in relation to population and land and resources. This will undoubtedly be part of the

demanding and troublesome human agenda in the next few decades.

Equality and Freedom

Article 1. "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood".

"Art. 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms of this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status".

These two articles can be taken as the philosophical basis or assumptions on which the other rights are posited. Endowment with reason and conscience, and hence that a human person is a rational and moral being, is commonly accepted by all peoples, whatever their philosophy, ideology or religion. Hence she/he is different from other beings on earth and therefore entitled to certain rights and freedoms which others not enjoy.

That all should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (sic) is another moral norm that is acceptable to persons and peoples is a demand of secular humanism as well as of all the major world religions. It recalls the teaching "do unto others as you would like others to do unto you". Thus a basis has been agreed upon that does not need to posit a transcendent authority or a religious organization to legitimize it. This implies the acceptance of obligations on which the right of others are based. The Declaration comes back to these in articles 29 and 30.

These are valuable affirmations of the basic rights and a desire for their being respected, but do not take into account the actual inequalities in the real world that negate their realization. The declaration of the right to equality of rights and to nondiscrimination is an advance. But globalization brings about a situation in which everyone and everything, including health and education, have a price. The wealthy, powerful and well educated have the money to pay the price required and the means and the connections to assert their rights and maintain their dignity more fully. The difference in wealth and incomes worsened by globalization often makes the realization of these rights even worse in the present world.

Civil and Political Rights, Articles 3-21

"Art.3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

This is the first cornerstone of the Declaration. It introduces articles 4-21 in which other civil and political rights are set out. In so far as poverty increases for many in the world, the right to property is less meaningful for the havenots. This right means that the rich have a protection of the right to their property, that increases absolutely and relatively with globalization. Such trends lead to social conflicts that bring about societal violence and wars.

This in turn brings about a restriction of the rights to life, liberty and security. The conditions of living have become worse for many more people during the recent decades of neoliberal globalization. About 1,300,000,000 out of the worlds population of near 6,000,000,000 live on less than \$1 per day. Some 800 million persons suffer from hunger and malnutrition. 15 million babies die each year of hunger and illnesses. The documentation of the UNDP, FAQ bear witness to this worsening situation.("But the improvements in child nutritional status in the 1970s ceased, on average, in the 1980s. Some 100 million children under the age of five show protein energy malnutrition, more than 10 million suffer from the severe

from that is normally fatal if not treated. "Global Outlook 2000"; United Nations Publications 1990; p.292.)

"Human Rights: Contemporary Forms of Slavery' United Nations Fact Sheet 14, 1995 The poisoning of the food due to use of dangerous chemicals is increasing the proneness to sickness even among the rich.

Dictatorship that deny human rights such as to life and security have been more pronounced in the poor countries during the post World War II period. The rich countries, that favour globalization, have been supportive of almost all the right wing dictators of the past few decades, at least till they were about to fall due to popular discontent. The conditions of the National Security State continue even under democratic forms of government. The poor countries become virtually ungovernable when the social inequalities and unemployment increase.

"Art 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all its forms."

The modern world has it forms of slavery that can be very damaging to human dignity and livelihood. 100 million children are exploited for their labour according to a

recent estimate by the **International Labour Organization** (ILO), ("Human Rights: Contemporary Forms of Slavery' United Nations Fact Sheet 14, 1995, p.1.) The poisoning of the food due to use of dangerous chemicals is increasing the proneness to sickness even among the rich. Entire nations can be in bondage due to the servitude to foreign debt. The enforcement of IMF/WB determined Structural Adjustment Policies can make the peoples of the poor indebted countries as wage slaves of the foreign companies, virtually from birth. The increase of poverty leads to more prostitution of women and children including boys. Sometimes they are taken away through an international ring of exploiters of the sex trade. Tourism, which is a major industry with globalization, also leads to more prostitution and child abuse.

Unemployment enables employers and governments to reduce the rights of workers, restrict trade union rights especially in the free trade zones in the poor countries. The treatment of foreign migrant workers may be likened to a form of bonded labour. The millions of refugees due to civil conflicts live in conditions even worse than slavery. Though formal slavery is abolished the conditions of the poor are similar to forms of

slavery.

Rights 5-12 deal with the civil rights of everyone

- not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (art.5)
- to recognition as a person before the law (art.6)
- to equality before the law, (art.7)
 - effective legal remedy to violation offundamental rights (art.8)
- against arbitrary arrest, detention or exile (art 9)
- fair trial and presumption of innocence until proved guilty

(art. 10,11)

- to privacy (art.12).

These are positive advances in the background of large scale violations of human rights in periods of human history. The declaration of these rights have influenced the elaboration of fundamental rights in many postwar constitutions of State. They have been of immense help in the

struggle against dictatorship and in the promotion of democracy. The development of communications has helped build world wide movements for the defence of human rights as against torture and inhuman treatment. On the otherhand the control over communications itself has enabled the powerful to bring pressure on the poor and weak.

Worsening social and economic conditions due to globalization increase crime, violence and civil conflicts. With these there is the likelihood of more repression in societies. The means of psychological torture have also increased due to the increased powers of surveillance over people.

The equality before the law before considerably for its affectivity on the ability to obtain the services of lawyers who have generally to be paid by the clients. The poor are adversely affected due to their inequality before the lawyers. The affluent have therefore more opportunities of evading the rigour of the law. In fact most of those who are in prisons or are exiles or refugees are the poor and marginalized. Since globalization increases inequality in society, it worsens the situation for the protection of the human rights of the poor.

16

return to religion-online

Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

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Chapter 8: Globalization and Spirituality

1. The Teaching of the Religions and Capitalistic Globalization

In this context of increasing injustices in the world, the religions could be a light to make us all aware of the false values of capitalistic globalization that cannot bring happiness and peace to persons or a lasting solution to our social and economic problems. The teaching of the world religions is diametrically opposed to the values of capitalistic globalization. The development of science and technology can improve human life, but the capitalistic values that inspire the social relationships are disastrous.

While the religions teach a detachment from the search for material wealth and that all beings should be cared for and respected, maximization of private profit is the supreme goal of capitalism that has now reached a global dimension. The religions advocate that society ensures that each person is cared for as a human being with rights to life and the means to contented living. All the religions stress the spirit of sharing of material resources among all humans.

The effort to bring food to the hungry, house to the roofless, work for the unemployed, freedom to captives, knowledge to the ignorant is a primary call of all the major religions of the world. This is a demand of sisterhood and brotherhood that all religions stress. It is also the way to honour the Supreme Being or Transcendent Dhamma and spiritual values that all religions acknowledge. This requires a change in human relationships and societal structures to accept all persons as equal in dignity and rights.

A Specific spiritual challenge for the present and coming generation everywhere and for religions is to make these values the guiding principles of day to day social life. In order to progress towards the ideal proposed by the religions the renunciation of selfishness by individuals at personal level should lead to a social concern for a positive loving caring for all, especially the many in dire need in our globalized society. This needs a collective rejection of the mechanism of the mere "free market" as the guide of social policy. The inspiration of the life and teaching of their founders and seers and sages can lead people towards a movement for decent living and human dignity of all and peace among all communities. The festivities and liturgical celebrations of the religions could be the means of fostering a deeper personal and societal reflection on their deeper spiritual message.

2. Christian spirituality

Christian spirituality is based on the teaching of Jesus, as known through the Scriptures, and interpreted by the Christian tradition, generally through the authority of the churches.

Christian spirituality is foundationally life affirming and life giving. God, the Father is the Creator of the universe and of the human race. Creation is good: "God saw all that he (Sic) had made, and it was very good" Gen. 1:31. God is life giving in and through the abundance of nature. Jesus says: "I have come that you may have life; life in all its fullness" John 10:10. The gift of the Spirit is the presence of divine life in humans, inspiring us to be more arid more god-like, loving one another and motivated towards love and social justice.

Jesus Spirituality

The teaching of Jesus is that God is love, and love is divine. This is the new and all encompassing commandment of Jesus. Love of neighbour, including the enemy, is the good news of salvation. Thus Jesus says: "This is my commandment: love one another, as I have loved you. There is no greater love than this, that a man should lay down his life for his friends" John 15:13.

Our call is to love one another as God has loved us. God is the God of life. Genuine love for the other is the means and the measure of our love for God. Such love must be concerned with the life of the other in all its aspects. Each person shares in the divinity, being created to the image and likeness of God and tending towards union

with God. Human relationship and the world are to be transformed so that God would be all in all. We are called to be divinized by love and effective concern for one another.

An essential and indispensable aspect of Jesus teaching is love and unselfish service to the poor, the disinherited, the oppressed, the aged, the sick and the imprisoned.

"For when I was hungry

you gave me

food;

when thirsty

you gave me

drink;

when I was a stranger

you took me

into your home;

when naked

you clothed

me;

when I was ill

you came to

my help;

when in prison

you visited me...

"I tell you this: anything you did for one of my brothers here, however humble, you did for me anything you did not do for one of these, however humble, you did not do for me" Matthew 25:31-45.

