

'n Kritiese beskouing van die Accra-verklaring

A critical analysis of the Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth (Accra declaration)

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SUMMARY

A critical analysis of the Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth (Accra declaration)

This paper considers certain economic implications of the Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) [See appendix]. The WARC, an alliance of 218 reformed churches from 107 countries, adopted the declaration during its conference in Accra in September 2004. The WARC regards the declaration as a call on the rich, developed world to share the fruits of economic progress more equally with poor people in poor countries. Decisions and declarations of the WARC are not binding on its member churches, but

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members are encouraged to support such initiatives. As the WARC has six members in South Africa, the declaration will also become the subject of local debate in coming months.

In terms of an economic perspective, the declaration blames globalisation and a neo-liberal world order, comprising the United States and its allies, and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, for continued underdevelopment and poverty. This paper considers the views of the declaration on globalisation; the United States and international organisations; and the neo-liberal world order from an economic perspective. The analysis leaves no doubt that the benefits of globalisation are indeed not spread evenly between rich and poor countries. This difference between rich countries in the north and poor countries in the south has on occasion been described as a golden curtain of divide between the rich and the poor. The United States and international organisations have made mistakes that perpetuated poverty, rather than to alleviate it. Developed countries also produce externalities such as pollution that contributes to global warming with concomitant negative consequences for poor countries. However, the declaration is not balanced in as much as it does not reject dictatorships and unrepresentative governments in poor countries in the same terms as the neo-liberal world order. Unrepresentative governments are often instrumental in perpetuating poverty and underdevelopment by not permitting economic freedom, fostering property rights or supporting the rule of law.

As an alternative to current development problems and the failure of neo-liberal developmental prescriptions, the Barcelona Consensus on economic development and poverty alleviation was formulated in 2004. This consensus achieves a more balanced approach in its recommended solutions for overcoming poverty problems in developing countries than the declaration of the WARC.

The conclusion is that the responsibilities for overcoming development problems and poverty should be shared, albeit not equally, in terms of adjustments required by rich and poor countries, rather than to be regarded as a challenge facing only rich countries. Theology and ethics, rather than only economic theory, should determine the principles in terms of which economic laws are used to eradicate poverty. In this way the melting of the golden curtain will be enhanced.

KEY CONCEPTS: *Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth; democracy; globalisation; poverty; wealth; World Alliance of Reformed Churches.*

TREFWOORDE: *Accra-verklaring; armoede; demokrasie; globalisering; rykdom; Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke.*

OPSOMMING

Die artikel oorweeg sekere ekonomiese implikasies van die Accra-verklaring van die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke (World Alliance of Reformed Churches, wat algemeen as die WARC afgekort word) [Kyk addendum]. Die Wêreldbond, wie se ledetal uit 218 gereformeerde kerkgenootskappe in 107 lande bestaan, het die Verklaring tydens sy jaarlikse konferensie in Accra in September 2004 aanvaar. Die Wêreldbond beskou die Verklaring as 'n beroep op ryk, ontwikkelde lande, hoofsaaklik in die Noordelike halfrond, om die voordele van ekonomiese groei en ontwikkeling meer eweredig met arm inwoners van arm lande te deel. Uit 'n ekonomiese perspektief plaas die Verklaring die blaam vir voortgesette armoede op globalisering en 'n neoliberales wêreldorde, bestaande uit die Verenigde State en sy bondgenote, en instellings soos die Internasionale Monetêre Fonds, die Wêreldbank en die Wêreldhandelsorganisasie. Hierdie artikel oorweeg die Verklaring se menings oor globalisasie; die Verenigde State en internasionale organisasies; en die neoliberales wêreldorde. Die voordele van globalisasie is inderdaad nie eweredig tussen ryk en arm lande

verdeel nie. Voorts het die Verenigde State en internasionale organisasies foute gemaak wat tot voortgesette armoede gelei het, eerder as om tot die bekamping daarvan by te dra. Die Verklaring is egter ongebalanseer in soverre dit nie ook onderdrukkende regerings en diktatorskappe in dieselfde terme as die neoliberale wêreldorde verwerp nie. Die gevolgtrekking is dat die verantwoordelikheid vir armoedebekamping, hoewel nie eweredig nie, deur ryk en arm lande gedeel moet word, eerder as om dit uitsluitlik as 'n uitdaging voor die deur van ryk lande te lê.

