

A holistic approach: Conceptual Building Blocks for a Human and Just Globalisation

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Christoph Strawe

Introduction

From Friday Oct. 11th until Sunday Oct. 13th 2002 a conference took place at the Trier University. Promotors were the Institute for Contemporary Questions (Institut für soziale Gegenwartsfragen), Stuttgart, and the Institute for Modern Forms of Economic and Social Life (Institut für zeitgemäße Wirtschafts- und Sozialgestaltung), Dornach.

The aims of the conference were described in the invitation as follows:

"Today everybody is talking about "Globalisation". With this word we name a process, which is interfering ever deeper into the lives of human beings and which is related to the development of a worldwide net of economic dependencies. The form, in which this process is going on nowadays, is stamped by neo-liberal thinking. This kind of thinking is the basis of the activity of global institutions, which have gained more and more power, most notably the World Trade Organisation WTO. With the GATS und the TRIPS agreements the WTO is setting out to subjugate all areas of social life to commercial interests.

In the meantime a global civil society movement has arisen against those tendencies. The adversaries of this movement call it an "anti"-globalisation movement. But in fact this movement is fighting only against the specific form, in which globalisation is working today. In particularly it is pointing to the growing gap between the rich and the poor on the globe. Even some more

foresighted representatives of the established institutions agree with its demand for shaping economic globalisation in its social and ecological aspects.

In the next two years we will reach a crucial point for all further development: Will a new "liberalization round" of the WTO create irreversible facts? Or can we succeed, to keep open the possibility for a different approach to shaping globalisation? And how can we create a different, a humane form of globalisation? How can we handle the problems practically?

This question was discussed for instance by more than 50.000 activists of global civil society during the second World Social Forum in Porto Alegre/Brazil at the beginning of this year. At Porto Alegre the International Forum on Globalization, amongst whose members are a large number of leading representatives of the civil society from all continents, has presented a report on alternatives to the contemporary form of globalisation. With this report the IFG wants to initiate a worldwide process of discussion between all people interested (see <http://www.ifg.org>).

The Institute for Contemporary Social Questions in Stuttgart and the Institute for a Modern Social and Economic Structure in Dornach have been working on this subject for many years. They have forewarned of the development promoted by the WTO at a time, when the public was still completely unaware of this subject. They have also elaborated solution-oriented proposals for concrete questions as for instance on safeguarding the social systems under the conditions of globalisation. They appreciate the initiative the IFG has taken and would like to take up the offer of a civil society dialogue. With the Trier Conference they try to elaborate modules for a humane form of globalisation, which shall be placed at the disposal of all people, who want to participate in the further discussion process. We invite everybody, who is interested in the questions of shaping globalisation und in the dialogue about these questions." The following texts are summaries of the introductions given by Udo Herrmannstorfer, Dr. Christoph Strawe, Prof. Dr. Harald Spehl and Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Filc.

Udo Herrmannstorfer

The Spiritual Dimension of Globalisation

Theses

1. The tendency towards globalisation lies at the bottom of the whole of our modern cultural epoch. The emergence of the term in the nineties means just an external finalization of this process. The development of the last century doesn't only result from a historical reflection but was consciously conceived on a political level as a project of a "new world order". After the period of political colonialism the economy took over the role of the factor of integration. The large global comprehensive contracts, particularly the MAI-treaty as a keystone, were intended to position the economic order of neo-liberalism promoting globalisation even above social political order. The events in Seattle have, temporarily, put a halt to this development.

2. A civilization that transgresses its original regional boundaries and seizes the whole world, like the European culture, could only have the power to mould the globe into a stable empire if it did not also carry in itself the capacity to understand and encourage other cultures. This can be seen as a new element which concerns the self-image of man as an individuality and the potential for its development. The true cultural message is not the scientific materialism, which came up as a consequence of the elaboration of self-consciousness and is dominating our culture at present, but it is the newly disclosed access to the spiritual foundations of man and world, achieved on the basis of the forces of consciousness strengthened by that elaboration, as we find it anchored in Christianity and - consciously opened up - for instance in anthroposophy. Thus globalisation turns into more than mere market expansion.