This service is more than the mere demands of justice, which is the fulfillment of a strict obligation towards another. What Jesus demands is a self-giving towards others who are in need because they are in need, not due to any strict right on us as a matter of justice. This is a demand and obligation of love: of caring for the other as for oneself. This is because God identifies with the other, especially the one in need. It is also taught in the scriptures and by the Fathers of the early Church that the goods of the earth belong to all humanity. Therefore no one should waste what belongs to God and to all, nor accumulate too much to the detriment of the needs of others.

A specificity of the Jesus spirituality is that we should love our enemies.

"Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who ill-treat you. If anyone hits you on one cheek, let him hit the other too; If someone takes your coat, let him have your shirt as well. Give to everyone who asks you for something, and when someone takes what is yours, do not ask for it back. Do for others just what you want them to do for you.

...You will then have a great reward, you will be sons of the most high God. For he is good to the ungrateful and the wicked.

Be merciful just as your Father is merciful" (Luke 6:27-35).

Jesus wanted love of neighbour to be understood in a universal sense as the quality of divine love than the narrow circle of natural affection and concern. The Jesus teaching is that we must love because God loves all, the good and the bad alike. This is the goodness of the Father.

"Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may

become sons of your Father in heaven. For he makes his sun to shine on good and bad people alike, and gives rain to those who do good and to those who do evil... You must be perfect, just as your father in heaven is perfect!" (Matt. 5:44-48).

To the teacher of the law who tried to trap Jesus asking the question "who is my neighbour?", Jesus responded with the parable of the good Samaritan "where love to neighbour is, quite simply, doing for him what needs to be done in the emergency, the good neighbour is both alien and heretic."

Jesus teaches a new relationship among humans that exceeds the demands of both justice and mere rationality. Such love is more than the natural love of our friends. It is not necessarily according to reason or human rationality. It is not a sort of philosophical or stoic indifference towards others. It is not a keeping away from enemies to avoid further trouble. It is not at all a right that the enemy has over us. It is new relationship of love of the other that has to flow from a conversion of heart and mind, of intellect and will inspired by the love of God.

Forgiveness of the one who hurts or sins against us is a specific aspect that Jesus stresses. It is a constitutive element in the prayer he taught.

"Forgive us the wrongs we have done, as we forgive the wrongs that others have done to us (Mt. 6:12). In response to Peter who asks: "Lord, if my brother keep on sinning against me,

how many times do I have to forgive him? Seven times?"

Jesus answered "No, not seven times, but seventy times seven" (Mt. 18:21-22). His reference to seventy times seven or 490 times indicates without limitation.

It is easy to discern how far these are from the competitive spirit of present day global capitalism, that would crush a competitor and marginalize the poor.

The very knowledge of God is intimately connected to the love of the neighbour, we know God through love of neighbour. As St. John stresses, we cannot love the God whom we do not see if we do not love the neighbour whom we see.

"Dear friends, let us love one another, because love is from God. Everyone who loves is a child of God and knows God, but the unloving know nothing of God. For God is love... Though God has never been seen by any man, God himself dwells in us if we love one another; his love is brought to perfection within us." 1 John 4:7-12.

Aloysius Pieris develops the relationship between such knowledge and love as an approximation between gnosis and agape:

"loving one's neighbour is the Christian way of knowing God. In other words, love is Christian gnosis, because one who does not love one's fellows does not know God."

Jesus' spirituality encourages meditation on the divinity present in all humans and invokes love and respect from us. As we enter into our deepest self through meditation, self purification and in contemplation we meet the divine in us and others in God. Union with God, which is the goal of spirituality, makes us habitually see God in the neighbour, especially the poor and the despised of the earth. God is thus experienced more deeply.

He announced his mission thus: "He has sent me to announce good news to the poor, to proclaim release to the prisoners and recovery of sight to the blind; to let the broken victim go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor." Luke 4:18-20;

Jesus preaches the kingdom of God. This term appears 112 times in the gospels, 90 of them attributed to Jesus. His kingdom means that the plan of God for humankind is to be fulfilled in a radically profound way, here on earth. It is a reversal of the usual conditions of society.

The poor become rich (Luke 6.20) the first are last (Mk. 10:31) the small become great (Mt. 18.4). the hungry are filled - the weary find rest those who weep laugh - the mourners are comforted the sick are healed - the blind see the lame walk - the deaf hear. the humble inherit the earth - the prisoners are freed the lowly are exalted

- the

oppressed are liberated those who lose their lives find it live (Mt. 23, Luke. 4)

- the dead

This reversal of positions is contrary to the values of Jewish society of the day, not to mention Roman imperialism.

In the "Our Father" Jesus links the honouring of the Father with the coming of the kingdom of God and the meeting of human needs such as daily bread and genuine forgiveness of the other.

Jesus' teaching on prayer is very challenging. He teaches that prayer should be sincere, authentic and transformative of human relationships. In the circumstances of his times the coming of another kingdom as a challenge to the kingdom of the Caesars was a subversive prayer.

God's love respects each persons' freedom and uniqueness. The love for the other must include a concern and care for the rights of the other beginning with the right to life, to food, to housing, to health, to work, to freedom and one's identity as a person including the right to be different, while being equal as humans. Jesus message, mission and spirituality are thus intimately linked to socio-political action for transformation in inter-personal relations and in society.

The love of neighbour as oneself has social implications such as concerning the use of material resources. Jesus was not neutral towards the rich and the poor and the use of

riches. Though Jesus was gentle in his ways he did not mince his words when he had to speak to the rich. Jesus was very critical of the accumulation of wealth and power that comes through the exploitation of others:

cf. Luke 6:20-26 the beatitudes ". . .But how terrible for you who are rich now: you have had your easy life. . . But I tell you who hear me: love your enemies, do good to those who hate you. . ."

The parable of the rich young man, (a Jewish leader, of the ruling class, as Luke describes him) illustrates clearly how Jesus wanted riches to be used for the benefit of the needy. The young man had observed the commandments from his early days; "what else do I need to do"? he enquired. Jesus told him "there is still one more thing you need to do".

If you want, to be perfect, go and sell all you have and give the money to the poor, and you will have riches in heaven; then come and follow me. But when the young man heard this, he went away sad, because he was very rich" Matthew: 19:21; Luke 18:18-24.

It was at this stage that Jesus said that it is harder for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. This made Peter raise the question as to "who could then be saved". Thus the work "Quis dives salvetur?", "What rich person will be saved", was the topic of reflection of the Fathers of the Church. This shows the centrality of sharing in the teaching of Jesus, as well as the difficulty of implementing it. This is a

spiritual challenge for the present day disciples of Jesus, to take this teaching seriously.

Jesus is uncompromising in his criticism of hypocrisy and the false values of the leadership "How terrible for you, teachers of the Law and Pharisees! You hypocrites! You give to God a tenth even of seasoning herbs, such as mint, dill and cumin; but you neglect to obey the really important teachings of the Law, such as justice and mercy and honesty. These you should practice, without neglecting the others" (Matt. 23:23-24)

In the parable of the sower Jesus warns against the false values: "but worldly cares and the false glamour of wealth and all kinds of evil desire come in and choke the world and it proves barren" Mark 4:19.

The disciple of Jesus has to make a clear option between the values of mammon and the loving service of God through the neighbour: "No servant can be slave of two masters..., you cannot serve both God and mammon (money) Luke 16:13.

Jesus, an active socially committed mystic

Jesus was profoundly contemplative, intensely human in his personal relations and authentically radical in his social options. He was a mystic given to quiet contemplation, solitary prayer and silence. "He would steal away from them into the desert and pray there" Luke 5:16.

At the same time he was a person of intense action and radical commitment. These two aspects were intimately connected and

inextricably intertwined. It was because he was in close union with God that he could not accept the way in which men and women, children of God, were treated in the society of his day.

His "good news to the poor" was the fruit both of his meditation as well as of his deep awareness of the condition of his people.

His was an integrated. personality; a spirituality that was both authentic subjectively, as well as objectively in keeping with the demands of the kingdom of God on earth. It was not a mere flight from the world to be united to God. He did not understand the spiritual life as an ascetical exercise of self-negation that had no relation to justice in society and to love of the other even beyond the demands of justice. He did not distinguish himself from others in anything except his loving service and self-sacrifice.

His asceticism involved being suspect by others, both by those close to him and his opponents. Even the members of his family doubted his wisdom, if not his sanity, in living and teaching as he did. He had to face the threats of being killed by the religious and social leaders of the day. He has also to escape the adulation of his followers. He was open to those whom society despised and marginalized or excluded from "respectable" society. His holiness took him to meeting with public sinners or the unpopular such as tax collectors, rather than to shunning them. A Jesus school of spirituality would inspire forms of asceticism and mystical experience in the search for the kingdom of God within human society that always has strong

elements of sinfulness including social sin.

Jesus' spirituality inspires a vision of a just world in which all humans have a chance of obtaining the means for a decent life. Realizing the vision requires an effort to bring food to the hungry, houses to the roofless, work for the unemployed, freedom to captives, knowledge to the ignorant, and above all the loving acceptance of one another irrespective of differences.

These are the strange promises of Jesus to be partly realized in this life by persons and by humanity over the ages. We can discern it through faith, contribute towards it by struggling in hope. Love is its fulfillment, joy its fruit. To live the values of this spiritual mastery over our selves is to realize a new power, a peace and joy that surpasses all other joys. It is a pure, selfless, active, creative, liberative joy. This is the joy of the wedding feast to which liberated humanity is invited.

