
UNIT 26 ENVIRONMENT

Structure

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Definitions
- 26.3 Historical Insights
- 26.4 Imperatives
- 26.5 Movements in Some Countries
 - 26.5.1 Sarawak Tribals Movement
 - 26.5.2 The Rainforest Protection in Brazil
 - 26.5.3 Maoist Movement in Tree Plantation in China
 - 26.5.4 Tribal Resistance in Mexico
 - 26.5.5 Chico Movement in Philippines
 - 26.5.6 Southern Nigeria's Resistance Movement
 - 26.5.7 Greens of Germany
 - 26.5.8 Green Peace Movement
 - 26.5.9 Other Contributors to Environmental Movements
- 26.6 Movements in India
 - 26.6.1 Chipko Movement
 - 26.6.2 Save the Silent Valley Campaign
 - 26.6.3 Save the Taj Campaign
 - 26.6.4 Save the Soil Campaign
 - 26.6.5 Thai Vaishet Campaign
 - 26.6.6 Bedthi Campaign
 - 26.6.7 Stop Bhopalpatnam – Inchampal Dams
 - 26.6.8 Doon Mining
 - 26.6.9 Karnataka's Degraded Forests
 - 26.6.10 Kaiga Campaign
 - 26.6.11 Gandhamardhan Bauxite Mining
 - 26.6.12 Narmada Bachao Andolan
 - 26.6.13 Save the Western Ghats March
 - 26.6.14 Tehri Dam Campaign
 - 26.6.15 Rayon Factory Pollution
 - 26.6.16 Chilka Bachao Andolan
 - 26.6.17 Centre for Science and Environment
 - 26.6.18 Chattisgarh Movement
 - 26.6.19 Water-shed Movements
 - 26.6.20 Auroville Movement
 - 26.6.21 Bishnoi Tradition
- 26.7 The Indian Scenario : A Perspective
- 26.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 26.9 Some Useful Books
- 26.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

26.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit endeavours to illustrate that people organised or otherwise can ventilate their responses to changes in their environment through dissents, protests and resistance instead of the usual political mechanisms of parties and representatives.

This unit covers the following subjects – ecology, environment, resources, development, consequences of development to society and responses of people to these challenges. After going through this unit you will be able to understand:

- what constitutes ecology and environment;
- meaning and nature of environment movements;
- types of some environment movements in various countries; and
- nature and importance of environment movements in India.

26.1 INTRODUCTION

The improvement of living conditions of mankind, through the exploitation of natural resources, economic growth and social development, has been happening for centuries. However, this progress is considered very limited for five major reasons by the Club of Rome and supported by the Global 2000 Report.

- Over population
- Insufficient Energy
- Depletion of Resources
- Hygiene and Sanitation
- Pollution

Therefore a brief knowledge of ecology, environment, resources, their systems, development and consequences is desirable to understand why social movements occur in defense of environment. Let us start with some definitions.

26.2 DEFINITIONS

Ecology

Ecology means a continuous symbiosis – mutual dependence of all the constituents of the planet earth – on water and land – forming a common pool utilising each other yet replenishing the common pool of resourcefulness.

Therefore, all constituents ultimately balance each other – soil, water, plants, animals, minerals, atmosphere, energy and humans. All these are distributed on earth in different combinations and permutations. Each of such units is called an Ecosystem with its diagnostic and distinguishing characteristics.

Environment

Environment suggests that human species considers himself as external to the symbiotic milieu of all other components and treats them merely as his resources for his satisfaction. Therefore, *SWAMPEAH* became the environment of human society.

Resources

Water, soil and land, plants, animals, microbes, minerals and atmosphere constitute the resource base of humankind besides themselves. These have a variety of distributional patterns and productivity profiles both in quality and quantity.

Ecosystems

The above resources are distributed on the planet in about 40+ ecosystems accommodating different types of the above and developing distinguishing

features of themselves in due course of evolution, such as forests, deserts, wetlands, seas, islands, rivers, grasslands, savannahs in equatorial, tropical, subtropical, temperate and other climatic and geographic zones and influenced by longitudes and altitudes.

Development

Resources present in various systems are exploited for human consumption and development by the use of knowledge, experiences and experimental knowledge through science and technology. This usage is done by a planning by the political authorities following a political process using administrative mechanisms taking into consideration the social and economic well being of people. Consequently the distribution of resources as well as the products of development constitute a basic ingredient of all these processes for equity and justice to be ensured. Industry, trade, commerce and markets, therefore, are inseparable. During these processes several consequences have resulted.

Consequences

Development changes though designed to be good to all concerned have bad consequences in time and space on (a) other components of earth, Swampeah, as a whole, i.e. ecosystems and their ecology, (b) on other peoples of other ecosystems, (c) on people of their own ecosystems and (d) on themselves.

- a) The First consequence is a change in the existing scenarios – depletion of resources, degradation of the systems and ecological imbalances where the ownership of resources and/or development changes hands sowing the seeds of injustice, inequalities, discontent and ferment.
- b) The second consequence is economic – reorientation in the internal production and distribution, external trade deficits, internal and external loans and investments, debt burdens and the economic back lashes on sections of people who have nothing to fall back.
- c) The third consequence is social – inequalities, hopes and despair, divisions, conflicts, hatred and violence. As the traditional values disappear along with the traditional resources and usage patterns the world gets divided into rich nations, poor nations, rich people, poor people with buffers everywhere becoming fixed stars, while hopes and despairs alternate periodically as per the whims of people in power. Goodness and other human values continuously vane inexorably making most lives worthless. This is the inherent meaning of Dandekar's Poverty Line.
- d) The fourth type of consequences are the backlashes in the environmental and ecological processes which often defy even a comprehension leave alone alleviations. Once these are set in, it is difficult to reverse. Examples: Acid Rain, Ozone depletion, etc.

Responses

Consequently people react to adversities responding to the challenges to their ecological security. This happened in the past and continues to happen in different parts of the planet earth. These are outlined later in this unit.

The responses were first expressions of concern, advises and cautions. They gradually grew into protests and resistances – local, regional and even global in character and magnitude. These resistances assumed legal form, social movements and finally crossing the normally accepted political mechanisms of change. These are the social movements in defense of human environment or environmental movements for social harmony.

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What do you understand by Ecology, Environment and Ecosystem?

.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) What are the consequences of Development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

26.3 HISTORICAL ASPECTS

The state of the planet earth can be summarised as a patch work quilt of nine worlds brought about by four World Wars, the final fifth one on-going. This scenario will be characterised by a ratio of 2:3:5 between the upper, middle, and lower classes among the global populations as the final settlement of all wars in history. The major victim is the Planet Earth, the mother of all resources and the major villain, consumerism, the mother of all problems. The only solution for all these is ecological sanity characterised by continuous environmental movements.

The above story has many authors. A few of these are: Huxley, Vogt, Ehrlich, Commoner, Leopold, Boulding, Mead, Club of Rome, Greens, Gandhi, WWF, Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Geographical International, etc. All these, however, were preceded by Vedic Wisdoms, Buddhism and Jainism rooted in India which was taken to heart by Beat Poets like Dylan Thomas and Alan Ginsberg, ISKCON and other similar followers of Indian thought. Modern Indian philosophers without much roots in western materialism voiced similarly – Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Krishna Chaitanya and Gandhians. The most interesting of all these is the Chief Baltimore who warned the Europeans taking over their lands and introduced the term RAINBOW WARRIORS for ecological activists of today which was rightly chosen by the Green Peace Movement as the name for its monitoring and scouting Flagship!

The environmental movements have no left or right. They have only front and back – Thinking globally but acting locally.

26.4 IMPERATIVES

All over the world, the Altruists have come to the open in the form of voluntary organisations (NGOs) committed to social justice and ecological security and recovery, first as adjuncts to governmental activity, later as better agents of change, and now as weak political forces. India's environment movement is a product of its democratic system. It essentially rests on three planks – increasing involvement of voluntary agencies and social activists across the country – their

increasing access to the country's media and the courts. Indian environmental groups have organised numerous protest movements against deforestation, construction of high dams, mining, pollution and nuclear power plants with varying degrees of success.

26.5 MOVEMENTS IN SOME COUNTRIES

26.5.1 Sarawak Tribals Movement

Sarawak is an enclave of Malaysia in the island of Kalimantan (Borneo) which mostly belong to Indonesia. Malaysian government started felling trees on a large scale for export to Japan en route to Europe. The trade profits went to some contractors of Malay origin by executive orders. The mainland people were debarred from access to Sarawak by law. There was a veil of secrecy about the whole operations.

The natives of Sarawak, victimised both by a depletion of resources, as well as deprivation of the accrued profits, were outraged by the censorship of the information flow also – adding insult to injury. There was a popular upsurge against timber mining led by an educated young tribal, Harrison Ngao until some concessions were extracted. And the outrage on resources and profits were mitigated considerably and the whole world came to know of this macabre episode climaxing with the alternate Nobel Prize to Ngao.

26.5.2 The Rainforest Protection in Brazil

Rain forests in Brazil were under constant stress of cattle ranches, mineral prospecting, rubber cultivation besides timber mining. In some parts rubber plantations were replacing pristine forests forcing the local tribals into cheap labourhood in the rubber plantations. This victimisation was sought to be resisted by the local tribals under the leadership of Chico Mendes. While the governments and media were alerted and some semblance of justice was forthcoming Chico was murdered by the agents of Rubber Mafia. But the movement was not in vain.

26.5.3 Maoist Movement in Tree Planting in China

During the cultural revolution in China Mao Tse Tung realised the value of trees in revitalising the ecology and provision for a welcome environment to Humans as no Marxist leader has ever realised. Consequently 500 million trees were planted all over China by the young revolutionaries and were mandated to maintain them until developing permanency in the habitat.

26.5.4 Tribal Resistance in Mexico

As a sequel to North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Mexico, USA and Canada the agricultural pattern was sought to be altered in the South-East Aztec Region of Mexico. The local tribals resisted the implementation of any changes in their traditional mores with an armed rebellion. NAFTA itself was questioned forcing the government to intervene in their favour.

26.5.5 Chico Movement in Philippines

Chico river in Northern Philippines was sought to be dammed for electricity generation and irrigation of the plains. The construction was objected because this region was uncared for despite being undeveloped for decades. It has been,

therefore, agreed by the government to develop the region simultaneously on a priority basis. But nothing of this kind has happened. The workers on the dam side struck work inviting repression from the government. The response was a counter action by the local people. The perception of the local people was that the irrigation and electricity benefits other people while they are not even in a position to appreciate them leave alone utilise them. The counter violence gradually became a Guerrilla warfare. The Manila Government was not able to quell this armed rebellion in defence of their natural resources from getting hijacked for other peoples.

26.5.6 Southern Nigeria's Resistance Movement

Southern Nigeria is a contrast to the rest of the country. It is richer in resources of nature; better educated and cultured; preponderously Christian and politically uninfluential. The local people resented the siphoning of their resources. A movement for human rights was organised by them under the leadership of Ken Sarowivo which grew from strength to strength in popularity. The movement demanded a share of the revenues from petroleum in their region. The companies as well as the government became restive as the field operations came to a stand still and a little violence erupted which is natural in all confrontations. The leadership was rounded up and the supreme leader Ken Sarowivo hanged very cruelly ignoring the protests from global leaderships.

26.5.7 Greens of Germany

By far the most important of the environmental movements in the world is the 'Die Grunen' of Germany. This group was formed in 1970s when many sectorial groups with inherent internal inadequacies discovered a common cause in ecological consciousness. Thus Leftists, Feminists, Anarchists, Marxists, Liberation Theologians, Hippies, Atheists, Nonconformists and the like joined together with a single motto of ecological sanctity which resembles Marxism and Gandhism. This evoked such an opposition that they were ostracized clubbing with terrorists and anarchists and debarred from holding public offices. They however enjoyed a popularity among the commoners. Finding this of no avail to change the suicidal policies of governments, they entered civic elections and captured some city corporations. Yet they could only be partially successful. Fearing that they may enter mainstream politics, the establishment reacted by imposing a minimum 5% national vote for any party if its representatives were to sit in the Bundestag. Yet they obtained over 7% vote and the unfancied Greens entered the parliament. This is a watershed in the evolution of ecological movements in the world.

Green movements have spread all over Europe. The traditional political parties included ecological agenda in their manifestations. In Germany, the greens fared badly in the next elections but societies in Europe became sensitised to ecological issues. The recent elections in Germany saw the Greens back into reckoning. They now share power along with other parties. The entire Europe has similar outfits now.

They brought earth consciousness, developed an unopposable and universally acceptable agenda, introduced electoralism and civic environmentalism, green manifesto. In short ecology has been politicised and politics ecolised. One of the foremost leaders of this movement was Petra Kelly.

26.5.8 Green Peace Movement

Green Peace Movement which has origins in Europe is more down to earth than others. They are more practical and direct. They have championed many causes

in defense of human environment following a variety of methods. Some of the movements they carried out with varied success are: against whale hunting by Japan, nuclear testing by France, copper mining in Brazilian rainforests and generally in favour of disarmament and against radiation hazards anywhere. This is a great role model for other movements elsewhere.

26.4.9 Other Contributors to Environmental Movements

World Watch Institute, World Resources Institute, Friends of the Earth and a score of others in Europe and America have been either conducting information campaigns to help initiate changes or environmental movements. Most of the people who were felicitated with Right Livelihood Awards, popularly known as Alternate Nobel Prizes, were activists in defense of human environment – Rosalie Bettsell, Vandana Shiva, Harrison Ngao et al.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How and why have the environment movements emerge?

.....

- 2) What is the importance of Greens of Germany?

.....

26.6 MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

26.6.1 Chipko Movement

Spearheaded by the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal, a Gandhian organisation, the Chipko Movement began as a protest movement in 1973 against the policy of the government of Uttar Pradesh to auction forests. Chipko activists stand for people's rights in forests and have since gone on to organise women's groups for afforestation. Chipko essentially meaning – HUG the TREES – to prevent felling, remains the most favoured environmental movement in India. It was launched by Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Bhat.

As a sequel to the above movement, several wild life sanctuaries have been carved out and poaching in these areas has been made a cognizable offense. Indeed, laws which prohibited killing endangered species of animals and birds were passed through mid-sixties. The Gir lion, the Bengal tiger, the great Indian Bustard and a few other species benefited a great deal through such laws. For some species, they came too late: for example, the Indian Cheetah and the musk deer. But the questions raised by environmentalists are far more basic and it is in question so raised that the quintessence environmental movement lies.

Over several years this experience had inspired another movement called “Appiko” in Karnataka again to hug trees to prevent felling around the Western Ghats.

26.6.2 Save the Silent Valley Campaign

This is the first major campaign against a dam in India, which started in the early 1980s. It successfully saved a genetically rich and one of the last remaining rainforests in Kerala from being submerged. The campaign was spearheaded by the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad, and supported by all specialists in India.

26.6.3 Save the Taj Campaign

Environmentalists feared that pollution from the Mathura refinery, located 40 kms. away, could damage the Taj Mahal. The heat they generated forced the authorities to take precautionary measures and monitor the monument from any sign of deterioration from air pollution.

26.6.4 Save the Soil Campaign

Known as the Mitti Bachao Abhiyan, the movement was launched in 1977 against the waterlogging and salinity caused by the Tawa dam in Madhya Pradesh. The campaign mobilised local farmers to demand compensation for the lands affected.

26.6.5 Thai Vaishet Campaign

The setting of the world's biggest urea plant just 21 km. from Bombay at Thai Vaishet evoked enormous opposition from city groups, notably the Bombay Environmental Action Group, which feared that the plant will increase Bombay's pollution and over congestion. Their concerted efforts delayed the project over two years but failed to change the site.