3. The globalised world gives rise to the question of world culture. It is quite clear that this question must not be answered in terms of national interests. These forces formerly responsible for creating civilizations and nations can no longer be the starting point, as they tend to produce incompatibilities. On the contrary, if such forces are roused they will provoke downright cruelties, both within states with mixed populations and internationally. Power politics is no answer to the problems of globalisation. It is in every single human being himself that the new concept of culture must find and stimulate the forces needed to stimulate the processes of social formation. Therefore it can neither be national nor international, neither multinational nor supranational, but only humane in a universal sense.

4. What will be essential is not only to look at peoples, states and markets in the discussion of globalisation but to focus on man himself and his development going ahead anywhere in the world. The term "universal" therefore should not be equated with "abstract", but in the concept of man the human being must be understood in his actual individuality. Then it will be realized that man in himself is a developing entity. This again will shed a new light on the question of how individual people and groups of people relate to each other and what is needed in any given situation to promote development.

[Translated by Wilfried Hüfler]

The Economic Dimension of Globalisation

Theses

1. Globalization is no natural phenomenon but the result of human decisions and action.

2. *Globalization is more than internationalisation.* Globalisation means a new quality of the relations between human beings all over the world, it leads to new chances and risks for social and economic development.

3. *Globalisation is more than free trade.* Not only goods (products and services) are exchanged. Also natural resources, environmental media, people, capital, knowledge and innovations get worldwide mobile or enter into exchange and competition with each other. This also applies to moral concepts and cultures as well as to deceases and technological risks. Also a competition and mutual influence of conditions and chances of life is coming up.

4. *Globalisation requires configuration.* Globalisation shall serve the enhancement of the conditions and chances of life for all human beings. This demand is valid with regard to today's world population but also with regard to the relationship between the today's and the future population of the earth.

5. *Conditions:* A human and just globalisation must satisfy at least the following conditions in the economic sector:

a) *Safeguarding and improving the human right to exist:* Globalisation must contribute in the economic sector to safeguard and to improve the material basis for the human right to exist.

b) *Prices which reflect the social situations of the people:* The prices which emerge under the conditions of the neo-liberal version of globalisation cannot be a scale for the decisions of the people in a globalized world. Prices must reflect better the situations of the people involved and their needs for livelihood or be completed by additional information.

c) *Economic activity within the limits of the capacity of the natural systems of the world:* The economy activity mustn't exceed the capacities of the natural systems (capacities of production and absorption).

d) *Improving transparency in the economic life, enable greater responsibility of the individuals involved.* Globalisation mustn't lead to anonymisation and lack of responsibility in complex network of world economy. We have to alter existing institutions or to built up new institutions to improve transparency in economic life und to facilitate the responsibility of the individual.

6. *Globalisation requires steps towards cooperative coordination in the economic sector:* Globalisation without the necessary framework of organs for cooperation leads to irresponsible behaviour of the human beings involved. Thus economic globalisation requires steps away from anonymous market mechanism towards a cooperative coordination.

7. The existing *institutions* like WTO, IMF and World Bank must be changed in accordance with this demand or replaced by other.