1. INLEIDING

Hierdie artikel beskou sekere ekonomiese aspekte van die Accra-verklaring (*Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth*) van die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke (*World Alliance of Reformed Churches, abbreviated as WARC*).² In die literatuur is daar verskillende definisies vir die studieveld ekonomie. Volgens Parkin (2000:2) se definisie vir ekonomie is dit "... the social science that studies the choices that individuals, businesses, governments and entire societies make as they cope with scarcity". Samuelson en Nordhaus (2001:4) omskryf ekonomie as "... the study of how societies use scarce resources to produce valuable commodities and distribute them among different people". 'n Verdere definisie vir ekonomie is "... the social science that studies how individuals, firms, governments and other organizations make choices, and how those choices determine the way the resources of society are used" (Stiglitz 1997:A6). Die basiese elemente van hierdie definisies is skaarsheid, gedrag, keuses en die bevrediging van behoeftes. Mohr en Fourie (2004:5) gee 11 definisies van ekonomie wat die beginsels van skaars bronne, keuses oor die aanwending van daardie bronne, gedrag en behoeftebevrediging bevestig.

'n Ekonomiese stelsel funksioneer net in die mate waarin bevredigende antwoorde op die vrae (i) wat geproduseer word – die produksievraagstuk (byvoorbeeld wapens of kos; goedere of dienste); (ii) hoe dit geproduseer word – die allokasievraagstuk (byvoorbeeld arbeids- of kapitaalintensief); en (iii) vir wie dit geproduseer word – die distribusievraagstuk (byvoorbeeld die owerheid of individue as die verbruikers en die wyse waarop toekenning vir verbruik plaasvind) verskaf word (Mohr & Fourie 2004:20-29). Antwoorde op hierdie vrae is "... a means of providing and transmitting information so as to co-ordinate the economic activities of the great number of participants in an economy" (Mohr & Fourie 2004:31). Die bekendste praktiese toepassing hiervan is 'n markeconomie of 'n sentraal-bepaalde ekonomie.

Die implikasie van hierdie definisie is dat teologie in die wyer konteks, net soos enige ander sosiale bedrywigheid, binne die beperking van die ekonomie staan – skaars hulpbronne ter beoefening van die teologie is onderworpe aan keuses om die grootste voordeel vir die gemeenskap te verseker. Maar soos alle aspekte uit 'n ekonomiese perspektief beskou kan word, moet die ekonomie as vakwetenskap natuurlik ook basiese bestaanswaarhede erken, byvoorbeeld die bestaan van geloof, hoop, liefde en mededeelsaamheid – aspekte wat met die eerste oogopslag nie noodwendig onmiddellik as ekonomiese waarhede in terme van die definisies van die ekonomie verklaar kan word nie. In hierdie verband verklaar Fourie (1994:61) dat "(e)verything simply cannot be explained in terms of market relations". Die implikasie is duidelik: die gemeenskap is groter as bloot die ekonomiese samehang daarvan, en sluit ook nie-ekonomiese aspekte soos mededeelsaamheid in.

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Binne die konteks van die Accra-verklaring het mededeelsaamheid besondere waarde: die beroep van die Verklaring is in die eerste plek op groter mededeelsaamheid tussen ryk³ en arm lande tot voordeel van die arm inwoners in laasgenoemde lande. Terwyl 'n regering begroot vir uitgawes wat nodig is om sy openbare pligte na te kom en belastings hef om dit te bekostig, funksioneer die teologie op die vlak van mededeelsaamheid: mededeelsame bydraes op 'n vrywillige grondslag stel hulpbronne beskikbaar om 'n teologiese stempel op die gemeenskap af te druk.

