

# Reclaiming and Championing Human Dignity @ Anti-Globalization Protests? Re-Positioning New Advocacies for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Global Crisis

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Thanks to recent global financial crisis, the profit-maximization *modus operandi* for capitalism is likely structurally collapsed, if not dead. And humanist ideals for social development are being rediscovered, echoing the decade-long global callings from anti-globalization protests: transnational advocacies for human dignity are visibly influential, shaping the 2005 (21st March) United Nations' calling for *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All*. This presentation attempts to draw the contours of human dignity in a globalizing world, with an examination on the UN sponsored human rights regime in general, the advocacies for Economic, Social and Cultural (ESC) Rights in particular, the recent anti-globalization protests organized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), onto the landscape of the globalization project as championed by international financial institutions (IFIs), IMF, World Bank and WTO alike.

The paper starts with the dynamics and contradictions of the globalization project, threatening ESC rights; followed by a discussion of human rights movement within a wider context of global new social movements in Part 2. Part 3 discusses new strategies and critical engagements of NGOs, articulating new values and norms for a new modernity. The paper ends with critical remarks on global calling and local struggles for human rights - a proxy for human dignity in a peculiar modern epoch.

**Key Words :** Advocacies, Economic & Socio-Cultural Rights, Globalization, Human Rights, Information Society, NGOs

## 1. The Globalization Project against Economic, Social and Cultural Rights?

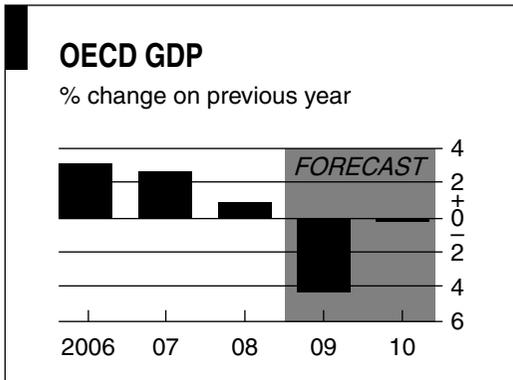
As demonstrated in the Asian Financial Crisis (1997-99) and the recent (since mid-2008) global recession, the golden age of globalization collapsed under its contradictions. Since Summer 2008, the global economy has been falling for nine and more months as this paper went to press; it was rightly observed by *The Economist* (2.April 2009, see Fig.1)<sup>2</sup>:

Consumers have cut back their spending. Companies have slashed production, postponed investment and laid off workers in their millions. The financial system remains dysfunctional. Trade flows are shrinking at the fastest rates since the Second World War, felling export-dependent economies from Germany to Japan. Private capital flows are collapsing, devastating those emerging economies, especially in Eastern Europe, that rely on foreign borrowing....

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<sup>2</sup> *The Economist*, 2.April 2009: [http://www.economist.com/opinion/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=13405306](http://www.economist.com/opinion/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13405306)

Fig.1: Global Recession 2008-



(Source: *The Economist*, 2.April 2009)

Here, the market failure is more than obvious, to which global inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) attempt to remaking global financial and economic architecture, and taming the neoliberal project of globalization (for profits only!), as highlighted in the G-20 Summit *communiqué* (2.April 2009). Obviously, it is likely a paradigmatic change for the next phase of economic liberalization at global scale - for this the anti-globalization protests have their significance in shaping not just course of global development, but also destiny of humanity.

The functional necessity of economic liberalization for speeding up economic development, thanks largely to global economic liberalization, productivity growth, has been problematically accelerated almost everywhere since 1995 and free and timely flows of capitals and goods across borders are become an integral part of global economy (*The Economist*, 25.October 2003, p.74). But the globalization processes are not a smooth, voluntary and benign one; more often than not, they are full of contradictions, confusions and chaos and power struggles.... For these multifaceted and complex manifestations of tensions and contradictions between local and global forces, anti-globalization processes are developing (Held & McGrew 2002). More problematic is the abuse of economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights by the state and/or business corporation at national and global scale when they champion the globalization project.<sup>3</sup>

The creation of global free market and the dominance of Anglo-American capitalism within the world's economic regions, as driven by the neo-liberal economic ideology, has been cemented by the networks of Transnational Corporations

(TNC). In addition, free market capitalism is reinforced within the frameworks of global economic institutions, like WTO, IMF, World Bank and G7/8, which enable the further deregulation, privatization, structural adjustment programs, and limited government.

