Globalisation: a further compendium of views

What does 'globalisation' mean now? Since the first compendium of July 2001 much about the world is said to have changed. Dramatic events have been followed by a period of intense analysis. This collection offers no synthesis yet the evidence remains that globalisation has many dynamic and inter-related factors. Therefore, many different perspectives are worth exploring from both before and after 11 September 2001.

Consider the alternative views expressed here. Create your own commentary on globalisation issues as presented here and elsewhere.

55 Genoa
'Ve are determined to make globalisation work for all our citizens and especially the world’s poor. Drawing the poorest countries into the global economy is the surest way to address their fundamental aspirations. We concentrated our discussions on a strategy to achieve this.'

From the Communiqué issued at the G8 summit, Genoa, 22 July 2001

56 Equity
'Countries of the South have not been able to share in the benefits of globalisation on an equal footing with the developed countries.'

Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chair of the G77, speaking at the South Summit in Havana, Cuba, 12 April 2000

57 Policy and inaction
'Veople in the South are frustrated at the contrast between endless policy statements on poverty and the reality of inaction. Frustrated too at being lectured on good governance and principles of participation by countries that have an undemocratic stranglehold on international institutions, and who, through the international aid regime, consistently undermine local structures, capacities and accountability.'

The Reality of Aid, Reality Check, January 2001

58 European integration
'The current process of European integration is contributing to the widening of the gap between the reality of globalization, and the capacity of citizens and nations to govern this globalization process.

Instead of building a European Union able to play a responsible and constructive role globally, it imposes on others the costs of its economic success while being unable to catalyse political will to regain democratic control over powerful global organizations, like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and transnational companies (TNCs).'


59 Control over the food chain
'In a world of increasingly industrial agriculture, corporate control over the food chain and unfair international trade rules, the GM coffee examined [in this report] is an unnecessary technology with a sting in its tail. While many GM companies insists that GM is an important part of feeding a growing world, the example of GM coffee shows that the irresponsible and unaccountable introduction of such technology can actually drive people into poverty and hunger. The motives behind GM coffee are not altruistic.'

ActionAid (May 2001) Robbing coffee’s cradle – GM coffee and its threat to poor farmers

www.actionaid.org/campaigns/coffee.html

60 Engage those interested in dialogue
'If we want to do more to avoid future summits being held behind barricades, we need to do more to engage those interested in dialogue – and win back people’s faith in politics and politician’s ability to make a difference to globalisation………we must do what we can to encourage corporate responsibility'.

Jack Straw, ‘Globalisation is good for us’, Guardian 10 September 2001

61 Trade and aid
'If Africa increased its share of world trade by just 1%, it would earn an additional £49bn a year – five times the amount it receives in aid.'

Oxfam report ‘Rigged Rules and Double Standards’, April 2002

62 Conflict
'Regional conflicts are the greatest risk to the world today.'

Prof Jeffrey Sachs, Harvard University, at the World Association of Investment Promotion Agencies conferences, Geneva, Jan 2002

63 Multi-faceted globalisation
'Globalisation is a powerful trend in the modern world. It is not positive or negative, per se. Engaging in isolationism or underestimating the multi-faceted ramifications of globalisation would be extremely dangerous.'

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia, March 2002

64 Company's actions, society’s needs
'Companies also have a direct commercial interest in taking action [to improve the environment]. Our purpose is to create shareholder value – and as long-term businesses, with investments designed to deliver returns over a period of decades, we should understand that the maximisation of that value depends on ensuring that a company’s actions and behaviour are aligned with society’s needs. To fail to do so, in this case in particular, would be to tolerate an unnecessary risk.'