Die tweede afdeling van hierdie artikel gee 'n oorsig van die Wêreldbond en 'n kort agtergrond oor die ontstaan van die Verklaring. In afdeling drie word sekere van die Verklaring se ekonomiese uitsprake oorweeg. 'n Ekonomiese alternatief vir die neoliberale wêreldorde word in die vierde afdeling bespreek. Die gevolgtrekkings volg in die vyfde afdeling. Die Verklaring is as addendum 1 bygevoeg. Toestemming is van die Wêreldbond verkry om die Verklaring in sy geheel te publiseer, wat met dank erken word.

2. DIE WÊRELDBOND VAN GEREFORMEERDE KERKE

Die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke word omskryf as:

... a fellowship of 75 million Reformed Christians in 218 churches in 107 countries. Its member churches are Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed and United churches with roots in the 16th-century Reformation led by John Calvin, John Knox and others. WARC has a small secretariat in Geneva, Switzerland (Official website of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.).

Die oogmerke van die Wêreldbond is:

... to strengthen the unity and witness of Reformed churches, to interpret and reinterpret the Reformed tradition, to work for peace, economic and social justice, human rights, and the integrity of the environment, to promote fully inclusive community, and to further dialogue with other Christian communions and other religions (World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.).

Tabel 1 toon die geografiese verspreiding van kerkgenootskappe met lidmaatskap van die Wêreldbond. Volgens die Wêreldbond is die ses lede in Suid-Afrika die "... Peoples Church of Africa, Dutch Reformed Church, Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa, Reformed Church in Africa (India), Reformed Church in Southern Africa, Reformed Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa and United Congregational Church of Southern Africa" (World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.).

Die Wêreldbond het in 1982 in Ottawa apartheid in Suid-Afrika tot 'n sonde verklaar en ook verklaar dat enige teologiese regverdiging vir apartheid 'n dwaalleer is (World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.). Op daardie tydstip was die onmiddellike impak van die besluit op Suid-Afrika en selfs op sekere kerkgenootskappe binne Suid-Afrika met lidmaatskap van die Bond ongelukkig egter ietwat beperk, want die Bond se Grondwet bepaal dat "(n)one of these provisions shall limit the autonomy of any member church" (World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.). Hierdie outonomie word deur Nyomi omskryf as "WARC decisions are made as covenantal decisions by member churches and the Executive Committee they have put in place ... many churches then go

³ In Goudzwaard (1975:1-7) is die standpunt reeds teen 1975 uit 'n teologiese perspektief gehuldig dat Westerse lande inderwaardheid die slagoffers van oorontwikkeling is en groter mededeelsaamheid met arm lande moet toon. Die Accra-verklaring is gebaseer op dieselfde beginsel van groter mededeelsaamheid deur "oorontwikkelde" ryk lande ten behoeve van arm lande.

TABEL 1: Lidmaatskapverspreiding van die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde Kerke

Vasteland	Aantal kerkgenootskappe	Aantal lande met verteenwoordiging
Afrika	58	31
Asië	57	14
Europa	40	27
Karibiese eilande	8	6
Latyns Amerika	25	13
Midde Ooste	4	2
Noord Amerika	12	2
Stille Oseaan	14	12
Totaal	218	107

Bron: World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

through a process of reception where they take the WARC decision through their own decision-making structures” (Nyomi 2006:1). Verklarings of ander besluite van enige van die Bond se strukture bind lede gevolglik nie outomaties nie, maar word deur die individuele lede van die Bond vir bekragtiging oorweeg. ’n Debat is dus in Suid-Afrika nodig oor die meriete van die Accra-verklaring, ook omdat ses plaaslike kerkgenootskappe lidmaatskap van die Bond het.

Die Wêreldbond se uitvoerende komitee het in 2000 besluit dat die Bond se 24ste algemene raadsvergadering vanaf 30 Julie tot 13 Augustus 2004 in Accra sal plaasvind “... with the theme, drawn from John 10:10, *that all may have life in fullness*” (World Alliance of Reformed Churches S.a.).