26.6.6 Bedthi Campaign

This hydroelectric project located in Karnataka was the second in India – after Silent Valley – to be abandoned after environmental protests. The project would have submerged tracts of forests and prosperous areca nut, cardamom and pepper gardens. Local farmers and eminent scientists from Bangalore campaigned against the project.

26.6.7 Stop Bhopalpatnam – Inchampal Dams

These two dams on the Indravati river in Maharashtra were stopped due to local protests from tribals led by the Jungle Bachao Manav Bachao Andolan – a coalition of activists, politicians and social workers.

26.6.8 Doon Mining

Limestone mining in the Doon valley and Mussoorie hills has left permanent scars on the famous hill, destroying forests and permanent water sources. The Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra in Dehra Dun filed a public interest case in the Supreme Court and the Court in a historic judgement ordered the closure of the mines on grounds of environmental destruction.

26.6.9 Karnataka's Degraded Forests

The Karnataka government's decision to grant nearly 80,000 acres of degraded forest land and revenue land to a joint sector company, for afforestation was opposed by environmentalists. Samaj Parivartana Samudaya, a local voluntary agency has filed a petition in the Supreme Court contending that people's access to government forest land is crucial to their survival and so the governments decision to undertake afforestation through commercial interests, affects their fundamental right to life.

26.6.10 Kaiga Campaign

Opposition to the nuclear power plant at Kaiga in Karnataka started in 1984. Inspite of the government's decision to go ahead with the project, local groups comprising farmers, betel nut growers, fisherfolk, journalists and writers wanted the project to fold up. The project continued with considerable improvements to allay the fears of local people.

26.6.11 Gandhamardhan Bauxite Mining

The proposal to mine bauxite in the Gandhamardhan reserve forest in Orissa even though formally cleared by the government, has been stalled because of the intense agitation of the local tribals who do not want to see their forests destroyed.

26.6.12 Narmada Bachao Andolan

This campaign against the massive river valley projects on the Narmada river, one in Madhya Pradesh and another in Gujarat, evinced enormous public interest. In a now famous meeting in Harsud in Madhya Pradesh, several thousands of campaigners across the country, gathered to express their solidarity to the cause.

Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar Projects are designed to take water to Kutch to Gujarat. Four states are involved in the execution of this Project – Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, Gujarat being the major beneficiary. The mandatory report on the environmental status dealt with eight relevant issues: catchment area, treatment, compensatory afforestation, command area development, rehabilitation, flora/fauna, archaeology, seismicity and health aspects.

This report pointed out that while the environmental and rehabilitation aspects should be implemented simultaneously with the main construction work, the construction work progressed faster by four years while all others are far behind schedule. The worst was resettlement of the oustees. It is against this background that Ms. Medha Patkar has launched a historic agitation. Meanwhile the dam height was sought to be raised. Every trick conceived was faced squarely until World Bank revised its stand and the government of Madhya Pradesh softened its stand. The Andolan continues.

26.6.13 Save the Western Ghats March

This padyatra, jointly organised by a number of environmental groups in 1988, covered over 1,300 km. across the States of Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The March focused attention on the environmental problems of the Western Ghats.

26.5.14 Tehri Dam Campaign

The construction of Tehri dam in seismic Himalayas has been challenged by many environmental groups. Protests by the Tehri Bandh Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti, a local organisation, have continued for over 20 years.

Setting of industries and power plants has increasingly become a cause of protest because of fears of possible pollution and destruction of the surrounding environment.

In recent years, there have also been protests against nuclear power plants at Narora, Kakrapur, Kaiga, Koodankulam and Nagarjunasagar and against their possible setting in Kerala.

26.5.15 Rayon Factory Pollution

The case of "Mayur" in Kerala illustrates what law can do. The Birlas built a Rayon factory there taking advantage of abundant availability of bamboo in that area. Soon the local population began to enjoy a better level of prosperity than before. The factory let out the effluents into the nearby river. The water consequently became non potable. An agitation forced it to close up. The township went back to its earlier poverty. A new agitation to get the factory reopened succeeded ensuring steps to prevent air and water pollution.

26.6.16 Chilka Bachao Andolan

Chilka, Asia's largest brackish water lake lies on Bay of Bengal in Orissa State and is 60 km. long and 30 km. broad at farthest points with an area of 1,200 sq. km. during monsoon. Winter brings millions of migratory birds from the far corners of the world. Therefore, open part of the lake, along with Nalaban Island, has been turned into a sanctuary. The lake's mouth into sea is rich in dolphins. With all this, Chilka has been a major attraction for tourists and nature lovers for a long time. But over the last few decades things turned murky converting it into an area of conflicts and violence.

It all started by the Tata Project with Orissa Government – a large shrimp culture complex in lake with a Rs.30 crore turnover. In response a former Orissa Revenue Minister Banka Behari Das launched the Chilka Bachao Andolan. The Andolan contended that the project (a) would block local fisherman's access to the lake (b) take away a vast grazing ground of the local cattle (c) pollute the lake with organic nutrients and fermented feed at regular intervals – killing the marine life and drive the fish catch already falling due to salutation and declining salinity, and (d) drive away the migratory birds because of the large number of diesel pumps of high horse power to be used for maintaining the flow of water.

India is a signatory to the Ramsar International Treaty on wetland preservation where Chilka was identified as one of the world's most important water bodies on account of its unique ecosystem. Therefore, in October 1992 central government decided not to grant environmental clearance to the Tata Project. And in November 1993, came a judgement from Division Bench of the Orissa High Court in defense of Chilka Lake Ecosystem.

Meanwhile, economic pressures made many non-fishermen turn to the lake for survival. The Chilka Bachao Andolan, took up the cause of the fishermen with renewed vigour involving local villagers on a large scale. This movement was supported by environmental specialists by and large.

Yet commerce and profit proved stronger than ecology and welfare. The outsiders have used local non-fishermen to encroach upon the lake and the barriers used by prawn farms near the lake connection with sea reduced the local catches leading to popular agitations and police firing. The current demand is to ban the prawn farming in toto in Chilka and the andolan continues.

26.6.17 Centre for Science and Environment

This Centre has been doing immense service to the cause of environment for the last two decades under the leadership of Anil Agarwal. Though they have not directly organised any environmental resistance movements, they have championed their causes, provided information supports background materials, advised for policy changes, lobbying the paradigm shifts and attitudinal changes from Presidents and Prime Ministers to commoners with exemplary positive efforts. Without CSE and its periodical Down to Earth reports many movements in India would not have been known to the concerned citizenry.

26.6.18 Chattisgarh Movement of Sankar Guha Neogi

Sankar Guha Neogi organised tribals of Chattisgarh against exploitation of every kind the most prominent being against the profiteering from forest produce. While he mixed environment with trade unionism and representative politics, his thrust has always been ecological security for the local people and tribals. No wonder he has been killed, unable to bear his successes, by the oppressive elements.

26.6.19 Water-shed Movements in Maharashtra, Palamau and Sukhomajori

These are comparatively smaller movements not aimed against any oppression. These are concerned about sharing the most sacred of resources, water, among all the needy. The Paani Panchayats in some parts of Maharashtra were successful. The experiment at Sukhomajori on the regeneration of a whole village based on water use has been repeated at Palamau and is considered a Role Model, shortcomings notwithstanding.

26.6.20 Auroville Movement

Auroville is a small settlement of concerned individuals of many nationalities bound by the philosophy of Aurobindo and ecological conservation and security. This has been functioning for the last 30 years. Just by example they have been able to resurrect both concerns as well as efforts for better environment. Restoration of degenerated soil, harvesting solar and wind energies, recycling wastes for better agroproductivity, alternatives to chemical pesticides, social forestry, organic farming, tank regeneration, watershed management, ecologically sound housing are some among their activities. In fact this Auroville movement can be mother of a myriad peoples' movements in the rest of India.

26.6.21 Bishnoi Tradition

The Chipko movement derived inspiration from the tradition of Bishnois in Rajasthan to protect the trees and the wild life associated with them for which their women folk laid their lives long ago. Even recently the media reported how some film stars of Bombay were hauled up for violating this sanctity under Bishnois' initiative. This tradition is by far the most sustained environmental movement in India.

26.7 THE INDIAN SCENARIO : A PERSPECTIVE

Resources of water, soil, land, plants, animals, air, energy, forests are all inadequate to meet basic needs. Common properties are owned up. The projects of development do not spread equitably. Yet their by-products and improper exploitation of resources degrade the common heritage, the ecosystems. As a natural corollary more and more people are deprived of subsistences, who go down the poverty-line. They will soon constitute half of India.

Huge projects, irrigational and industrial provide only a very short – lived relief. In the long run, each project disturbs the ecology of the area so much that clear water, clean air, healthy food and bio-resources cannot be taken for granted. A natural corollary to all inequalities will be conflicts, violence and even Bosnian – because injustice will not be accepted by all people and for all times. The expansionism of development syndrome will ruin our resources, ecology and environment still further. Human progress is taking place at an unsustainably high cost.

Government is responsible for development and progress. It has all the resources for protection of environment: knowledge inputs – decision making – finances – bureaucracy and party functionaries and workers – external inputs and expertise. Yet voluntarism is preferred, advocated, encouraged and depended upon. HAS THE POLITY DEGENERATED?

How long can a voluntary Action sustain itself? A federation of NGOs is essential for enhancing the power of lobbying for and achieving the cherished objectives. If the political forces, parties and mechanisms do not become ecology conscious environmental activists themselves have to turn into political forces. Otherwise ecological anarchy breeds social and political anarchies.

In the meantime judicial activism has come as a ‘welcome innovation’. Public Interest Litigation and Green Benches ensure to prevent assaults on environment especially polluting industries and provide necessary life breath to environmental movements to sustain themselves.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe the nature and importance of Chipko Movement.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) What are the issues involved in Narmada Bachao Andolan?

.....
.....
.....
.....

- 3) What are the issues involved in environmental degradation?

26.8 LET US SUM UP

Earth and its components are heritage resources of mankind. Due to owning up of these by some sections of human society severe negative consequences fell on others. When governments are unable to prevent these avoidable problems before they become irreversible backlashes, some rear guard action is initiated by intellectuals, concerned citizens and locally affected people. This substitution for the responsibilities of a welfare government, by Gandhians, Marxists, Scientists, Conservationists and Victims, in fact, constitutes a new dimension to political theory.

These movements may be political and social resistances, educational and awareness campaigns, public opinion builders, but are policy changers all for better environment to more people for longer time.

Million mutinies have occurred in this world by a variety of people against environmental unconsciousness and damage, but have remained unrecorded and unheralded.

26.9 KEY WORDS

Guerilla Warfare	: Fights conducted by small secret groups not members of regular army in towns.
Liberation Theologians	: Concern and action for social justice by those who are basically religious scholars. In other words religions Concern for social justice.
Feminists	: Those who are concerned in the women's rights and involved in movements for the same.
Anarchists	: Persons who believe that government and laws are undesirable and therefore should be abolished.

26.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Down to Earth, Ecologist, Publications of CSE, Earth Scan, and World Watch Institute

TV Channels of Discovery and National Geographic

26.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Ecology – A continuous symbiosis – mutual dependence of all the constituents of the planet.

Environment- Consideration by human beings outside ecology and making use of that only for their use.

Ecosystems- Distribution of environment resources in different systems like forests, deserts, wetlands etc.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 26.4
- 2) See Sub-section 26.5.7

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-section 26.6.1
- 2) See Sub-section 26.6.12
- 3) See Section 26.7

UNIT 27 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Structure

- 27.0 Objectives
- 27.1 Introduction
- 27.2 Meaning of Human Rights
 - 27.2.1 Difference between Democratic Rights and Human Rights
- 27.3 Historical Background of Human Rights Movement
 - 27.3.1 Demand for Human Rights after World War II
- 27.4 UN Declaration of Human Rights
- 27.5 Human Rights Movement
- 27.6 United Nations and Human Rights
- 27.7 Regional Conventions and Covenants
 - 27.7.1 European Convention
 - 27.7.2 Latin America
 - 27.7.3 Africa
 - 27.7.4 South East Asia
 - 27.7.5 Middle East
- 27.8 NGOs and Human Rights Movement
- 27.9 Human Rights Movement in India
- 27.10 Human Rights Movement: An Assessment
- 27.11 Let Us Sum Up
- 27.12 Key Words
- 27.13 Some Useful Books
- 27.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

27.0 OBJECTIVES

In the context of social movements, this unit deals with the meaning, nature, characteristics and justification of human rights movement in the twentieth century with special reference to UN Declaration of Human Rights. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the concept of human rights;
- differentiate between the democratic rights and the human rights;
- ideas behind the UN Declaration of Human Rights and various other Covenants on human rights;
- why there is a need for human rights over and above the rights enshrined in the constitutions of the states;
- development of human rights as a worldwide movement; and
- various regional, national, local and non-governmental organisations involved in the protection and promotion of human rights.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

To emphasise the importance of rights, adjectives like ‘natural’, ‘fundamental’, ‘human’ have been used in the long history of their development. Twentieth century has been described as the century of human rights because the concept of ‘Human Rights’ became increasingly important in liberal democratic and socialist

countries as also in the underdeveloped world. After two world wars, there started various types of movements for human rights, particularly after Nazi and Fascist repressions and curbs on freedoms. Today virtually all states subscribe officially to some doctrine of human rights; in every case, there is a general political theory justifying the kind of society and the political institutions. The UN Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent covenants on human rights (1966) recognised that individuals have rights and obligations over and above those set down in their own judicial and administrative system. The Declaration accepted the fact that there are clear occasions when an individual has a moral obligation beyond that of his obligations as a citizen of a state, i.e., opening up a gap between the rights and duties bestowed by citizenship and the creation in international law of a new form of liberties and obligations. To understand these we discuss below the meaning and nature of human rights and various movements for promotion and protection of these.

27.2 MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The term 'human rights' refer to the concept that every member of the human race has a set of basic claims simply by virtue of his humanness. They are rights claimed in respect of all human beings as human beings. They are said to be universal rather than national and are different from legal rights. They are claims that belong to everyone regardless of any provisions that may or may not exist for him in a particular state. They are based upon the simple fact that a human being should not be forbidden from certain things by any government. They are inherent in human beings rather than in societies and states. They are called human rights because they are no longer derived from the operations of natural reason but from what is called 'human'. It is derived, for example, from the fact that a person, who is malnourished, tortured, wrongly imprisoned, illiterate or lacks in regular paid holidays, is not living in a manner appropriate to a human being. According to Macfarlane, human rights are those 'moral rights which are owned to each man and woman solely by reason of being a human being'. Similarly human rights are possessed by the human being irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race or religious faith.

27.2.1 Difference between Democratic Rights and Human Rights

Broadly speaking, rights are those conditions of social life without which a man cannot attain his best. They are the sum total of those opportunities which ensure the enrichment of human personality. With the rise of liberal democratic states in Europe, rights became an integral part of enlightened citizenship. The provision, enforcement and protection of rights of the individual became the criteria for judging the validity of the state. However, with the rise of legal constitutional states, more emphasis began to be laid on the legal aspect of rights i.e. the rights are the creation of the state and they are granted to the individual as a citizen of the state. Only that which the law gives is right. According to legal view Rights are not natural or inherent in man but are artificial in the sense that they become rights only when they are determined and secured by the state. It is the state which defines and lays down the rights; it is the state which provides the legal framework which guarantees those rights and more importantly since it is the state which creates and sustains the rights, whenever the contents of the law changes, the substance of the rights also change. Hence rights are not universal but are relative to the nature and form of the state, which gives those rights. For example, the rights granted to the citizens of USA may not be the same as those of India or Russia. The human rights on the other hand emphasise upon the universal character of rights – rights simply possessed by human beings as human beings irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race

or religious faith. They are based on the pledge given by the member states of the United Nations to promote 'universal respect for the observation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms'. The Preamble of the UN Declaration says the purpose of human rights is to set 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teachings and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of the territories under the jurisdiction.'

