

GLOBALIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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Globalization has various dimensions. Three of them are of particular importance: economic globalization, communication globalization and cultural globalization. Economic globalization opens new opportunities for economic growth and development. At the same time it has been accompanied by poverty, unemployment and the disregard of human rights in particular economic, social and cultural contexts. However, not all human rights are endangered. Those which may be qualified as “market oriented” like the right to private ownership or the right to the protection of intellectual property, are promoted and protected. Communication globalization has a rather positive impact on human rights. However, the use of the Internet by paedophiles, for the dissemination of pornography, for the advocacy of racism, xenophobia and violence raises a number of ethical and legal questions. The culturally homogenizing effect of globalization reinforces the universality of human rights and helps to eliminate certain discriminatory practices. The contradictory blessings of cultural globalization are linked with its negative consequences for the cultural rights of vulnerable groups. It may also undermine existing cultural identities and weaken ethical norms and social cohesion.

1. Introduction

1.1 *The notion of globalization*

At the dawn of the XXIst century, the term «globalization» is one of the most used, analyzed, referred to and quoted. Despite an impressive number of publications and numerous conferences dealing with this subject, it is still impossible to find one generally accepted understanding or definition of this term. This situation may be explained by the fact that the phenomenon or the process of globalization is very complex, multidimensional and is generated by multifarious factors.

In a very general way, globalization may be characterized as the

process of growing interconnection and interdependence in the contemporary world. It is generated by the accelerating development of international economic, cultural and political co-operation and links, by the emergence of new global institutions and actors, as well as by the need to respond together to global problems which can be solved only on a planetary scale. In the economic sphere, globalization means the widening and deepening of the international flow of trade, finance and investments and the creation of a single, integrated global market. The world is shrinking as a result of increased human mobility, and the intensified contacts between the people, possibly with the aid of cheap and speedy travel, the telephone, fax and the Internet. Artificial barriers have been eased with the reduction in trade limitations, the expansion of capital flow and the transfer of technology.¹

1.2 Different dimensions of globalization

Globalization has various dimensions. Three of them are of particular importance:

- (a) economic globalization, in other words, the creation of a global market, the liberalization of trade and finances;
- (b) communication globalization linked with new developments and possibilities in the field of information, the mass media, transfer of knowledge and inter-personal contacts;
and
- (c) cultural globalization brought about by the development and advances of a new popular culture, universal values and changes in the behavioural patterns of people.

There is also a fourth dimension of globalization – ideological. Neoliberal philosophy and policy have now become a driving force behind economic globalization. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern European have meant the triumph of the market economy, competitiveness, jobless

¹ A New global Agenda,. Visions and Strategies for the 21st Century, SID's Global Labour Summit, Copenhagen, 31 May to 1 June 1997. <http://www.iqc.org/lalabot/new-global-agenda.html>, p. 3.

growth, deregulation, privatization, cutting down of social programmes and drastic limitations of States' involvement in economic activities.

However, by the end of the XXth century, we may also speak about another global ideology – that of human rights. Individuals are having rights not as citizens but as human beings whose dignity should be respected. International human rights standards are adopted and protected by the United Nations and by the international community. They do not belong anymore to the internal competence of States and States may be, in the case of alleged violations, brought before international justice.

1.3 The United Nations agenda for sustainable human development

The universal recognition and importance of human rights has resulted in the emergence of parallel trends aimed at the integration of human rights into economic development. This has been clearly reflected in a series of United Nations conferences which took place in the 1990s.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, 1992) in its *Agenda 21* took into account the need to improve the situations of vulnerable groups, and underlined the necessity to satisfy basic human needs (rights). The Conference used the term “sustainable development” which covers economic development, social development and environmental protection, which are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components.

The World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995) adopted the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action which underlined the urgent need to address profound social problems, especially poverty, unemployment and social exclusion which affect every country. The Declaration stresses: “... that people are at the centre of our concern for sustainable development and that they are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with the environment”. Commitment 1 speaks about the promotion of equality and equity between women and men and full respect for all human rights “... including those relating to education, food, shelter, employment, health and information, particularly in order to assist people living in poverty”.