Die Wêreldbond is reeds sedert die 1980s besorg oor “... the injustices inherent in the world’s economic arrangements as well as the blatant disregard for the environment” (World Alliance of Reformed Churches: 2004) en die Verklaring is teen hierdie agtergrond geformuleer. Dit het gevolg op die 23ste vergadering in Debrecen in 1997, waar lidkerke versoek is “... to engage in a common process of recognition, education and confession of faith in relation to worldwide economic injustice and environmental destruction” (World Alliance of Reformed Churches 2004) in aanloop tot die 24ste vergadering in Accra. Die volgende afdeling lig die Verklaring uit ’n ekonomiese perspektief toe.

3. EKONOMIESE PERSPEKTIEF OP DIE VERKLARING VAN ACCRA

In ooreenstemming met die titel, *Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth*, oorweeg die Verklaring ’n verskeidenheid aspekte vanuit ’n ekonomiese perspektief. Die Verklaring meld onder meer in paragraaf ses dat:

(t)he signs of the times have become more alarming and must be interpreted. The root causes of massive threats to life are above all the product of an unjust economic system defended and protected by political and military might. Economic systems are a matter of life or death.

Voorts meld die Verklaring dat “(t)he policy of unlimited growth among industrialized countries and the drive for profit of transnational corporations have plundered the earth and severely damaged the environment” (paragraaf 8). Bedford-Strohm (2006:14) gebruik treffende beeldspraak in sy beskrywing van hierdie skeiding tussen ryk en arm lande:

(a)fter the lifting of the *Iron curtain* between East and West, it is the great challenge of our time, now, to lift the *Golden curtain* which separates us in the North from the people in the South, so that gold and riches are no more a reality which divides the world but which are used to serve the whole world.

Die Verklaring identifiseer en verwerp (as vertaling vir *reject*) spesifiek drie ekonomiese aspekte, wat in hierdie artikel oorweeg word. Hierdie probleme is die ekonomiese gevolge van die optrede van sekere lande (die Verenigde State van Amerika (VSA) en sy bondgenote word spesifiek uitgesonder) en internasionale finansiële en handelsorganisasies; globalisering; en die neoliberale wêreldorde.

In die oorweging van hierdie drie aspekte is die vraag of 'n gereformeerde Christelike geloofsoortuiging as 'n riglyn kan geld in ontwikkelde en ontwikkelende lande wat nie 'n Christelike (en dan spesifiek 'n gereformeerde) geloofsgrondslag het nie, natuurlik ook belangrik, want sekere arm lande volg nie die Christelike geloof nie. Die beredenering van hierdie vraag val buite die konteks van hierdie artikel, maar in die gees van Christelike medebestaan kan die oogmerk van die Verklaring sekerlik nie net die verbetering van die lewens van gereformeerde Christene wees nie? Selfs die regering van 'n Christelike staat regeer oor Christene en nie-Christene en so 'n owerheid moet die belange van alle inwoners van die betrokke land in 'n publieke orde van geregtigheid saamsnoer.

Die VSA en internasionale organisasies

Die Verklaring neem baie sterk standpunt in teenoor die VSA en sy bondgenote, asook die Internasionale Monetêre Fonds (die IMF), die Wêreldbank en die Wêreldhandelsorganisasie (WTO – *World Trade Organisation*). Dit val grootliks buite die oogmerke van hierdie kommentaar om die rol of posisie van die VSA in die internasionale ekonomie of politiek volledig te bespreek, maar die regering van daardie land gebruik wel militêre ingryping buite sy grense tot eie ekonomiese voordeel (kyk byvoorbeeld Grossman S.a.). Friedman (1999) beskryf die samewerking tussen verskillende belange in die VSA ter bereiking van ekonomiese oogmerke as een waar:

(t)he hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist – McDonalds cannot flourish without McDonnell-Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps.

Die VSA ondersteun soms korrupte regerings in armer lande tot sy eie voordeel. Keeler (2002) sê “(w)e need to remember that the United States has helped to develop state-sponsored terrorism in Latin America by training its armies”, terwyl Hayajneh (2004) verwys na die VSA se “... classical policy of supporting the governing regimes that has been serving US interests” en die feit dat “... (t)he US foreign policy has been over the past decades supportive of dictators ...”.