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the meaning of human rights?

.....

- 2) Distinguish between 'Democratic Rights' and 'Human Rights'

.....

27.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The term human rights came into being in the twentieth century. In early centuries, these rights were commonly spoken of as 'natural rights' or the 'rights of man'. The theory of natural rights had emerged in the seventeenth century in the writings of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke etc. which attributed natural rights to 'natural law', which provided that 'no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions'. That law, could therefore, be said to give each person a natural right to life, liberty and property, though it also imposed upon each a natural duty to respect the lives, liberties and properties of others. The theory got its classical expression in the writings of John Locke in his book *The Two Treatises on Government*. Locke termed the rights to 'life, liberty and estate' as natural rights. He further stated that the whole idea of establishing a state was to better protect these rights and if a government violates these rights, the people can revolt against it. Similarly, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 enunciated as 'self evident truths that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights that among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. It then went out to assert that governments are instituted to secure these rights, that they derive their just power from the consent of the governed and that the people could abolish a government which sought to destroy these rights. Again, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen 1789 made similar claims in relation to the 'natural imprescriptible and inalienable rights that it enumerated. In short, all these declarations emphasised upon the rights of man as man and not as a citizen of a

The early international treaties concerning human rights are linked to the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century such as Treaty of Washington 1862, Conference in Brussels in 1867 and Berlin in 1885, laws of war such as Declaration of Paris 1856, Geneva Convention 1864, Hague Convention 1899, the creation of International Committee of Red Cross in 1864.

27.3.1 Demand for Human Rights After World War II

Prior to World War II, there existed no international human rights law binding on nation states. Two social movements were, however, important antecedents to current human rights regime. The first was the movement to abolish slavery and the slave trade, which began in Britain in the 18th century and gave birth to the Anti-Slavery Society an NGO that still exists to fight modern forms of slavery, and whose lobbying culminated in the first anti-slavery treaties. The second was the Red Cross movement, which originated during the Crimean War in the revulsion of a Swiss businessman, Henri Dunant, to the immeasurable suffering of wounded soldiers.

In the period between the World War I and II there were other significant beginnings. Efforts were made to offer protection to individuals by means of the 'minorities treaties' whereby States concerned agreed not only to provide certain rights and minimal levels of treatment to minorities within their territories, but also to accept a degree of international supervision by the League of Nations over their compliance with these obligations. Economic and social rights began to receive international recognition with the founding of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919 and assistance to refugees was first organised under international auspices in 1921 with the appointment of a League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

It was, however, in response to the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust that NGOs began pressurising States to lay the conceptual and legal foundations for international human rights law. It was NGOs that were largely responsible for inserting human rights into the Preamble and six different Articles of UN Charter. It was NGOs that convinced the governments that human rights should become one of the central pillars of the United Nations System.

The human rights regime introduced by the newly formed United Nations Organisation immediately after the Second World War thus marked a sharp change. It was the direct consequence of revulsion against the genocidal policies followed by the Hitler regime. This revulsion led to the victorious nations to put a number of German leaders on trial for an offence that had no place in any statute book but was created by the decision of the international court. The offence was called 'crime against humanity'.

The Nuremberg Trials tribunal lay down for the first time in history that 'when international rules that protect basic humanitarian values are in conflict with state laws, every individual must transgress the state law. The legal framework of Nuremberg Trials challenged the principle of military discipline and subverted the national sovereignty. However, the contemporary international law endorsed the position taken by the Tribunal and affirmed its rejection of the defence of obedience to superior order in matters of responsibility for crimes against peace and humanity. As a standard for the future, a special committee of the UN drafted a Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The UN Declaration was followed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the UN Convention of Rights (1966) and various human rights conventions and declarations by the European, Latin American, Africa and South Asian countries. Gradually, the concept of human rights spread

throughout the world and today in almost all the countries, a number of organisations both governmental and non-governmental have come into existence for the preservation, promotion and protection of human rights.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- I) Mention some of the treaties concerning human rights in the nineteenth century.

.....

27.4 UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

As explained above, the context for the human rights was provided by the crimes committed by the Nazi regime of Germany during the Second World War. While a number of German leaders were tried for ‘crimes against humanity’, to set a standard for future, a special committee was appointed by the United Nations Organisation in 1948 to draft a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration proclaimed ‘a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations’. It declared that all human beings ‘are born free with equal dignity and rights’ and are, therefore, entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the 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’.

The UN Declaration enumerated two sets of rights:

- i) Civil and Political Rights, and
- ii) Socio-economic rights.

The civil and political rights include right to life, liberty and security of persons, freedom from slavery and servitude, equal protection of law, right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty, freedom of movement, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and assembly etc. right to participate in periodic free elections based on universal adult franchise. The socio-economic cultural rights include the right to social security, to work, to rest and leisure, to adequate standard of living, to education and to participate in the cultural life of the community. It also recognized that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which these rights and freedoms may be fully realised.

The UN Declaration reaffirmed its faith in the human race and talked of human rights as universal – the rights which could be ascribed to human beings irrespective of the law of a particular state. It covered significant aspects of human freedoms and conditions of life, and imposed duties on government to promote these claims. The package of human rights set out major rights and duties of man and society in relation to other individuals, the institutions within which all live and the organs of government.

The Declaration, however, was only a statement of principles and not law. It was only in 1966 that the UN adopted two covenants relating to human rights: the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Both are binding on the signatory states and came into force in 1976 after they were ratified by the required number of states. Together the Declaration and the Covenants have emerged as the standard setting instruments of human rights.

In this context, it is worth noting that a sharp distinction is made by some states between the economic, social and cultural rights on the one hand, and the civil-political rights on the other. It was USA, which urged a split of the universal human rights into two covenants. It declared that the economic, social and cultural rights were less genuine rights with less binding duties. The civil and political rights on the other hand must be enforced immediately on all the states, which are signatories to the covenants. The UN on the other hand time and again advocated that all rights are human rights. Various UN conferences and international human rights conferences have held the same view that human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and that the full realisation of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of social, economic and cultural rights is impossible.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- i) What is the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948?

.....
.....
.....
.....

27.5 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Soon after the adoption of UN Declaration, the issue of human rights began to be pursued vigorously throughout the world and gradually attained the status of a movement. While the western democratic countries saw in the human rights a vindication of the liberal capitalist ideology and a weapon to fight the cold war, the ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa saw in them an opportunity to get rid of their old feudalistic systems and a necessary tool for their development. For example, the concept of human rights proved a potent weapon to fight apartheid in Africa. Numerous organisations at the level of UN, continental, regional, national and local levels came into existence in various parts of the globe to promote and protect the human rights. While the UN created a number of organisations and passed a number of laws to protect the human rights, the national governments in various countries set up human rights commissions. Simultaneously, a host of non-government organisations (NGOs) also came into existence to keep a watch on the national governments against the violation of human rights.

Here we have to keep in mind that when we talk of human rights as a movement, we mean a collective effort by numerous organisations and individuals to promote and protect the human rights. Such a movement may consist of the legislators and executive policy makers, journalists and opinion leaders, foundations, academics and others. They consist of non-governmental organisations (international, national, regional or local) and a multitude of other

private associations such as trade unions, churches, professional associations and peoples – Organisations that have shown active concern for and involvement in the human rights struggle. These organisations have been exposing and denouncing human rights violations, lobbying governments and extending legal and humanitarian aid to the victims, helping to draft protective legislation, devising legal remedies, educating governments and civil societies about human rights standards and building links of solidarity across the globe. Such organisations are typically led by human rights activists or human rights defenders, that is individuals who make a major commitment to and openly take up, the defence and protection of the human rights of others. These human rights NGOs and human rights defenders have been the spearhead of the human rights movement that began to coalesce into a significant force in the late 1970s. Before discussing the role of NGOs in the promotion and protection of human rights, let us have a look at the role played by United Nations in this respect.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Human Rights issue is a movement. Justify this statement.

.....

27.6 UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations has played a crucial role in propagating and protecting the human rights in various parts of the world. Soon after the Universal Declaration in 1948, the United Nations along with the International Labour Organisation passed a number of conventions, which elaborated and extended norms in the international human rights movement. Some of the important conventions are : Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide (1948), the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Wounded and the Sick in Armed forces (1949), the Geneva Convention relating to the Treatment of Prisoners (1949), the Geneva Convention for the Status of Refugees (1951), Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1954), Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (1966), Convention on the suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid (1975), Convention on the Abolition of Slavery and Slave Trade (1976), Convention Against Tortures and Other Convention on the Rights of Child (1989). The basic purpose of all these conventions was to persuade the national governments to consider and treat people as human beings irrespective of race, colour, statelessness etc. and to raise the human dignity to a new status.

The Human Rights Commission of UN is a potent organ for focussing attention on incidents relating to the violation of human rights by the member states. There is what is known as 'point 13 of the Agenda' of the Commission, which is devoted exclusively to the violation of human rights anywhere in the world. The item gives the opportunity to the members of the UN Human Rights Commission to express themselves on serious and urgent situations in specific countries. The

Commission from time to time has discussed various topics such as human rights in Arab territories, in Chile, South Africa and denial of self-determination in El Salvador, Iran, and Poland. In 1980s, it began to undertake research into various issues such as disappearance, slavery and treatment of indigenous people. Though not empowered to take a coercive concrete action in this matter, the Commission has the ability to point to an incident, draw attention to it and give publicity to at least embarrass the wrong doer.

Although there have been sharp differences between liberal and socialist countries about the nature of human rights during the Cold War era, the profile of human rights has changed in the post Cold War era and the UN has emerged as a significant institution to evolve human rights standards. The 1993 world Congress on Human Rights in Vienna noted 'the promotion and protection of all human rights is a legitimate concern of all international community'. It also established a Human Rights High Commissioner. Of late, the UN has taken steps to protect the rights of people through the use of humanitarian intervention in Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia. It also established tribunals charged with the indictment and persecution of individuals accused of crimes against humanity and genocide in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

i) What is the role of the UN in propagating and protecting the human rights?

.....

27.7 REGIONAL CONVENTIONS AND COVENANTS

The second major effort in the direction of promoting and protecting the human rights was taken by the regional organisations of Europe, Africa, Latin America and South East Asia. These organisations provided separate conventions and machinery for the enforcement of human rights and fulfilled the gap left by the UN.

27.7.1 European Convention

A more marked reaction in favour of human rights was seen in Europe because of its memories of the atrocities of the Nazis and Fascist rulers and also because the democratic Europe lived very near to the communist USSR whose outlook negated all the conclusions of philosophy which had led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Congress of Europe at The Hague in May 1948 announced its desire for a 'Chapter on Human Rights guaranteeing liberty of thought, assembly and expression'. It was followed by a European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in November 1950. The Convention guaranteed the right to life, liberty, security of persons, of a fair trial, to respect for one's private and family life, home and correspondence, to marry and found a family, to an effective remedy if one's rights are violated: the freedom from torture or inhuman treatment or punishment.

freedom from slavery and servitude, freedom of thought and expression, conscience and religion and freedom of assembly and association. Subsequently, right to property, to free election, right of parents to educate their children in conformity with their beliefs, freedom from imprisonment for debt, freedom from exile and prohibition of collective expulsion of aliens were also added. In marked contrast to the UN Declaration, the European Convention was 'to take the first step for the collective enforcement of certain rights of UN Declaration. The important feature of this convention were i) it obliged the parties to secure these rights and freedoms to its citizens, ii) emphasised the principle of universality of its application, iii) the benefits of this convention are not limited to contracting parties, and iv) it does not contain any territorial limitations and thus the measure of protections is wider. Nearly all the European countries have now accepted the clause of the Convention which permits citizens to petition directly to the European Commission on Human Rights. The great merit of this convention is the protection of rights through three organs: The European Commission on Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights and the Committee of Ministers. The Convention permitted the individuals to complain to the commission even against his own government. While the system is far from straightforward and is problematic in many respects, it has been claimed that besides legal changes introduced by the European Community, it no longer leaves the state free to treat its citizens as it thinks fit.

27.7.2 Latin America

Similarly, across the Atlantic, the Latin American states established an American Organisation of States in 1959. The various articles of the charter of OAS held the states responsible for protecting human rights. An American Convention on Human Rights was signed by Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela in 1969, which came into force in 1978. Article 1 of this Convention gave civil and political rights and identified the role of states in their implementation. A notable feature of this convention was that single instrument covered civil-political and socio-economic and cultural rights. It has both a commission and a court.

The Commission receives and reviews communication from individuals and groups within the member states, studies conditions, holds sessions and public hearings in particular states and made findings and recommendations to the state or states involved. The Commission made remarkable efforts to save the innocent lives in the social strife in Dominican Republic in 1965, to safeguard the rights of prisoners, to investigate the charges of violation of human rights in Brazil, Chile, Haiti and Cuba. It also performed useful humanitarian functions during the hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras.

27.7.3 Africa

In 1960s when the winds of change were blowing across Africa, the leaders of African states formed, the Organisation of African Unity (without South Africa) and proclaimed the right of the people of self-determination. It prepared a draft of an African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples' Rights in 1981 and worked hard to establish bodies to provide, promote and protect human rights. It also has a commission to promote human rights. It covers peoples rights known as group rights or collective rights. It too has a commission to promote human rights. The Commission examines the periodic reports from state parties on their complaint within the provisions of the charter and establishes dialogue with the state representatives aimed at encouraging states to implement their human rights.

obligations. The Organisation of African Unity has been successful in bringing apartheid to an end.

27.7.4 South East Asia

The experience of European, Latin American and African countries proved an encouraging example for the countries of South East Asia also. But much progress could not be made because of certain factors such as lack of political rights and civil liberties, lack of democratisation and multi-party system, self serving constitutional process, excessive national security laws, preventive detention and constraints upon due process of law, extensive limits on freedom of thought, expression and assembly, a compromised and defective judicial criminal system, uneven development, inadequate social safety nets etc. Still some regional initiatives have been taken in the direction of human rights such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the United Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The landmark achievement of the ASEAN is a treaty signed between EEC in 1980 in which ASEAN expressed its willingness to work for the betterment of human rights at regional level. Nearer home, SAARC was formed with a strong signal for human rights awareness. It has been fighting against terrorism and human rights violation and hopes to adequately respond to these challenges. Also national human rights institutions in the form of human rights commissions and committees have begun to be established such as in Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, etc.

27.7.5 Middle East

In the Middle East consisting primarily of Muslim countries, no separate convention has been entered into. Although as members of UN all subscribe to the UN Declaration of Human Rights on paper, but events everywhere do not encourage optimism. What is important to note in this context is that some ethos of the people as well as their cultural heritage forcefully denies the concept of liberty and equality as understood in the West. For them Shariat is the last word. Their constitutions clearly show that their polity rests firmly on the words of the holy book. The Constitutions of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Qatar, Syria, Iraq all emphasise on Islam being the religion of the state. The Islamic Shariat or jurisprudence as the source of a primary source of legislation is meant to prevent the enactment of laws contrary to the spirit of the Shair and to thwart any movement for an independent social and political development emancipated from the hold of religion. However, there is also liberal interpretation, which suggests that human rights are built in the very spirit of Islam. There also are some significant human rights movements in these countries.

Check Your Progress 6

- Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.
- i) What is the role of European Convention in the development of human rights?