The Declarations, Programmes and Platforms of Action adopted

by the World Conferences and Summits which took place in the 1990s² together with actions foreseen by International Years and Decades create an ambitious agenda which, in fact, can be recognized as an agenda for the twenty-first century. It emphasizes the importance of all human rights and puts human beings and human needs at the centre of all national and international actions and efforts.

Can the United Nations agenda be reconciled with globalization? What are its challenges and targets for human rights? Can a "human face" be added to globalization?

Is globalization a process which escapes any control which cannot be regulated by everybody and does not and cannot respect existing norms and standards? The answer to this question is formulated by Federico Mayor:

"Globalization is neither good nor a bad thing. It is devoid of any emotional content, it is what the human community makes of it – either further proof that fortune smiles on the well-off, the egoists and cynics among us or, on the contrary, a sign that justice, dignity and solidarity have not entirely deserted this word... in that sense, it is like knowledge, neutral in itself, it acquires meaning and values through the use that is made of it". (Mayor, (1997), p.1)

2. The impact of economic globalization on human rights

The economic globalization linked with the liberation and great increase in trade and capital flows opens new opportunities for economic growth and development of the world economy,

² To the already mentioned conferences, one can also add: the World Conference on Education for All (1990), the World Summit for Children (1990), the International Conference on Population and Development (1994). The Fourth World Conference on Women took place in Beijing, China, from 4 to 15 September 1995. Its main theme was "Action for equality, development and peace". In the Beijing Declaration, adopted on 15 September 1995, governments stressed their determination to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity.

particularly in developing countries. At the same time, the rapid processes of change and adjustment, the implementation of neoliberal principles have been accompanied by poverty, unemployment and the disregard of human rights, in particular economic, social and cultural rights. (Copenhagen Declaration, (1995), para 14)

Thus the right to work and the right to just and favorable conditions of work are threatened where there is an excessive emphasis upon competitiveness to the detriment of respect for the labour rights formulated by the International Bill of Rights. The right to form trade unions and the possibility of collective bargaining, including the right to strike, may be restricted in the "interests" of the global economy. Privatization may weaken social security, endanger the right to education and limit the right to participate in cultural life, if cultural and artistic activities are subordinated exclusively to market principles.³

However, not all human rights are endangered by globalization. Those which may be qualified as "market-oriented", like the right to private ownership or the right to the protection of intellectual property, are promoted and protected. In fact, they have recently become a major issue in international relations.

The benefits of globalization should exceed the cost. During 1995-2001, the results of the Uruguay Round of the GATT are expected to increase global income because of greater efficiency and expansion of trade by an estimated US\$212-510 billion. However, those benefits are spread unevenly. Gaps among developed and developing countries are widening. In many industrial countries, an increase in overall income is accompanied by a rise in inequality and in unemployment which has reached a very high level and is rapidly growing.

The mixed blessings of economic globalization lead to drastically opposed opinions expressed by those who can be qualified as winners and those belonging or representing losers. Thus, for the Vice-Chairman of Goldman Sachs International, R. Holmats:

³ Statement on globalization. United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 11 May 1998. <http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/define/unstate.html>, p. 1

*“The great beauty of globalization is that it is not controlled by any individual, any government any institutions... one of the great benefits that globalization has provided to the world is improvements in human well-being. Globalization has raised living standards in many parts of the world, particularly in Asia, and Latin America as well as in other industrialized countries ”.*⁴

The President of AFL-CIO, J. Sweeney, turns attention to the fact that:

*“ Workers are suffering. They are losing their jobs or they are being exploited, and it is about time that these leaders of Congress and industry hear the story of what working conditions are like, and that they are reminded that they have a role to play in terms of addressing the issues of workers”.*⁵

In the opinion of R. Nader, a consumer advocate:

*“The essence of globalization is subordination of human rights, labour rights, consumer and environmental rights [and] democracy rights to the imperatives of global trade and investments ”.*⁶

Globalization in its present form not only cannot eliminate inequalities in the world but, in fact, is increasing them. It favours those who are at the centre of the system – providers of capital to the detriment of those who are at the periphery – receivers of capital. Though the latter are also benefiting because they get badly needed investments, their profits are smaller in comparison with the gains of the providers. This leads to the concentration of capital and increases disparities.