Die VSA en sy bondgenote kan hierdie mag slegs uitoefen en behou tot nadeel van die inwoners van arm lande onder omstandighede waar regerings nie verantwoording aan hul kiesers doen nie, of met militêre mag omvergewerp word. Grootskaalse uitbuiting van enige bevolking met die steun van die plaaslike regering kan net op die lange duur plaasvind as die plaaslike regering nie onderhewig is aan sensuur deur die plaaslike bevolking nie, wat verband hou met die opmerkings oor die neoliberale wêreldorde hieronder.

'n Volledige verduideliking van die rol en oormerke van die IMF en die Wêreldbank val buite die grense van hierdie kommentaar. Dit is voldoende om te meld dat lande se lidmaatskap van die

IMF en die Wêreldbank vrywillig is, terwyl grootskaalse herskikking van hierdie twee organisasies nie oornag armoede in die wêreld sal laat verdwyn nie. Dit is egter tog belangrik om ag te slaan op 'n onlangse opmerking deur die President van die Suid-Afrikaanse Reserwebank (Mboweni 2006:6):

(t)here is little doubt that international organisations such as the IMF should become more accountable to their membership regarding their operations. It is my strong view that the financing of any organisation has an important bearing on its accountability and transparency.

As hierdie oogmerk bereik word, sal dit 'n bydrae lewer tot beter begrip vir die rol van internasionale organisasies soos die IMF en die Wêreldbank onder arm lande, en hul vermoëns om verandering te bewerkstellig. Dit sal ook die verwagtinge van arm lande temper oor die bydrae wat hierdie organisasies in die bekamping van armoede kan lewer. Die voorskrifte van die IMF en die Wêreldbank aan arm lande, wat tans in die dampkring van die Washington Konsensus staan, kan egter in die lig van die Barcelona Konsensus getemper word – soos hieronder verduidelik word. Die posisie van die WTO verskil wel van dié van die IMF, die Wêreldbank en die VSA. Volgens die WTO se webbladsy is dit:

... the only global international organisation dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters and importers conduct their business (World Trade Organisation S.a.).

Wolf (2006:12) is van mening dat “(t)he WTO is no mere talking shop. It is far more potent than that ... (and offers) ... an outstanding example of successful global co-operation”. Die WTO se oogmerk is primêr die bevordering van vryer wêreldhandel, wat ook aspekte dek soos “... insurance of market access, promotion of fair competition, and encouragement of economic development and economic reform” (Mohr & Fourie 2004:433). Die WTO “... replaced the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) on 1 January 1995” (Mohr & Fourie 2004:434) en lande kan benadeel word deur internasionale handelsooreenkomste wat deur die organisasie gesanksioneer word. As ryk lande hul markte vir arbeid en produksie van arm lande oopstel, kan hierdie nadele verminder of selfs verwyder word. Onwilligheid om dit te doen, het tot die mislukking van die Doha-onderhandelinge gelei, soos hieronder verduidelik word.

Lande kan egter ook deur hul lidmaatskap van die WTO bevoordeel word. Seymore (2004:75) kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat “... South Africa should realise the importance of ... (membership of) ... the WTO and treasure it, for it can be a strong contributor to increased welfare in the country”. Hierdie voordele van lidmaatskap word bevestig deur die gevolgtrekking van Zheng (2003:49) wat sê dat “... the growth of exports is certain to have provided a great stimulus to the growth of GDP (gross domestic product) in China ...”.

Die vernaamste kritiek van arm lande op die WTO en ryk lande is dat die organisasie 'n forum skep wat arm lande forseer om hul markte vir uitvoer deur ryk lande oop te stel, maar nie op dieselfde wyse druk plaas op ryk lande om uitvoerprodukte van arm lande te aanvaar nie. Die WTO het ongelukkig nie net suksesse vir alle lande gebring nie en die vraag is of groter druk nie op ryk lande geplaas moet word om hul markte in belang van uitvoer deur arm lande te liberaliseer nie.