The globalization project is problematic yet polarizes socio-economic life chance of people - this has been confirmed by the *Report of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization* (WCSGD 2004). Two contesting views on the globalization project: globalization is regarded as a benign and automatic force that fosters better economic benefits for everyone, even the poorest group can be better off. This is in strong contrast to the political extremes of the Left and Right, that for the Left: unbridled capitalism does produce effects of exploitation of the weak and socio-ecological degradation, and for the Right: the malignant forces of globalization engender xenophobia, the demising local people's jobs, culture, language and hence identity (Milanovic 2003).

In the last two decades, nation states have to champion their project for economic liberalization, for embracing the global free market capitalism. They adopt the international financial institutes (the World Bank and IMF) recipe for reform in macro economic policies, in order to make their economies more competitive. Their strategies are the deregulation of international capital flows and trades, and the re-making of (the once protected or socially guaranteed) labour market into a deregulated (less rigid, more dynamic and more flexible) one. The socio-economic consequences of these reform initiatives are widely different among different countries. With the exception of the Asian Industrializing Economies (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) and China, most developing economies are not adjusting well with the globalization project. On the other hand, most of the developed capitalist economies were suffered from the sluggish economic growth, ironically resulting from the deregulation of capital markets, which weakened the relationship between banking and industry (Navarro et al. 2004).

The globalization discourse seriously has also reinforced the political ideologically driven reform in the so-called welfare state in the developed economies, but most of the reforms are not successful as judged by their fellow citizens (Huber and Stephen 2001). Whilst for most part of the developing economies, the globalizing forces have not helped

them much either. With the exception of China, global poverty has not been improved during the globalization era, 1980s to 1990s (Milanovic 2003, p.679, Ravllion 2004). The number of poor (less than US\$1 per day) has fallen in Asia, but risen elsewhere: it is roughly doubled in Africa - the figure is about one in three now (see Fig.2)! At the global level, income inequality is becoming a norm for many developing countries (see Fig.3). Perhaps, it is rightly to question: isn't it a trend towards the worsening of ESC rights at global level?

To recapitulate the essence of the globalization project: economic productivities have been much improved for the developed economies, but the aggregate progress for the economic liberalization has not achieved its intended purpose for a better and just world. And it is against this context that the anti-globalization movement is articulated.

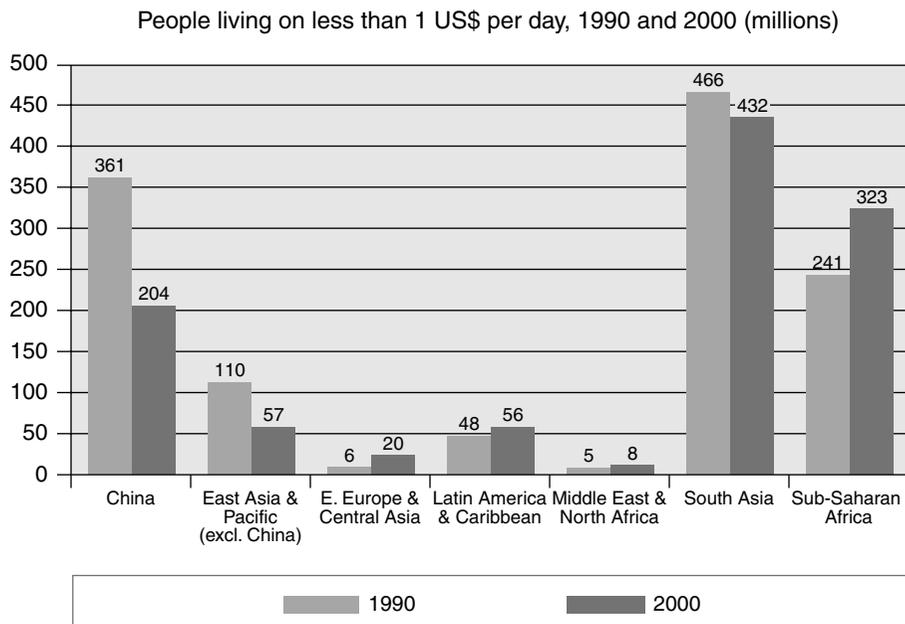
But the globalization processes are shaping the development of dual/divided cities, great disparity between the rich and the poor, as well as the gaps between urban and rural chance of life (for instance, mainland China, Fig.4). So far, global economic liberalization and globalization are not compatible to the daily life of people and local welfare - as