[Translated by Christoph Strawe]

Dr. Christoph Strawe

The Political and Legal Dimension of Globalisation

This text is not available in English. The author has dealt with some aspects of the subject also in the article >>> "Threefolding or Global Governance" >>>

Prof. Harald Spehl

After Rio + 10: Sustainability - Model or Illusion? *Key points*

Results of the world summit on sustainable development Johannesburg 2002:

- The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development
- Plan of implementation
- Type 2-Outcomes (state representatives, business and representatives of civil society at the round table) = more than 300 partnership initiatives

In many cases only declarations of intent, not much concrete stuff, insofar a "summit of disappointment":

- Reducing the number of people without sanitary basic support to 50% until 2015
- Reducing noticeably the decline of biodiversity until 2010
- Minimization of the damages for health and environment by production and use of chemicals till 2020
- Increasing the part of renewable energies (however, no consensus was achieved concerning the aim of a 15% part till 2010)

World summit on sustainable development at Rio (1992:)

- During the Rio summit there was an atmosphere of departure, the idea of the sustainable development was introduced to the world politics, the consequences sufficed from the local level (Agenda 21) up to world conferences.
- "Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (Brundtland report 1987)
- Sustainability is a regulatory idea which steers processes of search, learning and experience in a certain direction.
- Sustainable development is a long-term target.
- Sustainable development is a difficult task; it can be indicated by the three concepts efficiency, sufficiency and consistency.

- Globalisation is frequently seen as an obstacle for sustainable development and for this reason it is declined totally. This is the wrong way. The task is to create a human and just globalisation which contributes to sustainable development in the ecological, social and economic dimension.
- Globalisation isn't human when social development and natural system are subordinated to the economic development.

The task of the conceptual building blocks for a human and just globalisation in this context:

- We have to examine the claim of the protagonists of the economy to priority of the economic dimension in the globalisation process critically.
- We have to develop concepts for the single areas which contribute to a human und just globalisation and with this to sustainable development. We have to create a better understanding of globalisation processes und their consequences. We have to point out that globalisation is an important step in the development of mankind. It isn't an end in itself but can be an instrument for the increase of the prosperity of the people.

[Translated by Christoph Strawe]

Udo Herrmannstorfer

First Building Block: Who owns the Earth? The Question of Modern Land Reform (*Theses*)

1. The system of land legislation, i.e. the canon of rules for the utilization of land, is a fundamental feature of every society. However, it is also an expression of the society's self-perception. The emergence of modern concepts of state, with the break-up of traditional social hierarchies, and the advent of a globalised world order make a new look at land legislation mandatory. Otherwise serious injustices and damages will result, of the kind which we are facing already to-day in numerous instances.

2. Land forms the basis of the whole of any society. Thus the necessary allocation of land utilization must benefit all individuals within the society. Since land, with few exceptions, is not a producible commodity, it cannot be put on sale in a market. Selling land means privatizing that part of the ground rent which should actually be socialized. Turning the factors of production into saleable commodities is a serious and fundamental mistake of our economic system. In this regard, labour and capital are similarly problematic, though for different reasons.

3. The land always belongs to everyone, though it can be utilized only by individuals. Thus individual "ownership" of land can only refer to the right of utilization. As long as this individual utilisation continues unchanged, there is no need for societal action. Society only has to ensure that a new user can step into the rights of the previous utilizer when he quits. In such a system,

the right to land utilization would change hands only by assignment, not by sale. In this way, land "ownership" would be brought back into circulation within the social system. Society would not manage the land; it would only ensure that it is available to (suitable) individuals for utilization, and that such utilization is not made impossible by prohibitive sales prices.

4. Instead of a sales price paid to the pre-possessor, society could impose a social compensation payment for the ongoing utilisation of the land. This is justified because the use of land by one individual excludes everyone else from using the same plot. The communal income accruing from the compensation payments would be used to the benefit of all people in the respective region or part of the world. Such compensation payments do not constitute interest on capital, since no sale, and thus no capital transfer, has taken place. Their level would not be determined by supply and demand, but by social considerations. For instance, society can adjust the level so as to further ecological agriculture or other societal goals.

5. Such a kind of land reform would have enormous consequences for the conditions of social life, from housing to regional and town planning, and finally to the agricultural system. Even more serious would be the effects on prices and incomes if the manner of land utilization were thus to be brought back to a state of stable health. The capital which is presently tied up in land property would be set free for other, useful purposes.

