

DEVELOPMENT PEACE PROGRAMS IN MAGDALENA MEDIO

*P. Francisco de Roux Rengifo, S.J. **

RESUMEN

El documento se propone contribuir con una reflexión ética a la discusión actual sobre globalización y plantea como hipótesis central que el drama generado por ese fenómeno mundial se relaciona con la posibilidad de favorecer el desconocimiento a la dignidad inherente en toda persona humana, en la forma destacada por la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos.

Basado en la experiencia que le ha reportado su trabajo en temas de desarrollo y paz, en medio del conflicto que tiene lugar en el Magdalena Medio colombiano, el autor plantea una serie de dilemas a resolver y la estrategia ética, filosófica y política que considera podría ayudar a transformar la globalización en una dinámica que respeta la dignidad humana.

DESCRIPTORES: *Globalización, economía-ética, justicia social*

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the document is to contribute with an ethical reflection to the current discussion about globalization and considers as central hypothesis that the drama generated by that world-wide phenomenon is related to the possibility of favoring ignorance to the inherent dignity in all human person, in the way emphasized by the Universal Declaration of Human rights.

Based on the experience that has reported his work in topics of development and peace, in the middle of the conflict that takes place in Colombian Magdalena Medio, the author considers a series of dilemmas to solve and the ethical, philosophical and political strategy that he thinks could help to transform the globalization into a dynamic that respects human dignity.

DESCRIPTORS: *Globalization, economy-ethics, social justice.*

1. My purpose is to contribute, with an ethical reflection ¹ /, to the on-going discussion on globalization. A reflection I hope will be relevant to the core of the problem. This reflection is based on daily work for development and peace in the middle of conflict, in one of Colombia's most violent territories. In the current interconnectedness of the world, the local becomes global and helps us to understand and

to give meaning to the macro and the global levels. The relevance of the local is that at this level people matter, and the ethical significance of each person is important.

2. Globalization's current form is a new pervasive phenomenon. It has positive elements; but it also generates negative dynamics. These negative dynamics may potentially do much harm and may lead to the

* Sacerdote Jesuita. Filósofo, Teólogo y Doctor en Economía. Director del Programa de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio. franjosederoux@hotmail.com

Recepción del Artículo: 16 de Febrero de 2007. Aceptación del Artículo por el Comité Editorial: 22 de Febrero de 2007.

1 Harold James invites us to an ethical discussion in *When Globalization has a Nervous Breakdown*, Sophia University Conference, January 2007. "Our debate – he concluded – must avoid the non-valued based escapism of simply technocratic solutions, and it needs to concern itself with fundamental value".



end of this form of globalization, though this end will not be the same as that of globalization in the 1930s² /. Because then the opposition to globalization came from the national states. Now the opposition will come from people and communities in a way that was not possible eighty years ago.

3. I think we have to work for the transformation of globalization from the bottom-up. The increasing communication and economic interconnectedness among territorial communities has produced three effects: To make relevant the human value of everybody; to make evident the different ways of being human in different cultural and territorial environments; and to make relevant to the communities and organizations the necessity of participating together in institutions at different levels of responsibility in a united planet. This attention to the personal, and to the cultural (*mores*) and territorial dimensions is entirely possible today and is by no means a way to individualism, separatism, provincialism, or parochialism.

This immediate contact with the people and the care of people is the source of the territorial communities' moral significance. Today, territorial communities are giving to their states the legitimacy needed in national and international roles. At the same time, they are establishing multiple ways to keep in touch with other communities around the planet. The focus, at this level, on creating and maintaining the set of values and the type of environment desired by the people, keeps economic production grounded in real need and desire. At this level originates the information we need to avoid the vulnerability of "Casino Capitalism", and the respect we need for avoid international terror and violence.