27.8 NGOs AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

As has already been mentioned that after World War II, it was the NGOs that expressed their concern for Human Rights. In the 1950s and 1960s they were few in number but from 1970s onwards, a number of NGOs have come into existence throughout the world to keep a watch on the national governments with regard to any possible violation of human rights on the one hand and to promote and protect the human rights awareness on the other. An NGO is a private association whose raison detre derives from the promotion and protection of one or more international human rights. To a large extent, a NGO not being a government organisation, is not controlled by the government but is an independent organisation. These human rights NGOs and defenders have been at the forefront of the human rights movement. Some NGOs of international fame are International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, the International Federation of Human Rights (Paris), the International League of Human Rights (NY), the Minority Rights Group (London). All these organisations have a special consultative status with UNO. Apart from them there are many social sector organisations including trade unions, churches and professional organisations. Some organisations are country specific and some are issue specific and do not share the same vision of human rights regime. What gives these organisations the character of a movement is that they all appeal to the same set of international standard – the international declaration of human rights – in trying to hold the national governments accountable for their behaviour.

Two important NGOs of international recognition are the Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch Group. The Amnesty International was established in 1961. Its main thrust is to secure immediate and fair trials of political prisoners. It seeks an end to torture, execution, disappearance, arbitrary killings, hostage taking and other inhuman cruel or degrading treatments and punishments. Meeting prisoners and mediating with the government officials concerned in trying to find remedies to the problems of prisoners have been an ongoing programme. It has investigated more than 42, 000 prisoners' cases and has successfully fought more than 38,000 cases. It was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1981 for its tireless activities in the protection of freedom of speech, religion and belief, for the rights of political prisoners and in the fight against torture and discrimination.

The Human Rights Watch was established in 1987 in New York and it has 8000 members. It evaluates the human rights practices of governments in accordance with standards recognised by international law and agreements and UN Declarations. It identifies governmental abuses of human rights by monitoring the works of NGOs. It also evaluates the performance of USA in promoting human rights worldwide and its domestic practices, particularly the treatment of visitors to the US and the refugees.

As a result of the pressure from the human rights organisations in the late 1970s, the national governments moved from the promotion of human rights and a concentration on the drafting of international instruments and standards to the protection of human rights and an emphasis on their implementation and enforcement. Gradually human rights commissions were formed by various national governments such as Human Rights Commission in Australia, India, etc. With a view to facilitate effective functioning of Human Rights regime and provide a special role to NGOs, UN charter creates a formal relationship between it and NGOs. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN has established a Committee on NGOs to receive information. The NGOs are granted consultative status with ECOSOC and are allowed to participate in the sessions

of UN Human Rights Commission and its sub-commission. The World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna (1993) specially focussed on a vigorous role of the NGOs in human rights movement. NGOs have become particularly known for their ability to reach poor people, disseminate awareness, monitor violation of human rights at various levels and in different ways and promote participation in promotion and protection of human rights.

27.9 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The Constitution of India, which came into existence in 1950, had a rich content of human rights in parts III and IV in the form of fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. The framers of the Constitution not only referred to the other Constitutions of the world but also to the UN Declaration and charters on various political, economic and social matters. The Constitution pledged to secure for the citizens of India justice, liberty of thought and expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual. In accordance with the Directive Principles of State policy, the state passed a number of acts relating to human rights such as abolition of untouchability, suppression of immoral traffic, prohibition etc. Again, to safeguard the interests of minorities and weaker sections of the society, the Constitution created many independent bodies such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Minorities Commission, Language Commission, National Commission for Women, etc.

In spite of these measures the issue of implementation, as also violation of human rights had remained a matter of serious concern. The issue of human rights became particularly prominent during the internal emergency proclaimed by Indira Gandhi government in 1975 when a number of political leaders and prominent citizens were put behind the bars without any trial. Many human rights activists came forward to fight the emergency. Jaiprakash Narain founded the Peoples Union for Civil Liberties. Its main goal was to oppose the suppression of civil and political liberties during emergency. It brought cases in the Supreme Court against encounter killings. It has been organising camps and workshops to motivate human rights activists, lawyers, politicians and general public. Another organisation the "Peoples Union for Democratic Rights" was formed in 1981 to fight the cases in the Supreme Court against encounters killings. Punjab Human Rights Organisation is associated with Amnesty International. The Association for Democratic Rights and some other organisations work in Punjab to preserve and protect the human rights. The Human Rights Organisation of Manipur, Civil Liberties Committee of Andhra Pradesh, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights of Nagaland are other organisations struggling for justice on behalf of minorities and the oppressed. Considerable progress has taken place for the protection of the rights of the individuals as a result of these movements. For example, the rights of the prisoners and under trials, which were not mentioned, anywhere were sought to be protected. Similarly the efforts to release and rehabilitate the bonded labour have been quite fruitful. However, most of the efforts to protect these rights have been through the judicial decisions and public interest litigations. Nevertheless the increased awareness of human rights has led to many important issues being raised. Attempts to gag the freedom of press and expressions, the specific attacks on women's rights, the question of dalits' struggle for dignity and self-respect have all been seen as constituting the wider field of human rights violations.

The Government of India, on its part, also did not lag behind and established a National Human Rights Commission in 1993. The commission incorporated all

the basic standards recommended by Amnesty International. The main objectives of the NHRC are:

- i) to strengthen the institutional arrangements through which human rights issues could be addressed in their entirety in a more focussed manner,
- ii) to look into allegations of excess independently of the government in a manner that would underline the government's commitment to protection of human rights;
- iii) to complement and strengthen the efforts that have already been made in this direction.

The Commission undertook the study of arbitrary detention under the TADA and dealt with a range of issues concerning the rights of the child, child labour, and the rights of women. Also it has given direction for the treatment of Chakma refugees in Arunachal Pradesh and Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil nadu. Apart from the National Commission, various state governments in India such as Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal have also established their own State Commissions to deal with the human rights issues and they have focussed attention on custodial deaths, rape, torture, prison reforms, etc.

27.10 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT: AN ASSESSMENT

Although human rights movement has been quite popular after the second world war, a number of objections have been raised from time to time ranging from philosophical, legal to ideological. Altogether they have led to the question as to how far human rights are justified?

The opponents of human rights have dismissed them as no more than merely a set of prejudices. While the natural rights were justified on the basis of natural law, the concept of human rights has been detached from natural law thinking. Contemporary political philosophers justify a case for human rights as a commitment to fundamental values such as freedom, autonomy, equality and human well being. However, the issue of human rights is a complex one because of the diversity in the socio-economic, political and cultural differences among the states. In fact in spite of their popularity, hitherto the human rights are far from universally accepted. In some cases, they are rejected on the basis of a general critique of the rights approach to politics, whereas in others, the criticism is directed against the specific human rights. Some of the important points of criticism are as follows:

- 1) The first objection is on the philosophical basis of human rights and its utility. The assertion that human rights are inherent in all human beings is clearly a very sweeping statement irrespective of faith. The UN Declaration is based on a political commitment by the founding states of UN but raises questions about why the governments of those states at that moment of history should have the power to commit the successor states despite numerous changes of regime. It must presumably be based on reason or an appeal to common understanding about the human situation but those who raise the familiar philosophical dilemma about how values, particularly values said to be binding can be extracted from facts. All governments might agree that human beings seem to enjoy freedom of action in this field or that without agreeing that it is good for them to be given such freedom. In short, the philosophical argument for the Declaration is shaky.

As for the utility of the Declaration, it is pointed out that many states are dictatorial and the declaration has not deterred most of them from violating

several of the human rights. It might be said that appeals to the Declaration have been at best as empty gestures, at worst a weapon in the Cold War. Moreover, it has made violators of human rights to appear before Nuremberg tribunals type tribunal difficult because article 11 states 'no one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed'.

- 2) The second objection is the legal one. Followers of Benthamite tradition claim that human rights are asserted as though their existence is as much a matter of fact as the existence of legal rights. There is a fundamental difference between legal and human rights and if this distinction is recognised, then human rights is no more than a moral claim.
-) The social, economic and cultural rights such as right to education, work, social security, rest and leisure and an adequate standard of living, though not completely unprecedented have become prominent within the human rights. But they have raised doubts not only about social justice but also about their intelligibility as human rights. Maurice Cranston has objected that the economic and social rights are of little relevance because they are no more than utopian ideals for the poorer states and their inclusion may lead sceptics to regard the other rights also as utopian ideals. Similarly, Brian Barry has also questioned the inclusion of social rights because they involve relativities about which arguments are always possible. An analogy to 'an adequate standard of living' would be a 'moderate amount of free speech' but latter is not what is called for 'a declaration of rights'. A number of underdeveloped and developing countries do not have the resources to provide the goods. It is awkward to tell people that they have rights, which cannot be provided, while on the other side of the globe, there are people who are enjoying them for a long time. Hence they become different standard for different people. The other questionable feature of socio-economic rights is that for any specific person, the corresponding obligation to provide the goods falls upon the particular government: the right to have that good depends on citizens of a particular state rather than a member of the human race. Again whatever the intention of those who have drafted declaration of rights, it is not logically non-sensical to hold that human beings have a responsibility on a world scale for one another's economic well being.
- 4) A number of socialist and developing countries objected to the universal character of human rights in the fear of cultural imperialism of the West. The Declaration enumerates a list of rights whose relevance and motivation is questioned by under developed states. They claim that the western societies are imposing their value system on other cultures. For example, the western idea of freedom of speech may not be relevant to an illiterate unemployed or starving individual. Hence employment, food, shelter, education may be more important than political rights and civil liberties in a particular state (though some states have also used it as an excuse to curtail the civil liberties). Also the concept of human rights as developed in the west ignores the rights of the groups such as classes, nations and races. Liberal democracy has paid too little attention to the concerns of class exploitation, national self-determination and racial discrimination. However, cultural values are not necessarily too complex. If the UN Declaration says that torture, stagnation, humiliation and oppression of human beings is bad, it is appealing to the universal character of all cultures.

We live in a period of civilisation in which human rights have received recognition through universal instruments and in some countries through national

constitutions or commissions. But at the same we cannot forget the paradox of the contemporary times that everywhere such rights are being violated or ignored. Human beings without rights are on increase, blood and tears, trauma and torture claim victims everywhere. Human inhumanity takes many forms. Social divisiveness and political instability coupled with different institutional framework and inadequate resources make it impossible to comply with the requirements of UN Declaration. However, certain changes in the international scenario from 1990s onwards have raised hopes that the implementation of human rights is not an impossibility. Firstly, the world has experienced scientific revolution in communication and information. This has made possible instant transmission of information, pictures and data. This advent of mass media has increased public awareness about human rights violations and created new possibilities for people's power to be exercised on humanitarian issues. Secondly, in 1990s, the global economic system has come to be known by internationalisation of production and distribution and free movement of capital and global information infrastructure such as Internet. Such facilities are available in countries like China, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, which traditionally decried the concept of human rights. Thirdly, there has been a tremendous rise in NGOs at the world level. These organisations have established effective network and are accepted as authoritative sources of information. They are playing a significant role in order to expose the state governments, which pay lip service to human rights or use human rights only for political propaganda. As such the Human Rights movements is now playing an important role both in developed and developing countries, though in some cases there is difference of perception in them.

Check Your Progress 7

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the role of NGOs in Human Rights Movement.?

.....

- 2) What are the main objectives to establish NHRC in India.?

.....

- 3) Describe the important points of criticism of Human Rights Movements.

.....

27.11 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, you have studied the issue of human rights – both as a concept and as a movement. We have seen that in spite of the fact that rights are granted in

the Constitutions of various countries, the need for universal human rights over and above the state laws was acutely felt particularly after the Second World War due to certain crimes committed against humanity. The lead for this was given by the UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which was followed by the European Convention, UN Conventions on Human Rights in 1966, the African Charter of Human Rights, the OAS Convention on Human Rights etc. The issue of human rights became a worldwide phenomenon in the post war period and it caught the attention of both the developed and developing countries. A number of regional, international, national NGOs and local human rights organisations came into existence almost in every state to promote and protect the basic human rights of the people. These organisations have done a splendid work in securing the rights of the ethnic minorities, refugees, children, victims of gender bias, bonded labour, mentally disabled, prisoners, under-trials etc. It is not that the efforts of these organisations have removed cruelty and inhuman behaviour from the face of the earth; many people still lack even the minimum necessities of life. But the upholding of human rights are important. They are to reverse the process of human sufferings and to restore the dignity of the individual.

27.12 KEY WORDS

- Human Rights** : Human rights are the rights, which every human being is entitled to enjoy and have it, protected. The underlying idea of such rights – fundamental principle that should be respected in the treatment of all men, women and children – exists in some form in all cultures and societies.
- Human Rights Movement:** By human rights movement, we mean ‘a totality of norms, institutions and processes that seek to protect the individual from arbitrary and excessive state action’
- NGOs** : These organisations are private associations (not controlled by the governments) concerned with the promotion and protection of human rights.

27.13 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

J.L. Macfarlane, (1985) *The Theory and Practice of Human Rights*, Maurice Temple Smith, London.

Maurice Cranston, (1962), *Human Rights Today*, Ampersand London.

Abdulla Rahim (ed.) (1991), *Essays on International Human Rights*, Asian Vijaypur, New Delhi.

Chiranjivi J. Nirmal (2000) *Human Rights in India, Historical, Social and Political Perspectives*, Oxford.

David Solby (1987), *Human Rights*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Robert G. Patman (ed.) (2000), *Universal Human Rights*, Macmillan Press Ltd. London

Peter Schotrab, Adamantia Pollis, (1982), *Towards a Human Rights Framework*, Praeger, New York.

27.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Human rights are rights that belong to every human being by virtue of his/her being a human being irrespective of the fact that he/she belongs to any state, race, caste, community, religion or society. (see section 27.2)
- 2) Democratic Rights are legal rights which are recognised and granted by the State through constitutions or statutes. Human Rights are claims of human beings irrespective of the fact that they are recognised by the State or not. These are universal in character (see Sub-section 27.2.1)

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 27.4

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the Declaration adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on 10 December 1948. It proclaimed a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations. It lays emphasis on equality of human beings and universality of Human Rights.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) There has emerged a sense of collective effort by organisations, individuals, states and international community to make the idea of human rights a reality. This collective effort has made the concept of human rights a global movement. (For elaboration see section 27.5)

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Apart from adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and several other conventions U.N. has established U.N. Human Rights Commission to promote and protect Human Rights. It has also established various treaty bodies for that purpose.

Check Your Progress 6

- 1) See Sub-section 27.7.1

Check Your Progress 7

- 1) See Section 27.8
- 2) See Section 27.9

UNIT 28 GLOBALISATION : BACKGROUND AND FEATURES

Structure

- 28.0 Objectives
- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Historical Background
- 28.3 Features of Globalisation
 - 28.3.1 Economic Globalisation
 - 28.3.2 Globalisation in Communication Field
 - 28.3.3 Globalisation and Tourism
 - 28.3.4 Globalisation due to International Organisations and Social Movement
 - 28.3.5 Globalisation in the Political Field
 - 28.3.6 Socio-Cultural Aspect of Globalisation
 - 28.3.7 Globalisation due to Global Problems
- 28.4 Dimensions of the Current Economic Globalisation
 - 28.4.1 Growth of Trade
 - 28.4.2 Growth in Investment
 - 28.4.3 Migration of Labour
- 28.5 The Limits of Globalisation
- 28.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 28.7 Some Useful Books
- 28.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

28.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is intended to acquaint you with the nature and understanding of 'Globalisation and its importance'. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning of globalisation;
- trace the evolution of globalisation;
- list the features of globalisation; and
- know the limits of globalisation;

28.1 INTRODUCTION

The term globalisation has gained wide currency in the last quarter of 20th century, more emphatically in 1980's and 1990's. It is a term which is, on the one hand highly considered as indispensable and on the other, criticised as the return of Western exploitation of the developing countries. It refers to a process by which the earth planet is considered to be one single unit or a global village where social and economic interaction among the people are guided and conditioned accordingly. The world is supposed be a global society with global issues and problems which are to be tackled with global efforts and cooperation. This has led to a feeling and a consciousness that world is a single place. As a result of revolution in science and technology more and more people interact with each other. This has fundamentally changed the concept of sovereignty of the state. The State is increasingly finding it difficult to control the activities of its citizens. As Steve Smith and John Baylis say 'globalisation refers to processes whereby social relations acquire relatively distanceless and borderless qualities, so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world as a single place'. According to Martin Albraw, "Globalisation refers to all these processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society." The other view which is highly critical of globalisation defines it as

'What we in the Third World have for centuries called Colonisation.' (Martin Ichor). The concept and process of globalisation especially its economic content has been controversial not only in developing world but also in developed nations. Yet there seems to be no escape from the phenomenon.