⁴ Globalization and Human Rights. Complete Interviews. <http://www.pbs.org/globalization/holmats.html>, pp. 1-7.

⁵ Globalization and Human Rights. Complete Interviews. <http://www.pbs.org/globalization/sweeney.html>, p. 1

⁶ Globalization and Human Rights. Complete Interviews. <http://www.pbs.org/globalization/nader.html>, p. 1.

The share of world income of the lowest fifth of the working population has gone down from 2.3 per cent to 1.4 per cent, while the share of the top fifth has gone up from 70 per cent to 85 per cent. In 1997, the combined wealth of the 350 billionaires of the world was greater than the annual income of 45 per cent of humanity. The three richest individuals have assets exceeding the financial resources of the 48 least developed countries.

In order to see in a more comprehensive way the impact of globalization on human rights, there is a need to look more closely at the diminishing role of the nation-State, the increasing importance of transnational corporations and to analyse the state of poverty in the world.

2.1 Weakening of States

Globalization has profound implications for States. The autonomy and policy-making capability of States is being undermined by economic and cultural internationalization and by the prevailing neoliberal doctrine. Everywhere the demands to liberalize, to limit State's control over the economy and to privatize, bring a shrinking of the State's involvement in national life. Many governments see their role as not to regulate markets but to facilitate their expansion. Global and regional interactions are wiping out national borders and weakening national policies. States' sovereignty is gradually limited not only as the consequence of the existence of supra-national political and economic organizations but, in many cases, because of the asymmetry of bargaining power between transnational corporations and small, poor developing countries.

The limitation by globalization of the State's ability to determine national policies to intervene in economic activities has also manifold negative impacts on human rights for the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights. Weaker States may be more immune from authoritative or totalitarian deviations, but the limited governmental ability to run deficits as a result of the opening of financial markets forces them to slash social and cultural programmes, health services and food programmes. As underlined by the United Nations Secretary-General in his report presented at the special session of the fifty-first General Assembly in June 1997: "Globalization affects, and sometimes reduces, the ability of governments to achieve desired outcomes. While governments

continue to provide the overall framework in which the private sector must operate, many important decisions are made by the private sector, especially by companies operating in an international context".⁷

In the 1990s, corruption has become a subject for the attention of the United Nations and regional organizations. It has been recognized that systemic corruption endangers economic, social and political development and can have serious negative consequences for social justice and human rights. The United Nations in a series of resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly⁸ pointed to the links between corruption and other forms of crime, in particular organized crime, and stressed that this phenomenon crosses national borders and affects all societies and economies, therefore international co-operation to prevent and control it is essential.⁹

The General Assembly adopted an International Code of Conduct for Public Officials which formulates the duty of public officials to refrain from using their official authority for the improper advancement of their own and their families' personal or financial interests. In the context of globalization, it is worth noting that the United Nations addressed a particularly pernicious type of corruption – bribery in international business transactions which leads to the perpetuation by the industrialized countries of the climate of corruption in the developing world.¹⁰ Questions of organized transnational crime and corruption are of special relevance for Central and Eastern Europe. These examples show that many non-economic capabilities of States linked with keeping law, order and "human security" need to be strengthened rather than decreased. Therefore, though States are losing power, at the same time paradoxically their citizens are becoming more demanding.

⁷ Doc. E/CN.17/1997/2, 31 January 1997, p. 23.

⁸ The first of these resolutions 45/11221 was adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1990, followed by resolution 46/1452 on 18 December 1991. The Economic and Social Council adopted similar resolutions in 1992, 1993 and 1994.

⁹ General Assembly resolution 51/59: Action against corruption of 12 December 1996.