4. The term *territorial communities* has a broad sense in this context: a set of villages and farms in a rural development area; a big river basin; a big city or several intermediate cities that form an ensemble of shared culture, economy and civilization. This territory gives home to the original ways men and women want to live their own life in harmony



² See James' analysis on the collapse of globalism in the interwar depression, in *The End of Globalization*. Harvard University Press. 2003.

with nature; and for this reason we call these “territorial communities”. In European Union literature, territorial communities are called “communities”, regions within a country, or “comunidades autónomas” in Spain. The European Union has given a central importance to “territorial research community”³ /. There are many sorts of associations and organizations, and through internet there are several “virtual global communities” but usually, when we have a human accountable community, it is bound to a territory ⁴ /.

5. I see globalization from the struggle for human values and human rights and the viewpoint of the territorial community of Medium Magdalena, where I have been living and working for the last twelve years. Colombia is a country located in the northern corner of South America, with coasts on the Pacific and the Caribbean oceans. Colombia has a population of about 44 million inhabitants. Medium Magdalena, in the north of the country, is a territory the size of Belgium,

with a population of eight hundred thousand inhabitants. We have, in Medium Magdalena, all the positive aspects and all the serious risks offered by globalization. Thanks to the enormous navigable river, and to the proximity to Miami Florida, we can transform the Magdalena valley into a platform for commodity exports with big plantations owned by corporations of petroleum, palm oil, rubber and timber, and transform the mountains surrounding the valley into big corporate exploitations of coal and gold. To do all of this, we don't need the people living in the territory. But, we can develop another alternative. We can put the people first. We can get the people from Medium Magdalena to maintain their cultural heritage, to occupy efficiently and in harmony with nature their territory, to develop peasant farms with food security, long term agro-industrial tropical products, and gold and coal mining with appropriate labor-intensive efficient technologies. We have already proved that peasant farms are able to double the

3 See for instance the European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON) set up to support policy development and to build a European scientific community in the field of territorial development; and the INTERREG projects initiative. Cliff Hague. *A European Territorial Research Community*. University of Luxemburg, 2005. WEB

4 See the analysis of Kisaichi Masatoshi of the de-territorialization and globalization of Islam in the formation of the “Global Umma”, in his contribution to this Symposium: *Post-Islamism? Beyond Fundamentalism*.



productivity of crops like rubber, cocoa or palm oil. One day we invited the president of Colombia to visit one of these peasant farms. We wanted him to see the high productivity the peasant families generated, and we asked him not to invite his rich friends and national and international corporations to buy the land of Medium Magdalena. “This land belongs to our people living here” we told him in front of the TV cameras. We know the critical situation of Colombia, possibly one of the few Latin American countries that entered the XXI century without solving the problem of the creation of a national state; we know the enormous effort being done by the central government in order to get everywhere the presence of the State, and we know Colombia is a land of territorial communities that will establish itself as a nation, and participate in the Latin American Region, and in the global process, based on the perspective of the territorial and cultural communities of which it is comprised.

privilege of working with. They have stayed where they are, in the midst of violence, while many others have left to escape death and insecurity, in a place where, on many occasions, the institutions of government and society have broken down. All of this, in a place where the perverted dynamics of globalization are just as powerful and pervasive as the positive aspects of globalization, such as human rights, environmental responsibility, and gender equity. In the face of the multiple dilemmas presented by globalization we try to be honest with these people – the people of Medium Magdalena, and the people of many other territorial communities in similar conditions – and, at the same time, to be honest as regards the immense effort that constitutes the human adventure of globalization.

7. It is necessary to establish a set of foundational principles by which to discern and analyze globalization in order to foster its positive elements, to restrain its negative elements, and to protect the process against the negative dynamics that may terminate it. The fundamental ethical point, central for the

6. When we speak of a territorial community, we really mean its people. The Medium Magdalena are the people I have the



discussion and for the collective construction of an order of values, has being already established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948: *The recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world* (Preamble). *These rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person* (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights).