A distinction with 'international' may further clarify the term globalisation. The international system envisages relations between different states with clearly defined boundaries in which they are sovereign and this sovereignty is to be respected and maintained. But the globalisation is supposed to be supra territorial as the global field is a web of trans-border networks which cut across the national territories and States have little control over them.

28.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Globalisation is viewed as an on-going process. It is very difficult to determine the exact period or time when this process started. There are many people who would like to trace the process from the dawn of the civilization. Many of them are not over enthusiastic. They find origins of globalisation in the expansion of imperialism in Asia and Africa by the European Powers notably the Great Britain, the empire of which was so huge that the sun never used to set in the empire. There are still many people who argue that globalisation came about with the revolution in transport and communication technology and they find its period in the middle of either 19th century or 20th century. There can be great debate on this aspect but the fact remains that the process of globalisation was increasingly felt only in 1970's. Before this period the revolution in science and technology had brought the people closer which was creating the paraphernalia for a global outlook. Hence one may mention few important landmarks in the development of globalisation. As early as 1865, International Telegraph Union was formed which was a global regulatory agency. In 1930, George V's speech, while inaugurating the London Naval Conference, was broadcast in radio simultaneously over six continents. The two world wars were also global in nature as they were fought in different areas of the world and their impact was evident globally. The events following the Second World War especially the Cold War which sought to divide the entire world into two well defined military camps influenced the entire globe. The year 1966 was very important for globalisation as for the first time the photographs of planet earth were flashed by the newspapers, magazines and televisions through out the world. In 1969, Boeing 747 was constructed which made air travel cheaper facilitating easy and affordable air travelling. The year 1976 saw the launch of Satellite television, 1980's was almost a revolution from the globalisation point of view because of two important events - (i) worldwide direct dialing was introduced, and (ii) Ozone hole was found over Antarctica which created the global awareness over the environmental and ecological crisis of the earth. At the same time countable changes accompanied in the field of worldwide economics and finances where the use of sophisticated computers and new communication technologies were bringing the world closer and closer. The advent of satellites and other developments in information technology increased the people's awareness about each other. However, the people were still divided into two ideologically hostile world's between so-called democratic or capitalistic states and socialist states, rest calling themselves as non-aligned. The ideological strife between the democratic or capitalist bloc led by the USA and the Socialist bloc headed by the USSR had artificially divided world into two groups and it was impossible to think of one global society. But the events in early 1990's witnessed the breakdown of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Also, socialism was given a goodbye by the socialist states. As a result the confrontation between the two super powers heading the two groups came to an end with the victory of capitalistic/democratic order which became the dominant force. This paved the way for a global thinking. The Western Political Scientists took this as the triumph

of liberal and western values. This is also precisely the reason that the process of globalisation is invariably identified with capitalism or even westernisation (or as a source would like to say, Americanisation).

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What are the two views regarding the globalisation?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2) Define globalisation.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

3) Complete the following:

The distinction between international and globalisation is

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4) Trace the evolution of the globalisation.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

28.3 FEATURES OF GLOBALISATION

The process of globalisation entails a widely comprehensive phenomena.

28.3.1 Economic Globalisation

Globalisation is most evident and at the same time controversial in economic sphere. Let us call it as Economic Globalisation. Economically the world is increasingly becoming one unit and economic events in one country affect other places. Economic processes have also become progressively internationalised in a

number of key spheres: communications, production, trade, finance and in many matters of economic coordination. There is a tremendous flow of trade and finance through out the world which hitherto had been unparalleled. We have global currency like dollar, pound, yen and mark especially the US dollar 'about which it is claimed that about as many dollars circulate outside as inside the USA.' These international currencies float around the world. Besides there are new super territorial denominations like the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) issued by the International Monetary Fund or European Currency Unit (ECU) created by the European Economic Community (EEC). Plastic money in the form of credit card has a worldwide acceptance. Even the banking has taken a supra-territorial character.

Further there is a substantial rise in global factories and global products. Global factories have come up in automobile, electronics and other fields where right from the research to the various stages of manufacturing, it is not confined to a single national economy but spread over the world. There are many global products available throughout the world like Coke and Pepsi. The various fields which have been occupied by the global products include packaged foods, bottled beverage, cigarettes, household items, music recordings, audio-visual productions, printed publications, interactive communications, office and hospital equipment, armaments, transport vehicles and travel services. We have global fast food retail chains like McDonald and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). Similarly, Marks and Spencer, Ried and Tailor, Arrow Shirts are some readymade garment products which are available throughout the world.

The rise of Multi National Corporations (MNCs) has unleashed a powerful global force. Their strength and domination can only be estimated from the fact that about 20,000 Multi National Corporations account for a quarter to a third of world output, 70 per cent of world trade and 80 per cent of foreign direct investment. Their budget is more than the budgets of many developing countries of the third world who are now competing with each other in inviting them for investment. These multinational Corporations operate globally.

They may have a national base but they are more interested in global profitability and their country of origin may contribute relatively little to their overall financial position.

Economic globalisation means that the national economies must lose their autonomy and merge with the global economy which is based on open trade and free market. For developing countries, this has been termed as liberalisation and privatisation. Liberalisation demands the state to liberalise its economy i.e. remove all the barriers and restrictions which were imposed so as to protect the native industry and there should be global access to national economy. Privatisation means that the public sector enterprises should be removed from state control and become private enterprises. As a result many developing economies are undergoing transformation. In many cases they have been forced to change as international aid has been linked with liberalisation and privatisation and without international aid these economies cannot survive.

28.3.2 Globalisation in Communication Field

Globalisation is also seen in communication field. The multiple revolution in communication through space and satellite technology, computer network, fax, e-mail, e-commerce and electronic mass media has made the world compact both borderless and distanceless. We can have access to people, ideas and information in far away areas. Events in one place can be seen in all the parts of the world. In fact there is a tremendous flow of information and people know each other more than at any other period in history.

28.3.3 Globalisation and Tourism

Another globalising force has been the tourism. Since the construction of first wide-body passenger jet in 1969, there has been a tremendous increase in tourist flow in different parts of the world. Travelling has become affordable (in terms of fares). There are many travel services which are offering travelling facilities like payments in easy instalments.

This is the most important development of the modern age. The tourists of different regions, religions, race and castes who are millions in number are physically seeing and understanding each other. Karan Singh aptly puts it; "These tourists cris-crossing the globe are.... spinning the warp and woof of the new garment of global consciousness that is steadily enveloping this planet".

28.3.4 Globalisation due to International Organisations and Social Movement

Many organisations and social movements have developed in international field which operate in a global framework. After the demise of socialism in 1990's, the United Nations Organisation has really become global and it is now becoming more effective. Now national governments cannot take the UNO for granted and each state has to work within the framework of the UN Charter. We also have Amnesty International and World Intellectual Property Organisation which have a worldwide access. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) are other important global institutions. Besides, there are international non-government organisation (NGOs) whose numbers continue to rise and they have been responsible in changing the attitudes of the world population in a big way. A number of social issues relating to environment, gender and other varied fields have developed. As a result a global bond is being created which can be seen in women, lesbian and gay movements, environmental and ecological groups and human rights issue.

28.3.5 Globalisation in the Political Field

There is a political aspect of globalisation too. It is a forceful assertion of liberal values. It means defence of democracy and human rights. After the collapse of Soviet Union and the establishment of democracy in erstwhile socialist states, democracy has become a globally accepted form of government. International aid is also connected with the maintenance of democratic order. However, the most important feature of globalisation is that it has eroded the sovereignty of the state both externally as well as internally. The nation state in the international system has been regulated under the Westphalia Treaty (1648) which recognises the equality of states, internal and external sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs of a state by another. While in theory the system persists but the sovereign structure of a nation state is heavily influenced by global tendencies. David Held points out the following facts in this regard :

- i) As pointed above, the national economies are increasingly becoming a part and parcel of international capitalist system and the nation. State's control over its economy has diminished. The monetary and fiscal policies of individual national governments are dominated by the movements in international financial products markets' and 'the internationalization of production, finance and other economic resources is unquestionably eroding the capacity to control its own economic future. The global economic system insists on free market and competition and accordingly the national government has to liberalise and privatise its economy, and withdraw subsidies and other welfare measures.

- ii) With the increase in global inter-connectedness, the number of political instruments available to governments and effectiveness of particular instruments have shown a marked decline; border controls have lessened; and flow of goods and services, ideas and cultures has increased. The result is a decrease in policy instruments which enable the state to control activities within and beyond its borders.
- iii) States can experience a further diminution in options because of the expansion in transnational forces and interactions which reduce and restrict the influence, the particular governments can exercise on the activities of their citizens. The impact, for example, of the flow of capital across borders can threaten anti-inflation measures, exchange rates and other government policies.
- iv) In the context of a highly inter-connected global order many of the traditional domains of state activity such as defence, communication and the like cannot be fulfilled without resorting to international forms of collaboration.
- v) Accordingly, States have had to increase the level of their political integration with other States so as to control the destabilising effects that accompany global interconnectedness. For examples, they have to strengthen the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation.
- vi) There has been a vast growth in the number of international institutions and organisations and they have laid down the basis for global governance. International bureaucracies have developed and the governments have to work within their framework. As a result the rights and obligations, power and capacities of the states have been redefined.
- vii) Further, the military blocs like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, US) and the Organisation of American States (OAS) exert a considerable influence on the member states. The block politics diminishes the member state's activity in decision making. Held says, "A State's capacity to initiate particular foreign policies, peruse certain strategic concerns, choose between alternative military technologies and control certain weapon systems located on its own territory may be restricted by its place in the international system of power relations."

The functioning of a military alliance is such that the leader of the military alliance commands while the other member states merely submit, like NATO where USA dominates other member-states. The USA also gains strategic and economic leverage over them. The system helps boosting US trade especially the weapon sales. Further even without a commitment to a NATO armed conflict, Held says, "State autonomy as well as sovereignty can be limited and checked." This is because, he continues, "The routine conduct of NATO affairs involves the integration of national defence bureaucracies into international defence organisations". Such organisations creating trans-governmental decision making systems, escape the control and even consultation of any single member state. They lead to establishing informal and yet very powerful trans-governmental personnel networks or coalitions outside the control of and accountability to any national mechanism.

- viii) The International law is also putting restraints on state sovereignty. The basis of this was laid by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg which tried the Nazi criminals of Hitler's Germany. It upheld the superiority of International values which protects basic humanitarian values over the state laws.

The UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1947), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) are some of the examples which limit the State's authority to control its citizens. Human rights are becoming very important and no government can arbitrarily deal with its own citizens. There is a strong move to the creation of a International Criminal Court where criminals accused of crimes against humanity will be tried. The traditional international law gives immunity to state officials in the discharge of their duties and they cannot be tried in other country's court. But in case of gross human rights violations, these principles are being challenged. The best example is the former Chilean President Augusto Pinochet's extradition hearings which are taking place in Great Britain. The sustained international pressure forced the Indonesian Government to deploy foreign troops in East Timor when the Indonesian army failed to stop bloodshed. Violation of ethnic and human rights have invited the international intervention even though it was considered the violation of state sovereignty. The crisis in Bosnia and Kosovo (Serbia) amply proves this where international intervention took place on ethnic and humanitarian grounds.

But this is not to say that the states sovereignty is abolished. Many a times the states have successfully resisted the international pressure. One can only conclude that the sovereignty has definitely been subjected to many limitations.

Globalisation can be witnessed in the development of military technology and warfare. There are global weapons like intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), remote Sensing Spy Satellites which make the world a single strategic place. The war technology has been highly sophisticated and computerised and it has become possible to attack or raid from a place to remote corners. The Gulf War was a classical case of such phenomenon.

28.3.6 Socio-Cultural Aspect of Globalisation

The socio-cultural aspect of globalisation is simply amazing. Now we have a common global language—‘English’ for communication and interaction. The western society which is essentially open, permissive and a market society is spreading globally. The electronic media is playing the most important role in this regard. The jeans culture with rock music, the Hollywood films are fashioning the new culture which is spreading globally. The cities around the world are becoming same, so much so that they resemble each other. These developments are creating a feeling of single consciousness which will further increase as the time passes.

28.3.7 Globalisation Due to Global Problems

Finally, there are certain global problems which need a global thinking to tackle. They include ecological and environmental crisis, destructive trafficking, arms smuggling and dreaded diseases like HIV AIDS.

The environmental and ecological crisis affects all of us. Due to industrialisation and man's greed, the land, water and air have become polluted. The Ozone layer has been depleted by the release of Ozone depleting compounds anywhere in the world. The forests are shrinking and the over-exploitation of oceans is creating a situation where, for example, fish and other sea food may become extinct. The earth is becoming warmer which may lead to submergence of many islands and coastal areas. This is the global warming which, if not addressed in time, may annihilate the mankind from this world. The UN Conference on the Human Environment (1972) in Stockholm and the UN Conference on Environment and

Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro (1992) were the consequences of this warming. The UNCED has been followed up by various international conferences on particular issues and global awareness on the hazards of environmental degradation has been achieved. The nuclear weapons are proliferating which till recently were the monopoly of five nuclear states - USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. In 1998 India followed by Pakistan joined this group. Israel, Argentine and Brazil and other states have the capacity to acquire nuclear weapons. A severe international problem arose due to the break up of Soviet Union and subsequent emergence of new States of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine where the nuclear weapons were located. Fortunately, the problem was solved as they were eventually dismantled. There is also, though remote, possibility of nuclear weapons being made available to ethnic or terrorist groups who may use them to achieve their objective. In 1986 a powerful explosion took place in Chernobyl nuclear complex in Russia in which nuclear radiation spread across many states due to wind and many people suffered radiation induced illness. Terrorism has become an universal problem. No country, not even the USA, the most powerful country on the earth, is immune to this problem. International terrorism like the one sponsored by Osama bin Laden who dared to declare jihad against US and India has to be tackled by global effort else the humanity will never be able to live in peace. Similarly drug trafficking has gone to alarming level. There is a close connection between terrorism, crime and drug trafficking. Many terrorist groups indulge in drugs to buy arms and spread terror. As per the report of United Nation Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) the underworld in USA and Britain have been investing in drugs ranging from 20 to 50 per cent. The drugs also go in a big way in increasing social and family violence. Finally the sexual revolution and frequent human interaction has spread the AIDS epidemic world wide. It is the most dreaded disease and millions are suffering.

These are some of the problems which the entire humanity is facing. They cannot be solved by any unilateral effort. They need a very close global cooperation and willingness, else the very survival of the mankind is the question that the world has to face. Fortunately these problems have been subjected to global awareness and while addressing them the process of globalisation has been further strengthened.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What do you understand by globalisation in economic sphere?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) How the sovereignty of the state is being eroded by the process of globalisation?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 3) What are the new developments in international law?