6. Large parts of the world are presently being forced to reorganize their social systems, adapting them to the conditions of globalisation. It would not be necessary to plunge these regions into the same problems of land speculation which other parts of the world have gone through - possibly in even more acute forms. In the rich countries, the problems arising from land legislation are alleviated by long-established social rights and public welfare. Countries which are still developing have not had the time to establish such safeguards; consequently, they lack the corrective forces which make the adverse effects of outdated forms of land legislation tolerable in our part of the world.

[Translated by Prof. Helmut Fischmeister]

Second Building Block: Social Commitment of Capital - Limits to the Free Flow of Capital *(Summary)*

1. The inherent Instability of the Financial System

Since the last decade of the 20th century, world economics has become highly susceptible to instability and crisis. The financial markets were shaken by one crisis after the other. In 1997, the emerging countries of Southeast Asia were hit; one year later, it was Russia's turn; Brazil came in 1999, and after that, Turkey. Presently we see the economic and financial crisis of Argentina spreading to other countries of the subcontinent. The industrialized countries are groaning under the debacle of the stock markets which followed the techno-hype in the USA, and has reached its high (so far) in the Enron attack on the stability of the world's financial system. These deformations have common features which could have been seen before – had anyone cared. But many economists, and the people who bore the responsibility for currency and financial policy in the leading economies of the world, disregarded the evident indications.

2. Conditions for Stability

Without well-performing and stable financial markets, it is impossible to achieve satisfactory economic development. The foreign exchange rate of a currency, jointly with wage and interest levels, determine the situation of a country's economy, its growth, its ability to compete internationally via pricing, along with its import-export balance, the direction and extent of its international capital flow, the internal buying power of its currency, and the distribution of incomes. Two of these quantities are determined by the financial market, viz., the rate of exchange and the interest level, and thus the importance of financial relations for the development of an economy can hardly be overestimated. A responsible monetary and currency policy must aim to avoid detrimental developments caused by inappropriate rates of interest and exchange. There are three conditions for counteracting crises of the financial market.

First, structural deficiencies of the national finance market and its relations to international markets must be identified and remedied. In particular, the international framework for trading in financial markets must be adapted to the conditions created by the globalisation of international financial relations. This is the area of microeconomic or structural reform.

Second, economic development as a whole must be made more steady and calculable, allowing the risk level of financial transactions to be lowered, and making the financial system more resistant to crisis.

Third, it is the task of governments and international institutions like the world bank and the IMF to fill the gaps which have opened up in the wake of the de-nationalization of economy and economic policy in the course of globalisation. This goal will not be achieved without much stronger international cooperation in economic policy.

Global Governance

In the era of economic globalisation, mishaps anywhere in the world can escalate into shock waves running around the globe, which threaten whole economies elsewhere. Market globalisation is accompanied by increasing regional integration, be it in Europe (European Union), Asia (ASEAN), or in America (NAFTA and Mercosur). Regional cooperation is the key to success where trade relations are concerned, but it is insufficient for financial relations in our era of globalisation. A stable, world-wide financial architecture requires interconti-nental cooperation. Stability-oriented economic policy in each country is a prerequisite for improved stability of the financial system. But this is not enough, seeing that market dynamics can trigger the derailment of exchange rates at any time. How to guard against this is a matter of advisability. The salient point, which must be firmly implanted in the heads of those responsible for international economic policy, is that globalisation of financial markets requires an institutional accompaniment by Global Governance.

Economics, and in particular finance, must be shored up by a framework of rules which must be defined by politics and matched to societal aims, because what is good for the automotive industry or for the large financial institutions is not necessarily good for the citizen. A policy entirely subjugated to the interests of the finance industry puts at risk the survival of market economy, of an open world trade system, and indeed of open societies. Market economy will be able to retain credibility only if it can be enclosed in a fitting social and political framework. Three functions, based outside the market itself, must be provided to allow the sustained existence of markets and market economy: regulation, stabilization, and legitimation of market results. This is why every stable society and every stable economy has institutions which suppress unfair competition and punish fraud. Monetary and fiscal institutions smooth changes of the economic situation; social systems make market results acceptable to current societal values. Regulating institutions of this kind have not yet come to function on the international scale.