8. Dignity is an absolute value; every man and every woman has it as a human being, as a person. Human dignity therefore transcends any social order as the basis for rights and is neither granted by society or the state or any sort of global institution, nor should it be violated by them. One direct normative implication of human dignity is that every human being, every person, should be acknowledged as an inherently valuable member of the human community and as a unique expression of life. The person, the responsible and free human individual, is the center of any natural law framework for human legislation. From the Christian viewpoint the source of human dignity is rooted in the

concept of *Imago Dei*, and in our ultimate personal destiny of union with God.

9. Dignity cannot be increased nor developed. What we develop are the conditions so that everybody can freely protect and freely express the dignity of his or her person, how he or she wants to live with dignity. One of the essential points in development is to determine how each person can live his or her dignity in the way he or she wants to live it. We call these conditions the economic, social and cultural rights and, with the international declarations and covenants of human rights, we have – implicitly - accepted the concept of global citizenship. The international declarations and covenants of human rights should thus be considered an initial definition of the concept of global citizenship. At the global and national level there are many inconsistencies with these principles that are intended to give every human being the same importance. If we exclude the effect of the rapid growth of China and, to a lesser extent India, there is evidence of a sharp increase in the inequality between and within countries during the last twenty years. One



of the reasons globalization is contested, is that it has been associated with global poverty and inequality; many explain these inequalities as a result of the so called neoliberal globalization under the hegemony of the United States. The share of the richest decile in world income, to give just one example, increased from about 45% to about 50%.

10. My argument is not against globalization. With many others I reject the perverse dynamics of globalization. But international trade, technology, and communications are also impressive cultural and civilizational developments. The drama is that all this global construction could be destroyed if we do not manage to establish the elements of consistency with human dignity that the process demands from within; when the global awareness of this absolute, non-negotiable equal dignity, is increasing faster than international trade and capital flows. The point is that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a just and positive force for the equal dignity of all the world's people, as stipulated in the fifth paragraph of the

United Nations Millennium Declaration.

11. In order to do this, from the perspective of the territorial communities, as we learn from the people of Medium Magdalena, we have to solve the following dilemmas:
12. First dilemma: either *to acknowledge that every person has the same value as a member of the human community or to give more value to some persons we consider more important.* This is the dilemma between inclusion and exclusion. Between acknowledging that all civilizations deserve equal respect or to try and impose on others the Christian Western Civilization. Between accepting the equal importance of human lives or considering that there are significant human lives and insignificant human lives. This is the dilemma between peace and war. In Medium Magdalena people were killed and hundreds were displaced because they were thought irrelevant and counterproductive to the coca business or to the concentration of the property of the land. Still many think that a person has more dignity



because he/she is American, or has a PhD, or is rich, or works at an important corporation; but there is a growing global interconnected opposition against this way of thinking. The answer to this dilemma implies – among others – the need for a multilateral world political system that can deal with the asymmetries of power posed by the United States.

13. Second dilemma: Either *to give priority to people or to corporations*. In the Medium Magdalena people means persons, love and passion, families, culture, traditions, and identity. Corporation means utilities for national or alien owners. Priority to corporations means that any activity that might interfere with corporate domination of society is automatically suspect because it would impede the functioning of the free market. In Medium Magdalena, we know what the violent consequences are of a security concept that focuses on protecting companies such as petroleum and palm oil, as opposed to a broader security concept that focuses on the well-being of the people (human security). This is coherent with

Chomsky's remark⁵ / that the motive of the elites is to isolate the general population from important decision-making processes, and to center the power on transnational corporations and supranational banks. But we also know that just as there are differences between a totalitarian state and an accountable state, there are differences between a violent company which is in itself a totalitarian organization, operating along non-democratic lines, and responsible companies and banks - and the difference matters when we are thinking about alternatives.

14. Third dilemma: *Either to understand development as the sustainable expansion of the possibilities of human dignity in a territorial community; or to understand development as the expansion of production of firms and corporations in a territory*. It is the dilemma between orienting the productive process to produce the lives people want to live, taking into account their culture and their environment; or orienting the productive process just to generate profits.