local labour market is demising with the off-shoring strategies of firms. Rather, it is the common trend in social dualism: widespread poverty within affluent societies / localities, in line with a set of deregulatory policy initiatives that favours private sector, commodification and privatization of social services.

This can be seen in recent trend that, individual ESC rights (say, labour standards, social protection and welfare entitlements) are down-graded by the calling for de-regulation, flexible labour market initiatives under the reform banner of economic liberalization towards globalization. Here, though the basic, or the eligibility, for all kinds of welfare services (social security in particular) is rooted with the definition of citizenship (someone's assigned status by nation state), the social citizenship is eroding under the strong current and waves of economic globalization and pro-market initiatives (Rodrigues 2005, Roth 2004).

Globalization processes hence have put state-society at very peculiar position, as both exposed to the challenges of 'external' forces: capitals, goods, labour (and jobs) are more mobile than the previous regime of global order. Social impacts are eminent! In response, the

**Fig.2: Global Poverty**



Source: World Bank, Global Economic Prospects 2004.

(Source: WCDSDG, 2004, p.45)

**Fig.3: Global Inequality**

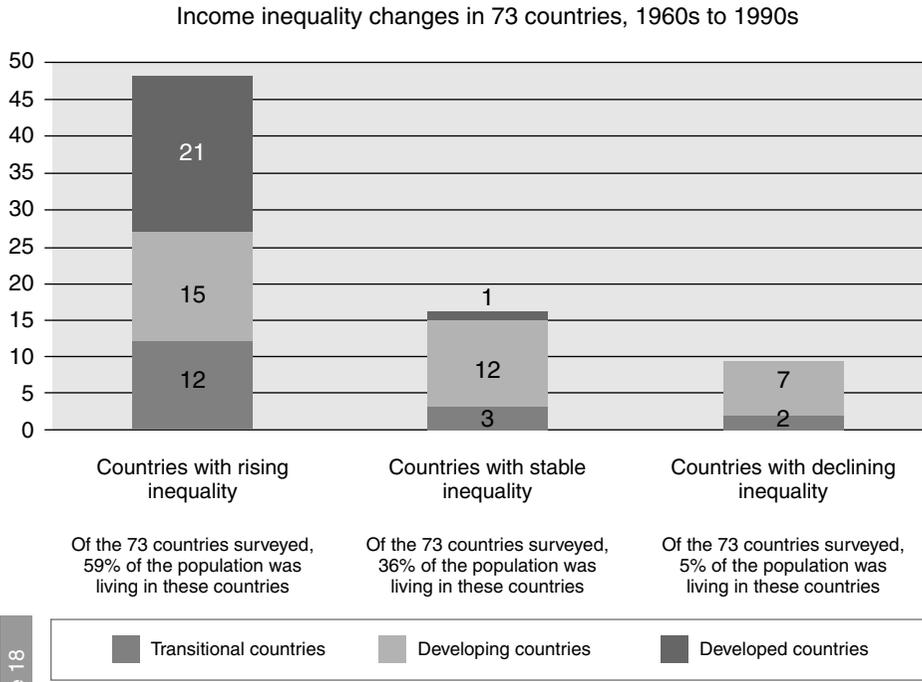
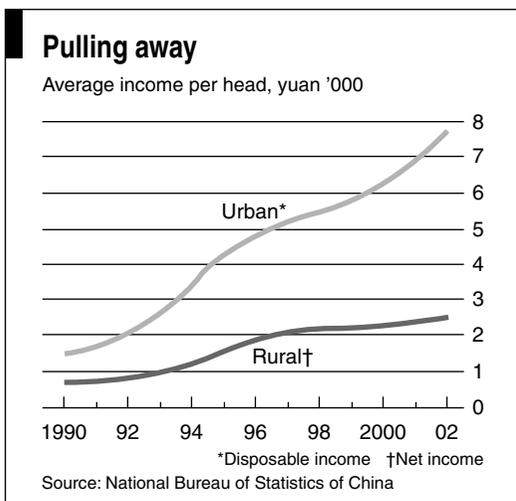