¹⁰ General Assembly resolution 53-176: Action against corruption and bribery in international transactions of 25 January 1999.

States still bear the main responsibilities for the implementation of human rights. Markets cannot replace governments in the determination of economic, social and cultural policies, in providing social services and infrastructures, eradicating of poverty, protecting of vulnerable groups and in defending of the environment. Weak States cannot guarantee the rule of law which is *conditio sine qua non* for the full implementation of human rights.

2.2 *Transnational corporations: the rising stars of globalization*

The most crucial development in the last decade has been the enormous expansion of transnational companies (TNCS) which now play a decisive economic role. They may be large multinationals or small entrepreneurial firms operating in many countries. Corporate strength is enhanced by mergers, acquisitions and strategic alliances that increase their reach and power. To acknowledge present corporate strength suffices to show that among the top 200 economic players in the world, about 160 are corporations and only about 40 nation-state governments. (Valaskakis, (1999), p.142). Profit-driven transnational corporations are accused of looking for the best places for their investments which often means the cheapest labour and lack of respect for fundamental labour rights's.¹¹ Transnational corporations do not limit their role to the economy but try to influence governmental policy in various areas. The negative role played by Shell in Nigeria which was involved in the violation of the environmental laws of the country and in support for anti-democratic, authoritarian regimes of General Abadie and even of collaborating in the death of Ken Saro-Wiva, are very well known. Thus globalization means control of world economics and influence of political life by giant corporations that do not have any allegiance to a community or to a particular country, even to that where they are domiciled inasmuch as they can have more profit elsewhere. In times of democratization, it is not without importance that they are run by executives who are not elected and whose activities are far from the respect of principles

¹¹ The expansions of Export Processing Zones – with appalling working conditions, no health and safety measures and no respect for even the most basic ILO standards – are an example of the lack of respect for basic workers' rights.

of accountability and transparency. Therefore a code of conduct for transnational corporations, their responsibility for the respect of labour standards, elimination of child or forced labour becomes absolutely necessary.

2.3 *Globalization and poverty*

Although, thanks to economic globalization, poverty has been reduced in many parts of the world, a quarter of the world's population remains in severe poverty. In a global economy of US\$25 trillion, this is really "a scandal – reflecting shameful inequalities and inexcusable failures of national and international policy" (Human Development (1997), p.2). About 1.3 billion people live on incomes of less than US\$1 per day. Nearly a billion people are illiterate. More than a billion lack access to safe water and over 800 million go hungry or face food insecurity. Poverty may then be described as a denial of chances to lead healthy, creative and long lives and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom and dignity.

The rise of poverty in regions where it had long been in decline, in the industrial countries of Western and, particularly, Central and Eastern Europe, together with the persistence and ever-worsening of the problem in parts of the developing world like sub-Saharan Africa, has brought poverty to the forefront of the international agenda.

The World Summit for Social Development (1995) recognized the goal of the eradicating poverty as an ethical, social, political and moral imperative of humankind. The General Assembly declared 17 October as the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty; it then proclaimed 1996 the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty and the years 1997-2006 as the United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty.¹²

The Vienna Declaration, in its paragraph 2, affirmed that "... extreme poverty and social exclusion constitute a violation of human dignity". It stressed the need to achieve better knowledge of extreme poverty and its causes in order to promote the human rights of the poorest people, and to foster their participation in the decision-making process by the community in which they live.

¹² Respectively: resolutions 471196 of 22 December 1992; 481183 of 21 December 1993; and 501107 of 20 December 1995.

The General Assembly, in a series of resolutions on human rights and extreme poverty, reaffirmed that extreme poverty and social exclusion constituted a violation of human dignity and that urgent national and international action is required to eliminate them. In resolution 5 1197 of 12 September 1996, it recognized that widespread extreme poverty inhibits the full and effective enjoyment of human rights and might, in some situations, constitute a threat to the right to life. The reduction and in a longer perspective the elimination of extreme poverty has to be seen from the human rights point of view as an ultimate test of the success of economic globalization.