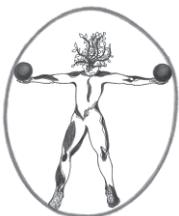
5 See : Robert W McChesney *Noam Chomsky and the Struggle Against Neoliberalism*. Monthly Review April 1, 1999



It is the dilemma between entrepreneurs interested in the development of the community in the territory, who invest their utilities in the human and social capital and infrastructure of their territory; or the corporate managers and personnel, who get the money from the territory, but are only interested in investing their profits where there happen to be more profitable alternatives. This is the dilemma between community development and enclave development. Between giving first priority to the conditions of internal markets, connected with people's livelihood and integral way of life, with a perspective of exporting the surpluses; or giving first priority to export activities

independent of what happens to people. This is the dilemma between making a community able to participate in all the steps of the productive process, focused on the quality of their life, with the capacity of increasingly taking part in the generation of technology and in the production of goods and services with high technological content; or maintaining the asymmetry derived from the high concentration of technical progress in the developed countries, with the only alternative being to attract multinationals that control the technology, the global production and the distribution networks.

15. Fourth dilemma. *Either to give to the territorial communities the initiative of peace and development; or to concentrate in the State the initiative of peace and development.* This is the dilemma of either bottom-up or top-down decision-making in a global perspective. The Magdalena Medium community has agreed in what they called the "propuesta", the proposal: "This is what we propose we are going to do in this territory in order to protect our dignity in a context of local conflict,



national inequality and globalization, and to get peace and justice, and the elimination of exclusion and poverty". As the development literature establishes institutional development, the creation of mechanisms of social cohesion, and the accumulation of human capital and technological capacities are essentially *endogenous* processes⁶ /. In the Medium Magdalena we have a community initiative of peasant palm oil farms that incorporate food security. It is now a production of 5 thousand hectares, divided into family farms of ten hectares per family, that have double the productivity of the huge oil palm plantations in the territory. But at the same time there is the state initiative supporting big private investors, and critical cases where these private investors that present themselves as allies of the peasant, offer very high prices for the land, and establish plantations of thousand of hectares, expelling the peasant families from the territory. In these, we have a typical examples of international trade related development without people; in a context of money coming, in

some cases, from drugs and paramilitary organizations; and, at the same time, the people alone, taking risks in the struggle for sovereignty and freedom, building up the state from the bottom.

16. Fifth dilemma. Either *to accept and to be coherent with the signals coming from the territorial communities; or to consider irrelevant and not guiding the signals coming from the territorial communities*. As an example take the messages on fishery depletion coming from the Medium Magdalena rural fishers in their struggle to recuperate the fish supply they used to have in the river twenty years ago. They have lost ninety percent of the fish supply. This directly affects the quality of their lives because fish is the first source of protein for the poor inhabitants along the river. This local problem is connected to global warming and to the destruction of the natural rain forest, as well as to pollution. Other signals coming from the territorial communities that we could take into account include local information about the way



⁶ ee: José Antonio Ocampo *Globalization, Development and Democracy* .Paper for the first annual International Forum for Development, October 18-19, 2004. web.

credit behaves, the way rural prices go down because of the import of commodities, the way the rural areas are being fumigated by American pilots with poison produced by the corporation Monsanto, or the way that cocaine introduces violence in the territory. At the global level, the international cocaine trade forms, along with other drugs, one of the most perverse dynamics of the world economy only comparable to the production, trade and use of weapons. Colombia is the first producer of cocaine in the world. The Medium Magdalena produces ten per cent of Colombia's cocaine, with an internal market that is seventy per cent controlled by the paramilitary groups and thirty per cent controlled by the guerrillas. Looking at the impact on the territorial communities, we see the ways people are trapped or isolated in some areas or forced into displacement without a future. In this one area we have evidence of the great vulnerability of developing communities to the external shocks of capital movements or trade decisions; the distortions generated by the international demand of cocaine; and the asymmetry associated with the

contrast between the high mobility of capital and the restrictions on the international movement of labor, particularly of unskilled labor. In other latitude, in considering the importance of *accepting the signals coming from the territorial communities* we can see the strong reactions in Europe to a Brussels-led European project which appears to many people as typical of what globalization does; that is, as hollowing out the power of their communities and weakening the position of their citizens. Brussel's politicians have, in many ways, been trying to create a concept of Europe from the top down, and people are reacting not against Europe but against the top down construction of the European Union.