- 4) What are the socio-cultural implications of the process of globalisation?

- 5) Which one is not a global problem:

- i) environmental crisis
 - ii) terrorism
 - iii) drug trafficking
 - iv) AIDS
 - v) Bonded Labour

- 6) Complete the following:**

Globalisation in military warfare has occurred due to

28.4 DIMENSIONS OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION

Economic globalisation of today is multifaceted. It is not world trade, which has grown substantially, but also capital flows in respect of equity investment and short-term portfolio investments have increased considerably as well as migration of labour overseas.

28.4.1 Growth of Trade

In the 1990s alone, trade in goods and services has grown twice as fast as global gross domestic product (GDP) suggesting thereby that the growth of trade has been faster than the growth of world output. To substantiate further, the total trade of exports and imports accounted for only 28 per cent of world output in 1970. But in 1998 it had risen to 45 per cent of the world GDP. This growth was experienced across the world by both developed and developing countries. For example, trade as percentage of GDP of low-income countries grew from 12 per cent in 1970 to 46 per cent in 1998. In fact, the performance of middle-income

countries has been even more dramatic for, during these very periods middle-income countries registered twice as much growth in trade. In comparison, the high income countries, though experiencing an increase in total trade, had not attained the level of the middle-income countries. For, trade of high-income countries went up from 29 per cent in 1970 to only 44 per cent in 1998.

28.4.2 Growth in Investment

The magnitude of capital flows currently witnessed has made the economic globalisation of today qualitatively different from the earlier waves. According to current estimates, foreign direct investment (FDI) has reached an all-time high level of US \$ 1 trillion. There are three important aspects to this development - (i) the amount of capital invested; (ii) the spread of this investment over a large number of countries; and (iii) the organizations which have been the leaders in investment.

Between 1990-99, gross private capital flows in developed countries have more than doubled - from 9.9 per cent to 22.3 per cent to 22.3 per cent. However, as far as the developing countries are concerned, the capital flows have not been substantial. The low-income countries for that matter received capital flows amounting to no more than 2.0 per cent of their GDP.

One major feature is the growth of transnational corporations and their activities. It is estimated that there are more than 60,000 parent companies with as many as 700,000 overseas affiliates and a number of inter-firm networking which span over virtually all countries and engage in most economic sectors. As a result, the transnational corporations have become a formidable force in the world economy.

Of these transnational corporations, the world's top 100 non-financial transnational corporations are based exclusively in the developed countries. Primarily, they are the major force in international production, such as electronics, electrical equipment, automobile, petroleum, chemicals and pharmaceuticals. Together with their concentration there has occurred mergers and acquisitions of companies across the globe. In turn, this has strengthened the capacity of these corporations to internalize cross-border transactions and bypass national policies in terms of trade, tax and tariffs.

With regard to investment, a notable element of current globalisation is the short-term capital flows, also known as foreign portfolio investment. The portfolio investment has grown enormously as most countries have deregulated the capital market. By mid 1990s portfolio investment was valued around at US \$ 20 trillion. Of this, the gross portfolio capital flow as percentage of GDP was around 2 per cent for low-income countries; 6.4 per cent for middle-income countries and 22.4 per cent for the high-income countries.

28.4.3 Migration of Labour

Besides capital flows, migration of people has also been considerable. It is estimated that since the beginning of 1990 each year between 2-3 million people have emigrated to developed countries. At the beginning of the 21st Century, more than 130 million people live outside their country of origin and their number has been increasing at about 2 per cent per annum.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How has the growth in foreign direct investments in recent years affected the developing countries?

28.5 THE LIMITS OF GLOBALISATION

There are certain limitations in the globalisation which must be understood before we come to any conclusion. Firstly, globalisation has been experienced in certain parts of the world. It will be an exaggeration to say that for all people the world has become distanceless. The fact is that the sophisticated computer technology is prevalent in the countries of north and certain areas of developing countries. They are also concentrated in urban areas. In fact globalisation has affected the urban population/sectors professionals and younger generations more than other people. As Jan Aart Schatte points out, "the point about globalisation is not that certain conditions come to exist in all places and for the people to the same degree." Rather, it means that many things happen in the contemporary world largely irrespective of territorial distances and borders. Secondly, as we have seen state sovereignty persists though it is not as effective as it used to be earlier. Thirdly the cultural diversity also persists and many cultures have not taken kindly to the phenomenon especially the permissiveness of the western culture. As a result we find a proliferation of national, ethnic and religious movements against the impact of westernisation. Finally, the globalisation has also been identified as the return of the exploitation by former colonial powers and USA of the poor and developing countries. Therefore, there is a great deal of resistance among the developing countries and they are not ready to welcome it with open arms.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Discuss the limitations of the globalisation.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) Read the following carefully and identify the incorrect one:

- i) Globalisation has not been universal.
- ii) The cultural diversity remains despite globalisation
- iii) Globalisation has not disturbed the sovereignty of the globe.
- iv) Globalisation has also been understood as the return of western exploitation of developing world.

28.6 LET US SUM UP

Globalisation is an ongoing process by which the world is becoming closer and distanceless.

This process has been going on since a long time.

Since 1970s the process of globalisation has been increasingly felt. Following are the features of globalisation:

- Economically the world is becoming one. The national economies are diminishing and they are becoming part of the international economic system.
- Global factories and global products have come into existence in a very big way.
- Globalisation is witnessed in the communication field where there is a world wide access to people, ideas and information.
- People are also coming to know each other by travelling in different parts of the world.
- Many organizations and social movements have developed which regard the entire globe as their work field.
- Globalisation means acceptance of liberalism and democracy.
- Globalisation has put limitation on State's sovereignty.
- Globalisation is also seen in the military technology and warfare.
- Another globalising factor is the development of single socio-culture in the world.
- Need for globalisation occurs because of global problems which are to be tackled globally.

28.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Baylis John and Smith Steve (ed.), 1997, *The Globalisation of World Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Held, David, 1995, *Political Theory and the Modern State*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Melkote, Rama (ed.), *Meaning of Globalisation*, New Delhi 2001.

28.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 28.1
- 2) See Section 28.1
- 3) 'International' is the relation among the sovereign states with well defined territorial areas while globalisation transcends them.
- 4) See Section 28.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-Section 28.3.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 3) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 4) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 5) See Sub-Section 28.3.6
- 6) Global weapons have access to each and every part of the world.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-Section 28.4.1 and 28.4.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Globalisation has not been universal. It has influenced a limited section of people; states are still sovereign in their respective areas; the spread of western culture, and western domination is being resisted.

UNIT 29 IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Structure

- 29.0 Objectives
 - 29.1 Introduction
 - 29.2 Developing Societies
 - 29.3 Globalisation
 - 29.3.1 Old and New Globalisation
 - 29.3.2 Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalisation
 - 29.4 Impact of Globalisation on Developing Societies
 - 29.4.1 Positive Aspects of Globalisation
 - Economy
 - Politics, Society and Culture
 - Education
 - 29.4.2 Negative Aspects of Globalisation
 - Economy
 - Society and Culture
 - Education
 - 29.5 Imperatives of the Developing Countries
 - 29.5.1 Doubt Trap
 - 29.5.2 The impact of Uruguay Round
 - 29.5.3 The Final Outcome
 - 29.6 Let Us Sum Up
 - 29.7 Key Words
 - 29.8 Some Useful Books
 - 29.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
-

29.0 OBJECTIVES

Globalisation is a phenomenon which had resulted due to various developments in the fields of science and technology and their use in industry and commerce. As such, it can not be wished away. The various countries, therefore, have to adapt themselves to this new reality in order to be able to reap its benefits and avoid its adverse effects. This adaptability is all the more important for the developing societies which do not have a strong politico-economic background to absorb the impact of globalisation. The main objective of this unit is to emphasise this urgent need. After going through this unit you will be able to:

- understand the meaning and concept of globalisation, its tenets and its characteristics.
- to analyse the impact of globalisation on developing societies.
- to understand the negative aspects of globalisation.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

The process of globalisation had begun in 1970's, itself but it gained maximum momentum in the 1990s. The big Multi National Companies (MNCs) had always wanted to have free access to all markets in the world but were restricted by the protectionist policies of the various countries. They had been pressurising their 'powerful' governments to get the "artificial restrictions" removed and facilitate free flow of capital and goods. Their efforts got a big boost by the sharp rise in consumerism among people of various parts of the world. This rise can be largely attributed to the phenomenal increase in the reach of electronic media through

cable network and Internet. Thus, the rise in the demands for foreign goods coupled with the pressure of the developed world through IMF, World Bank, etc. has made various developing societies adopt new economic policies. This shall be discussed later in the unit.

There are two important terms in the topic - 'globalisation' and 'developing societies'. We shall first try to understand these concepts. Then we shall move on to the discussion of the impact of globalisation on the developing societies.

29.2 DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Taking a broader view of development, it can be argued that all societies are developing. In fact, no society can afford to stagnate or stop developing because such an approach will lead them to degeneration and decay. Nevertheless, some societies need to develop faster to catch-up with the rest.

After the second world war several countries got independence. In most cases, the colonial masters had shattered the socio-economic fabric of these countries and had deliberately restricted development in all fields. As a result, at the time of independence, most of these societies faced acute economic crisis, illiteracy, acute socio-cultural tensions/conflicts, lack of political awareness and huge gaps between the elites and the commoners.

The tasks before these post-colonial societies were economic progress with justice, stability, socio-cultural re-construction, ensuring education, awareness and participation of all citizens, etc. These tasks required specific measures (approach, policy, implementation, administration) which were to be developed/evolved in accordance with the particular context of particular societies. It is due to this specificity that these post-colonial societies have been clubbed together to be called 'Third World' or "Developing" Societies.

Another reason behind such a categorisation is the ethno-centric approach of the western social scientists. These scholars presume, probably on the basis of the level of industrialisation, that the west is developed and the USA is almost the ideal type, and that, all other societies are developing to become like it (developed). This approach, however, ignores various other parameters of development.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What are the specific features of developing societies?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2) What are the specific problems of developing societies?

.....
.....
.....
.....

29.3 GLOBALISATION

Robertson has defined globalisation as “a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.” (R. Robertson, Globalisation, London : Sage, 1992, Page 8). Globalisation is generally understood in terms of two distinct processes:

- a) globalisation as a process that has made communication instantaneous and has encouraged people to think in more global terms; and
- b) globalisation which tends to combine a market ideology with a corresponding material set of practices drawn from the world of business.

In other words, globalisation does not only refer to an economic system in which international boundaries do not pose ‘unnatural’ restriction on international trade, it also refers to ideological and cultural globalisation through communication media, computers and satellites. In fact, it is due to the communication media, computers and satellites that the “new” globalisation has come to acquire such features which distinguish it from the old one(s).

29.3.1 Old and New Globalisation

Several scholars like Wollerstein, Amin, etc. argue that globalisation had begun with the overseas expansion of capitalism in the form of imperial conquests and white colony settlements. The process of imperialism had brought the Asian, African and Latin American countries under the European political and economic domination. These countries were compelled to ‘open-up’ their economies for unfettered penetration by the global industrial capital. This phase has generally been referred to as the “widening phase” of globalisation. During this phase, the economic integration of the world was confined to international trade and colonial exploitative relationships.

New developments in the field of communications have forced the economic powers to renounce the use of force for the exploitation of the ‘colonies’. Instead, indirect pressure through World Bank, IMF, GATT, WTO, etc., is generated on the capital-starved developing societies to make structural adjustments to accommodate the interests of the Multi-National Companies (MNCs).

Another important shift from the earlier phase is that the contemporary form of globalisation has witnessed the setting up of production centres by the MNCs in the developing countries accompanied by a tremendous increase in the velocity of capital flow across national boundaries.

The third distinctive feature is the remarkable growth in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which has been many times higher than world trade and world output.

Finally, with the arrival of computer-aided communication network, the international movement of capital has acquired an independent life of its own, unrelated to the needs of international trade.

29.3.2 Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalisation

Most of the developing societies which had set for themselves the goals of economic self reliance and import-substituting industrialisation, have adopted new economic policies in line with the Structural Adjustment Package (SAP) sponsored by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The SAP has laid ultimate emphasis on export-promotion by the developing countries to get rid of the debt-trap and has undermined the objectives of import-substitution, poverty alleviation, re-distribution, etc.

In fact, most of the post-colonial developing countries had very little option in the wake of massive debt crises. In these countries, the colonial rulers had not allowed industrialisation, as a result of which, the list of items to be imported was quite big. Compared to it, the list of exports was insignificant in most of the cases. In other words, these countries have been paying much more on imports than they have been earning from their exports. This resulted in balance of payment crisis for most of these countries.

In most of these post-colonial societies, governments are being run by the authoritarian ruling elites. Most of these elites do not have comfortable mass base and, therefore, have largely been dependent on the West for their political survival. Naturally, their economic policies have been guided by the interests of the powers which help them in continuing as ruling elites. Most of the ruling elites of most of the developing countries have lavishly and freely borrowed huge amounts of money to pay for the imports. Here it is pertinent to mention that most of the items imported by these societies are meant for elite consumption and not for the common masses. The common masses, nevertheless, have to bear the burden of payment for such imports.

The third factor was the jolt in the form of a slump in the world demand for agricultural exports from the developing countries in the 1980s. As the International Banks were not willing to take any risks, the credit rating of these countries took a severe beating. The West increased the Global Interest Rate and also curtailed governmental assistance to the developing countries.

All the above mentioned factors combined together to cause massive debt crisis for most of the developing countries. In this situation, the World Bank and the IMF, under the influence of the developed West, offered help on the condition that these countries would accept SAP and open up their boundaries for un-restricted world trade and commerce.

The new economic policies designed in accordance with globalisation include withdrawal of all restrictive rules, regulations and tariff on internal and international trade, investments, collaborations, etc., and shrinking of the public sector in favour of private sector.

Check Your Progress 2

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What do you mean by globalisation? Differentiate between old and new forms of globalisation.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) Why have most of the developing societies adopted new economic policies in accordance with the demands of globalised economic order?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 3) Discuss the rationale behind the Structural Adjustment Package (SAP).

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

29.4 IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Here, we shall discuss the modern phase of globalisation which has been brought about or has been necessitated, by the processes of liberalisation and privatisation in the various countries of the world.

Due to the impact of the second world war as well as the influence of the socialist systems adopted by the Soviet Union, China, etc., more and more countries had gone in for state-controlled economies. But, by the early 70s, several countries of the West began the process of providing full freedom to the market forces by gradually reducing state interference. The rules and regulations which had been made to provide authority to the state over market forces were drastically modified, and even annulled, in the name of liberalisation. The state's shares in various industries (owned completely or partially by the state) began to be disinvested in order to replace state-ownership by private ownership. Another aspect of liberalisation concerns international trade and commerce. This means abolition of all 'artificial' barriers of national boundaries, tariff and protectionist/discriminatory policies. In other words, it means that the market forces should be allowed to operate similarly in all parts of the world.

After the Second World War, several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence. In most of them, the colonial rulers had not allowed any industrialisation. As such, it was impossible for them to have competed equally with the developed countries in the international market. It was due to this perception of being overwhelmed by the companies of the developed West that most of the developing countries had adopted protectionist policies to protect the indigenous entrepreneurs against the big Multi-National Companies.

Some countries like India also adopted specific policies, rules and regulations to protect the small scale entrepreneurs from the onslaught of the big business houses. The policies like FERA, MRTP Act, Licensing, Nationalisation of Banks, requirement of governmental approval for collaborations and terms of collaborations, etc., were all meant for protection of Indian entrepreneurs from 'outsiders' and to protect small scale Indian entrepreneurs from big Indian Business Houses.