Soos in die geval van die IMF en die Wêreldbank, sal grootskaalse herskikking of selfs die sluiting van die WTO egter nie armoede in die wêreld oornag laat verdwyn nie.

Globalisering

Groeiende globalisering kan voordele vir baie lande van die wêreld bring. Mohr en Fourie (2004:418) meld dat "... globalisation can expand opportunities for people and reduce poverty". Die teendeel is egter ook waar, soos opgesom deur Bedford-Strohm (2006:1):

(w)hile defenders of the global liberalization of markets see it – sometimes with almost religious overtones – as the key concept for creating worldwide prosperity for everyone, the fundamental critics of globalization see it as the very cause of growing poverty and an increasing disparity between the rich and the poor. For them, globalization merely strengthens the power of the economically strong nations and implies a growing political influence of transnational corporations which control policies and economic behavior.

In 'n poging om die voordele wat uit globalisering voortspruit meer eweredig te verdeel, het die WTO die Doha-onderhandelinge van stapel gestuur, wat onlangs misluk het. Die mislukking kan onder meer toegeskryf word aan "... inadequate offers ... (by rich countries) ... to make significant cuts in domestic support in agriculture" (World Trade Organization S.a.). 'n Gebrek aan ooreenstemming tussen Australië, Brasilië, die Europese Unie, Indië, Japan en die VSA oor vrye internasionale handel in landbouprodukte en 'n onwilligheid om regeringshulp aan plaaslike boere in ryk lande te beperk, het tot die mislukking bygedra (Lamy 2006).

Arm lande is ook skuldig aan handelsbeperkings. Harford (2006:179) wys byvoorbeeld uit dat arm lande dikwels toerisme wegwys, of baie hoë invoertariewe gebruik om inkomste vir die regering te voorsien (Harford 2006:202). Hoewel meer by wyse van opoffering van die ryk lande verwag kan word, sal arm lande ook sekere van hul praktyke moet hersien om die oogmerke van die WTO te bereik.

Globalisering lei dus tot vrye internasionale kapitaalinvesterings, maar beperkende praktyke, spesifiek in ryker lande wat daarop gemik is om die belange van hul werkers te beskerm, beperk toegang vir arbeid en produkte uit armer lande. Dit lei tot 'n ongelyke verdeling van die voordele van globalisering tussen ryker en armer lande en die oproep van die Verklaring om hierdie ongelykheid te verwyder, moet dus ernstig deur ryker lande oorweeg word in die soeke na 'n oplossing vir armoede.

'n Verdere probleem van globalisering is eksternaliteite⁴, wat beskryf kan word as 'n "... phenomenon that arises when an individual or firm takes an action but does not bear all the costs ..." (Stiglitz 1997:A7; kyk ook Mohr & Fourie 2004:228). Ten opsigte van die wyer gebruik van die term, meld Stiglitz (1997:508) ook die bestaan van wêreldwye eksternaliteite (kyk ook Samuelson & Nordhaus 2001:372). Ryk lande dra deur lugbesoedeling by tot aardverwarming, wat alle lande en mense, maar spesifiek boere in arm lande, benadeel (kyk byvoorbeeld Goudzwaard 1975:88). Ryk lande kan hul impak op die omgewing verminder deur belastings te gebruik om vervaardigers te dwing om hul eksterne kostes te bekamp, wat produsente in arm lande tot voordeel sal strek.

Neoliberale wêreldorde

Volgens die Verklaring het 'n neoliberale wêreldorde ontstaan wat slegs een ideologiese benadering tot die oplossing van ekonomiese vraagstukke aanvaar en geen ruimte vir alternatiewe denk- of beleidsrigtings laat nie. Hoewel die Verklaring stelsels van totale ekonomiese beplanning verwerp,

⁵ Eksternaliteite kan beskryf word as 'n ekonomiese gevolg (positief of negatief) wat nie in 'n markprys verreken word nie, byvoorbeeld besoedeling.

word die oorsaak van die huidige skewe welvaartverdeling aan hierdie neoliberale wêreldorde toegeskryf. Die Verklaring verwerp by name enige "... economic, political and military empire which subverts God's sovereignty over life and acts contrary to God's just rule", en omskryf "empire" in paragraaf 11 as "... the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led by powerful nations to protect and defend their own interests".