It is for us to respond willingly by a conversion of heart, a reversal of values and a fundamental option for life, solidarity, friendship and effective sharing in love. Then heaven would begin for us here on earth. This is redemption, salvation, human liberation and fulfillment. Jesus died testifying to these values. "Jesus did not preach himself, but the kingdom of God". "Jesus did not talk simply about 'God" but the kingdom of God (Jon Sobrino, Karl Rahner). Jesus spirituality has to be elaborated in terms of those teachings also. In Jesus there is a close relationship between union with God and his ministry or mission which is the realization of the kingdom of God, the liberation of the oppressed. Union

with God is in bringing about God's vision for humanity. Jesus had to face tremendous odds against his radical spirituality. This can be a source of inspiration to the powerless victims in the struggle against the evils of present globalization that seems inevitable and invincible.

Fathers of the Church

That God is love, and love requires social justice is a constant teaching of the Fathers of the Early Church such as Clement of Alexandria, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Ambrose and Augustine. That is how they understood the Jesus teaching and call of God in the Old Testament.

The Fathers of the Church commented frequently on the social teaching of the Bible and of its implications for their times. They saw clearly Jesus' struggle against Mammon and all forms of exploitation, and his vision of virtue as love leading to effective sharing in community. An example from one of them, St. Basil the Great (born in Cappadocia about 330, died in 379) Bishop of Caesarea who in his sermons to the rich landowners, gives an indication of the tenor of their thought:

'Whom do I injure,' the rich persons says, 'when I retain and conserve my own? Which things, tell me, are yours? Whence have you brought them into being? You are like one occupying a place in a theatre, who should prohibit others from entering, treating that as one's own which was designed for the common use of all.

Such are the rich. Because they were first to occupy common goods, they take these

goods as their own. If each one would take that which is sufficient for one's needs, leaving what is in excess to those in distress, no one would be rich, no one poor.

'Did you not come naked from the womb? Will you not return naked into the earth?' (Job 1:21). Whence then did you have your present possessions? If you say, 'by chance', you are godless, because you do not acknowledge the Creator, nor give thanks to the Giver? If you admit they are from God, tell us why you have received them.

Is God unjust to distribute the necessaries of life to us unequally. Why are you rich, why is that one poor? Is it not that you may receive the reward of beneficence and faithful distribution...

Are you not avaricious? Are you not as robber? You who make your own the things which you have received to distribute? Will not one be called a thief who steals the garment of one already clothed, and is one deserving of any other title who will not clothe the naked if he is able to do so?

The bread which you keep, belongs to the hungry; that coat which you preserve in your wardrobe, belongs to the naked;...
Wherefore as often as you were able to help others, and refused, so often you do them wrong"...

Things of this kind are from God: the fertile land, moderate winds, abundance of seeds, the work of the oxen, and other things by which a farm is brought to productivity and abundance... But the avaricious one has not remembered our common nature, and has not thought of distribution..."

Many references to the Church Fathers are available in other publications. We give here a few main themes of their teaching.

Some of the concepts developed by the Fathers in the first few centuries of Christianity may be presented as follows:

Creation by God. Hence all wealth belongs to God as possessor. All persons are from God; God provides for all generously. Hence it is idolatrous of the rich to usurp God's absolute dominion over things.

Nature has brought forth all things in common, sunshine and rain for all without discrimination. See the birds of the air, the lilies of the field... we are born naked, with death return to earth naked; so why be attached to things; we are all pilgrims, sojourners on earth; no mine and thine.

Property: Common destination of all material good, stewardship of property, for use for all. Private property: material goods are not bad in themselves. Virtue in the use of wealth. We should not be possessed by wealth; not become its slaves. How was wealth acquired?... by work, by exploitation?

If by inheritance, how did parents acquire wealth? Riches are theft, robbery, fraud, depriving the workers of just dues.

Private property causes divisions, jealousy, pride, wars. Greed is the root of all evils, *cupiditas radix omnium malorum*. The few who are wealthy cause the many to groan in misery. Accumulated wealth is selfishness; "you strip men naked", plunder, murder; superfluous wealth belongs to needy.

Liberation is in non-attachment, in not taking more than one needs. The few who are rich are accountable to all. Distribute the superfluous wealth among the poor; in doing so the rich are not giving what is their own but returning what belongs to the poor, the needy. Giving alms is meaningless, if there is no sharing in superfluity. Warnings to the rich: store your wealth in the hearts of the poor.

The poor reveal the demands of the gospel. The rich have to be evangelized by the poor. The poor are a sacrament of salvation for the rich: "I was hungry", Mt. 25. The poor are the saviours of their benefactors. The poor are not slothful; the rich may be worse.

Unfortunately this period of Church history and such concepts have not been accentuated in the formation of the Christians including the priests and religious in the recent centuries. Over the centuries the Church developed a spirituality based on another fundamentally different paradigm. Gradually the Church became part of the social establishment of the Roman empire, later of feudalism and the princely rulers and medieval kingdoms. These brought about different understandings of the message and mission of Jesus and of Christian spirituality.

On the one hand Church could not teach a radically egalitarian message as the Fathers of the Church following Jesus. On the other hand the Church developed another view of God and human life in which original sin was the all enveloping condition of human existence, and the ministrations of the Church were essential for salvation and

sanctification. Thus a spirituality was evolved in which the accent was on the sacramental life with their *exopere operato* effect.

3. Contradiction between Christianity and Aparthideic Globalization.

Reflecting on the teaching of Jesus and the life of the early Church it is clear that there is an irreconcilable contradiction between the spirituality of Jesus (and the early church) and the neo-liberal globalization. Their assumptions, values, ways and means of operation and the social consequences are diametrically opposed to each other.

Jesus

Neo-liberal Globalization

God is

love

Money is supreme value loving service to the other

profit for oneself and

especially the needy and helpless

one's group or company

sharing of wealth, detachment. unethical profit accumulation respect for all

respect for

wealthy, powerful.

liberation of the

captives debt slavery

of the poor truth and

honesty media

manipulate minds

Justice

free market above justice

equal dignity of

all

marginalization of the poor

women's dignity and

rights (s) exploitation of

women, loves little

children neglects

children's dues

Safeguard

family break-up

of family

genuine freedom of conscience freedom for the market forces

land, homes for

all world

apartheid, homelessness work and fair wages for

all unemployment: gross

inequality

law is for humans for all compassion for needy health, abundant life for all assumption: joy in love, service law and system are for profit exclusion of needy genocidal killer system. money/market bring happiness

The ten commandments of God are against idolatry, avarice, lust, stealing, killing and falsehood, Globalization makes a god of the market (a form of idolatry), takes away of people's property by fair or foul means,

fosters an insatiable avarice, generates false values and needs by its global culture, kills humans due to poverty, malnutrition and violence, exploits women and children, denies to many the basic human right to life and the means of living a decent human life.

Jesus teaches us to love and respect nature as God's providence for all humanity;

globalization abuses and pollutes nature with grave harm to future generations. Whereas the Church should be a prophetic voice for justice and peace and the integrity of creation, this globalization invites the Church to neglect the core message of the Gospel, to legitimize this social order based on greed and injustice to the majority of humanity and is racist in defending the present European-made world order.

Marian Spirituality of the Magnificat can give an indication of the commonality of struggles requiring radical changes in economic, political and social life, beginning with personal humility, confident in God's promises to humanity, especially the poor.

The values and rights treasured by Jesus and Mary are endangered, especially for the poor, by the capitalistic globalization process. The paradoxical and sad situation is that while Jesus' teachings are totally at variance with the assumptions and values of capitalistic globalization, it is people and countries who call themselves Christians that have built up this iniquitous, capitalistic global system and benefit from it. The system gives respect and freedom to the Churches, so long as these do not contest it seriously. How has this been possible? Is the ongoing secularization of Western peoples due to the gap between the teaching of Jesus and the practice of the Christian churches?

In the face of capitalistic globalization, disciples of Jesus may find a better inspiration in Jesus himself and in the early Church rather than in subsequent period of Church history, when the Church was compromised with political and

socioeconomic power.

Catholic Church's Response to Globalization

The response of the Catholic Church to capitalistic globalization can be studied at different levels and from different perspectives. There is the level of the universal teaching of the Church at the level of the Papacy and the entire College of Bishops, the teaching of different conferences of Bishops, of theologians and the action of the church related groups locally and perhaps globally. This subject can be reflected in terms of the overall approach of the Church to human and social life, and in relation to the specific phenomenon as it has developed during the 1990s, after the fall of the soviet Empire.

Pope John Paul II:

In his Encyclical Letter: "Centesimus Annus" of 1st May 1991, he deals ex professor on the free market and on capitalism as it was seen in 1990, within an year of the fall of the Soviet Union. At the time there was a general euphoria over the victory of capitalism over Marxism and state socialism in Eastern Europe.

