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Catholic Social Teaching, Economic Rights, and Globalization

The tradition of Catholic Social Teaching has much to contribute to ongoing debates concerning global economic policy. Among these contributions are its affirmation of ‘economic rights’ and its assertion of the need for ‘economic democracy.’ In this paper I plan to examine the meaning of these concepts of economic rights and economic democracy in the Catholic Social Teaching documents. I will also present the views of critics of economic rights, respond to the objections of these critics, and explore the implications of an affirmation of economic rights for an assessment of current forms of economic globalization.

Catholic Social Teaching on Economic Rights:

At the core of Catholic Social Teaching (CST) are several fundamental affirmations concerning the human person. Foremost among these affirmations is the belief that all persons have intrinsic dignity, a result of being created in the image of God. Secondly, the human person is viewed in CST as a social being. Human dignity can be fully realized and protected only in community.¹ Based upon these beliefs in human dignity and in the social nature of persons, CST develops a holistic, communitarian conception of human rights. “Human rights,” the U.S. Catholic bishops state in their pastoral letter *Economic Justice for All*, “are the minimum

¹ See National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Economic Justice for All: Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1986), no. 79.

conditions for life in community.”² This communitarian understanding of rights that CST develops provides a way to avoid the excessive individualism that is often associated with rights concepts.³

With regard to the content of human rights, the U.S. Catholic bishops assert that these rights include both civil and political rights, such as the right to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion, as well as economic and social rights, such as the right to food, housing, education, and health care. It is the assertion of this latter set of economic-social rights, as well as the claims made by CST of an inextricable connection between civil-political and economic-social rights, that has given rise to controversy. This controversy has been especially strong in the United States, a nation whose philosophical and political traditions have historically viewed only civil and political rights as being rights in the true sense of the term.

² *Economic Justice for All*, no. 17 of the ‘Pastoral Message’ which is included as a preface to the document.

³ See David Hollenbach, “A Communitarian Reconstruction of Human Rights: Contributions from Catholic Tradition,” in *Catholicism and Liberalism*, ed. R. Bruce Douglass and David Hollenbach (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127-150.

The US bishops ground their holistic conception of human rights in Scripture. They highlight especially the affirmations of human dignity and of concern for the poor and for social justice that are found in the Genesis creation stories, in the covenant materials, in the prophets, and in the teachings of Jesus.⁴ In these biblical texts a primary responsibility of society (including the community of believers) is to make sure that the basic needs of all persons are met. This is strikingly evident, for example, in the Sabbath and Jubilee Year provisions of the Mosaic covenant. These provisions call for the redistribution of wealth to be structured into the laws of society through periodic forgiveness of debts, release of slaves, and the returning of land to its original owners.⁵ The intention of these measures was to maintain relative equality among the people and to guarantee that no one became permanently poor or marginalized. When the Israelites strayed from this social vision of the covenant, the biblical prophets repeatedly sought to call them back. Similarly, Jubilee-related themes play a central role in the teaching and ministry of Jesus in the Gospels.⁶

⁴ See *Economic Justice for All*, nos. 30-55.

⁵ See Deuteronomy 15, Leviticus 25.

⁶ For discussion of Jubilee themes in the ministry of Jesus, see John Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); Gloria and Ross Kinsler, *The Biblical Jubilee and the Struggle for Life* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999).

In addition to drawing upon these biblical materials the bishops build their understanding of human rights also on the foundations of earlier CST documents. The fullest treatment of human rights in papal writings is contained in Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. In this document, issued shortly after the Cuban missile crisis in 1963, the pope explores the conditions needed for peace within and between nations. Authentic and lasting peace, Pope John argues, can only be achieved through respect for human rights holistically understood. The pope's position challenged the dominant perspectives of both East and West. During the Cold War conflict the western countries stressed the primacy of civil and political rights, such as those contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. Economic and social rights, however, were generally not guaranteed. For example, in the United States at this time poverty was widespread and severe, despite unprecedented overall societal affluence.⁷ Conversely, while the Soviet-bloc countries stressed the importance of basic economic-social rights (at least in theory), they routinely violated fundamental civil and political rights. Pope John XXIII stressed that both types of rights must be affirmed. A person's fundamental human dignity is violated both by the denial of free speech or of similar rights as well as by conditions which prevent access to adequate food, shelter, and other goods necessary for human well-being and flourishing.