3. Challenges of communication globalization

The new information technology, which is at the basis of communication globalization, has already had a profound impact on human beings, civil societies, States and international organizations. These changes are characterized by the use of a new term "the emerging global information society". This term articulates the fact that now many areas of economic, social, cultural and political activities are influenced and permeated by new information technologies. In economy, teleservices, teleshopping, telebanking, telecommuting, various data banks and web-sites change traditional management (organization of companies and banks and their *modus operandi*). The information and Communication sector is expanding at twice the rate of the world economy.¹³

Communication globalization has a rather positive impact on human rights. Thus, interactive long-distance education and learning can strengthen the right to education and enables reaching out and delivering education services to people in isolated countries and localities, to provide quality education and create lifelong learning opportunities for all, which otherwise would not be possible.

The right to participate in cultural life acquires a new dimension

¹³ Statement on Universal Access to Basic Communication and Information Services adopted in April 1997 by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC). Doc. 151 EX/16, Ad. p. 1.

with the possibility of easy access to the world cultural heritage, the possibility to visit, through Internet or CD-ROM, the most prestigious museums and exhibitions or to attend concerts of the best orchestras and conductors. The right to benefit from the scientific progress is reinforced by rapid access to the latest results of research, to libraries located in other countries and regions, to scientific publications and periodicals.

However, the information highways can bring positive results only when they are accessible. At present the gap and inequalities between industrialized and developing countries are widening. A new type of exclusion and poverty, information poverty and exclusion, can be noted.

Among human rights which are endangered in cyberspace are the right to privacy and the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production. Computer memories contain impressive amount of the most personal data concerning finance, health, family relations, work and career records, etc. More data, including electronic mail, may be exposed or misused. Protection of electronic privacy and confidentiality becomes one of the most pressing requirements.

The use of Internet by paedophiles, for the dissemination of pornography, for the advocacy of racism, xenophobia and violence raises a number of ethical and legal questions concerning the limits to the freedom of information and expression. Some countries have introduced prior registration of users, some countries filter with severity the flow of data accessible to their citizens. In 1996, the United States adopted the Communications Decency Act which foresees punishment of up to two years' imprisonment and heavy fines for posting "indecent" information on a web-site.

Should Internet fall under the law of the press and mass media or should it be governed by laws regulating private correspondence? Is cyberspace a private or a public area? Is State control and censorship justified? It seems that, in many countries, already existing legislation concerning the struggle against racism and paedophilia permits reacting to and evaluating individual responsibilities as well as punishment for acts prohibited by law. There is no need for state censorship and preventive control. Freedom of expression and information should be a guiding principle for Internet. This is the most effective guarantee of cultural and linguistic pluralism and diversity allowing, *inter alia*,

to expose human rights violation. Therefore the freeflow of information should be fully preserved and defended.¹⁴

4. Positive and negative consequences of cultural globalization, dialogue or clash of cultures?

Although the economic and to a lesser degree the communication dimension of globalization is the most evident and observed, cultural globalization – the international spread of cultures has been at least as important as the spread of economic processes (Human Development 1997, p.83). Through the mass media international ideas and values are being mixed and imposed on national cultures. A homogeneous world-wide culture is developing in the process and is sometimes qualified as the creation of a “global village”. Advances of popular culture means that throughout the world peoples are dressing, eating, and singing similarly and that certain social and cultural attitudes have become global trends.

If culture is understood not only as the highest creative activities and intellectual achievements of human beings articulated through music, literature, art and science but in a broader way as the sum total of human activities, as the totality of knowledge, values, the demand for a way of life and the need to communicate (Symonides J. (1998), p.7). This means that culture is influenced by economic and communication globalization. The spread of the same goods: cars, computers, mobile telephones, etc., the proliferation of the same hotels or fast food restaurants like McDonalds in all parts of the world, the fact that people see the same films and TV programmes, that they admire the same rock stars, sports disciplines or Nobel prize winners, have a profound impact on their behavioural patterns and systems of values.