Lord John Browne, Chief Executive, BP, writing in the FT, 2 April 2002
65 Choices
'The Jaguarirara [Brazil] disappears under water [with the creation of the new dam], it may be an unpleasant memory for its former residents, but it will help ensure survival for millions of others.'
Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, Monterrey, March 2002

66 Global - local
'If you do not solve international problems, you do not solve domestic ones either. Ultimately they are all linked; people have to understand that.'
No 10 spokesman, quoted in The Observer, 20 Jan 2002

67 Embracing the excluded
'In today's complex and sometimes unstable world, achieving prosperity for more of the world's people is a goal that all of us share. If prosperity embraces the excluded, it can play an important role in helping create a more stable world.'
David Spina, Chairman & CEO of State Street Corporation, FT, 1 April 2002

68 Portfolios - people
'By making equity investments in emerging market nations, institutional investors have an opportunity not only to strengthen their own portfolios, but also to give the people of these countries real hope.'
David Spina, op cit

69 Balance of power
'The balance of power in the WTO...has changed.'
Pascal Lam, EU Trade Commissioner, Doha, 10 Nov 2001

70 Purpose
'Trade is not just trade. It's not the mere exchange of goods for money. Trade must have a purpose. Open up your markets, we get the money, we develop our people.'
Edward Ruguwayo, Ugandan Minister, Doha, 11 Nov 2001

71 US role
'The US must do much more. Without a stronger US role in official development assistance, I fear for our world.'
Prof Jeffrey Sachs, Harvard University, Feb 2002

72 Power of the media
'A free press is important everywhere in the world, not just in emerging democracies in the developing world. Today the power of the media, manipulation and the power of money are an explosive cocktail, threatening the innocent idea of democracy. For this reason, high quality journalism of integrity is more vital than ever.'
Poul Nielsen, EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Affairs, December 2001

73 Interdependence
'On September 10th [2001] you might have asked why the average citizen should care about what is happening in Kabul, Afghanistan. The reality is there are no remote places in our world... we live in an interconnected world where our security, physical health and economic well-being tomorrow depend on how we act today.'
Prof Jeffrey Sachs, Harvard University, Feb 2002

74 Terrorism
'To speak of development is to speak also of a strong and determined fight against terrorism.'
Alejandro Toledo, President of Peru, Monterrey, March 2002

75 One world
'We live in one world, not two.'
Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, Monterrey, March 2002

76 Subsidies
'Subsidies rob poor countries of markets for their products; spending on subsidies is six times what the rich countries provide in foreign aid to the developing world.'
James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, Monterrey, March 2002

77 Peace
'A lot of conflicts around the world now have an underlying cause, which is poverty. If they want to see global peace and stability, they should see this as something which should concern them very seriously.'
Kadi Sesay, Sierra Leone Development Minister, Monterrey, March 2002

79 Existing inequality and poverty
'By claiming that the rich are getting richer and the poor getting poorer, the critics of globalisation have chosen the wrong battleground. Even though many sections of the poor in the world economy have done badly for a variety of reasons... it is hard to establish an overall and clear-cut trend. Far more significant are the massive existing levels of inequality and poverty.'
Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winning economist, 19 July 2001

80 CSR
'Corporate social responsibility isn't about how a company spends its money; it's about how it earns it in the first place... about using its market position to promote competition and innovation; about supermarkets fostering local produce and diversity; about energy firms investing in renewables and conservation.'
Simon Caulkin, The Observer 7 April 2002

81 Local - Global
'Local Councils should increase their international activity and consider appointing an elected member and officer responsible for international development issues.'
Local Government Association, 14 Mar 2002

82 Purpose (2)
'Business hasn't properly engaged in the problems of the world's poorest countries, except where they happen to find there's oil or some other natural resource under the ground.'
Prof Jeffrey Sachs, Harvard University, 19 Mar 2002

83 Markets punish the poor
'It is not enough to say - though it is true - that without business the poor would have no hope of escaping their poverty. You must show that economics, properly applied, and profits, wisely invested, can bring social benefits within reach not only for the few, but for the many, and eventually for all.... The unpleasant truth is that markets put a premium on success, and tend to punish the poor for the very fact that they are poor.'
Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, New York, February 2002