Globalisation is based on the principle of universalism as against protectionism. It is guided by the rationale of capitalism which calls for free market, free competition and survival of the fittest. The capitalist logic has got a big boost by the developments in the field of computers, space and communication which have together made every part of the world easily accessible. People in every part of the world can be made to know about any product through TV and Internet. Sky Shopping and E-Commerce have made procurement of any product possible in matter of days. Markets have got flooded with foreign (made) goods mainly because demand for such goods is on the rise. In other words, developments in the field of communication have led to a steep rise in consumerism in various parts of the world.

As different developing societies have different potentialities, different problems and different socio-economic and political milieu, the impact of globalisation on each of them would be different too. On some of them, the impact would be more positive than negative while on others it may be more negative than positive. It will also depend on the capabilities of various societies in adjusting to the reality of globalisation in such a manner that the interests of the people of these societies are not jeopardised.

Globalisation is a reality which can not be wished away. This is why the discussions on the desirability or otherwise of globalisation has now been replaced by discussions on the measures which can help the developing societies derive more advantages from globalisation or minimise its disadvantages. Although most of the developing societies have not been able to make proper structural adjustments and, as a result, have suffered in the wake of globalisation, it would be a grave mistake to conclude that globalisation is devoid of any virtues or positive aspects. We shall concentrate on the impact of globalisation in three areas, namely, economy, society and culture and education. In all these three areas, we shall first study the positive aspects and then the negative ones.

29.4.1 Positive Aspects of Globalisation

We shall take up the positive aspects of the impact of globalisation on economy, society and culture and education one by one.

Economy

In most of the developing countries, the economic policies had not been yielding good results, especially for the poorer sections. The gap between the rich and the poor had constantly been on the rise. Due to lack of competition, the big business houses had been selling average products at high prices.

In other words, the consumers were not getting the best products available in other countries at much cheaper prices. The monopoly of the internal big industrialists and business houses was not meant for any special benefits to the common people. This can be illustrated by the example of the television industry in India.

Before the opening up of the market, the Indian TV makers had been selling sets with hardly any latest provisions at very high prices. With the advent of the international brands with modern features, the Indian manufactures, too, are becoming more consumer friendly in terms of latest features and low prices. In several other sectors, too, the international competition has resulted in enhancement of quality and slashing of prices.

Another positive economic impact of globalisation is the incorporation of sales of imported goods in the tax-net. As the demand for imported goods was always

there, the supply was managed by smugglers who could not be taxed. Now the imports would be done and sold by businessmen who will be paying tax to the Government. The menace of smuggling would also get curtailed.

The third positive impact would be in the field of exports. With the vanishing restrictions on international trade, the producers of good products will get access to the markets of all parts of the world.

Politics, Society and Culture

The debate over the desirability or otherwise of fixing parameters of developed socio-cultural systems, is an ever-lasting one. One set of scholars has been coming up "Ideal Types" or the systems having the most desirable socio-political and cultural traits. These scholars suggest that all the societies should make conscious efforts to acquire the traits of the 'ideal' system. They also suggest that the pre-modern traits should be shed-off.

On the other hand, there are scholars who argue that every society and every culture has its virtues, and that, "ideal types" should not be imposed upon. They advocate for the right of every group to preserve its own socio-cultural and political characteristics.

A third group of scholars, however, argues that although "Ideal Types" developed by the western scholars is ethno-centric having little appreciation for oriental systems, there is no logic in conscious preservation of tribalism or the barbaric traditions like 'Sati', sacrifice, 'Sarkar', etc. Moreover, equality, liberty, justice, etc. should form the basis of any good system.

In short, even though scholars may disagree on "Ideal Types", they all agree on the desirability of equality, liberty and justice becoming the basis of any socio-cultural and political system. They also agree on the position that the oppressive, barbaric and inhuman aspects of all socio-cultural and political traditions should be shed-off. It is here that globalisation has had a positive impact. With the phenomenal increase in the reach of the media, happenings in any corner of the world is brought to the knowledge of all in no time. The reaction and the position of the world community, too, gets easily conveyed to the concerned people. The cases of Human Rights violations and 'ethnic cleansings', etc. no longer go unnoticed. In several cases, pressure of the world community has successfully managed to get redressals. Further, various inherently oppressive systems (South Africa, Namibia, etc.) have changed to liberal ones for which globalisation had played an important role.

Education

Education provides knowledge and prepares people to adjust to, or if necessary, mould the environment in which he/she lives.

Due to various factors, the level of knowledge and capabilities developed by education systems of different countries are different. Education in some countries provides the latest knowledge while in some others it provides obsolete and irrelevant knowledge.

Globalisation will help in making the obsolete education systems up-to-date. Knowledge of the latest events, technologies, facts, developments, discoveries and human endeavours is essential for the development of any society. With the demolition of restrictions/barriers, universities and institutions of the developed countries will be offering their knowledge in the less developed ones through franchise or partnerships with local universities/institutions.

We shall now discuss the negative effects of globalisation on economies, cultures and education systems of the developing societies.

Economy

Economies of most of the developing societies had suffered badly due to colonial exploitation. After independence, these societies had been trying to develop their economies by combining local expertise and imported technologies. In some of these societies, special efforts were being made to develop indigenous technology to compete with the developed world. But, 40-45 years was too small a period for them to catch up with the developed economic powers. As such, some protectionist measures were required to save the indigenous entrepreneurs from the unequal competition with the Multi-National companies of the developed world.

Breaking up of barriers and protectionist measures in the name of globalisation exposes the upcoming but weak indigenous entrepreneurs to the onslaught by the powerful MNCs. The MNCs, having huge surpluses generated from various parts of the world, can easily marginalise the indigenous manufacturers. The example of Akai and Aiwa companies, which have effected closure of several Indian TV companies, can be seen by anyone. Another example is that of the ouster of almost all Indian soft drinks companies from the market by Coke and Pepsi.

Some scholars argue that globalisation means free access to all raw materials, all labour and all markets. Theoretically this access is equally available to the entrepreneurs from all parts of the world. But in practice, the big MNCs backed by big capital, advanced technologies and their powerful States have become the main beneficiaries. These companies are buying cheap raw materials from various developing societies, hiring cheap labour from there, selling the products and services in these very societies, and making huge gains. With the relaxation in restrictions (as per the New Economic Policies adopted by developing societies) on taking the profits out, several of these societies are bound to experience almost similar 'drain of wealth' as they had experienced during the colonial rule.

A very important tenet of globalisation is privatisation as public enterprises do not, generally, conform to economic rationalism. In most of the developing societies, including India, public sector enterprises were set up with the following purposes:

- to maintain secrecy about defence-related productions;
- to create infra-structural facilities;
- to provide services to the masses without caring for profits.

Later on, for reasons better known to the policy-makers, several public sector enterprises came up in various sectors including consumer sector. Public enterprises either should not have come up in these non-core, non-service sectors or should have worked to generate profit to support the non-profitable service sector. Unfortunately, most of these enterprises became burdens on the State. Due to these loss-making companies some people have formed an opinion that public sector is worthless, and hence, should be done away with. However, the attack on the public sector has become more potent in the recent years mainly by the protagonists of globalisation who believe that public sector and globalisation do not go together.

Thus, disinvestment of government's shares from public sector undertakings has been caused by the logic and pressure of globalisation rather than by the

realisation that the PSUs are unviable. This argument can be corroborated by the fact that most of the disinvestments in India have been from profit-making PSUs.

In fact, the original reasons behind having Public Sector Undertakings are still relevant; the suffering masses still need to be looked after with a service motive rather than a profit motive. If some of the PSUs are not performing or have become burdens on the State's exchequer, public sector as a whole should not be done away with. In most of the developing societies, majority of the people can not afford to pay for all the basic amenities/services. Therefore, total privatisation would badly affect them. The difference between the fees charged by government Hospitals/Schools and private Hospitals/Schools clearly indicates what havoc privatisation can create for the poor masses.

Society and Culture

Every society has its own set of ethical codes and values, traditions and conventions. While it is good to be open to new ideas for a positive change, the choice should lie with the recipient. In this era of globalisation, however, the people of the developing societies are being bombarded so heavily through the electronic media that they hardly are left with options or choice. Through Cable TV and Internet, the MNCs are successfully promoting consumerism and even Western values. This creates big adjustment problems in the developing societies. Most of the people in these societies do not get even the basic amenities and even those who get can not afford the luxuries being promoted so aggressively. This leads to frustration, adjustment problems and materialist approach to life.

Several researchers have found that the people of the developing societies, especially children and youth want to become rich to be able to buy all that they get fascinated with. The craze of Coke/Pepsi or famous Western brands of clothing or watches or cars or cosmetics are all creation of electronic media. Earlier, people either did not know about them or could not get them in the open market. Today, thanks to globalisation, everybody knows about all the products and the products are available in the market. When one sees others using them, the urge to have them increases manifold. This can be one of the important reasons behind the rise in crime-rate in these societies.

Education

The worst impact of globalisation on education can be seen in the rapid commercialization of education and over-emphasis on market oriented courses. The undermining of Social Sciences and Humanities is already having detrimental effect on the society. While education should prepare the students to be able to earn their livings, a more important role of education is to develop the mental horizons and personalities of the students so that they become aware, concerned and balanced citizens.

Due to the demands of market in this era of economic globalisation as well as due to serious propaganda by western institutions and industries, education in most of the developing societies is gradually becoming one-dimensional. Educational institutions are putting more and more emphasis on courses which create skills for the market. The social, cultural, political, traditional and moral education is being neglected and being termed as irrelevant and obsolete. This is an unfortunate development as study of these subjects provides stability and balance to a society facing the onslaught of cultural and economic imperialism.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Discuss the positive impacts of globalisation on developing societies.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) Discuss the impact of globalisation on the economies of the developing societies.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 3) Discuss the challenges which the developing societies have to face in the globalised world. How can they effectively respond to those challenges?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

29.5 IMPERATIVES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In the current globalisation process, large number of developing countries per force have sought to integrate increasingly with the world economy. A number of imperatives explain the currently witnessed trend.

29.5.1 Debt Trap

A large number of developing countries are today dependent upon foreign capital flows especially portfolio investment. Among them, a number of countries are faced with a considerably worsened external debt situation. For instance, the external debt of low income developing countries has reached a high of nearly US \$ 70 billion. In the case of middle-income developing countries their external debt volume is estimated around US \$ 1700 billion. Placed in this predicament, many developing countries including India have had to seek the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to balance their external payments. The IMF lending is linked with what are known as "conditionality clauses" which emphasize structural adjustment policies as well as trade liberalization and capital market deregulation. Given these imperatives, many of the developing countries unilaterally adopted economic policies, which in turn, have forced them to integrate into the world economy.

Also, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, East European countries as well as countries elsewhere including India, which had had substantial trade linkages with the Soviet Union had to seek structural adjustment loans from the IMF and the World Bank. Consequently, they too became subject to the IMF "conditionality clauses" which led to their integration into world economy.

29.5.2 The Impact of Uruguay Round

Ever since the establishment of the regime of **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)** in 1947, periodically the signatory member countries negotiated among themselves on a number of issues related to trade and tariff in their international commodity transactions. GATT provided a forum for both the developed and the developing countries to bring to bear the problems they face in their external trade. Developing countries for long have been skeptical of the usefulness of the GATT system and persistent in their demand for special and differential treatment in international trade. It is in these circumstances, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development through its collective negotiations succeeded in extending what is known as Generalised System of preferences (GSP) to the developing countries under which developed countries offer preferential tariffs to selected products of exports from developing countries. Even the GSP was far from satisfactory because a large number of products of interest to the developing countries were not included in the list of products, which received such concessions under GSP. However, in subsequent years the GATT made it possible for the grant of unilateral tariff concession by developed countries to those from the developing countries.

Trade was not the only knotty issue. The flow of foreign direct investment from the developed countries was also hurting the interest of the developing countries, which among other things, it was argued, was undermining the sovereignty of the developing countries of their natural resources. Also, the expected technology transfer did not take place and through transfer pricing they drained the resources of the recipient developing countries. It is under these circumstances that attempts were made under the auspices of the UN in its Conference on Trade and Development, prepared a code of conduct for the multinational corporations. However, when the developed countries opposed this code, the issue was side tracked.

As pressure mounted from the developing countries seeking a New International Economic Order (NIEO), there was a serious attempt to achieve two basic objectives by the developed countries led by the United States. They related to seeking a fundamental change in the agenda of the developing countries and the then trajectory of the international economic relations largely determined by the developing countries.

It is in these circumstances that the United States, on the basis of its domestic legislation, sought inclusion of services, investment and intellectual property rights to be negotiated under the aegis of GATT. The developing countries obviously were opposed to this on following grounds:

- 1) They argued that services cannot be brought under the multilateral trade negotiations because GATT's mandate was only to deal with merchandise trade and related tariffs and quotas. Since services are too many and go beyond, they cannot be included for negotiation.
- 2) They stated that questions relating to intellectual property rights should be the concern of international organizations such as World Intellectual Property Rights and therefore should not be brought under the GATT system. What is more, the developing countries were of the view that they need to develop their own national legislations regarding intellectual property rights before it could be discussed in the international forum.
- 3) Regarding investment the developing countries asserted that they needed a national approach before subjecting this issue to the scrutiny of GATT.

Notwithstanding their reservations, the developing countries were unable to stall the negotiations. At best they could only postpone negotiations. Two factors can be attributed for their failure - one, lack of cooperation among the developing countries to adopt a common strategy and two, as some of the developing countries were working under pressure from the United States especially with regard to their external debt liabilities.

29.5.3 The Final Outcome

Despite opposition from the developing countries the Uruguay Round took certain initiatives which altered the course of international economic relations. Issues such as services, intellectual property rights and investments were taken up for negotiations. **Legal and technical questions such as whether under the GATT these issues could be negotiated were resolved.** For instance, regarding services it was decided that they would be discussed separately and intellectual property rights and investment being linked with trade would have to be discussed under GATT auspices. Added to this the issue of subsidy to agriculture was also brought under negotiations in the GATT. Thus under the Uruguay Round international economic relations took a new and different direction, prompted by the forces of globalisation led by the developed countries. By the time the Uruguay Round was ending the collapse of the Soviet Union finally nailed any hope of building an alternative trajectory in respect of international economic relations from the perspective of the developing countries. The compliance of Russia and Eastern European countries to join the mainstream by seeking admission to IMF and World Bank and their efforts to integrate themselves with the world trade system reduced further any prospects of a world system that would protect and safeguard the interests of the developing countries.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) To what extent were the developing countries successful in achieving their ends in the Uruguay Round Trade Agreements?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

29.6 LET US SUM UP.

Globalisation is a reality which can not be wished away. It has both positive as well as negative effects on developing societies. While positive effects have to be absorbed, the negative effects need to be carefully handled and minimised. Here, education systems have to play a very important role. The role of the developing countries in shaping international economic policies consistent with their national needs has been considerably reduced. Not only have the developing countries been forced to adapt themselves to the current process of globalisation, but also they have now been left with little option to evolve external economic policies to suit their needs and interests.

29.7 KEY WORDS

Adaptability	: Ability to make adjustments
Instantaneous	: Without waiting time or immediate
Virtues	: Good points on good aspects
Shrinking	: Reducing in size/girth
Oriental	: Old systems of Asia

29.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

J. John and Anuradha Chenoy (Eds.) *Labour, Environment and Globalisation*, Centre for Education and Communication, New Delhi, 1996.

Jain Currie and Janice Newson (Eds.), *Universities and Globalisation : Critical Perspectives*, Sage : Thousand Oaks, 1998.

C.P. Bambhani, "Globalisation and Social Science", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, June 6, 1998.