Among the civil-political rights that Pope John XXIII affirmed are freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of religion, freedom to marry, and

⁷ For discussion of poverty in the United States in the 1960s see Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). For more recent discussions of the continuing problem, see David Shipler, *The Working Poor: Invisible in America* (New York: Knopf, 2004) and Loretta Schwartz-Nobel, *Growing Up Empty: The Hunger Epidemic in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002).

freedom to take part in political life. Economic-social rights that the pope affirmed include the right to food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education, social services, employment, a just wage, safe working conditions, and the right to possess private property. Along with these rights come corresponding duties, such as the duty to work if physically and mentally capable of doing so, which according to CST implies at the same time an obligation of society and the state to make sure that employment is available for all who are capable of work. Emphasized also is the duty to employ private property in service of the common good, a principle which places certain limits on the right to private property.⁸

Critiques of Economic Rights:

Numerous criticisms have been expressed concerning the idea of economic rights.

⁸ See Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, nos. 11, 13, 18-22.

Foremost among the objections are claims that economic rights are indeterminate in content and indeterminate with regard to agent. For example, how much education or health care does one have a right to? Would this not vary considerably depending upon the economic conditions of one's society? And who is responsible for guaranteeing these rights? The fear of critics of economic rights is that the affirmation of these rights will lead to excessive power being given to the state. "[T]he extensive effort to commit the church to 'economic rights,'" prominent Catholic neoconservative Michael Novak asserts, "has the potential to become an error of classic magnitude. It might well position the Catholic Church in a 'preferential option for the state' that will more than rival that of the Constantinian period."⁹ Novak contends that access to goods such as food, health care, or shelter cannot properly be viewed as 'rights' in a legal or juridical sense, such that the state would be required to guarantee their provision. Rather, they should be seen as goals to which societies should aspire, primarily through commitment to capitalist processes of wealth creation and through the encouragement of individual self-reliance and communal charity.¹⁰ Novak does acknowledge that as a last resort (*"in extremis"*) the state should make provisions to assist those who "through no fault of their own" find themselves in dire circumstances, such as persons disabled by illness, accident, or natural disaster, but he doesn't

⁹ Michael Novak, *Three in One: Essays in Democratic Capitalism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 159.

¹⁰ See Novak's essay "Economic Rights: The Servile State," in *Three in One*, 156-68.

believe that a conception of economic rights is needed in order to justify this provision of aid.¹¹

An affirmation of economic rights, Novak fears, would foster dependency by undermining self-reliance and would thus undermine human dignity rather than respect it.

¹¹ Ibid., 160-161, 165-166

Novak and others argue that only civil and political rights should be seen as rights in a strict sense of the term. For Novak, the fundamental good is liberty. Civil and political rights, he argues, preserve liberty by forbidding certain actions or interferences with individual freedoms, e.g. forbidding infringement upon freedom of speech. They serve to limit and restrict the power of the state. When one affirms economic rights, however, such as the idea that the state has the obligation to guarantee employment (or a basic level of income) for all of its citizens, the implications are very different. In this case, says Novak, “the role of the state is vastly expanded, some might say to an almost infinite degree.”¹² Affirmation of economic rights, Novak fears, would ultimately result in the undermining of civil and political rights, e.g. through excessive taxation and excessive intervention of the state in people’s lives.¹³

While acknowledging that the U.S. Catholic bishops affirm a strong role for the state in guaranteeing economic rights, Novak argues that the teachings of the popes do not. “Papal teaching,” Novak and co-author William Simon assert, “does not speak of ‘constitutional rights’ or ‘legal rights.’ It has in mind ‘rights’ binding on other human beings morally.”¹⁴ Thus, Novak and Simon claim that while the popes assert that we each have moral obligations to respond to persons in need, they do not assume that the state has the duty to guarantee the provision of these

¹² Michael Novak, “Human Dignity, Human Rights,” *First Things* 97 (November 1999): 42.

¹³ Novak, “Economic Rights,” 166.

¹⁴ William Simon and Michael Novak, “Liberty and Justice for All,” in *Private Virtue and Public Policy*, ed. James Finn (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1990), 12.

goods.