84 Home - abroad
'What we know about today's world is that we are increasingly interdependent, and for any country or for Britain to shut itself off from its responsibilities in the world is in fact to damage not just our
standing and our ability to affect and influence events abroad, but also it harms what happens at home.’
Tony Blair, during visit to Nigeria, 7 Feb 2002

85 Avaricious view
‘There is a problem of inequality in how the fruits of globalisation are shared, and also the problem of corporate interests being allowed to shape policy and the world we live in so as best to suit their need, without a sufficiently strong counter-weight to capitalism’s naturally avaricious view.’
Noreena Hertz, author, Mar 2002

86 Corruption
‘In 1999-2001, the cost of corruption [in China] amounted to 14.5% of annual GDP.’
Hu Angang, Economist, Mar 2002

87 Fairly traded coffee
‘Starbucks. The scourge of anti-globalisation protesters, yesterday agreed to sell ‘politically correct’ coffee at its shops in Britain.’
Report in The Independent, 27 Feb 2002

88 Far from being naturally poor
‘The other impression from this visit was just how little I knew about Africa – which probably goes for most of us. The poverty was as expected – awful and everywhere. But there was also an intense, buzzing commercialism…Far from being naturally poor, they seemed to be natural traders and very hard workers, shut out of our markets by high tariffs.’
Andrew Marr, journalist, after his trip to Ghana with the Prime Minister, Feb 2002

89 Investment
‘Getting enterprises to invest in regions and countries with very limited initial market potential, high levels of corruption, no rule of law, and little educational, transport or healthcare infrastructure is an almost insurmountable problem.’
The Independent, 9 Feb 2002

90 Partnerships
‘September 11 was a reminder that the world needs to build bridges. That requires partnerships: between rich and poor; between governments, international organisations, civil society and the market; and between the public and the private sectors.’
Laurent Fabius, French Minister of the Economy, Feb 2002

91 Integration
‘Over the next 20 years, the rich world’s population will fall slightly, while the developing world will acquire two billion extra people, many of them in countries that are currently political and economic failures. Unless, with help from rich countries and from each other, they can find ways to integrate into the international economy, much of the potential gains from globalisation will be lost. The rich countries too will pay a price for that failure. Despite the seeming resilience to the shocks of 2001, these are fragile times.’
The Economist, 31 Jan 2002

92 Confidence in the markets
‘We are living in the second age of globalisation. It began in the early 1990s, with the end of the cold war, the collapse of communism and the conclusion of the Gulf crisis.
For the first time since 1914 the world has a truly global economy. During the 1990s world trade did something incredible – it actually doubled, to almost £5,500 billion – equivalent to a quarter of world gross domestic product. The advance of communications technology and the rapid fall in costs because of deregulation and competition have tied the world together in ways that were practically inconceivable a decade ago.
A decisive feature of this new world is the shift towards greater confidence in the markets and an appreciation of the flexibility and adaptability that they bring.’
Danial Yegin, The Sunday Times, 14 April 2002

93 Adversary to cooperation
‘Put simply, our message going into the World Summit is that business is not the problem, but rather, part of the solution. And I believe we have a positive story to tell… Ten years ago neat lines could be drawn between the various sectors of society. Business was business, government was government, and NGOs were NGOs. Now roles overlap and concerns and objectives are often shared. Further, as the magnitude and complexity of social and environmental problems grow, they exceed the institutional and economic capabilities of any single sector to deal with. These trends have prompted a shift from adversarial ‘positioning’ to, in many cases, cooperation to creating a lasting difference.’