The Pope's position is that

- a) The fall of the Soviet Communist empire is not necessarily an indication that capitalism is the only way out for the development of the world.
- b) He sees the right to private property as a primary right of human freedom,
 - c) but this right is limited by the

- "original common destination" of all earthly goods for the common good of humanity, as willed by the Creator, as well as the will of Jesus Christ as expressed in the Gospel. This is also the teaching of the Popes since Leo XIII in 1891, and of Vatican II in "Gaudiumet Spes" Nos. 69, 71.
- d) The origin of individual property is in work, with intelligence and freedom (no. 31); know how, technology and skill, initiative and entrepreneurial ability (no. 32).
- e) The "business economy" has positive aspects and risks and problems: such as inability to compete, inequality, marginalization and exclusion of many of the Third World, and even in the developed countries. Capitalism can be ruthless as in the dark first phase of Western industrialization. Inhuman exploitation, even attempts at elimination of some peoples from history. Exploitation of women (no. 33).
- f) The free market is historically seen as "the most efficient instrument for utilizing resources and effectively responding to needs. But all needs, such as need for food, are not marketable or negotiable. (no.34).
- g) In this sense, it is right to speak of a struggle against an economic system, if the latter is understood as a method of upholding the absolute predominance of capital, the possession of the means of production and of the land, in contrast to the free and personal nature of human work. In the struggle against such a system, what is being proposed as an alternative is not the socialist system, which in fact turns out to be state capitalism, but rather a society of free work, of enterprise and of participation.

Such a society is not directed against the market, but demands that the market be appropriately controlled by the forces of society and the state, so as to guarantee that the basic needs of the whole of society are satisfied"... (no.35).

- h) "Profit is the regulator of the life of a business, but it is not the only one; *other human and moral factors* must also be important for the life of a business
- i) "It is necessary to break down the barriers of monopolies which leave so many countries on the margin of development, and to provide all individuals and nations with the basic conditions which will enable them to share in development. This goal calls for programmed and responsible action on the part of the entire international community." (No. 35).
- j) "It cannot be expected that the debts which have been contracted should be paid at the price of unbearable sacrifices. In such cases it is necessary to find-as in fact is partly happening-ways to lighten, defer or even cancel the debt, compatible with the fundamental right, of peoples to subsistence and progress." (no. 35)
- k) He criticizes the phenomenon of consumerism, and of the creation of artificial demand especially by the media.
- "Drugs, as well as pornography and other forms of consumerism which exploit the frailty of the weak, tend to fill the resulting spiritual void".

Duty to give of one's abundance for those in need.

l) the disastrous ecological question is due to present day human regarding themselves as God and thinking they can use nature as they wish, without concern for the future of nature and of humanity.

m) Need of an authentic "human ecology", and a "Social ecology" of work.

"The decisions which create a human environment can give rise to specific structures of sin which impede the full realization of those who are in any way oppressed by them. To destroy such structures and replace them with more authentic forms of living in community is a task which demands courage and patience." (no. 38).

n) With the new capitalism too the State has to defend the common goods such as the natural and human environments, which cannot be defended simply by market forces.

"Here we find a new limit on the market: there are collective and qualitative needs which cannot be satisfied by market mechanisms. There are important human needs which escape its logic. There are goods which by their very nature cannot and must not be bought and sold... Nevertheless these mechanisms carry the risk of an "idolatry" of the market. (no. 40).

- o) In the Western societies too there is an alienation in consumerism, in work that neglects human values, in various forms of exploitation of humans, manipulated by the means of mass communication. (no. 41).
- p) The Pope rejects a capitalism "in which freedom in the economic sector is not circumscribed within a strong juridicial framework in its totality, and which sees it as a particular aspect of that freedom, the core of which is ethical and religious." (no. 42)
 - q) The Pope stresses the needs of a

workers 'movement "directed towards the liberation and promotion of the whole person.

- r) "Ownership of the means of production, whether in industry or agriculture, is just and legitimate if it serves useful work. It becomes illegitimate, however, when it is not utilized or when it serves to impede the work of others, in an effort to gain a profit which is not the result of the overall expansion of work and the wealth of society, but rather in the result of curbing them or of illicit exploitation, speculation or the breaking of solidarity among working people. Ownership of this kind has no justification, and represents an abuse in the sight of God and man." (no. 43).
- s) The economic system must create opportunities of work and human growth for all.

(also cf: "Tertio Millennio Adveniente" of 1994)

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return to religion-online

Globalization and Human Solidarity by Tissa Balasuriya

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Chapter 9: Human Solidarity in the Context of Globalization

Christian spirituality and life are influenced by the theology that prevails among a Christian community or church at a given time. The renewal of Christian theology in the past three decades has been very much through the development of contextual theologies and consequent liberative action in particular contexts. Given the global nature of the present challenges to life, contextual theologies alone, however well developed and essential for the context, are not adequate to inspire liberative action that has also to be global. Such a theology would be open to the positive values in the different religions and persuasions in the world. The early Christian thought considered these as

inspirations of the Divine Word and Spirit that is present to all persons through human history. We can fruitfully return to such a universalistic approach to doing theology.

The genuinely universal dimensions of Christian theology may be said to be those elements of theology that have a bearing on all reality, or at least on the whole planet earth and all humanity of all time and space. Such universal dimensions would include:

- God, the Absolute
- humanity, the human condition in its universal characteristics,
- male and female, though different, equal in rights and dignity,
- the cosmos, especially the planet earth available, with its limited resources, for all humanity
- the planet's ecology as common essential source of life and hence of concern for all humans, present and future,
- the human conscience guiding each one interiorly would be known only to each one personally,
- the each group of humans has a history and a religio-cultural background of its own is a universal factor that makes for particularity and different contexts for theology,
- the realization that the present increasing globalization of relationships, economy and culture impinge on theology and spirituality universally, though differently.

Partial Remedies Need Deeper Approaches

To meet the challenges of globalization doing Christian theology and rethinking spirituality has to begin with the experience of the poor especially in the poor countries. Social analysis is an essential raw material for such a theological reflection. In the absence of a systemic analysis persons of goodwill can be unwittingly used by the powers that be for their benefit. Thus they are persuaded to consider their task as to take care of the victims of the exploitative system, to ensure continuity of the power system, to legitimize the prevailing exploitative order and to prevent or contain dissent leading to revolt.

Social workers promoting these causes will be given an honourable place in society, and respected when they do not contest the greed and injustice of the dominant.

The social analysis has to be reflected on in the light of the teaching of Jesus, the Bible and the Christian tradition. In this way the method of new contextual theologies such as Third World theology is different from mere speculative theology that does not take the reality of the world as a source of and challenge for a relevant theology. Western Euro --

North American experience alone is not adequate for a genuine Christian theology, as it excludes, or rather often legitimizes the sad historical and present reality of the longcolonized oppressed peoples and continuing world apartheid. In this connection we can appreciate the need and significance of economics, literacy, computer literacy, use of media so as not to be brainwashed by the systemic forces, and dominant orthodoxies. Since we are bombarded daily by the mass media with news and views on the economy and economic policies, it is necessary to be trained to demythologize the claimed orthodoxies of economists, academics, policy makers and media programmes, as it is necessary to be able to demythologize the stories of the scriptures. Otherwise we could be used for promoting capitalist globalization. Such training has generally not been part of the agenda of the schools of spiritual and theological formation.

From such a soul-searching analysis and reflection would follow an option for the values of the reign of righteousness, taught by Christianity and the world religions. This is termed a preferential option for the poor, or an option for the liberation of the oppressed. This option must include a vision of justice to all humanity and nature with alternative values, relationships and structures: at local, national, regional and international levels. This vision needs to be articulated regarding specific areas such as: food security, housing, health, education, transportation, land use

and land distribution.

Some types of action and service are necessary, but by themselves they do not deal adequately with growing inequality and impoverishment. For example, charity to victims is not a solution for social injustice, social service is not a corrective for social injustice and local action is not a remedy for global problems. Prayer is not a proxy for needed social action. Each of these is however good in itself and must be done partly as a remedy to the immediate problem and as a useful and necessary part of the longer term solution.

However, piecemeal struggles can generate global movements such as those against nuclear weapons. The Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989 due to people power that gathered momentum over the years. The people's movements changed the course of the WTO ministerial discussions at Seattle in November 1999. Likewise the impact of the world movements for women's rights, care of the environment, childrens' rights, the Grameen Bank and saving movements, Amnesty International, journalists unions, US civil rights consciousness of their rights, Aboriginals in Australia, Dalits in India. Such experiences need to the gathered and made known world wide to have an impact on the entire

problem of finance and employment and economic growth through group cooperation as in marketing even globally. They need support and can be partners in more widespread changes, while struggling for their own rights.

Relevant action requires good information, data, knowledge and analysis. These must be made available to action groups. The communications revolution can be a resource and an ally for such causes. Peoples empowerment depends on conviction and commitment to ensure its continuity.

Transform persons: A New Type of Person

All concerned with the future of humanity must try to bring into being a new type of person, whose loyalty to humankind and to our global home is primary. Such a person would not neglect her or his own home, locality, or country, but rather so care for each as not to hurt others and the earth.

Christians can draw motivation to be this new type of persons from their faith, in which God is seen as caring for all, Jesus is a brother to all, the spirit is present universally, the earth our common mother, and society and history are where we can meet God in service to others. It is also a guarantee of personal fulfillment and happiness in living not for the possession of things but in service to others.

