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GLOBALISATION AND THE THIRD WORLD

Phil Marfleet

False theory

The theorists of globalisation are in disarray. For a decade they argued that the world economy had changed fundamentally. They described a system integrated by the market and driven by capitalist energies which would deliver growth and unprecedented prosperity. A 'global era' of free flowing capital was to open up new opportunities for humanity as a whole, affecting economic structures and political, social and cultural life. One assessment saw this approach as so significant that it had become 'a key idea by which we understand the transition of human society into the third millennium'.¹ The globalisers predicted rapid development of Africa, Asia and Latin America, even arguing that divisions between 'developed' and 'developing' nations, 'First' and 'Third' worlds, would become less significant and eventually meaningless. In the face of renewed economic crisis, however, and of stark evidence of deepening inequalities and the immiseration of vast numbers of people, 'globetalk' has become less strident. For one economic journalist writing in the wake of the South East Asian crisis of 1997, the model of globalisation 'has been recalled by the makers'.²

Globalisation theory maintains that all must benefit from recent changes. *The Economist*, house magazine of the global free marketeers, maintains that the world system now delivers 'more for all' and that vigorous growth in the Third World means 'it is the world's poor who will benefit most'.³ Every index of economic and social advance, however, suggests otherwise. Among most of the 4.4 billion people living in Africa, Asia and Latin America life has become a more desperate struggle for survival. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimates that 840 million people are malnourished, the great mass of them living in countries of the Third World.⁴ More than half the countries for which statistics are available do not have enough food to provide all their population with the minimum daily requirement of calories.⁵ In some regions hunger has become far more general; across Africa the average household now consumes 25 percent less than in the early 1970s.⁶ Between 1995 and 1997 only 21 out of 147 Third World countries recorded per capita growth of over 3 percent a year—the rate specified by the UN for reduction of poverty.⁷ There are staggering inequalities. California alone has a gross domestic product (GDP) of equal value to that of China and India combined;⁸ the wealth of the world's 15 richest people now exceeds the combined GDP of sub-Saharan Africa; the wealth of the richest 84 individuals exceeds the GDP of China, with its 1.2 billion inhabitants.⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that the 'global era' has brought prosperity, or even an alleviation of human suffering. On the contrary, even the conservative UNDP concludes that the picture is of 'a backlog of shortfalls and gaping inequalities'.¹⁰

In fact, such tendencies have been evident for years without troubling the partisans of globalism. Only the spectre of world recession has caused them to question aspects of the theory. Tracing this development during the 1997 financial meltdown, *The Guardian* noted that 'the great edifice, globalisation, had sprung a leak, but the problem was minor, mere running repairs.' A year later, it suggested, things looked different: 'No longer is it a case of damp in the attic: whole rooms are deep in rising flood waters...nobody knows for sure which country will be next...'¹¹ Responding to the mood of panic, Samuel Brittan of the *Financial Times* felt compelled to write a nervous defence of world financial institutions under the title 'Who's Afraid of Globalisation?'¹²

But if the standard model of globalisation has been 'recalled', so far it has merely been to modify the theory. For its partisans to reject the whole concept is almost unthinkable. Since the rise of neo-liberal economic theories in the late 1970s, notions of an expanding free market energised by unfettered capital movement have dominated approaches to the world economy and to development theory. Complemented

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