17. The answers to these dilemmas are complex but not out of reach; they require not only an effort to understand the problems, but also personal and institutional commitment to seeking their solutions. I see a way to the answers in the construction of a global citizenship with multiple layers of participation. Also, in the construction of consistent



institutions –cultural, political and economic - built up from the bottom to the top and back again - always with the perspective of “the people first”, with people’s dignity at the beginning and people’s dignity at the end. But let me move on to our experience with people.

18. The Medium Magdalena has fertile soil. Peasants grow cocoa, coffee, rubber, timber, tropical fruits, and palm oil. We live on top of petroleum and gold. We have plenty of water in big rivers and lakes. All the ingredients seem to be there for us to realize our dreams of dignity and peace within the Colombian State and in a united world. But all these paths of violence intersect in the Medium Magdalena. There are the landowners and the paramilitary groups that have the best land. There are the cocaine mafia and violent organizations expelling the peasants with privately obtained arms. There we find the largest concentration of antipersonnel mines in Colombia and in the American continent. There are national and international corporations demanding land for joint ventures of industrial agriculture, oil and mining projects and forcing the families

to accept to sell their land. There are two guerrilla groups FARC and ELN, and the paramilitary. In many cases the army has supported the paramilitaries as allies against the guerrilla and as partners a few soldiers and policemen involved in the cocaine business. The paramilitary groups are now in a process of demobilization, however, many among them have kept their political and economic power, which is based on cocaine production and the capacity to coerce people.

19. What is truly astonishing is that, in this beautiful landscape of pain and fear, people – the territorial community - initiated a process in which living in dignity blossoms. Many people have come together to make this happen, with both local and global perspectives. Our work involves partnerships that may sound unlikely – the European Union, the World Bank, the Colombian government, the people and the governments of Japan, Switzerland and Cuba, the oil workers union, the state oil company, national and international human rights activists, women’s organizations, the catholic diocese of Barrancabermeja, and the



catholic diocese of Vienna. At the heart of this process, though, are those whose lives are at stake – the poor majority, the communities suffering from the conflict, and the displaced.

20. We started this process at the end of 1995, in workshops of two hundred persons, asking people two direct questions. In a territory that is so rich, why were people so poor? And, among people who embrace life with such joy and energy, why was there so much death? Through discussion of these questions with groups of people we saw the perverse dynamics that were producing exclusion, violence and poverty.
21. As a result of the discussion we created a map, the first geographic map of the Magdalena Medium territory. We did this because when we asked about the reasons for violence in a town, people told us that we could not get a good understanding without taking into consideration the neighboring towns, and so on, until we had 30 municipalities on the map of the territorial community.
22. I remember the day we drew the first map of the Magdalena

Medium on a blackboard. A woman came to the blackboard and wrote a sentence: “Primero la vida”. *Life First*. Then we added *Life with dignity*. And we started discussing the meaning of dignity. The reflection about dignity led us to understand the significance of the State and the public institutions. At the beginning we were just communities of people, very reluctant to enter into relationships with the State, which we considered to be the source of corruption, violence and injustice. Then we realized the importance of the State’s role and responsibility in protecting and making effective, not human dignity, but the conditions for the expression and protection of human dignity without exclusion and without inequity. Then we discovered that in many cases the development we were looking for was directly connected with the international community.

23. The point is that in these territories men and women have identified an appropriate way to live their dignity, to protect it and to manifest its values. It is true that human development, understood as the creation of the conditions for a way of living consistent with dignity is a



personal issue. However, we are persons in a community. The community is a dynamic set of symbols, traditions, customs, and culture that are intimately linked with the conscious value that each person attributes to him/herself. Hurting these elements means harming personal dignity.