The core values of the other religions also lead us to a deep reflection on the transitoriness of material reality and that ultimate meaning and happiness in life cannot be obtained from material possessions and much less from their unjust accumulation.

The societal dimension of Christian spirituality must develop its own meaningful self-expression, scriptures, meditation, worship, inter-personal communion, music, dance and ritual. Christian catechesis and liturgy must convey this orientation and help change the mind-sets of the believers. Meditation should lead to such deep reflection on the call of God and a response of individual and community self-renunciation in the face of human need.

The world situation, which affects peoples locally too, could be the subject of deep reflection that motivates Christians to see what Jesus would require of them today. The Churches can be vehicles for fostering such meditation relevant to the causes, processes, effects and consequences of globalization. This meditation would reflect on

the deeper meaning of life. Happiness and joy, as all world religions teach, are not to be found through mere material possession as such, though these are necessary, but in self-giving for a nobler cause. The shallowness of some of the values promoted by the globalized media, such as mere external show, privilege, power and prestige would have to be reflected in a manner relevant to modern situations.

These are traditional themes of religious meditation, but they were not thought of so much in terms of global social justice. This is a rather new agenda for the churches. The clergy and other church leadership would have to be specially trained for such spiritual exercises. This too would not be easy as it may go against their former training and practice, and may be against the social interests of some of the members of their parishes and other organizations. In this process a certain polarization is to be expected within the traditional Christian communities. Jesus foresaw this: "you cannot serve two masters, God and mammon".

Church in history

A reflection on the history of Christian theology and spirituality would help us understand some of the problems that the Churches (would) have in taking up positions concerning the social problems caused by capitalistic globalization and world apartheid. The Roman Empire was a form of globalization within the limits of the technological evolution of the time. The values that Jesus taught and lived by were diametrically opposed to the exploitative values of the Roman empire. The Jewish religious leadership of the day was also compromised in their alliance with the Roman rulers of the colonized Jewish people.

Christianity was initially a counter-culture witnessing to the value which Jesus preached and for which he was killed by the combination of the Jewish high priests and the Roman imperial rulers of Palestine. Christians were at first a marginalized group, living almost underground. They refused to accept emperorworship. For them Jesus was the Lord, and there was no God other than the God of Jesus Christ. The emperor was not God, the state was not supreme. They believed in sharing their resources and caring for one another so that there was no one in need (Acts 4:34). Their loyalty to the Empire was suspect, and hence during the first three centuries there were several brutal persecutions. Martyrdom was a fate that many Christians, especially Popes and bishops had to undergo.

Alliance with Empire

The conversion of the emperor Constantine made a very significant difference to the position of Christianity in social life and later in its teaching, organization and relationships. Christianity then became the official religion of the Empire. It acquired the privileges of being the established religion, receiving even the ownership of the ancient "Pagan" temples. It took over the forms of government of the Roman state. Church leaders became the religious counterpart of the leaders of secular society. Roman law influenced the formation of the Canon law of church. There was an alliance between the Church and the state, the Pope and the Emperor. From about that time churches as bodies have generally evolved their spirituality and theology within the framework of the dominant social order in Europe.

Christian Spirituality in Feudal Europe

With the fall of the Roman empire, due to its internal moral laxity and external attacks by "Barbarians" from the North and East, the Church became the single most powerful agency for the formation and social stability of the European peoples. In the process she accepted the social system of feudalism in which a

person was born to a given social status. This was seen as divinely ordained. The power of rulers and nobles was claimed to be from God as was the authority of the clergy and of the Bishops and Popes. Eventually the Popes became rulers of their states. Slavery continued to be justified within this social order. Christian spirituality demanded that one accepts one's position within this order. This social order was maintained basically unchanged for nearly a thousand years till the rise of mercantile capitalism in the middle ages.

The Church decided its teachings, mainly through its Councils, in terms of dogmatic definitions, expressed in the language of the accepted Greek philosophy of the times. The Council of Nicea, 325, convoked by the Emperor Constantine, defined the faith in God and Jesus Christ in the Nicene Creed, which is still recited at the Sunday Eucharistic service. For this reason, among others, the faith is presented as adherence to a set of formulations of doctrine rather than a following of the moral teaching of Jesus that God is love and calls us to love one another. There is a world of difference between such a formulation of belief and Jesus Sermon on the Mount which gives principles for moral living. Acceptance of the defined dogmatic formulations, rather

than righteous moral living, became the criterion of Christian orthodoxy.

St. Augustine (356-430) was the great philosophical and theological genius who presented a new synthesis of Christianity for the succeeding thousand years. He consolidated the teaching on original sin and the fallen nature of the whole human race. Baptism was considered essential for salvation, and the Church was regarded as the unique means of salvation. The spiritual life was conceived of as very much related to the sacraments. He favoured the point of view that Christians could be compelled to be faithful to the official teaching of the Church. This was one of the sources of the Church's intolerance of heretics and schismatics.

This alliance with empire was a far cry from the persecuted early Church, despite some Fathers of the Church, like John Chrysostom, being faithful to the prophetic message of the gospel. Some spiritual seekers like St. Benedict, unhappy with the indulgent life of Roman society, withdrew to form the monastic communities as at Subiaco. Monasticism, including the resort to the desert, was a form of protest seeking new ways of personal sanctification in a corrupt world.

The Church became the guardian of the learning and culture of the Greco-Roman world. The monasteries helped rebuild European villages and later the cities. The Church adapted herself to the feudal way of life, with the parish church and the monasteries as focal points of communal life. The lords of the manor and the bishops, abbots and priors in the monasteries were the leaders of medieval society. Spirituality was thought of as a form of holiness derived from the acceptance of one's station in life and living in obedience to the civil and ecclesiastical powers. These were conceived of as ordained of God even when they led to divisions and wars.

The Great Schism and the Crusades

Two of the main trends m the second half of the first millennium were the Great Schism and the Crusades. Both related spirituality as viewed by the power holders in the churches and the intolerance of differing opinions. The Roman and the Greek Orthodox churches were estranged from each other and excommunicated each other in 1054 due to differences in their dogmatic formulations of the Christian faith. The political divisions and the cultural differences between Rome and Constantinople were partly

responsible for this division.

A second trend was the rise of Islam beginning in Arabia in the 7th century and spreading to Asia Minor and North Africa. With this the Church diminished in numbers and influence in North Africa. Islam spread to Spain from North Africa and to Eastern Europe. The Crusades, undertaken for the liberation of Jerusalem from Muslims as well as for safeguarding the domains of the European powers, were a significant feature in political and church life. Due to the spread of Islam and the fall of Constantinople to the Muslims in 1453, Europe got cut off from Asia.

During the second half of the first millennium, the Church spread in Western Europe and among the Germanic Slav peoples of Eastern Europe. The monasteries were the seats of learning and of the evangelization of the peoples. Thus by the end of the first millennium, the Church was very much a European religion, though it had begun in West Asia. During much of the 9th and 10th centuries the papacy was involved in the rivalry and prevalent corruption of the leading Roman families and of ecclesiastical leaders.

Second Millennium

Catholic Christianity in the second millennium, from 1001 to the present times, has been Europe-centered. Till the 16th century, Europeans were substantially cut off from the rest of the world due to the limitations of travel especially after the Islamic crescent restricted them. Catholic theology was generally based on the view that outside the church there is no salvation, though a gradual opening up towards others began after the "discovery" by Columbus of the New World in the Americas in 1492, and the opening of the route to the East after Vasco da Gama in 1498. This rigid theological position of "no salvation outside the Church" was maintained throughout the Churches for over a thousand years, even by the greatest of scholars and saints like St. Thomas Aquinas. It was underpinned by the view that all others were unbelievers and pagans, who were not destined for salvation. Hence the Inquisition and the burning of heretics.

In fact Christians were theoretically and sometimes even practically intolerant of other religions and cultures till the 1960s. Christians carrying the gospel message to the corners of the world, has also a westernizing influence. This had both desirable and not so desirable impacts. Till recent decades they were not attuned to appreciate the spiritual

riches and values of the other faiths. They were too conscious of Western superiority and perceived themselves as the chosen people of God. They tended to think of colonialism as the providential design for the salvation of the world through the spread of the Church.

A definitive change in this position was accepted in the Catholic Church only at the Second Vatican Council 1962-1965. Yet even now there are debates within the Church as to how others can be saved: whether through Jesus Christ and in relation to the Church or not? Thus recently Pope John Paul II repeatedly stressed in his address to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith that the revelation of Christ is "definitive and complete" and that non-Christians live in "a deficient situation compared to those who have the fullness of salvific means in the church". (The Tablet, 5 February 2000, London, p. 157).

Mission of Redemption

In this background the spread of the Church was regarded as the highest spiritual value as it communicated the means of salvation to persons who would otherwise be dammed eternally. The spirituality of the Church did not prioritize the universal love of and social justice to neighbour. In seeking this mission of spreading Christianity, means such as the overpowering and enslaving of peoples could be justified, or unjust exploitation of peoples overlooked and tolerated, or even welcomed, in view of the attendant greater good of the conversion of souls to Christianity and making available to them the fullness of means of salvation. Even spiritual associations such as religious orders and congregations were influenced by this perspective, though rare individuals stood up for the oppressed indigenous peoples and slaves as in Americas.