This contrast of globalisation of the market versus national partitioning of regulating institutions is remarkable, because a typical consequence of globalisation is the loss of national sovereignty in a world where all boundaries between territorial social systems, including economics, are being abolished. National powers of control have been largely eliminated by joint action on the international scale, especially of finance markets. Without a globally oriented policy, it will not be possible to re-establish a determinative influence of institutions outside and above the market upon financial markets and economic development. What is lacking is a supranational institution to assume the role

of honest broker, unaffected by national perspectives, and committed solely to world welfare.

Global markets are not compatible with an economic policy which is bounded by state boundaries, or with controlling/regulating institutions attuned to currency areas. A much wider international cooperation is required in this respect. In addition, an internationally accepted framework is needed to support financial markets and international financial relations in this era of globalisation. Only such a structure can save globalisation from stumbling into a trap, the closing of which could trigger an implosion of world economics. In particular, the governments of the great industrialized countries (G7) must not neglect their joint responsibility for world economics. Almost half of the social product of the world is generated in these seven countries, and 80 per cent. of all financial transactions world wide are settled in Euro, Dollar or Yen. Therefore, willingness and ability to cooperate in economic and currency policy are an important condition for world-wide economic stability. Only when the core of world economics has become stable will we have the prerequisites for improving stability at the periphery, i.e. in emergent and developing countries.

[Translated by Prof. Helmut Fischmeister]

Udo Herrmannstorfer

Third Building Block: Our Responsibility for Our Resources (*Theses*)

1. Since time immemorial, the resources of our world seemed inexhaustible. Again and again, new discoveries and inventions seemed to make serious concern unnecessary. This euphoria is now gone. We have become conscious of the limitations of our resources. Care and husbandry are indicated. A more sophisticated concept is sustainability, based on self-renewal and circulation of resources.
2. Land legislation has a greater impact on resource management than is generally realized. What matters is not only the direct effects mentioned in the theses of the first Building Block. Directly or indirectly, property legislation influences a lot more: the right to mineral resources in the ground; preferred types of agricultural utilization; the management and care of water supply and atmospheric pollution. Those are also the points of origin of the strongest opposition to reforms. The problem is aggravated by WTO's claim to deregulate land property transactions everywhere.
3. A special problem is posed by mineral resources below the sea outside national territories, which so far have been exempt from sovereignty. The extension of territorial limits to 200 miles was a first coup against the chances of making those resources available to all mankind. Contention for territorial rights to islands and bases such as the Falklands, the Aegean, Morocco etc., which at first sight appears politically senseless, often concerns suboceanic mineral or oil deposits. Reversing this misstep would constitute a movement

towards a constructive type of globalisation that would not imply real loss of sovereignty, only abstention from an expansion of power spheres - an important step toward building confidence.

4. In agriculture, promotion of ecological ("bio") cultivation methods is the foremost goal - being is the closest we can get to real sustainability. In our countries, the share of ecological methods is steadily increasing, although it has yet to reach the 10 per cent level. But in the end, ecological methods will survive only if the price structure allows it. Reacting to the change from traditional into area-proportional subsidies in the developed economies (without regard to ecological aspects), the developing countries now ask for the total abolishment of agricultural subsidies. This brings out a second problem in agriculture: that indeed we must learn to sustain regional equilibrium everywhere. Agriculture is tied to immobile land, and that puts regional limits to its markets. It would be absurd if globalisation, in striving for trade and technical equalization, were to destroy the agricultural part of the economy in our countries. Ecology is not the only reform we need in our agricultural sector: we also need a new type of economy.