Biplab Dasgupta, "SAP Issues and Conditionalities : A Global Review, *EPW*, Bombay, May 17, 1997.

Sumit Ray, "Globalisation, Structural Change and Poverty : Some Conceptual and Policy Issues" *EPW*, August 16, 1997.

29.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 29.2
- 2) See Section 29.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 29.3, and Sub-Section 29.3.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 29.3.2
- 3) See Sub-Section 29.3.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-Section 29.4.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 29.4.1
- 3) See Sub-Section 29.4.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Sub-Section 29.5.2

UNIT 30 GLOBALISATION AND THE RESPONSE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Structure

- 30.0 Objectives
 - 30.1 Introduction
 - 30.2 Policy Concerns of Less Developed Countries
 - 30.3 Domestic Policy Responses
 - 30.4 Initiatives at the International Level
 - 30.4.1 Service Sector
 - 30.4.2 Intellectual Property Rights
 - 30.4.3 Investment Measures
 - 30.4.4 Dispute Settlement Mechanism
 - 30.4.5 Creation of WTO
 - 30.5 WTO and the Less Developed Countries
 - 30.5.1 Agriculture
 - 30.5.2 Textiles and Apparels
 - 30.5.3 Tariffs on Industrial Goods
 - 30.5.4 Services
 - 30.5.5 Intellectual Property Rights
 - 30.5.6 Trade Related Investments
 - 30.6 Needed Policy Framework
 - 30.7 Let Us Sum Up
 - 30.8 Some Useful Books
 - 30.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
-

30.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the process of globalization as it is unfolding itself presently;
 - Understand the varied impact that globalization has made on the developing countries; and
 - Assess the general and the specific responses of the developing countries across the world.
-

30.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit an attempt is made to focus on the meaning and significance of the globalization process, and the impact it is making on the current international system. The emphasis here is to study specifically the impact of the globalization process on the developing countries in order to understand the different responses with which the developing countries are evolving policy packages to meet the challenges posed by globalization.

It is claimed by some writers that the current phase of globalization is part of an ongoing historical process. Yet, the current process of globalization in terms of its accent is more towards integration of national economies across the world specially integrating their systems of production and finance. This process is driven by a package of policies unleashed by the industrially advanced countries seeking liberalization of trade and investment of capital across the world. Further, it is embodied in an ensemble of international relations and institutions at the apex

of which are the multinational corporations (MNCs), multilateral trading and financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Also, the pace of the current globalization process is reflected largely in respect of the incredible growth in the size of cross-border flows of goods, services and capital.

30.2 POLICY CONCERNS OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The impact of the current process of globalization is extremely uneven, both within and between nations. Consequently, it has resulted in rising income inequalities within countries as well as between countries. The less developed countries experience a more skewed income distribution, which is attributed largely to the shift in labour demand. It has also led to greater polarization across countries because technology—the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization—still remains concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Also, sudden spurts and shift in the direction of speculative capital often have triggered financial crisis more in the capital-starved less developed countries than elsewhere.

Placed in such a situation, the policy concerns of the less developed countries are largely a response to the evolving structural divide between them and the industrially advanced countries. So much so, globalization is perceived by the less developed countries to be a system typified by the apex economic institutions such as the IMF and WTO in which the more developed countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less developed countries especially in areas such as trade and capital investment. Some among the less developed countries feel that the current globalization process has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in many countries. At the same time, under the pressure of economic globalization many of them have to resort to external debt, which have further contributed to the deceleration of the growth in real terms.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What do you understand by the term 'economic globalisation'?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) What are the major policy concerns of the less developed countries towards the current globalisation process?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

30.3 DOMESTIC POLICY RESPONSES

Given the adverse impact of the current economic globalization and given also the constraints in which the less developed countries are placed, most of these less developed countries are engaged in devising policy measures the prime objective of which is not so much as to engage themselves in the process of globalization than as to how to engage effectively with it. Therefore, most policy measures aim at either reshaping the impact or redirecting the globalization process to their advantage. Policy rationale also underlines the means that would facilitate the less developed countries have access to the positive benefits of globalization and at the same time help mitigate the adverse consequences.

To that extent the less developed countries with very few exceptions have by and large evolved their policy framework that underscores irreversibility of the policy measures-be it in terms of structural adjustment or trade liberalization. At the same time they also underline that the policy mix will be such that it would ensure some modicum of social safety net to overcome the problems of marginalisation and impoverishment.

In respect of the adverse effects of the current economic globalization, many of the developing countries are engaging their attention on reforming, to the extent possible, the international trading and financial institutions to cater to their critical economic needs. Leading among these are countries such as India which have taken initiatives to reexamine the evolving rules of the WTO in respect of issues such as intellectual property rights, anti-dumping restrictions, subsidies to agriculture and other countervailing measures. Another concern relates to enlarging the developing countries' market access in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Cumulatively their demands are in respect of expanding their access to international trade through seeking lowering of tariff, and exemptions on a number of non-tariff barriers. In this connection, mention may be made of the less developed countries seeking support in the WTO to seek revision in the standards of sanitary and phyto-sanitary requirements regarding their exports especially towards the European Union.

While the afore-mentioned concerns largely relate to trade matters, the less developed countries are also making demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment. In this context the highly indebted poor countries are seeking initiatives that would minimize their debt burdens. Specifically in this connection they are demanding debt relief measures that would help reduce the levels of poverty and attendant economic hardships in their domestic economy. Secondly, they are also making efforts that would bring about increasing rate of flow of private foreign direct investment in order to meet their current economic bind. In their effort to attract foreign direct investment efforts are afoot to reduce if not eliminate, the risk perceptions of potential portfolio and direct investors and also by improving the credibility of their public financial institutions.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the general perceptions of the less developed countries towards globalisation?

.....
.....

- 2) What are the demands of the less developed countries in respect of trade and investment in the current phase of globalisation?
-
.....
.....
.....
.....

30.4 INITIATIVES AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Aware of the immediate adverse impact of economic globalisation, the less developed countries had joined the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with two objectives-first, to deal with the backlog issues relating to textile exports and agricultural subsidies and second, to remove GATT rules regarding anti-dumping and countervailing duties. They were less inclined to negotiate on the newer areas which meant opening their infant service sector, removing all restrictions on foreign direct investment and rewriting their patent laws. These requirements, they felt were unwarranted intrusion into their economic space.

So, they put up a united front against the intrusion of new areas such as service sector, investments and international property rights. Yet, their efforts were met with stiff opposition from the advanced countries. In the final analysis, all that the less developed countries could achieve in respect of service sector, investment and intellectual property rights were as follows:

30.4.1 Service Sector

In the Uruguay Round, what was finally agreed upon was that the service sector will have to be liberalized but based on multilaterally agreed and legally enforceable rules to govern trade and services such as most favoured nation (MFN) treatment, transparency of laws and regulations, recognition of operating licences and arrangement for dispute settlement. However, thanks to the concerted effort of the less developed countries, several exceptions have been made in the service sector. Yet, the less developed countries had to concede liberalization in such service sectors as advertising, construction and engineering.

30.4.2 Intellectual Property Rights

So far in respect of intellectual property rights, the Uruguay Round provided for an international system for the protection of such rights to be embodied in a legal institutional set up called World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO).

Perceiving the WIPO protection as inadequate, the developed countries launched a strong initiative to create an extended and tighter international system for the protection of intellectual property rights. In the final outcome, the scope of the Uruguay Round has been expanded to increase the life of privileges granted or rights conferred, to enlarge the geographical spread and to create an enforcement mechanism.

30.4.3 Investment Measures

The investment measures embodied in the agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMs) listed a comprehensive set of measures such as not permitting practices like local content requirements, export obligations, restrictions on imports of certain raw materials or components. At the same time, existing measures will have to be notified to the designated international authority and will have to be phased out over two years in the case of developed countries and five years in the case of less developed countries. Exception to this rule was permitted only if the country in question is faced with a serious balance of payments problem.

30.4.4 Dispute Settlement Mechanism

The creation of an integrated dispute settlement body is yet another major achievement of the Uruguay Round meeting the demands of the less developed countries. Now thanks to the creation of the dispute settlement body, there are firm time limits which apply to the various stages of dispute settlement process. What, however, disadvantages the less developed countries is the requirement that calls for a consensus in respect of rejecting a panel report. However, what advantages the less developed countries is that no requirement of a consensus is called for in accepting the report of the dispute settlement body. In this way these new procedures are seen to be in the interests of smaller countries bringing their complaints against larger countries.

30.4.5 Creation of World Trade Organisation

The creation of World Trade Organisation (WTO) is part and parcel of the multilateral agreement arrived at the Uruguay Round. Its main purpose is to facilitate implementation, administration and operation of GATT 1994. In effect, it gives permanence to GATT. Two main distinctive features of WTO are:

1) nations seeking admission to WTO must accept all decisions from around as a package which includes agreements on trade in services, intellectual property rights and trade related investment measures; and 2) nations acceding to WTO are required to be bound by the new integrated dispute settlement mechanism encompassing the three areas of goods, services and technology.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Highlight the major decisions arrived at in the Uruguay Round and explain how these decisions were responsive to the demands of the less developed countries.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2) Explain the main purpose and objectives of the WTO.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

30.5 WTO AND THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Most developing countries have accepted the WTO regime though reluctantly. The debate is still raging in many countries over the consequences of their signing the WTO treaty. The critical question that is debated is what are the risks and gains from the WTO regime for the developing countries. Some general issues have been highlighted. They are as follows:

30.5.1 Agriculture

One area where the predominantly agricultural countries of the less developed world are jubilant is gaining major benefits in the agricultural sector. Successes in refining agricultural support programmes in the industrially advanced countries and regions such as United States, Japan and the European Union are expected to render net gains to less developed countries' agricultural exports for the comparative and competitive advantage these agricultural countries enjoy. However, at the same time, certain apprehensions have surfaced regarding the WTO's ruling in favour of reduction in subsidies for agriculture, phasing out of public distribution system and compulsory market access to agricultural imports.

30.5.2 Textiles and Apparels

Less developed countries with an edge in the manufacture of textiles and apparels have benefited from the multi-fibre agreement (MFA) for progress in unravelling the MFA is expected to bring major benefits to these countries. Yet there is a cause for concern because the phasing of MFA is accompanied by a system of what is known as "transitional selective safeguards" whose operational details have not yet been defined. This in turn could restrict the growth in exports of textiles by the less developed countries. Also, there are already anti-dumping laws in hands of the industrially advanced countries which they may use to restrict the textile export from less developed countries.

30.5.3 Tariffs on Industrial Goods

The prospects of reduction in industrial tariffs have greatly improved. Yet, the benefits are not likely to be substantial because already the tariffs on imported industrial goods are low, besides the proposed tariff cuts are likely to be concentrated in areas of less importance to developing countries.

30.5.4 Services

In the area of services, the less developed countries notwithstanding their demands have still to work out a viable way out for the export of skilled and unskilled labour, negotiations for which are still in the very initial stages. The only compensation is that several of the areas for liberalization in the service sector are yet to be negotiated.

30.5.5 Intellectual Property Rights

Intellectual property is the area where new and tougher rules would put the less developed countries to greater hardship. Despite the efforts made by several of the developing countries including India, not much success has yet been achieved. For, after all, in some of the identified sectors like chemical and pharmaceutical products, biotechnology and propagation of improved varieties of seeds and microbiological processes for developing new fertilizers and pesticides the developing countries may have to make royalty payments to the industrially advanced countries. Some of the expressed fears of the less developed countries such as non-availability of needed technology at affordable costs, the pre-empting of domestic technological capacities by the more advanced countries and the incidence of restrictive business practices by the TNCs are admittedly justified. It is in these areas the less developed countries may have to evolve a concerted policy posturing within the forum of the WTO.

30.5.6 Trade Related Investments

Yet another area in which the less developed countries need to evolve a concerted policy response is trade related investments. Otherwise, the current regime on trade related investments will severely jeopardise the ability of the less developed countries to regulate the foreign capital inflows in accordance with their objectives and priorities. Besides, it will also weaken the domestic capital goods sector and arrest the growth of indigenous technological capacity.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Attempt a balance sheet of the advantages and disadvantages for the less developed countries that function under the WTO regime.

.....
.....
.....
.....

30.6 NEEDED POLICY FRAMEWORK

The overall response of the less developed countries towards the current phase of globalization is based on their justified fears and apprehensions. As has been stated earlier, the less developed countries as a whole have made the right choice not as much to disengage themselves but to engage in an effective manner in the current globalization process. At the domestic level, the policy responses are based on the rationale that at all odds they will have to insert themselves into the global economy with a view to benefit by it and at the same time make an effort to minimize the adverse and deleterious consequences. Towards this effort, while the less developed countries are, to the extent possible making efforts to come up with a policy package-be it in terms of structural adjustments or trade liberalization-their concern justifiably is to work in concert at the multilateral level and under the WTO regime to reshape the globalization process. In doing so, the less developed countries have evolved common strategies to realize their goals. As has been mentioned on specific issues such as TRIPS, TRIMs, trade in

services, tariffs on industrial goods etc. the less developed countries have collectively placed their views in the successive WTO meetings. Though the outcome of these negotiations have not been as yet encouraging, these meetings at least have brought the less developed countries to come together and present what would be described as the shared responses. Admittedly, the task ahead for the less developed countries is daunting. Yet, given the 'rule-based' trade regime that has come into being under the auspices of the WTO, the less developed countries will have to put their efforts in evolving new rules of the game.

30.7 LET US SUM UP

The objective of the lesson is to understand the varied impact that globalization has made on the developing countries and assess the general and the specific responses of the developing countries across the world. The emphasis here is to study specifically the impact of the globalization process on the developing countries in order to understand the different responses with which the developing countries are evolving policy packages to meet the challenges posed by globalization.

It is widely acknowledged that the current globalization has resulted in rising income inequalities within countries as well as between countries. It has also led to greater polarization across countries because technology-the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization, still remains concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Placed in such a bind, the policy concerns of the less developed countries is largely a response to the evolving structural divide between them and the industrially advanced countries. So much so, globalization is perceived by the less developed countries to be a system typified by the apex economic institutions such as the IMF and WTO in which the more developed countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less developed countries especially in areas such as trade and capital investment. Some among the less developed countries feel that the current globalization process has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in many countries.

While the afore-mentioned concerns largely relate to trade matters, the less developed countries are also making demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment.

In the final analysis, what the less developed countries have achieved is far from adequate. Now, most developing countries have accepted the WTO regime though with considerable reluctance and reservation. Yet, concerted efforts are made by the developing countries to use the WTO forum for evolving a 'rule based' multilateral mechanism that would enable them to enhance their gains and at the same time help minimize the rigours and the adverse effects of the current economic globalization. In this effort, the less developed countries have evolved common strategies to realize their goals. Yet, the task ahead for the less developed countries is by all means challenging.

30.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

B. Ramesh Babu ed., *Changing Global Political/ Ideological Context and Afro-Asia: Strategies for Development* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1996).

Harry Magdoff, *Globalization: To What End?* (New York: Monthly Review, 1992).

Hartmut Elsenhans, "Myth of Globalization and Necessity of Development Politics", International Studies (New Delhi), 1996, vol.33, no.3, pp.255-71.

Globalisation and the
Response of the Developing
Countries

Robin Broad and John Cavanagh, "Don't Neglect the Impoverish South", Foreign Policy (New York), Winter 1995-96, no.101, pp.20-43.



30.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 30.2
- 2) See Section 30.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 30.3
- 2) See Section 30.3

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 30.4
- 2) See Sub-Section 30.4.5

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Section 30.5 to Sub-Section 30.5.5