Pope John Paul II and Economic Rights:

A close look at the CST documents reveals that the broad assertions of Novak and Simon concerning papal teaching are mistaken. Novak and Simon say that papal teaching does not call for legal recognition of economic rights. Pope John Paul II, however, clearly asserts legal significance for economic rights and assigns to the state important roles in guaranteeing these rights. In his 1998 World Day of Peace message, John Paul explicitly and sharply criticizes “those who weaken the concept of human dignity by denying juridical weight to social, economic, and cultural rights.”¹⁵ While careful to stress that the responsibility for upholding economic rights falls upon society as a whole and not only upon the state, John Paul nonetheless does see the state as having an important role to play in this regard. For example, in his most recent social encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, the pope assigns to the state such tasks as establishing systems of social security, regulating working hours and wages, ensuring worker safety, protecting the environment, preventing monopolies, working to ensure full employment or providing an alternative income to unemployed persons, providing assistance to poor families, and in general “overseeing and directing the exercise of human rights in the economic sphere.”¹⁶ The pope especially stresses the responsibilities of the state to protect the rights of the poor and marginalized: “The more that individuals are defenseless within a given society, the more they

¹⁵ John Paul II, “From the Justice of Each Comes Peace for All,” Message for World Day of Peace (1998), no. 2.

¹⁶ For the pope’s discussion of the proper roles of the state in economic life, see *Centesimus*

require the concern and care of others, and in particular the intervention of governmental authority.”¹⁷ While John Paul II in *Centesimus Annus* criticizes an excessive bureaucratization of certain aspects of the welfare state, he nonetheless clearly affirms a fundamental role for the state in economic life as being essential to the realization of the common good.

Responding to criticisms of economic rights:

We saw above that two of the most basic criticisms of economic rights are that they are indeterminate in content and that, in contrast to civil-political rights, economic rights give excessive power to the state. In response to the first assertion, proponents of economic rights would assert that it is possible to establish some basic economic rights that are universally applicable, such as access to those goods and services needed to fulfill basic subsistence needs (e.g. adequate food and shelter), respect for the rights of workers to freely organize unions, etc., while at the same time acknowledging that specific standards above these minimums would vary depending upon the economic capacities of each society. The fact that economic rights would not be exactly the same in all contexts does not mean that certain core components of these rights cannot be established.¹⁸

Annus, nos. 15, 48. The quotations cited are from no. 48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 10.

¹⁸ For a landmark work in the conceptualization of economic rights see Henry Shue, *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1996).

In response to concerns that economic rights unduly empower the state, proponents of economic rights would put forth several counter-arguments. One part of their response would be to argue that the distinction between civil-political and economic-social rights with regard to the role of the state is not as clear as persons like Novak would contend. Even the affirmation of civil-political rights includes affirmation of a strong role for the state. The right to freedom from assault or theft, for example, necessitates the existence of a vast state network of police, courts, prisons, and parole systems, along with the compulsory taxation needed to finance these programs. This is a reality that is often overlooked when civil-political rights are spoken of as restricting the state and are sharply contrasted with economic rights which are seen as empowering the state. A second part of the response to this objection would be to stress that the assertion of economic rights are in fact a way of seeking to hold the state accountable to the well-being of its citizens, making sure that its revenues are used in ways that truly foster the common good through support for education, health care, support for the marginalized, and similar goods rather than being squandered on wasteful purposes such as excess military spending, subsidies to wealthy corporations, or other purposes that don't respond to the true needs of society.

Whereas Novak sees civil and political rights as being in tension with economic and social rights, the tradition of CST sees them rather as complementary, each necessary for the full realization of the other. “[P]olitical democracy and a commitment to secure economic rights,” the US bishops say, “are mutually reinforcing.”¹⁹ This complementary nature of economic rights and political democracy will be discussed in more detail below through an exploration of the concept

¹⁹ *Economic Justice for All*, no. 83.

of economic democracy.

Catholic Social Teaching and Economic Democracy:

Accompanying an affirmation of economic rights in CST is an affirmation of the importance of 'economic democracy.' Economic democracy refers to a more equitable (though not equal) distribution of wealth, along with significantly increased worker and community participation in economic decision-making. In its most concentrated form economic democracy can be seen in worker-owned cooperatives, credit unions, and similar enterprises. Pope John Paul II strongly praises "producers', consumers', and credit cooperatives" in his encyclical *Centesimus Annus*. He also affirms the necessity of "various forms of participation in the life of the workplace," building upon similar themes in his earlier encyclical on work, *Laborem Exercens*.²⁰ In a 1998 speech to the Central Institute of Cooperative Credit Banks of Italy, John Paul again strongly emphasized the need to "promote real economic democracy" through support for cooperatives and other small and medium-sized businesses. Through the fostering of these economic enterprises which disperse economic power and which place solidarity over profit maximization, combined with appropriate governmental regulation of the market, John Paul hopes that it will become possible to defend the dignity of the human person from the threat of what he terms the "inflexible laws of capital" and from "a market that is always in danger of