24. We understood that we have to work together. *The Magdalena Medium has to be built up with all the inhabitants and the social actors or it is impossible (has no future).*

And we meant everybody. This is probably the most difficult principle to be put into practice. Nobody can be excluded. Nobody is to be threatened or disappeared. Nobody is to be driven from his or her home. Each one of us is important. And we realized that to work together in the construction of a territorial community we had to change each of us. The politicians and bureaucrats have to end corruption and impunity; the guerrillas and paramilitaries have to lay down their weapons; the landowners have to share their land; the corporations and firms have to give priority to local development; and religious people have to practice love and solidarity that excludes nobody.

We had to abandon our prejudices, our hates, our vengeance, our greed, and we had to work for truth, justice and reconciliation. We try to foster dialogue with everybody. We discovered this necessity of coming together; and we painfully have learned that we have to maintain this principle at the national, regional and global levels.

25. Living in the middle of the conflict, peace is for us a central issue. As such, we are committed to many social and economic initiatives, but we see each project as a space for dialogue and conflict resolution. When the guerrillas forced the multinational Westinghouse to pay 5 million dollars for each one of the five American engineers working on the construction of a thermo electrical generator in Barrancabermeja, the community acted as a mediator. The guerrillas abandoned the blackmail. The community protected the plant. And today the result is the project of the Ciudadela Educativa of Barrancabermeja, where more than 4000 children go to school and 3000 families are participants in a process of integral development. When the



paramilitary troops created panic in the mountains, forcing people to abandon their land, the communities organized themselves. People decided to stay there in civil resistance. Men and women took the position of peace negotiators. The result was the project of Humanitarian Spaces, in the most difficult areas of the Magdalena Medium. When confusion and terror spread in the territorial community, the youngest opened the community radio stations to generate solidarity, to protect truth and confidence, to invite everybody to stay and to keep hope. This resulted in the project of the network of community radio stations of the Magdalena Medium. When for many others the only alternative to the lack of land, roads and credit was the coca production in alliance with the illegal armed groups, people started the projects of peasants farms with little banana, tropical fruits, beans, timber and other products; and the construction

of peasant roads with the cooperation of Japan.

26. In these examples, one can see an emerging strategy that could help to transform globalization into a sustainable dynamic that respects human dignity. This strategy is at the same time ethical, philosophical and political. The first time I read about this hypothesis was in Bernard Lonergan S.I., *Insight*, published in 1957. Lonergan wrote about *cosmopolis*⁷ /. Today we have a proposal from David Held, far more elaborated in a secular world: the construction of a cosmopolitan community, as a way of specifying a democratic multilevel system of authority that is distinguished by a multilayered, multilevel citizenship⁸ /, defending the equal worth and dignity of each human being. Held takes *cosmopolitan* to be the defense of a set of principles that articulate the equal moral status of each human being; the concept of personal autonomy and responsibility; the renaissance of legitimate

7 "What is necessary is a cosmopolis that is neither class nor state, that stands above all their claims, that cuts them down to size, that is founded on the native detachment and disinterestedness of every intelligence, that commands man's first allegiance, that implements itself primarily through that allegiance, that is too universal to be bribed, too impalpable to be forced, too effective to be ignored" . Bernard Lonergan. *Insight*. Longmans. 1957.