5. With regard to materials, today's watchwords are economy of use, abstention, re-usability and substitution. Water and air take a special place because everybody needs them absolutely. In the long run, a globalised economy should also strive for equilibrium of goods transfers since the place of consumption increasingly does not coincide with the place of production. Low prices for raw materials and low transport costs lead to an unnecessary acceleration of consumption. Ecological taxation would be a remedy. In order to 'shape' globalisation, such taxes would have to be earmarked for global (supranational) efforts, to ensure that they are not misappropriated for the internal financing of individual states.

6. Resource consumption is determined, to an important part, by the technology available to the civilisation that does the consuming. If we want to avoid that societies developing in our wake wreak damage similar to what we have done, we must enable them to start at our present technological level. Thus our goal in dealing with developing countries should not be maximum competitive advantage, but ensuring that they use the most economical and resource-preserving technologies available. Economists should think about how the necessary economic regulations would have to be formulated.

7. Human resources are a special chapter. The task of creating working conditions which promote development without offending against human dignity is irrefutable, but it can be achieved only by a concerted system of economic measures – for instance, when we want to avoid that the introduction of a minimum wage leads to a loss of sales because of increased prices. The slogan "Poverty is our biggest competition factor" is a forceful example.

8. The way of using capital as a resource needs to be further developed. Obviously, this is dependent on how the processes generating capital needs are perceived. We must acquire special sensory organs for a correct perception

of such needs, to avoid the danger of a proliferation of spending, or of misappropriation by the ruling establishment.

9. The development of economic thought and policy relies predominantly on economic stimuli. But recent insights show that ecological considerations are generally fading from public consciousness, leaving control to purse strings. Yet one would expect people to realize that without a thorough alteration of public consciousness, it will not be possible to solve our resource problems. In fact, it appears questionable whether moral appeals to husbandry and technological equilibrium considerations are at all suitable to stimulate global responsibility.

10. Finally, this whole problem area of resources must be extended by asking what final use is made of the products. What really matters is not how much is being consumed by someone, but to what end he or she is using it? What is mankind achieving while it is "consuming" nature?

[Translated by Prof. Helmut Fischmeister]

Prof. Harald Spehl

Fourth Building Block: The Human Right to Exist - Financing the Social Systems

The contribution of Prof. Harald Spehl to this subject is at the moment not available in English. The idea was also described in a Workshop, which Christoph Strawe held at the 2. World Social Forum at Porto Alegre/Brazil in January 2002. >>> Where to go with the Social Systems - Safeguarding the Future by Restructuring the Financing of Social Security from non-wage Labour Costs to a Consumption-related Social Rate >>>

Christoph Strawe

Fifth Building Block: Liberty and Social Solidarity: The Reorganisation of Services

This text is not available in English. The author has dealt with the subject also in the article >>> "GATS - Service to Whom? - Civil Society's Alternatives to The World Trade Organization's Agreement on Services"

Sixth Building Block: Donations as Condition of Development. Handling "Intellectual Property" (Theses)

1. With the development of a global world order, particularly of a global economic system, the old frontiers are disappearing more and more. However, frontiers are also protection fences behind which processes of life can develop and within a protected room. These shelters were abolished or destroyed increasingly with the Bretton Woods appeal "Down with protection". We ask again for the responsibility for the development of all regions which are less or least developed at the moment, when the frontiers are abolished. The neo-liberalism believes that this question must be answered by noting else than the markets. But markets alone, however, are not a social development model.

2. Life starts with an enormous donation. In our countries young people are in a social room of protection for many years. The parents or the society are taking care of them, until they can enter professional life after a period of education, training and studies. Donation in this context means also that parents and society do not demand a back payment. We trust in the possibility that there will be a flow back on the detour via the general social life. In contrast the development aid which the northern countries pay is extremely low. The industrial nations have "tormented" themselves with the question for decades, whether 0.5% foreign aid is reasonable for their national economies or not. Moreover, a large part of the very low donations is only given in the form of allowance for depreciation.