²⁰ *Centesimus Annus*, no. 16.

forgetting that the goods of creation are meant for all.”²¹

²¹ John Paul II, “Promote Real Economic Democracy,” Address to the Central Institute of Cooperative Credit Banks of Italy (June 26, 1998). Available on the website of the Catholic Information Network at <http://www.cin.org/jp2/jp980626.html>.

The economic vision put forth by Pope John Paul II envisions a form of market economy (as opposed to Soviet-style central planning), but a market economy in which ownership and participation in economic decision-making are widely dispersed rather than concentrated in the hands of a few. “It is the task of nations, their leaders, their economic powers and all people of goodwill,” John Paul declares, “to seek every opportunity for a more equitable sharing of resources.”²² The pope cites approvingly the biblical practice of the Year of Jubilee, in which slaves were to be freed, debts forgiven, and land redistributed, claiming that these practices rightly seek to restore the “conditions of equality” willed by God for humanity.²³ Several major contemporary implications of the concept of Jubilee suggested by the pope include the need for extensive land redistribution and for substantive forgiveness of Third World debt. These implications will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

Neoconservatives such as Novak in contrast are sharply critical of a strong emphasis on equality, fearing that it would undermine liberty. “Except in terms of equal standing under the rule of law,” Novak argues, “equality is not a morally acceptable social ideal.”²⁴ What CST would stress in reply to Novak is that excessive levels of inequality in fact undermine the very values of liberty and democracy that Novak seeks to uphold. As in the recognition of the integral connection between civil-political rights and economic rights, CST similarly affirms the integral connection of economic democracy and political democracy. If economic democracy is lacking and wealth is allowed to concentrate in the hands of a few, the grave danger exists that political

²² John Paul II, “Food Security Results From Ethic of Solidarity,” Address to World Food Summit (November 13, 1996), no. 2.

²³ “From the Justice of Each Comes Peace for All,” no. 8.

²⁴ Novak, *Three in One*, 245.

democracy will also be undermined as concentrated economic power gets translated in various ways into concentrated political power (e.g. through lobbying, bribery, campaign contributions, corporate control of the media, etc.) Warnings against the dangers of concentrated economic power have deep roots in CST. Pope Pius XI, in his 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, states:

[I]t is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few.... This accumulation of power, a characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of unrestrained free competition which permits the survival of only those who are the strongest. This often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience.... Free competition, and especially economic domination, must be kept within definite and proper bounds, and must be brought under effective control of the public authority....²⁵

Pope Paul VI in his 1971 encyclical *Octogesima Adveniens* expresses particular concern about the concentrated power of multinational corporations:

We can see new economic powers emerging, the multinational enterprises...which are largely independent of the national political powers and therefore not subject to control from the point of view of the common good. By extending their activities, these private organizations can lead to a new and abusive form of economic domination on the social, cultural, and even political level.²⁶

Similarly, the Catholic bishops of the world, gathered at the 1971 international Synod of Bishops, expressed great concern about the negative impacts of concentrated economic power. They stressed the ways in which such concentrated power can lead to the violation of basic human rights and called for concerted action to overcome it:

Unless combatted and overcome by social and political action, the influence of the new industrial and technological order favors the concentration of wealth, power, and decision-making in the hands of a small public or private controlling group. Economic injustice and lack of social participation keep a man from attaining his basic human and

²⁵ Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, nos. 105, 107, 110.

²⁶ Pope Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens*, no. 44.

civil rights.²⁷

²⁷ Synod of Bishops, *Justice in the World*, no. 9.