Figure 18

Source: Giovanni Andrea Comia and Sampsa Kiiski, "Trends in Income Distribution in the Post-World War II Period: Evidence and Interpretation", WIDER Discussion Paper No.89, UNUAMDER, Helsinki, 2001.

(Source: WCSDBG, 2004, p.44)

**Fig.4: Economic Development driven Inequality**



(Source: The Economist, 25.September 2003, online edition)

anti-globalization campaigns at various international economic institutions' (WTO, World Economic Forum and G7) meetings are becoming more of a norm that quest for global social justice, towards a sustainable future (Abe & Lai 2005, Lai 2004a/b, 2005a/b).

### 2. Transformative Anti-Globalization Movement: New Human Rights + Old Human Dignity?

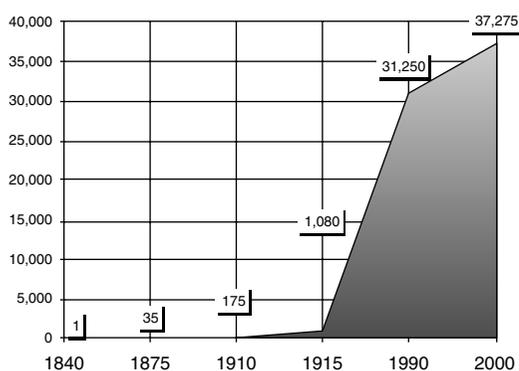
For more than sixty years, human rights promotion and advocacies have been articulation of people's civil and political rights, under the banner of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, ratified by the United Nations in the aftermath of the second world war and the Holocaust, in 1948, and more specifically, with the articulations of the 1966 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR).<sup>4</sup>

4 ICCPR: [http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a\\_ccpr.htm](http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm), ICESCR, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>

For the actual mobilization for international communities support, for both inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and NGOs, it is the very focus on civil and political rights (ICCPR), this can be exemplified by the active critical engagements of NGOs, like Amnesty International (AI) and Human Rights Watch (HRW), in their campaigns for the release or human treatment for the plight of prisoners of conscience and victims of torture, with the strategies of the shaming and/or the internationalizing the politics of embarrassment against the regimes that torture, unjustly imprison or disenfranchise their citizens, sometimes resulting in the release or the better treatment for those victims but usually, facilitating the establishment of international norms on human rights (Lai 2005b).