94 Professionals behaving like professionals
‘He refuted the notion that multinationals were as powerful as nations. It was not as true as it seems. ‘They have to meet the test of consumer approval. They have to meet standards of accountability and regulation.’ The collapse of the Enron energy corporation had shown that ‘unless you can count on professionals behaving like professionals then the whole market economy is undermined.’”
Report on EU Commissioner Chris Patten’s lecture to the Royal Geographical Society 31 January 2002

95 Technical cooperation
‘Since the WTO’s 4th Ministerial Conference in Doha last November, the organisation has embarked upon a programme of greatly enhanced support for developing countries. A notable increase in the organisation’s budget, generous donations from member governments, significantly improved co-ordination with other international organisations and a doubling in the number of officials to attend the WTO’s training institute, will enable the organisation to provide technical assistance and capacity building in support of developing countries on an unprecedented scale.’
WTO News 28 March 2002

96 Centralised power
‘The core economic policies governing globalisation have only accelerated in the past year (fresh tax cuts, plans for new oil pipelines, deeper privatisation programmes, weaker labour protections…). No wonder so many young people have concluded that it is not the individual policies or politicians that
are at the problem, but the system of centralised power itself.’
Naomi Klein, The Guardian, 15 February 2002

97 Privatisation
‘At their meeting on 26 February 2002, the Board of Directors of the World Bank adopted the institution’s new and controversial Private Sector Development (PSD) strategy. The strategy aims to increase privatisation of basic services in countries across the world... It also aims to impose new investment standards on developing countries to promote increased private sector involvement...

Save the Children research has highlighted how increased commercial pressure in the health sector threatens children’s right to health by exacerbating existing problems of equity, quality and capacity in public health systems, many of which are already under severe strain.’
John Hilary, BOND Newsletter April 2002

98 Public opinion
‘People aren’t stupid. This survey shows that ordinary people are well aware of the negative impacts of globalisation – for themselves, for poor countries, for the environment. The public is taking global issues personally; the government and big business would be advised to listen to them.’
Anita Roddick, Founder and Co-chair of Body Shop International plc.

99 Violence
‘If you want to affect change and you want to use violence, you can expect that whatever world you live in afterwards will be a violent world. What goes around comes around.’
Alison Matthews in the video Nonviolence for a change, 2001, QPSW.

100 Risks and costs
‘The intentions of the anti-capitalist demonstrators and the fuel protestors in Europe are different, indeed opposed, but they express a similar frustration. Rightly, they believe the risks and costs of globalisation are being neglected or underestimated. Large sections of the public agree.’

101 Shaping the public mind
‘Business has a vital interest in understanding the values and goals of the critics of globalisation for two reasons. First, pressure groups articulate and shape the public mind more pervasively and effectively than any political party and they have a leverage on events that is often greater than that of government. If business ignores these realities it will pay a big price.’

102 Good deed trade
‘If there’s enough shareholder value to be earned from the good deed trade, it’s going to happen. We can choose to broaden the remit of global trade to eliminate hunger. For ever. That is a choice for our generation.’

103 Power, wealth and opportunity
‘The issue is not how to stop globalisation. The issue is how we use the power of the community to combine it with justice. If globalisation works only for the benefit of the few, then it will fail and will deserve to fail. But if we follow the principles that have served us so well at home – that power, wealth and opportunity must be in the hands of the many, not the few – if we make that our guiding light for the global economy, then it will be a force for good and an international movement that we should take pride in leading. Because the alternative to globalisation is isolation.’

104 Will
‘The “inevitability” of globalisation and the adjustment or submission of peoples all over the world to free market capitalism depend on the capacity of the dominant and ruling classes to bend people to their will and make them see the interests of capital as their own. It also depends on the capacity of these dominant classes and their ideologues to undermine the growing resistance to their model of free market capitalism – or, for that matter, capitalism in any form.’

105 Imperialism
‘The re-emergence of imperial relations – mistakenly described as ”globalisation” – has wrecked havoc on democratic practice. As democracy has been redefined as centralised elite decision-making with elections, the role of citizens as protagonists of public policy debates has declined. The result is greater voter apathy, increased abstention, rejection of political incumbents, ”anti-voting” and increased resort to extra-parliamentary action.’