8 "And that means a remarkable capacity to separate identities and operate at different levels; to accept that citizenship is now not just a national thing but a local, national, supra-regional and global thing. It means the capacity to learn that different issues have to be dealt with at different levels; that politics needs to be separated, in part, from the nation-state; that we need to defend, as Habermas says, not just civic nationalism but civic constitutionalism and we need to see that the principles of civic constitutionalism are rightly embedded at these different levels and not just any more at the level of the nation-state". Mikkel Thorup & Mads P. Sørensen *Inescapably Side by Side. An Interview with David Held*. *Polity* February 2004. WEB.



authority and legitimate power at multiple levels; the diffusion of public power to those who are critically affected by issues and processes locally; and the extension of public power to higher levels where, in order to be inclusive one has to accept larger constituencies and political communities because issues like world debt, global warming, deforestation, and the instability of the world financial system are global in scope. None of these issues can be dealt with alone by any local community or single nation-state⁹ /. The point is the construction of an international citizenship from the bottom-up, with different levels of participation and political accountability¹⁰ /: the territorial communities, the States, the regions, and the global level, by people who remain part of the organic community from which they come, to which they return, and in which, in fact, they live. This, along with multiple organizations and networks so that you have social activity that is organized locally, nationally,

supra-regionally and globally¹¹ /. This is the way to get States with strong cultural traditions, social compacts or social contracts, able to empower citizens through education and learning, to increase the competitiveness of their economy while also ameliorating the worst consequences of exposure to the world economic market.

27. Eleven years ago, when we started the Medium Magdalena process, we used to think we were doing local human development and looking for local peace agreements. Now we know we are working in a global perspective, and we know that what we do in the Medium Magdalena is relevant to actions on capital volatility, to respect for migrant peoples, to the construction of international institutions, and to the protection of a human cosmopolitan citizenship. We know, then, when we are growing tropical fruits or building schools or getting involved in the struggle for land for the peasants, that we are contributing to the same cause

-
- 9 David Held, in his book *Global Transformations* tries to set up a rigorous framework for mapping these processes using four criteria: the extensivity of these processes which stretch across space, the intensity of the processes, the velocity of them and the impact of their activities. Thorup and Sørensen, *ibidem*.
- 10 In some cases, this political accountability can gradually make room for the possibility of citizens being able to *judicially demand* the fulfillment of their economic, social and cultural rights and of other international social commitments in competent national and international courts. Ocampo, *ibidem*.
- 11 This sort of organization could help to overcome the inconsistencies between the growing interdependence of nations that has made more evident the need to provide “global public goods” that need global attention, and- the weakness of the international structures and the limited resources allocated to provide these global public goods Ocampo, *ibidem*.



that keep us in contact with millions of people in the same common venture on the Planet. And we want is to contribute to the building of a global and integrated political economy ¹² / based on principles of justice, cooperation, freedom and people participation.

28. We know that justice and peace cannot come from war, nor from the despair and uncertainty that originates from the insistence on threat and terror. Our alternative is to go on building – in the mist of the conflict - an equitable and participative society, starting with those who have been excluded - simply because we are human beings. Perhaps we will never see the final results of our efforts. After eleven years of work in the

Medium Magdalena everything could be destroyed. But there is a force, a spirit coming from the experience of grandeur of every human being, coming from the community, supporting us, moving us, inspiring us to keep going.

29. It is important to emphasize that an ethical perspective like this one cannot by itself guarantee a permanent solution to the problems that are faced. There will always be an unfinished ethical struggle; a struggle where moral authority matters more than¹³ /. However, the quality and the sustainability of the world we create depends on the maintenance and the consistency of this ethical struggle at the service of human dignity.

12 A Political economy -able to the design of policies and strategies demanded by UNCTAD XI, that took place in June 2004 in São Paulo, in three areas: (i) macroeconomic policies that reduce external vulnerability and facilitate productive investment; (ii) active productive development strategies aimed at developing system-wide competitiveness; and (iii) ambitious social policies designed to increase equity and guarantee social inclusion. And with the macroeconomic asymmetries associated with the fact that international currencies are the currencies of the industrial countries and with the features of capital flows and their relation to macroeconomic policy in the industrial and developing world, Ocampo, Ibidem.

13 “There has been a dramatic shift on the international stage from sovereignty as effective power, which was the basis of, and justification of, the state order, to sovereignty as legitimate authority - authority defined in relation to, and as circumscribed by, democratic values and human rights”. Ocampo. Ibidem.