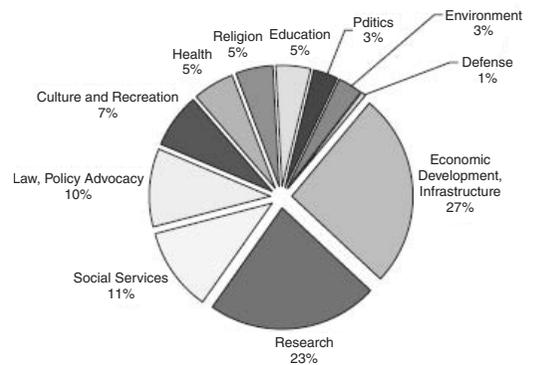
The globalization project put nation states and societies at very peculiar position, as both exposed to the challenges of 'external' forces: capitals, goods, labour (and jobs) are more mobile than the previous regime of global order (Lai 2005a/b); the internationalization of advocacies networks and the international NGOs' appeals are more than obvious (Lai 2004a/b). More specifically, in the last decade, perhaps because of the partial failure of IGOs and IFIs initiatives on promoting human rights at global and local (glocal) levels, NGOs' global movements against IGOs and IFI. The latter group has been realizing the potential contribution from International NGOs, in shaping participatory human rights movement at societal and community levels (Lai 2005, Rodrigues 2005). More fundamentally, it is the increasing important of NGOs in global affairs, this can be seen from the burgeoning growth of NGOs at local, regional and global scales, as well as their diversification of services and advocacies (Fig.5 and Fig.6)

**Fig.5: International NGOs Growth**



(Source: Christensen 2006)

**Fig.6: Range of International NGOs Activities**



(Source: Christensen 2006)

Historically, IGOs, United Nations in particular, set the background and framework for discussing human rights, or human rights in the course of socio-economic development. For this, international and global summits, conferences and symposia organized by IGOs and IFIs become the targets for NGOs mobilizing work, challenging the established rule and way of governance of the global order. We are witnessing conglomeration of IGOs and NGOs in global summits like G8 meeting, World Bank and UN Summits and alike, with protests and demonstrations outside, yet heated debates within, the conference venue (Abe and Lai 2005); NGOs serve as:

- Focal point, platform and network for information gathering and research required to challenge, as well as creating new policy, for human rights, like Human Rights Watch.
- Foundation for articulating particular human rights (abuse) issue: like the Amnesty International, for example, has a large monitoring component to challenge human rights abuse, on individual and collective case(s).
- Mobilizing agencies for articulating various forms and modes of confrontational protests and demonstrations, targeting to IGOs and against their allies of Transnational Corporations (TNC).
- Facilitating agency for transnational advocacies and communication networks in pushing local, regional and international government bodies to react to human rights abuse.
- With good local supports, NGO activities at regional and global scales can reshape the contours (for the benefits of human rights)

for national policy or constitutional domain, which are more likely to promote a shift in the worldview towards global society (Christensen 2006).

For NGOs' international networking (Christensen 2006, Roth 2004, Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004) and coupling our previous discussions, it should be highlighted that the importance of NGOs influences in firstly, shaping policy process in international, national and local level, by offering alternative perspectives and logics for socio-developmental course; secondly, moving the human rights concern beyond a particular geo-political space, to the global level, shaping global norms, politicking and law governance for human rights; thirdly, legitimizing non-state actors (NGOs) as global monitor and adjudicator for human rights; last but not least, they provide much for cross-national policy learning - the dynamics behind such a shift is significant for its potential to affect political efficacy and accountability in both moral and ethical terms.

Under the impact of globalization, championed by international corporations, the individual's economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights are under threat. And at this historical conjuncture, NGOs at both international and local levels are confronted by the social calamities that are rooted and embedded in the globalization processes, and they are moving to a new arena of critical engagements, namely, moving from the focused articulation for human rights of the ICCPR to, or incorporating, ICESCR.

To articulate ESC rights advocacies into, and mainstreaming of, human rights activities can be seen in the profile of Human Rights Watch (HRW). Since its formation in 1978, HRW has focused mainly on upholding civil and political rights, but in recent years it has increasingly addressed economic, social and cultural rights as well. HRW focuses particularly on situations in which HRW methodology of investigation and reporting is most effective, such as when arbitrary or discriminatory governmental conduct lies behind an economic, social and cultural rights violation.<sup>5</sup> More specific, HRW monitors, and mobilizes supports against, ESC rights violations when they result from violations of civil and political rights or contributing to the violations of civil and political rights. Reportages of HRW address to ESC rights, including the rights to health care, education, and fair conditions of labour.