106 For Whose Benefit?
‘Making trade work for people and the planet
The performance and legitimacy of the international trade system must be judged in relation to its ability to meet the global challenges facing the international community at the beginning of the 21st Century: namely poverty, social injustice and environmental degradation.

To continue on the current course is not an option. The challenge is clear. But meeting it will require political will and fundamental changes to the world trading regime so as to put people and the environment at its heart. This is the demand of the undersigned agencies and we call on our governments to rise to the challenge.’
http://www.tradejusticemovement.org.uk/statement.html
November 2000

107 Insecurity and dislocation
‘Even prior to September 11, world leaders were belatedly starting to acknowledge that globalisation was suffering a serious legitimacy crisis across developed and developing world alike. Now that issue has been inextricably combined with an equally important one: confronting the complex ways in which global poverty and inequality have helped nurture the new politics of terror. To understand these phenomena it is necessary first to grasp the scale of the insecurity and dislocation caused by globalisation itself.’
Mark Raloch Brown, Administrator of the UNDP
108 Sovereign rights

‘Why should the WTO have the right to intervene in matters which governments should have the sovereign right to control? They are asking us, with our people living below the poverty line, to remove support in the most basic areas that guarantee dignity and human rights.’
Lauren Harrison, Zimbabwean-based campaigner on women and law (quoted in World Development Movement annual review 2001)

109 Trade rules

‘World trade rules are a fundamental cause of poverty here. We are forced to export our crops for a pitance, while the richer countries demand high prices for the goods we need from them. Farmers are doing what they can to fight poverty but they cannot win unless world trade rules change.’
Yorokamu Abainnemar, Ugandan campaigner for fair trade rules (quoted in World Development Movement annual review 2001)

110 Technology

‘Today’s production systems are not sustainable: they are too capital intensive, too resource consuming, too heavily subsidised, and too wasteful. Yet every country wishes today to ‘become competitive in the world economy’ by emulating the same technological strategies.’
Ashok Kosla, President of Development Alternatives, quoted in ‘Co-operation South, UNDP, 2001

111 Sustainability

‘The world is shrinking and interdependency is the driving force of development today. It forces upon us the need to reinvigorate effective implementation of sustainable development... To develop [the right] architecture, we need to join forces together, developed and developing countries. Both...are in the same spaceship earth facing the challenge of moving along the charted course of sustainable development. The alternative to this is that we all together, developed and developing countries in this same spaceship earth, will crash in an environmental catastrophe.’
Enni Salim, ex-Environment Minister in Indonesia, and Chair of the Bureau for the World Summit, at first PrepCom for WSSD, May 2001

112 Conflict

‘The single most important threat to sustainable development globally is poverty and the widening gap between the rich and the desperately poor. This is not only a threat to poor nations but also to wealthy nations, as the instability, conflict, disease and environmental degradation associated with poverty threaten the overall socio-economic status of our planet.’
Mohammed Valli Mossa, Minister for Environment and Tourism, South Africa, Sep 2001

113 Media influence

‘The current definition and assessment of globalisation have been virtually monopolised by a relatively small number of influential actors which have global reach, power and ambitions... For all practical purposes this framework has been foisted on an uninformed or largely receptive international community. This has taken place partly through the very mechanisms and technologies which are making globalisation possible...The world public receives much of its news and knowledge from very short, simplified TV messages which originate in the same intellectual-cum-political kitchen – a virtual hypnosis and ‘global brainwash’ of the broad public.’
Bratislav戈洛维奇, the South Centre, in Co-operation South, UNDP, 2001

114 Corruption

‘On our part, we are fully committed to accountability, transparency and efficiency in the use of financial aid.’
Hamid Karzai, Chairman of Afghanistan’s interim government, speaking at an international donors’ conference in Tokyo on the disbursement of USD 3 billion to Afghanistan, Financial Times, 22 January 2002

115 Accountability

‘This was a very large corporation. It would be impossible to know everything going on.’
Jeffrey K Skilling, former chief executive, Enron, New York Times 8 February 2002