The quest for holiness within the religious families taking the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, was interpreted in terms of the paradigm of otherworldly salvation. This went along with the acceptance of the dominant social order, and hence favoured the socially unjust status quo. Union with God was not seen as requiring love of neighbour and justice to peoples of other faiths. On the contrary the weight of authority was often in favour of a spirituality that abstained from critical issues of social and public life as being alien to, or a distraction from the deeper spiritual quest of union with God. Thus during many centuries, good Christians, in spite of immense dedication to worthy causes such as education

and social services, by and large, and perhaps unwittingly, helped build the unjust world system of colonialism.

Given this long history of Christian collusion with social injustice, today we must reflect on the lessons of the participation in the first phase of capitalist-led globalization from 1492/1498 onwards. We need to be careful of the unintended bad effects of our good intentions and dedication. To be merely conservative is to be de facto collusive with the destructive system. Even now are not most Christians generally neutral during this present phase of our re-colonization? If we are not active against it, we will be de facto used for it. Hence Christian formation must be adapted to meet today's new challenges.

Transform the Churches

It is not enough for Christians and churches to be neutral, passive or concerned with only intra-church issues. The dominant system is going ahead spreading the values of the capitalist mammonic cult; economy, and power. The world order is deteriorating rapidly. The media are communicating mammonic values; world trade is transferring resources from the poor to the rich; nature is being attacked, degraded, depleted; people especially women and children are oppressed, neglected,

and stunted.

In a sense globalization calls for, where necessary, a conversion of the whole church in its theological thinking, spirituality and pastoral priorities. There would have to be a paradigm shift from the churchcentered theology and spirituality to one that is Jesus-centred, God, and human-centred. The love of God must be reflected on in terms of love of neighbour. Salvation would have to be interpreted in terms of the Jesus teaching of thisworldly love of neighbour, especially the outcastes and marginalized in the context of global apartheid.

While we are interested in bearing witness to the gospel of Jesus, our mission is not to recruit people from one religious institution or belief system for another; nor to give them new laws, dogmas and rituals; but rather to persuade all to change our lives and ways, and adopt a new way of seeing, doing and being. Our calling is to invite all to turn from gods which are even less than human, and from idols like power, profit, property, creed, class, caste, language, race, success, technocratic progress, managerial efficiency and the ego, and thus experience the fulfilling realization of God's Reign which consists in justice, freedom and fellowship, tender love, universal compassion and equitable sharing of resources.

We need a mission theology and spirituality in which evangelization will mean announcing the radically challenging story of Jesus with its beauty and its tragedy, its rich humanity and undying hope; telling it by living it, and spelling it out in word and song.

The pastorate of the Church ministry was to ensure that conditions prevailed that would be conducive to the salvation of persons in the perspective of a Church-centred theology. The highest value on earth was, in this perception, the growth of the Church in membership and authority. She was the sure path to eternal salvation. Any obstacles to the building up of the Church could be removed, if necessary with recourse to the secular power. Hence for centuries the Church has not been attuned to defend human life and human rights other than in its own interests.

The activities of church personnel was concerned with building the parish community, the Christian education and social services.

They were greatly dedicated to these cause and went to the ends of the earth in the fulfillment of this mission. However the preservation of human life and human rights of all and the care of nature were not among their priorities as such. The prevailing

theology and spirituality contributed to blunting their conscience against the immense evils of Christian powers against other peoples. White racism, capitalist interests and patriarchy too were accepted, some what as providential, in this historical process.

Dilution of Christian Spirituality

Unfortunately spirituality itself has been elaborated within the later Christian tradition very much in an individualistic manner: seeking inner purification and saving one's soul or advancing towards personal liberation, without an effort at a reform of the unjust social relationships and structures. Much of Christian spirituality and hagiography have been interpreted in relation to, and in function of, the later compromise of the Church with the Roman power, feudalism, capitalism and Western imperialism. This has down-played the justice dimension of spirituality and stressed only social service and ritual worship.

Mary, the mother of Jesus is central to Catholic piety, but throughout many centuries devotion to her did not carry the spiritual message of her life as expressed in her association with the radical Jesus and spelt out in the Magnificat. Mary was not seen as one who was deeply concerned with the rights of others and opposed to exploitation of all types. Marian spirituality had an effect of de-radicalizing the revolutionary message of the gospel.

Likewise in the spirituality associated with the lives of the saints. There was little attention to the necessary link between union with God and respect for the rights of others. Contemplation of God was not presented as something that demanded seeing God in the neighbour, not only in the sense of charity, but of social justice. The devotion to the saints, the shrines and places of pilgrimage do not often carry the message of good news to the poor in a socially liberative direction. The canonization of saints was also influenced by the dominant social policy of the Church. Thus almost all the saints were from Europe, and persons of holy life and charity. Hardly anyone was canonized for struggling against the social injustices for a radical transformation of society. Such persons, as Bartolomew de las Casas had difficulties and nonacceptance during much of their life time.

A Deficient Moral Theology

The Church claims to be the moral and spiritual guide of

humanity, and to teach the truth concerning God and human salvation. Yet through many centuries she has been conditioned by the prevailing social ambience. Thus slavery was not discerned as an evil during most of her history. For centuries she lived with feudalism accepting its concepts of inborn inequalities. The attitudes towards the colonial enterprises of European powers also compromises the holiness and claim of moral guide of humanity.

The present situation in the world is one of very great inequality. Life is impossible and shortened for some while others go on accumulating more and more wealth. This is the reality under capitalistic globalization. This situation is not an issue of a short period, but the result of centuries of exploitation of peoples and nature by humans, particularly Christians.

In the history of the world the colonial adventure of the European (Christian) peoples constitutes one of the greatest robberies, genocides and abuse of power by a set of human beings and nations. The Church and Christians have been not only involved in this genocide, but have encouraged it and benefited from it. Thus some Popes encouraged and helped organize the Crusades, conferred

indulgences on the Crusaders. They saw in the these "holy wars" a battle for the cause of Christ and of Western civilization. Some others blessed the colonial enterprise of Spain and Portugal.

In general the moral theology of the Church did not recognize the evil of colonialism, as wrong and as demanding reparation. European colonialism and its methods went diametrically against the basic right of other peoples to their life, lands, property and liberty. In that sense it was gravely sinful. The Church should have taught its members about this and taken steps to avoid such evils. Even the few, like Bartolomew de las Casas, who spoke of the rights of the oppressed indigenous peoples were not really heard, and were even silenced by the official Church.

If Christians recognized the sins of colonialism, such evils would not have been perpetrated by European peoples during several centuries. In the books of moral theology which were studied in seminaries over the past 50 or 60 years, there are chapters on justice, referring to property in general, but no evaluation of colonialism as such. There are no chapters on colonialism or even on the international land grab by the Western powers. There are many studies on justice and even

on restitution and compensation, but not for the injustices of colonialism as such. If you take the books of moral theology: in Latin, English, Italian, French there is no evaluation of colonization from a critical evangelical point of view. So there is something basically inadequate in such moral theology.

Even after Vatican II is it not true to say that there is no developed moral theology on colonization in the seminaries, universities or even the papal encyclicals? Subject to correction, it would seem there is as yet no developed adequate moral theology about this greatest genocide in human history. Even Karl H. Peschke writing in 1979 with a revised edition in 1996 does not deal with the question of colonialism and its consequences on the world system and the global economy.

The present world order of nation states is largely the result of the unjust colonial expansion of Europe by force during the past five centuries. Hence the world order is itself unjust, though it is taken for granted in the prevailing international law. Most moral theologians today do not contest it, though it is a basis of the flagrant inequality in the incomes and resource distribution among peoples.

There is considerable discussion in some circles about the role of the Holy See with reference to Nazism and the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews. Some civil authorities too still follow up offenders of that period even when these are in their eighties. But there is no inquiry into the continued impact of colonial exploitation as by the mining companies which are giant transnationals coming from the beginning of the 20th century.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church, published by the Vatican in 1994, teaches:

"2412 In virtue of commutative justice, reparation for injustice committed requires the restitution of stolen goods to their owner: Jesus blesses Zacchaeus for his pledge: "If I have defrauded anyone of anything, I restore it fourfold" (Lk. 19:8). Those who, directly or indirectly, have taken possession of the goods of another, are obliged to make restitution of them, or to return the equivalent in kind or in money, if the goods have disappeared, as well as the profit or advantages their owner would have legitimately obtained from them. Likewise all who in some manner gave taken part in a theft or who have knowingly benefited from it-for example, those who ordered it, assisted in it or received the stolen goods-are obliged to make restitution in

proportion to their responsibility and to their share of what was stolen."

This passages deserves much more serious consideration than has been hitherto given to it in the teachings and practice of the churches. The Catechism itself does not seem to apply it to the colonial period of history 1492-1945.

Restitution and Compensation for colonial exploitation are perspectives that are not well developed explicitly in Christian moral theology. Can such a concept be developed m the ecumenical understanding of moral responsibility of peoples? How far do European action groups and researchers inquire into whether their own standardof living is dependent on past exploitation and on the present transfer of funds from the poor to the rich countries and the unfair terms of trade?