Another notable move is the Oxfam, an

international development charity movement originated from Great Britain, which has been actively mobilizing people and resources to advocate ESC rights at both developing and developed economies. Oxfam International seeks increased worldwide public understanding that ESC rights and social justice are crucial to sustainable development. They strive to be a global campaigning force promoting the awareness and motivation that comes with global citizenship whilst seeking to shift public opinion in order to make equity the same priority as economic growth.<sup>6</sup> For advocacy on ESC rights, it mobilizes people for popular campaigning, alliance building and media work designed to raise awareness among the public of the real solutions to global poverty, to enable people to play an active part in the movement for change, and to foster a sense of global citizenship.

### **3. NGOs' Critical Engagements in New Modernity: Human Rights for All!**

Thanks to decades of internationalism and movements for human rights, and the experiences derived from various social movements, human-rights campaigners are starting to lobby for ESC rights, such as the rights to health, information, healthy water and food, as well as sexual pleasure (Oriel 2005, Solomon 2005, Tsutsui & Wotipka 2004).

Moving from an approach to advocate the civil and political rights towards the ESC ones requires the change not just in terms of strategy, but also the reasoning for morality. For the latter one, it has to be demonstrated that the moral imperative to stop poverty, exploitation / discrimination against the disadvantaged groups, or disease is therefore should be as convincing as the moral imperative to stop torture. But the attempt so far is far from full success.

For new strategies, the anti-globalization protest movements at the global level, which usually attaching the IGOs meetings (of APEC, G7/8, IMF, World Bank and WTO) and international business forum (like World Economic Forum), highlight the 'parallelization' of international events. By challenging, as well as embarrassing, the status quo and legitimacy of the pro-economic liberalization bodies, NGOs contribute a service towards the promotion of ESC rights with examples of the victimization of individuals under the predominant regime of globalization.

5 Human Rights Watch actions on ESC rights: <http://www.hrw.org/esc/>

6 Oxfam International: <http://www.oxfam.org/>

NGOs are now more than obvious assuming the role of morality checker for the guidance for ESC rights, usually through blacklisting and embarrassment publicity for the offenders of international norms on ESC rights, mostly targeting to the state and transnational corporations (TNC). More recently, the morality checker role extends to preventive and precautionary one, with suggestive problem solving options for TNC and government to consider, for enhancing ESC rights of all people.

For instance, Amnesty International (AI) has recently attacked a consortium involving two American oil giants, Exxon Mobil and Chevron, and Petronas of Malaysia, that is extracting the African oil in Chad and pumping it to the Cameroon coast via a 665-mile (1,070-km) pipeline - the \$4.3 billion project in Africa - the biggest ever foreign investment in Africa, has long been a cause celebre for NGOs, fearful of its impact on one of the poorest, most ill-governed parts of the world (*The Economist*, 8.September 2005).

Against the context that oil firms have often been damned by association with human-rights abuses in similar places - not least Royal Dutch/Shell in Nigeria and Unocal in Myanmar, AI is not (yet) accusing the consortium of any specific human-rights abuses in the Chad-Cameroon project (though protesters against it have been abused in government crackdowns). Instead, the AI's preventive and precautionary report focuses on the potential harm that may be done, as a result of the contracts governing the deal. At the heart of these contracts is a "stabilisation of law" clause, under which the consortium will be compensated for any economic harm caused to it by changes in the legal regimes governing the project - a protective clause for the oil firms against the risk of the unscrupulous governmental ripping off foreign investments. But, AI argued that one effect of the clause may be to impose a financial penalty on any government that tries to improve human rights by, for example, requiring higher minimum safety standards or quicker redress for lost land.

To recapitulate the nexus between business and human (civil and political, as well as ESC) rights is that there are many (financial, ethical, regulatory) reasons why human rights have become a business issue. This is against the context that, as a key player in the globalization process, many TNC have been, taking their technological and capital advantages, destroying local customs and cultures, exploits workers, bankrupts the local poor and widens the gap

between the rich and often politically repressive elite and the rest of society. What is more critical now is that, apart from legal obligations set down by the host country and the moral responsibilities towards local and international norms, TNC can - through their foreign direct investment and business practice - make important contribution to the promotion of economic and social welfare, the improvement of living standards, the creation of employment opportunities and the realisation and enjoyment of basic human rights (Sullivan 2003).