3. At the doorway of world economy one cannot expand straight away because the growth then hits back to inside for lack of expansion capabilities. Additional growth in productivity e.g. causes unemployment instead of more jobs. The forces of economy released by the growth of productivity have to be use in a new way to avoid illness of the social life. The development of the stock exchange shows the problem quite well since stock exchange seems to be able to grow ad libitum because it has not to be considerate of the reality. The stock quotations are abstract and not fulfilled with real life. The crisis of the stock markets has created some reflectiveness and doubts. But let's see if this is lasting when a next stock price gain is coming!

4. The TRIPS agreement aims to protect the intellectual property rights just at the moment at the moment where for the purpose of development know-how transfer would be necessary in the largest scale. Behind this question there ist the problem that the research has always more been dragged into the sphere of microeconomic business management and profit making. Questions of Know-how become pure questions of competition with that. Competition, however, doesn't ask for the development of the other human being but on for the own welfare. For this reason it would be necessary to separate research and licensing on the one hand and production and distribution on the other hand. Starting from such kind of separation a completely different distribution

of the utilization rights would arise. The effect would level the development differences instead of heightening them.

5. The development of a global situation makes it necessary to enlarge the understanding of economy by the idea of donation. Without donation no development.

[Translated by Christoph Strawe]

Christoph Strawe

Seventh Building Block: Need for Action and Orientation. *A Draft*

I.

Need for Action and Orientation: That action is required is clearly apparent to many - though they are still too few. On the other hand, if action is to be suited to reality, there is need for a deeper understanding of the problems and basic issues of social relations in an era of individual freedom accompanied by a growing together of all mankind. What is required are not solutions imposed from above, old style, but open structures which allow the social life of individuals and of groups to be designed anew.

In defence of formability: This is the point where resistance to neo-liberal globalisation meets with the quest for creating building blocks for such an open, formable society. This is because the neo-liberal ideas would lead not to freedom, but to its precise opposite: a closed and integrated system impervious to ideals of humane development and free design.

II.

The subject of the change process: "He or she who stands by himself will achieve little - what counts is he or she who unites with others at the right moment" (Goethe). Such a union will not produce 'mass', but an alliance of free spirits. The era of group subjects, or classes (bourgeoisie, proletariat ...) as subjects of social change is past.

Civil Society: Seattle marked the appearance of a new force of change. Initially, civil society defined itself by negation, through its non-identity with state and market. But it has the potential to become a 'pro'-movement, to proceed to a positive definition, projecting visions for a new world for which it can act constructively.

Mass Movement? If civil society wants to remain true to itself, it must stay away from the old style mass movement. Rather, it must see itself as a cultural movement characterized by diversity and respect for the individual. It is in this sense that civil society must define itself as a cultural force.

The problem is not the content of standards, but standardization as such: The civil society movement must not degenerate into a normative effort, trying to impose societal rules from outside. Neither must it allow itself to be absorbed by the conventional power structure. Where it acts politically, it must do so on the basis of a new concept: politics as the creator of formability, not of finished forms. In this sense, politics must be relentlessly guided by an comprehensive understanding of human rights, horizontal subsidiarity, and amenability to self-organization.

Importance of the Porto Alegre Process: The Porto Alegre Process and its regionalization (European Social Forum etc.) is of paramount importance for the self-identification of civil society as a 'pro'-movement, supporting the behavioural practice of individual freedom, equality and solidarity.

III.

Trisectoral Partnership - but how? Only after it has reinforced its strength by such practice civil society can contribute to true renewal by joining trisectoral partnerships. Only in this way it can become the motor of change, joining forces with Cultural Creatives who are active within government or within the conventional economic sector.