Since no one is perfect, the Church is a communion of saints and sinners. But can it be a communion of willful unrepentant exploiters and the exploited? If it is so there is something basically inadequate in its spirituality and pastorate of the community. The gospel of Jesus is not taken seriously or is gravely distorted. The Church has insisted on doctrinal orthodoxy of its

members, but not on moral rectitude to the extent of tolerating the greatest iniquities of communal holocaust in human history perpetrated by its members.

Sacraments

During the centuries when Christianity was allied to the powers of the world, the sacraments lost very much their deeper spiritual significance of transformation of persons to live the life of humble, loving service taught by Jesus. The church personnel gave much time and attention to externally administering the sacraments, partly believing in their quasi automatic impact: ex opere operato. Their societal significance in relation to loving service and the rights of others was largely lost sight of. On the contrary they often gave Christians a sense of spiritual superiority and a conviction that they could use even force to bring others to the Christian faith.

Thus baptism was very much ritualized to a mere external ceremony. Infant baptism was insisted on as a necessity for purification from an original sin said to be inherited at birth by all humans due to the sin of Adam and Eve. This interpretation of the scriptures and understanding of Christian anthropology gave

Christian spirituality a view of God as a harsh judge who wanted the sacrifice of the life of Jesus as expiation and atonement for the sins of humanity. Such a spirituality neglected baptism as incorporation in the deathresurrection of Jesus and conversion of one's life to the values of the gospel and hence to respect for the rights of those. The baptized considered themselves God's privileged people who could consequently take whatever they wanted from others for their own well-being. That is the background in which the baptized Christians became history's greatest plunderers and destroyers of human life especially after 1492.

Now many in the Western societies do not baptize their children. They imply that they are not worried about the former teaching that baptism was essential for salvation due to the consequences of original sin. Even these days there is not much acknowledgments that baptism is a call to accept the values of Jesus, of trying to overcome the barriers of differences and divisions such as of class, race, gender, nationality and caste. On the contrary the traditional approach was for the baptized to think of themselves as a privileged group favoured by God and having more access to the means of salvation. In the present

situation of unprecedented inequality within countries and in the world, to be baptized as a Christian should be a call to a counter-culture, to resistance to the grave evils of capitalistic globalization.

The mission of evangelization is not generally understood as a call to conversion of life towards social justice. To "evangelize the poor" is thought of in terms of conversion to the Church, but seldom includes the liberation of the oppressed and setting the captives free as Jesus proclaimed in Luke 4:18. This approach went on for centuries, and influenced the greatest and most sell-sacrificing of missionaries such as St. Francis Xavier.

Penance

The sacrament of penance is a means for self-correction of persons and groups. The penitent Christian confesses one's sins to a priest or in community, regrets the evil, promises to sin no more, to avoid occasions of sin and make amends for the harm inflicted on others by the sins committed. Well understood this sacrament is an exceptional means for believers to advance in holiness and to help build the human community in love and sharing.

It also includes the duty of

restitution. There would then be no situation in which the robbers and the robbed would be in the same church communion without reconciliation, as if there was no problem between them and in society. Whether Christians make their personal confession to a priest or not, the teaching of Jesus and the commandments of God require that justice prevails in a Christian community and in the relationship of Christians towards others.

Even in recent times it is difficult to even discuss the question of compensation and restitution for long term colonial exploitation of peoples by persons, companies and countries. Even the great Jubilee of 2000 hardly touches this aspect of return of lands and payment of debts. Slavery has been legally abolished. Strangely when this was done it was the slave owners who were entitled to compensation, apparently for the loss of their rights over slaves. When the Sri Lanka's tea estates owned by the British companies were nationalized in the 1970s Sri Lanka had to pay compensation to these companies. Then adequate and speedy compensation was insisted on as pertaining to the law of international relations. The centuries of the practice of the sacrament of penance are not known to have brought about a demand for compensation by Christian exploiters to colonized

peoples. On the contrary big time operators like Cecil Rhodes were and are honoured as social luminaries and benefactors of humanity.

Change the structures of evil

Eucharist

With capitalistic globalization the Eucharist would be still more of a challenge to the Christians to follow the teaching of Jesus for an egalitarian, free and just human community of disciples and all persons of good will. The Eucharist, even with the reduced numbers of the clergy, is an occasion for the Christians to come together weekly for the praise of God and the sharing of their concerns. The listening to the Scriptures and sharing the experiences of people can be an opportunity for recalling the values of the Jesus' teaching and of a truly renewed humanity. The call to loving sharing and peace with justice can be reflected on together by the Christian communities all over the world.

Already in 1977 I had suggested alternative themes around which the Eucharist could be celebrated. Fortunately the global secular society is now moving towards such issues. The days and weeks of commemoration organized at the secular level by bodies such as the United Nations Organization

and its related agencies can help orient the eucharistic communities also to issues such as children's rights, women's emancipation, the aged, foreign debt, peace, environment, food, employment, AIDS, drugs, crime, cancer... etc. People are much more conscious now of the harm to the environment due to the capitalistic pattern of development. We witness examples of such devastation in our countries such as through the use of chemical pesticides and even fertilizers, the deporting of our mineral wealth by mining transnational corporations, the exploitation of our workers, women and children and the illeffects of drugs, arms sales and even of some types of tourism.

The local churches can arrange eucharistic celebrations on such themes. Then the relevant data can be gathered and distributed prior to these celebrations. The community social action groups can be developed by such prayerful reflection and community action. The Eucharist would then be much more meaningful in relation to the people's social concerns also. They would understand better the spirituality of engagement in social action, thus linking personal spirituality and concern for the common good of the community.

The church being one sixth of humanity can be a very meaningful and effective community for global reflection and action on the needs of persons and groups today. There is hardly any other so well organized and so widespread a body as the Catholic Church in the whole world. In this sense the Churches can be multinationals for human liberation, and together they could be one of the world's most potent networks for redemption from the greed, and violence of the present world disorder

The extraordinary development of the means of communication, including T.V., E-mail and Internet can be a means of contact among the peoples of the world. The church can develop its communion of service to the common human causes using such media, which can be regarded as part of the providential helps for building of God's kingdom in the new century. The churches have immense potentialities for building consciousness and action among the peoples of the world, especially if the Sunday coming together includes a genuine effort at bearing witness to the Jesus call of effective love.

If and when Christians rethink and transform the eucharistic communities to participate in the ongoing human search for a more just and peaceful world, the Eucharist will be one of the greatest sources and agencies of human liberation. The liturgy would then be the centre and summit of Christian living and human solidarity. Christians would then participate even better in re-enacting the bequest of Jesus: "do this commemoration of me". Those who suffer for such causes would understand better the cross of Jesus who contested the harmful and unjust values of the society of his day.

The preaching and catechesis in the churches would have to accentuate more the justice dimension of the message of Jesus. It would have to be related to the actual situation of peoples lives in a given locality. Such a presentation of the challenge of the gospel may lead to some persons contesting such an interpretation of the gospel. There will be accusations of the church or Christians becoming materialistic, politically involved or even communist. There may be divisions among the clergy and the rank and file of the Christians. Some sources of funds may dry up, the numbers of church goers may decrease or change. Such a presentation would change the priorities in the spirituality in parish life.

The content of the expressed prayers and hymns of the church

services too would change in the process of such a conversion of mind and heart. Most of the prayers and hymns used in the churches over the centuries do not present the message of love leading to justice, but rather individualistic petitions to God, praise of God or sometimes a triumphalistic thanksgiving for being Christians.

Spirituality of Alliances for Liberation

The enemies of Justice for the poor peoples are linked together: networking, merging companies, developing technologies that reduce labour requirements, hence reduce employment and the power of organized workers. They are together for increasing their wealth, using the UN related institutions. They are being sponsored and protected by the WB/IMF, and WTO-TRIPS.

On the contrary the poor and marginalized continues to be fragmented. They conduct their struggles generally separate at least at the beginning;

- of different groups of workers,
- of gender,
- of disciplines and religions
- of different industries and sectors of the economy
- of different countries and regions,

Hence they are often divided and weak.

Networking is needed based on understanding common oppression of the poor and hence their interest, and need to build up viable alternatives.

In this new context, each group has to rethink its goals, priorities, means and methods. The former options made decades or centuries earlier may be inadequate to meet present challenges. Some of them may even be counter-productive, as being within the overall system, while advocating piece meal changes. These require a spirituality of the leaders and of the groups to be self-critical, respectful of others efforts, and mutually supportive in campaigns, along with common evaluation of efforts. This is a difficult process due to human shortcomings, divisions, distances, conflicting interests and even the policy of "divide and rule" that the new global powers may adopt, as did their colonial predecessors.

For Religious Leadership this includes a very important approach of guidance and counseling of persons and groups: to educate their constituencies concerning globalization and the common cause of humanity, changing where necessary narrow mindsets that divide the oppressed on the basis of colour, caste,

creed, gender and other interests. Religions have been one of the important causes of division of the poor peoples of countries and globally too.