On another front, HWR provides its expertise in human rights abuse reportage, ranging from the political imprisonment to the censorship of the high-tech viaduct, like the Internet. Juxtaposing the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS, in 15.November 2005 in Tunis), HRW released a comprehensive report on the repression of Internet users in the Middle East and North Africa, highlighting that the host for WSIS continued its practice to jail individuals for expressing their opinions on the Internet and suppress Web sites critical of the government.<sup>7</sup> Witnessing the contradictory, if not double-bind, strategy for the promotion of information society in the region, it is observed that with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the states have sought to facilitate the spread of information and communications technologies with economic benefits in mind. But at the same time, they have sought to maintain their old monopolies and control over the flow of information. More specific, HRW argued that the Internet has proven a boon to the development of civil society and freedom of information, but it has occasionally provoked government backlash as well.

Undoubtedly, thanks to the global communication networks in the era of globalization, the timely dissemination of information on human rights and human rights abuses is extremely important; therefore the informational rights should be protected and become the fundamental one for ESC rights (Lai 2005a/b, Rodriguez 2005, Roth 2004). The essence of recent advocacies of human rights and development NGOs, for the promotion of ESC rights, is that the informational rights (for freely access and communications) are obviously an extension of ESC rights. In short, the new campaigning theme for human rights NGOs is broadening, widening, as well as deepening, onto all aspects of human development.

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7 HRW Report *False Freedom: Online Censorship in the Middle East and North Africa*  
<http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/11/15/mena12011.htm>

#### 4. Human Dignity & Rights: Advancing Economic and Socio-Cultural Development for All!

Thanks to recent global financial crisis, the profit-maximization *modus operandi* for capitalism is likely structurally collapsed, if not dead. And humanist ideals for social development are being rediscovered, echoing the decade-long glocal callings from anti-globalization protests: transnational advocacies for human dignity are visibly influential, shaping the 2005 (21st March) United Nations' calling for *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All*.

More specific, the advocacies for human rights - a proxy for human dignity (?) become the currency for international development recently: both IGOs and NGOs use the discourses on human rights as the default for social development. But the rhetoric is not yet realized in the reality, as recent reports confirm this *problematique* (UN 2005, WCDSDG 2004, World Bank 2006). In particular, the neglect of human rights damages effort for social development; possibly reinforcing to inter-state, inter-ethnic groups and inter-classes conflicts, leading to civil war or genocide.

Yet, the NGOs' mobilization process and dynamics for human rights reinforce global social development:

By the same token, development would be at best hindered and at worst reversed in a world driven by violent conflict or mesmerized by the fear of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, or one in which human rights were trampled, the rule of law was disregarded and citizens' views and needs were ignored by unresponsive and unrepresentative Governments (UN 2005: 23).

For IGOs, the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and the related Declaration has important strategic direction, for which members of IGOs (in the UN system in particular) have been making efforts to promote democracy, the rule of law, as well as respect human rights and fundamental freedom. This should be stressed that the lip-service for the respect for human rights is not enough; rather all human beings have the rights to be treated with dignity and respect, with the support of global civil society, NGOs and people organizations in particular.

With our previous briefing on the new challenges for human rights movement in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, there is no doubt that more debates and struggles on ESC rights will be actively articulated as long as socio-cultural development is partly sidelined, if not partly forgotten, in the globalization project championed by the states, TNC and IGOs under the

market forces. For the advancement of human rights in general, ESC rights in particular, there are likely four major arenas for the contesting articulations and (counter-)advocacies by NGOs and their counterparts in business and the state sectors (Monshipouri, et al. 2003, Roth 2004, Tsutsui & Wotipka 2004).