Active anticipation of the changed world: It is of great importance for the power of the movement that it should anticipate, within itself and among its members, the future forms of communication and cooperation, and that it should be able to point to functioning institutions in the cultural, political and economical spheres of life as living examples of a transformed society.

Resistance Strategies: What is essential are strategies correctly aimed at each individual link in the chain of events as planned by the opponents. The Dracula Principle - the vampire dies when exposed to the public light - has shown its power in the repudiation of the MAI proposal, and this tool will remain important; equally important is the ability to publicize the scandalous aspects of developments such as the commercialization of water supply or health care. It is well known that conventional politics is quick to react to changes in public opinion.

The Cancun Conference - a Key Event: The WTO Conference in Cancun is an event of central importance for the future course of development. Much will have been gained if a moratorium can be reached there. The moratorium will come true if the civil society movement in Europe can be strengthened to such an extent that certain European governments revise their attitude. In this regard, Germany will play a key role.

IV.

No centralism for the civil society: Civil society must resist the temptation of coordinating its forces by conventional organizational patterns, keeping instead the form of a flexible ensemble which allows new forms of organization to emerge between networks, NGOs and movements. In addition, it must enter into network relations with all independently organized groups.

Discourse, the counter-scene, active tolerance: A continuous discourse with its counter scene is essential for the power of the alternative movement to develop. We need a real dialogue which not only takes up the topic of social forms adapted to human dignity, but also cultivates active tolerance, warmth and attention to others by the very way in which it is carried on. An important part of this is the perception of the partner's contributions, both in thought and in practical action.

Network of political friends: Within the civil society, we can form a network of friends that carry our socio-political work. Practical examples already show the efficiency of such networks, e.g., the contributions to the anti-GATS campaign from Stuttgart.

V.

Spirituality and Sociality: For the movement to flourish, traditional prejudices and oppositional positions must be overcome. Social and spiritual engagement must no longer be seen as opposites. This is a relatively new point of view especially within the European civil society. Anthroposophy could make important contributions if it regarded itself as a part of civil society.

New thinking, not potpourri: Diversity does not mean composing a potpourri of everything desirable. It means working seriously towards the development of new thinking in social life. Marxism hoped to let a new world emerge from its critique of the old world; the civil society must go beyond critique to make space for socio-artistic inventiveness.

VI.

Critical appreciation of the IFG report: The International Forum on Globalization is a site of free scientific life and an important forum for the globalisation critique. Its members give living testimony of their engagement in their statements. The IFG report "A Better World is Possible" is an important step in the right direction especially by its intention to form the starting point of a world wide debate within the civil society.

Necessary differentiations and supplementations: Some of the concepts used in the IFG report "A Better World is Possible" must, however, be defined more precisely, or critically queried, or differentiated. This pertains to the category "The Commons", to the category "Localization", the complex "Control or Dismantlement of Concerns", the issue of abolishment or reform of the "Trinity" Institutions, (IMF, World Bank, WTO) and the regulation of capital flow. [It is hoped that the "Building Blocks" presented at this Conference may prove helpful to this end.

Type-II-Outcomes and Dialogue - Civil Society at the Point of Decision: Important points in the coming debates are trisectoral partnerships and the dialogue with the establishment. After Johannesburg, there is the threat of a possible splitting of the movement. It appeared, like writing on the wall in the separation of Official Conference Meetings on the one hand and civil society Forum on the other. The worst case would be a complete retreat of one group, with the other being taken aboard by the established economic-political complex. The New World will not emerge as a quasi-automatic product of 'liberated liberty' (Jean Ziegler), nor will it arise from a deal between civil society, Governments, and Business. The New World will be created by human beings who consciously set about to create it.

"System" or Human Development?: In the last resort, the future of globalisation depends on the issue of "Systemic solutions functioning regardless of man" versus "Solutions which enable and promote human development". Only the latter can carry the future.

[Translated by Prof. Helmut Fischmeister]