A Struggle Required

This situation requires the articulation of a spirituality of societal combat to realize the rights of all persons and peoples. The rights of people cannot be ensured and fostered today without a struggle against the evil aspects of capitalistic globalization. A critical analysis of globalization, (within such global apartheid) and a reflection based on the religious and spiritual values of humanity would lead to an option for the genuine development and liberation of the people, especially the poor. Peoples can and need to struggle together, inspired by their religions and moral ideals to safeguard themselves and the world from such dangers and improve their quality of life according to the genuine values that can give hope and happiness to all. Much creativity is needed in the global situation as the leaders of capital use the most sophisticated and calculated means to increase their economic stranglehold on the poor peoples. A sustained struggle is required against the globally organized power of the TNCs, the rich countries, the WB, IMF, WTO

and the collaborative local elites.

This struggle brings about personal suffering, in the giving up of luxuries for oneself for the common good and in facing the determined opposition of the organized forces of social injustice, often consciously or unconsciously backed by the religious establishments. We meet the cross of Jesus and the God of love in thus combat for human life. Those who take such steps will come under attack from the powers that be as Jesus had to face.

Socially analytical and critical training has generally not been part of the agenda of the schools of spiritual formation. This is an aspect that has not yet been adequately developed in our theological reflection and much less in our spirituality. We must learn how to interpret the Jesus command to love the neighbour as oneself in the context of the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer with globalization. Training for justice would have to be very much in actual action that contests the dominant system and builds a counter culture on the alternative values.

The counter power and strategies of action have to include alternative goals and means of realizing the vision both locally and at the world level. People need to be empowered by activities such as building local capital through savings, promotion of organic agriculture, agro-industries, appropriate technology, cooperative enterprises, local trading, foreign debt renunciation or cancellation. Producers and consumer groups can cooperate locally and internationally to reduce dependence on the TNCs for production and trade. This requires a networking of groups and inter-relation of actions much more than in previous periods when the problems of one country could be dealt with within a country and through the use of state power. Now local issues have global relevance and vice versa. National coalitions can lead to transnational alliances for the alternative economy and society.

Methods of active non-violent social pressure need to be elaborated. This requires a type of training quite different from the traditional formation in the established mainline religions. The movements for human liberation inspired by secular ideals can also contribute to this common cause and religious forces can link with them for their mutual purification and benefit. They can together launch consciousness-raising programmes starting from the local situation and proceeding to

the macro and global levels and objectives. A counter-culture that truly respects humans and nature needs to be fostered by the people's movements and alternative mass media.

The people's movements for human liberation and human rights organizations, should get the support of religious forces in this common cause. They realize that globalization of power and information presents a very difficult background today. They can together launch consciousnessraising programmes starting from the local situation and proceeding to the macro level and global level. With the data from particular items as the spread of dangerous pesticides, or from their impact on whole countries, awareness can be built on the sinfulness of WB-IMF WTO sponsored Structural Adjustment Programmes imposed on poor countries.

For a Just World Order

Due to this fundamental contradiction between the foundational teachings of Jesus (and of the core values of the world religions) and the values fostered by the capitalist globalization process. Christians and followers of other religions have to lead a counter movement for right relationships among all humans and a just world based on

the

- i) recognition of the value of each person acknowledging that the resources of the world are for the sustenance of all to ensure the basic essentials of life to every person without discrimination.
- i) Care for our planet earth that it would be a suitable home for present and future humanity. We would thus respect the covenant of God with humanity in creation.

For the practical realization of a world order based on such objectives it is necessary that there be a change in the values by which human beings are inspired and motivated and structures by which they are governed. Such a world order demands respect for the human person and for all human persons regardless of sex, colour, creed, nationality, social function or age.

The noblest inspirations of the world's great religions are in the direction of such a vision. Does not every spiritual tradition recognize that care for others is respect for the numinous in every person, as well as a manifestation of the divine within the one who cares? The best in the Western way of life is democratic and egalitarian, the excesses of capitalism being a deviation from the Western ideal of freedom and justice. The socialist vision of a

classless, stateless society is also in the tradition of the apocalyptic vision of the prophets of Judaism. In the depths of every human heart there is an urge toward concern for others.

Transformation at Global Level

Bringing about a greater justice and equality in the standard of living within and among the countries of the world is now a much more difficult enterprise than even 50 years ago. Such an agenda requires a sustained struggle against the globally organized power of the TNCs, the rich countries, the WB, IMF, WTO and the collaborative local elites if these world forces are to be made to serve the interests of humanity, especially the poor and needy. They want to perpetuate their wealth, power and privileges, which are also generally racist favouring the whites.

The reform of international institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the democratization of the UNO and its security Council and the strengthening of the powers of the UN General Assembly are also needed for dealing with these problems. The whole unjust world order, built up by 500 years of Western colonization, must be reformed to have world justice. An area that needs radical

rethinking is the foreign debt of the poor countries to the former colonial powers.

All these are extremely difficult tasks and will take much of the effort of the coming generation of those working for a better humanity. The hope for the future lie in the success of such approaches based on moral values. The poor countries have to get together, once again, to press their claims against the dominant G8 nations for a reform of the international economic order. They should campaign for a new constituent assembly to set new structures for the world community: for a change of laws regarding migration of peoples. They should also campaign for an effective code of conduct for TNCs to control the present globalization process.

A more participatory democracy is part of the cause and effect of the attempt to evolve out of this process of unjust globalization. A world authority should be empowered to bring about a planned and peaceful reallocation of land to peoples. It is one way in which the creative growth of humanity can be related to the use and transformation of the earth. It need not increase pollution and waste, for Third World peoples have long traditions of care for the earth, unlike the present occupants of North America and

Australia.

There is no reason why European expansionism from 1500 to 1950 should set the pattern of land distribution for the entire future of the human race. The main orientation of global policy should be that, with existing populations ensured their rights, persons without land should have planned access to land without persons. There should be settlement policies and programs for moving excess populations to scantily populated areas such as Canada, Australia, the West of the United States, areas of Latin America—in addition to migration within existing national borders. In this connection we can call these vast landmasses "underdeveloped" areas. For they support few inhabitants, even if they produce much food. The terms "developed" and "underdeveloped" are used today in terms of technological advance. They could also be understood in relation to the actual number of persons supported by a landmass. Thus Bangladesh, with 55,000 square miles, supports 128 million persons, whereas New Zealand supports only 3.8 million on 104,000 square miles. Which land is more developed?

Population resettlement is one way of compensation for the plundering of the resources of poor peoples by colonization and

by the MNCs and for inequities in international trade. It could put an end to the non-planting or destruction of crops in order to keep prices high for U.S., European or Australian farmers. It could reduce malnutrition, which now affects over 500 million human beings. It could increase employment in the land-rich countries. In the final analysis, large-scale unemployment in the U.S.A., Canada, and Australia is not due to over population but to under population and a poor use of resources. A larger population would mean more children, and hence a greater demand for schools, teachers, books, transportation, and so forth. These are much better purposes for which to spend North American or Australian wealth than armaments. If there were a more open policy on resettling immigrants to the U.S.A., it would not have to spend billions of dollars on armaments. More inhabitants would mean more demand, more employment, more dynamism in the economy. These are much better purposes for which to spend North American or Australian wealth than armaments. This is one reason why the U.S.A. has grown much faster than Canada, though both were settled by whites at about the same time.

Planned resettlement of millions of persons per year in the under-

developed areas of the world is a feasible proposal today; the question is whether we have the political will to carry it out. Hundred of millions cross national frontiers and the oceans each year as tourists. World refugees number in the tens of millions. In fact such resettlement might be politically easier than even sharing resources across nations. It would not mean reducing Australia, Canada or the U.S.A. in size, but increasing the number of Americans, Canadians and Australians at a much faster rate than at present. This would increase their national wealth, given the immense land base. The same would apply also to such countries as Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil.

The main barrier, however, would seem to be that these countries, in fact all countries, do not really consider all human beings equal in rights and dignity. No land-rich country will admit that racism is its basic objection to world population resettlement. All manner of other arguments are alleged, from the point of view of culture to the life-boat theory of triage and survival of the fittest. All these need to be discussed in detail.

The argument of cultural incompatibility is not without some practical validity. Persons of different cultures do not easily

mingle as equals. They mingle as unequals, as when the United States and Brazil imported blacks as slaves, to the benefit of the stronger. Because culture is a problem, the process of the reallocation of lands and populations would have to include other provisions, for example, that all the whites in New Zealand to be settled by Bengalis, with just provision made for the Maoris living there. West Canadians could easily be settled in the West of U.S.A. and the area from Alaska to Vancouver and East to Winnipeg could absorb several tens of millions of Chinese, who would doubtless make better use of the land. Fair provisions would have to be made for the Amerindians in those regions. These are merely suggestions to foster imaginative approaches to this issue. The old paradigm of the world system built on nationstates to suit white peoples is inadequate to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. Humanity must find peaceful and just means of adopting a new paradigm in which human beings are more important than the national frontiers. All these are far less costly, and far more profitable than space travel.

We are all called to transcend our narrow particularities in order to arrive at a higher, wider, and deeper level of sharing among all human beings. This demands a transformation of ourselves from within our innermost being, to accept all others as sisters and brothers. Our growth to a planetary dimension is an invitation to spiritual deepening, a purification from selfishness to a more universal communion in real life, to our own humanization. In so far as we do so, we shall become more truly civilized, approach the ideals of the best in all our religions and cultures, and pursue the deepest and best aspirations of every human heart and mind.

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