Firstly, NGOs have been, and will be, continuing actively articulation of the role that firms can play an active role in advancing human rights, ESC rights in particular. This is becoming a big issue for TNC as well as international business forum. More specifically, activists increasingly see firms as a powerful tool (via foreign direct investment, FDI, the source of taxing revenue and economic growth) for putting pressure on bad governments. For this, TNC have, increasingly, found themselves, their partners or their contractors mired in countries where human rights violations are occurring - and they are the target for human rights NGOs. Responding to the NGOs' morality attacks regarding ESC rights violation or abuse, TNC and business associations are now more pro-active than previously. For instance, firms in rich countries become ever keener to be known as good corporate citizens - under the banner of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Here, the emphasis is on the co-evolutionary relationship, stakeholder engagement and partnership with CSR, accountability and governance between state, firms and societal actors in nurturing sustainable development and profiteering from market (Bastmeijer & Verschuuren 2005, Demirag, Ed., 2005).

Secondly, it is the internationalization and standardization of business norm-morality practice. The synergetic relationship between business practice and human rights is more than obviously a new paradigm for making profit (for business sector) and protection of humanity (for human rights): a related new school of scholarly literatures is emerging (Monshipouri et al. 2003; Sullivan, Ed. 2003). Some progressive firms are seeking new international rules and norm setting, not least so that they can compete on fair terms with rivals which are already happily striking deals with the world's nastiest governments at the expense of human rights.

Undoubtedly, the calling for a more human way for globalization by World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization (WCDSDG, 2004) is likely be the fundamentals for human rights NGOs to mobilize their campaigns for better and enhancing ESC rights in both developing and developing economies. For setting the ESC norms, the appointment of first UN special adviser (John Ruggie) on human rights and business indicates the

engagement of IGOs on the champion of ESC rights, with special focus, and leverage role, of business practices and agencies.

Thirdly, the extension, deepening and widening of the themes of human rights advocacies will be prevailing in the coming decade, to protect lives and livelihood with new assertions to push the boundaries of human rights, basic needs in a globalizing world, for a minimally necessity to live as a human being. Such timely advancement of the human rights advocacies can be witnessed in the calling for CSR, ethical trade, social protection against globalization impact, digital-informational inclusion, and the Millennium Development Goals. All these global initiatives are shaped much by the development and human rights NGOs (Monshipouri et al. 2003, Roth 2004, Tsutsui & Wotipka 2004).

Fourthly, without structural change in IGOs governance over ESC rights, NGOs alone can only contribute to the sub-optimal, less than the maximization of human rights advocacies impact (cf. Darrow & Tomas 2005). The recently mooted but likely failure to reform the UN framework for monitoring and promoting human rights, that the abortive attempt for the replacement of the discredited UN Commission on Human Rights by a supposedly tougher Human Rights Council, should be noted here. Without an overhaul of the ineffective global adjudication-regulatory mechanism for human rights, in spite of the promotion of human rights at societal multiple fronts with the expansion of advocacies to all new frontiers of ESC rights, the multi-pronged strategies of NGOs will likely be counter-acted by the globalization forces which seek the highest rate of profitability. Perhaps, this is the major caveat of the present regime of human rights movement in a globalizing world.

Last but not least, In spite of the obvious inadequacies of IGOs intervention in promoting human rights through development initiatives, the exposure of the related mis-management of human rights issues in/with development works by NGOs (an important aspect of policy learning) has been beneficial to further fine-tuning of IGOs' programs and initiatives for developing countries. Hence, the inter-agencies and inter-NGOs policy learning in the last decade, there is an emerging regime for consultation, as well as policy learning processes, between and among NGOs and IGOs, targeting to those nation state's agencies for improving human rights. Their synergetic effects, though in some instances overshadowed by confrontational conflicts, are moving into consensus for not just human rights in the basic form, but also economic, social and cultural rights in particular,

highlighting that the project for "human rights for all" is much shaped by, as well as shaping, the international norms and values formation for social and sustainable development. For this, the reminders by the United Nations (2005) call for *Larger Freedom* and *Human Rights for All* is timely right that the world must advance the causes of security, development and human rights together, otherwise none will succeed. Humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights - a proxy for human dignity in this modernity!

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