(What is the impact of cultural globalization on human rights? The culturally homogenizing effect of globalization, the gradual process

¹⁴ During the debate in the Executive Board on “The challenges of the information highways. The role of UNESCO”, the President of the General Conference, Mr. T. Krogh said: “ ... we have the fundamental principles to guide our decisions on the new information technology. They could be summarized in two central notions. Promoting freedom of expression and expanding the sharing of knowledge”. Manuscript, p. 10.

of adopting common values and behavioural patterns, reinforces the universality of human rights, establishes ties and linkages between various aspects of the world and helps to eliminate certain traditional practices which may be qualified as discriminatory.

However, the contradictory blessings of cultural globalization are linked with its negative consequences for the cultural rights of vulnerable groups like persons belonging to minorities, indigenous peoples or migrant workers. It may also undermine existing cultural identities, weaken various ethical norms, social cohesion, as well as the feeling of belonging and, by this, contribute to the proliferation of various internal conflicts. As stated by the Director-General of UNESCO in November 1997: «Just as the protection of biological diversity is indispensable to the physical health of humanity, so the safeguarding of cultural diversity – linguistic, ideological and artistic – is indispensable to its spiritual health».¹⁵

The individual and collective right to a cultural identity may be seen as an articulation of the right provided by Article 1 of the UNESCO's Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978): "All individuals and groups have the right to be different, to consider themselves as different and to be regarded as such".

During the World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mexico City, 1982), delegates emphasized people's growing awareness of their cultural identity, of the pluralism stemming from it, of their right to be different and of the mutual respect of one culture for another, including that of minorities. They observed that the affirmation of cultural identity had become a permanent requirement, both for individuals and for groups and nations.

At present, the right to cultural identity is recognized by human rights instruments and national constitutions. Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides that the education of the child shall be directed to: "(c) *The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values...*".

¹⁵ UNESCOPRESS, 29th session of the General Conference, N° 97-219. In his closing speech the President of the General Conference formulated an opinion that cultural cleansing is maybe more dangerous than a biological one. Wherever it occurs, the thermometer of intellectual competition registers a drop in temperature.

The right to respect for cultural identity means that everyone alone or in a community with others may freely choose his or her cultural identity in its various aspects such as language, religion, heritage, traditions, etc. That everyone may have one or several cultural identities and may freely decide whether or not to identify with one or more cultural communities. Nobody can be subjected against his or her will to forced assimilation.

The danger which globalization creates for the preservation of cultural identity has brought about the strong opposition in developing countries where cultural globalization, not without reason, is seen as the westernization of their cultures. The popular culture of the West is at the forefront of the cultural debates about globalization. One may also add in the name of the protection of diversity that cultural globalization is also opposed in many European countries where it is seen as the Americanization of their culture due to the expansion of Anglo-American language and the strength and impact of American cultural scientific and technological production and goods.

However, the rejection of the popular western culture, the defence of "Islamic" or "Asian" values (Symonides J., (1998), p.27-28) may also be criticized for different reasons. The exclusion of Western news, films, videos or satellite TV by some authoritarian Arab and Asian regimes is in fact an attempt to control the behaviour, to stop the modernization, liberalization and democratization of their political and social systems. The banner of defence of traditional values may cover in fact the refusal to change the traditional place of women in their societies or to accept democratic participation of the population in government.

(The existence of cultural differences should not lead to the rejection of any part of universal human rights.) They cannot justify the rejection or non-observance of such fundamental principles like the principle of equality between women and men. Traditional practices which contradict human rights of women and children have to be changed.

(Nevertheless, all cultures can contribute to the general discussion concerning the human rights concept. The establishment of a proper balance between rights and responsibilities, between individual rights and their collective dimension, between individuals and groups, is far from being achieved, not only in the Asian or Arab regions but also in Western societies. It is not accidental that in

recent years, such attention is given to the preparation of various declarations of human duties or responsibilities and the elaboration of a global ethics which are seen not as a rejection but as a reinforcement of universal human rights.