Pope John Paul II has taken up and reaffirmed these critiques of concentrated economic power. The pope condemns, for example, “the excessive cornering of goods by some” which he argues “deprives the majority of those goods and thus is accumulated a wealth that produces poverty.”²⁸ Likewise, he stresses the need to challenge those sinful structures of the global economy that perpetuate poverty and inequality:

[O]ne must denounce the existence of economic, financial, and social mechanisms which, although they are manipulated by people, often function almost automatically, thus accelerating the situation of wealth for some and poverty for the rest. These mechanisms, which are maneuvered directly or indirectly by the more developed countries, by their very functioning favor the interests of the people manipulating them.²⁹

Economic Rights and Neoliberal Globalization:

What implications does this emphasis of Catholic Social Teaching on economic rights and economic democracy have in our contemporary context of economic globalization? Current forms of globalization, generally termed ‘neoliberal’ or ‘corporate’ globalization, center upon practices of ‘free trade’ and of IMF/World Bank-designed ‘structural adjustment policies,’ policies that many Third World nations have been required to implement as a result of their accumulation of external debt. Catholic Social Teaching has expressed serious concerns about both ‘free trade’ and ‘structural adjustment,’ arguing that these policies are often contributing to a widening of the gap between rich and poor, an undermining of the rights of workers, increased social conflict, and increased ecological damage.

With regard to ‘free trade,’ CST has long expressed concern that free trade can contribute

²⁸ John Paul II, “Is Liberal Capitalism the Only Path?”, *Origins* 20 (May 24, 1990): 19.

²⁹ John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, no. 16.

to the creation of an 'economic dictatorship' by undermining the interests of workers, small farmers and small businesses, and the local industries of poor nations. "[T]he rule of free trade, taken by itself," said Pope Paul VI,

is no longer able to govern international relations....[P]rices which are 'freely' set in the market can produce unfair results....[A]n economy of exchange can no longer be based solely on the law of free competition, a law which, in its turn, too often creates an economic dictatorship. Freedom of trade is fair only if it is subject to the demands of social justice.³⁰

Similarly, CST has been critical of the impact of structural adjustment policies. These policies typically stress intensification of production for export (in part to maximize the foreign exchange available for debt repayment) rather than production to meet local needs. This has often seriously hurt small farmers and has contributed in many cases to rising levels of hunger and malnutrition. Reductions in government spending have also been required. This reduced spending has contributed to increased unemployment and has often resulted in decreased funding for education and health care. Many Third World governments spend much more on debt payment than on basic services for their own population. Governmental subsidies and price controls have also typically been eliminated in the name of 'free markets,' often resulting in major increases in the cost of basic items such as food, public transportation, and the inputs needed by small farmers. Governmental credit to small farmers and small businesses has been restricted or eliminated. Privatization of basic services has often increased costs and reduced accessibility.³¹

³⁰ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, nos. 58-59. For good discussions of 'free trade' and its impacts, see John Madeley, *Hungry for Trade: How the Poor Pay for Free Trade* (London: Zed Books, 2000); Ralph Nader, et al., *The Case Against 'Free Trade': GATT, NAFTA, and the Globalization of Corporate Power* (San Francisco: Earth Island Press, 1993).

³¹ For detailed discussion of structural adjustment policies, see Structural Adjustment

Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN), *Structural Adjustment: The Policy Roots of Economic Crisis, Poverty, and Inequality* (London: Zed Books, 2004). Excellent case studies exploring the negative impacts of structural adjustment policies on the health of the poor throughout the world can be found in Jim Yong Kim, Joyce Millen, Alec Irwin, and John Gershman, eds., *Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000).

While there is widespread acknowledgment that many Third World countries do indeed need to reform their economic policies, critics argue that the specific reforms required by the IMF and World Bank have been designed more to foster the interests of First World corporations and Third World elites rather than the interests of local populations. Pope John Paul II is among these critics. Speaking of the impact of structural adjustment and related neoliberal economic policies, the pope has stated:

[V]arious places are witnessing a resurgence of a certain capitalist neoliberalism that subordinates the human person to blind market forces...From its centers of power, such neoliberalism often places unbearable burdens on less favored countries...In the international community, we thus see a small number of countries growing exceedingly rich at the cost of the increasing impoverishment of a great number of other countries; as a result the wealthy grow ever wealthier, while the poor grow ever poorer.³²

While expressing hope that economic globalization conducted according to ethical standards could have positive impacts, the pope expresses deep concern about globalization that is guided primarily by market forces:

[I]f globalization is ruled merely by the laws of the market applied to suit the powerful, the consequences cannot but be negative. These are, for example, the absolutizing of the economy, unemployment, the reduction and deterioration of