116 Basic determinants

‘Where people’s abilities, motivations and political institutions are favourable, material progress will occur. Where these basic determinants are unfavourable, development will not occur, even with aid.’
Prof The Lord Bauer, development economist, quoted after his death in 2002

117 ODA declines

‘Official development assistance (ODA) from [OECD countries] fell to $51.4bn last year (2001) from $53.7bn in 2000, a drop of 1.4% in real terms... The proportion as a percentage of gross national income remained unchanged at 0.22 per cent, against 0.33 per cent in 1990-92.’
OECD report, May 2002

118 Institutional reforms

‘Foreign investors... play a crucial role in developing a cadre of citizens who understand and support the rule of law and a civil society. ... Foreign investment is a dynamic agent for institutional and legal reform in developing countries, the impact of which reaches well beyond simple economic development. ... The need for a more meaningful dialogue between the international development institutions and the private sector ... is clear and pressing.’
John Henko, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 8 May 2002

119 Action and reflection

One useful question to consider is why 40 years ago South Korea and Senegal had roughly the same gross domestic product per capita, whereas today South Korea’s is about 20 times higher. There are many reasons, but one cannot be the ‘inequity’ of the international trading system, as it was the same for South Korea as it was for Senegal. One difference, however, may be that whereas in South Korea they just got on with it and focused energy on forcing their way into the system, in Senegal, as in many other African countries, ... they wasted a lot of energy grumbling, complaining and finding external causes for internal problems.’
Prof Jean-Pierre Lehmann, International Institute for Management Development, and founding Director of the Evian Group, May 2002

120 Fact of life?

‘Globalisation is a force that does not allow the luxury of saying, ‘Stop, I want to get off’. It is impossible to stop satellite television, the internet and telecommunications. It is impossible to ban air travel or pop culture; impossible to ban the mobility of capital. The question, therefore, is not whether it can be stopped or abolished. Globalisation is a fact of life and the real question is: ‘What sort of globalisation do we want and how can we get it?’’
121 Global citizenship
‘GlaxoSmithKline takes its responsibilities as a global citizen extremely seriously. After all, people have every right to expect a company that aims to improve the quality of human life to also strive to make the world a better place in which to enjoy life.’

122 Global forces
‘Globalisation is a highly uneven set of processes whose impact varies over space, through time, and between social groups. Global forces by-pass many peoples and places. Many towns in the Third World, as well as rural areas of Western society, produce mainly for local consumption using local techniques. Even within global cities certain neighbourhoods where poverty and disadvantage prevail are peripheral to the working of the global economy. The unevenness of globalisation is apparent at all levels of society. At the world scale it is seen in the disparities between booming and declining regions, and at the urban scale in the social polarisation between affluent and marginalized citizens.’

123 Convergence and polarisation
‘I have argued that globalisation is a movement of worldwide social transformation spearheaded by the dual forces of capitalism and democracy... Looking at globalisation in terms of a conflict between these two forces has a number of advantages over approaches that reduce it to one central animus. It has been the weakness of several theories of globalisation that they reduce globalisation to a logic of worldwide convergence neglecting the other side, namely, the polarisation of global units and their internal fragmentation.’

124 Political education
‘This week I have discovered how many people care about the issues of trade and how it affects poor countries... the sheer weight of correspondence I have received on this clearly reflects the wider concerns of the people of Ashford.’
Damian Green, MP Kentish Express, 27 June 2002

125 Hope
Africa is not a "hopeless" continent as some have described it. Uganda has reduced poverty by 20 percentage points in the last ten years; growth has averaged around 7% a year. HIPC debt relief and aid have been used to help provide free primary education. As a result enrolment has doubled, putting millions of children into school.
Mozambique has seen growth of 9% over the past 4 years. Tanzania is now providing free primary education. As a result of courageous new policies, Mali has reduced poverty dramatically in the past 4 years.
The prime minister's Commons statement on the G8 Summit in Canada. 1 July 2002