5. Concluding remarks

Globalization is a process which cannot be stopped or simply rejected. Nevertheless, it is a process driven by human beings and human interests. It can be shaped and controlled. What should be done to use the positive sides, the great potential of globalization for the promotion of human, sustainable development – development determined not exclusively by the market forces but taking into account human rights and fundamental freedoms already formulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the International Covenants and the ILO Conventions.

Despite the diminishing role of States in the economic spheres, they still bear the main responsibility for the implementation of human rights. Public economic, social and cultural policies are necessary to correct market failures, to complement market mechanisms, to maintain social stability. Setting and enforcing the rules of market competition, providing the information essential to the private sector, encouraging education and technology and assuring a social safety net for those incapable of caring for themselves – these are crucial roles of the State (Turner F.C., (1963), p.72).

Secondly, global governance cannot be built up without the active participation of intergovernmental organizations. The United Nations should continue its crucial role in standard-setting, monitoring and enforcement of human rights. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights called upon the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to pay enhanced attention in their activities to respect for economic, social and cultural rights through their explicit recognition, assisting in the identification of country-specific benchmarks to facilitate their promotion and development of remedies in case of their violations.¹⁶

¹⁶ During the general debate on globalization and its impact on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, 18th session, 11 May 1998, the

Effective social monitoring should be an integral part of the enhanced financial surveillance and monitoring policies accompanying loans and credits for adjustment purposes. Similarly the World Trade Organization should decide appropriate methods to facilitate more systematic consideration of the impact upon human rights of particular trade and investment policies. It is worth noting that increasing importance is already accorded to human rights in the activities of the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Among regional economic organizations, the European Union is one of those seriously promoting and respecting human rights and the ideals of democracy.

Thirdly, non-governmental organizations and all actors of civil society have an important role to play in exercising pressure on private business in order to obtain full respect for human rights. At the dawn of the XXIst century, the important role of non-governmental organizations in the promotion and protection of human rights and in tackling various problems of humanity is increasingly recognized by the international community (Symonides J., (1999), p. 879). By mobilizing public opinion against human rights violations, by a "mobilization of shame", through their campaigns in the media and on the Internet, by their reports, they have become important players in the promotion not only of civil and political but also of economic, social and cultural rights.

Fourthly, transnational corporations and private businesses have to fully recognize their responsibility for the protection and implementation of human rights. As the High Commissioner for Human Rights put it, the corporate sector should neither be asked to, nor expected to, assume government responsibilities but it should be encouraged to make informed business assessments of the relevance of human rights to the environment in which they do

representative of the IMF stated that this Organization is already making efforts to protect human rights through provisions for social, programmes in its structural adjustment programmes, operation of special lending facilities for the "poorest of the poor", and attention to labour rights in the context of lending agreements, United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Report on the eighteenth and nineteenth sessions, Economic and Social Council, Official Records, 1999, p. 75.

business (Robinson M., (1998), p. 14-15). Due to the pressure of the informed consumer and shareholder, the increasing importance of information and knowledge and the rise of transparency, driven by the explosion of information technology, human rights are gradually anchored in the corporate agenda. A step in this direction has been made by the adoption of corporate codes of conduct. Among corporations which have adopted them are Levi Strauss, Reebok Corporation and the Timberland Corporation (Leary V., (1998), p. 276-278).

Why should transnational corporations and private business respect social justice, social development and human rights? The answer is quite obvious. They are indispensable for the achievement and maintenance of peace and security within and among nations. Drastic economic inequalities, poverty and exclusion, violations of human rights create serious threats to international stability and peace. The first warnings were sent by those protesting in Seattle, Davos and Indonesia, or those destroying the McDonalds in France. As G. Soros says there are capitalists threats. One because the system is unstable, liable to breakdown and the other because it is so successful and powerful that it penetrates into areas of life of society where it does not really belong.¹⁷

One may agree with K. Valaskakis that:

"It would be a pity if the capitalist system, which has managed to assert its economic superiority over other systems, would then proceed to self-destruct for lack of foresight and self-discipline. The danger is real – and yet is entirely avoidable if proper corrective action is taken"
(Valaskakis K., (1998), p. 164).

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