³² This homily of John Paul II (delivered in Cuba in 1998) is included in *We Make the Road by Walking: Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean in the New Millennium*, ed. Ann Butwell, Kathy Ogle, and Scott Wright (Washington, DC: EPICA, 1998), 176-80. The cited passage can be found on page 177. The pope also critiques neoliberalism in his 1999 document *Ecclesia in America*: "More and more, in many countries of America, a system known as 'neoliberalism' prevails; based on a purely economic conception of man, this system considers profit and the law of the market as its only parameters, to the detriment of the dignity of and the respect due to individuals and peoples. At times this system has become the ideological justification for certain attitudes and behavior in the social and political spheres leading to the neglect of the weaker members of society. Indeed, the poor are becoming ever more numerous, victims of specific policies and structures which are often unjust." Pope John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America*, no. 56.

public services, the destruction of the environment and natural resources, the growing distance between rich and poor, unfair competition which puts the poor nations in a situation of ever increasing inferiority.³³

³³ *Ecclesia in America*, no. 20.

What kinds of policy changes does CST call for with respect to economic globalization?

One of the primary reforms called for is substantive debt relief for Third World nations. "It is not right," Pope John Paul II says, "to demand or expect repayment when the effect would be the imposition of political choices leading to hunger and despair for entire peoples. It cannot be expected that the debts which have been contracted should be paid at the price of unbearable sacrifice."³⁴

³⁴ *Centesimus Annus*, no. 35.

Other specific policy suggestions made by CST include the need for trade rules that protect the rights of workers and the environment, mechanisms to ensure fair prices for Third World commodities, land reform, more progressive systems of taxation, measures to protect and support small and medium-sized farms and businesses, decreased military spending, increased spending on basic education and health care, and increased levels of thoughtfully designed aid meant to empower grassroots efforts for change.³⁵ Rather than a 'trickle-down' model of economic development based on prioritizing the interests of local elites and foreign corporations, CST emphasizes what has been termed a 'bubble-up' model, one which places priority upon effectively utilizing local resources and capacities and which views a more equitable internal distribution of wealth as being a primary catalyst for more just, ecologically sustainable forms of economic development.³⁶ Development that includes attention to justice, ecological sustainability, and other values beyond economic growth is referred to in CST as 'integral development'.³⁷ These policy changes favoring greater equity and a placing a priority upon the interests of the poor would of course would meet significant resistance from entrenched economic interests. Implementation of CST therefore also implies the need for broad-based, grassroots nonviolent struggle to create the conditions under which such policies could be enacted.³⁸

³⁵ See, for example, *Populorum Progressio*, nos. 43-65; *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, nos. 43-45.

³⁶ For reference to a 'bubble-up' approach to economic development, see Frances Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins, and Peter Rosset, *World Hunger: Twelve Myths*, 2nd ed. (New York: Grove Press, 1998), 119.

³⁷ Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 14.

³⁸ For detailed discussion of suggested policy alternatives and implementation strategies, see John Cavanagh, et al., *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World is Possible*, 2nd ed. (San

Conclusion:

One of the most important debates currently underway worldwide concerns the shaping of our global economic order. What framework or set of basic legal guidelines is necessary for increased economic globalization to have a constructive rather than detrimental impact, particularly on the world's vast numbers of impoverished people? Catholic Social Teaching has much to contribute to this debate. These contributions of CST are both on the level of social theory (e.g. its communitarian conception of human rights, its affirmation of economic democracy, its understanding of 'integral development'), as well as concrete policy recommendations that flow from this conceptual framework. Central among these policy suggestions are substantive debt relief for Third World nations, a rethinking of structural adjustment policies, and the need for a significantly reformed set of rules to govern global trade, rules which would guarantee basic protections for workers, the environment, and local cultures. To make such an alternative vision a reality will require that those influenced by CST join with others throughout the world in grassroots movements seeking substantive social change.

Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2004); Martin Khor, *Rethinking Globalization: Critical Issues and Policy Choices* (London: Zed Books, 2001); Arthur MacEwan, *Neo-Liberalism or Democracy? Economic Strategy, Markets, and Alternatives for the 21st Century* (London: Zed Books, 1999); Paul Ekins, *A New World Order: Grassroots Movements for Global Change* (New York: Routledge, 1992); John Madeley, *A People's World: Alternatives to Economic Globalization* (London: Zed Books, 2003).