Dit is opvallend dat diktature of ander politieke onderdrukking of misbruik van politieke mag nie by naam verwerp nie. In die belang van 'n gebalanseerde perspektief moet alle ekonomiese redes vir die voortsetting van armoede en ongelykheid met dieselfde energie as neoliberalisme (en per implikasie saam daarmee materialisme) verwerp word. Volgens Hogendorn (1987:486-487) is diktatorskappe en ander vorms van onvertegenwoordigende regering 'n ernstige belemmering op ekonomiese ontwikkeling en die verligting van armoede want enige vorm van ekonomiese en politieke oorheersing lei tot groter armoede en ongelykheid tussen lande en hul inwoners. Sen (1999:13), wenner van die Nobelprys vir Ekonomie in 1998, wys daarop dat:

... the protective role of democracy may be particularly important for the poor. This obviously applies to potential famine victims who face starvation. It also applies to the destitute thrown off the economic ladder in a financial crisis. People in economic need also need a political voice. Democracy is not a luxury that can await the arrival of general prosperity.

Elahi en Danopolous (2004:10) sê dat ekonomiese ontwikkeling in niekommunistiese lande deur privaat individue gedra word, juis omdat hulle die land se ekonomiese bronne besit met die gevolg dat "... if the system of capitalism works well, a country that pursues a democratic system of governance cannot continue to remain poor for long" (Elahi & Danopolous 2004:9). Voorts is demokrasie "... the only system of governance of the non-communist state that can guarantee peaceful and long term functioning of the capitalist economy" (Elahi & Danopolous 2004:10). Die markgerigte (of kapitalistiese) stelsel is dus verweef met demokrasie, en die sukses van hierdie kombinasie lê in verantwoordelike regering en die aanmoediging van individue tot groter prestasie. Voorts waarborg demokrasie ook privaat eiendomsreg en 'n regstaat ("a constitutional state under the rule of law") – twee aspekte wat dikwels in onderdrukkende politieke stelsels afwesig is.

Harford bespreek volgehoue armoede in besonderhede, met Kameroen as voorbeeld, waar die gemiddelde inwoner "... eight times poorer than the average citizen of the world, and almost fifty times poorer than the typical American" (Harford 2006:179) is, en maak die samevattende gevolgtrekking dat "... kleptocracy at the top stunts the growth of poor countries" (Harford 2006:200). Hierdie opmerking hou verband met die finansiële posisie van sekere leiers. Met die Accra-verklaring vorder ons nie met 'n antwoord op die vraag oor hoe dit moontlik is dat sekere van die armste lande in die wêreld terselfdertyd ook die rykste regeerders het nie. Die persoonlike welvaart van mnr. Fidel Castro, President van Kuba, is teen 2005 op sowat R6,5 miljard (VS\$ 90 miljoen) geraam, terwyl die gewone Kubaan slegs sowat R108 (VS\$ 15) per maand verdien het (Smith 2006:5). Die standpunte van die President van die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo, mnr. Joseph Kabila, oor die foute van mnr. Mobutu Sese Seku, 'n vorige diktator van die land wie se bewind in 1997 tot 'n val gebring is, is ook in hierdie konteks insiggewend. Mnr. Kabila som die probleme van 'n diktatuur op as:

(f)irst of all, don't silence democracy ... Two, never ever take, never ever believe, never ever try to believe that the nation belongs to you. You belong to the nation. And everything else belongs to the people. And three, always know when you have to quit (*Financial Times* 2006:W3).

Alle onverantwoordelike stelsels van regering wat nie poog om ekonomiese voordeel meer eweredig tussen alle groepe en inwoners in die betrokke land te verdeel nie en deur hul optrede armoede en skewe inkomeverdeling groter, eerder as kleiner maak, moet met dieselfde energie verwerp word om te vorder na 'n meer eweredige welvaartsverdeling (kyk byvoorbeeld Goudzwaard 1975:83, 84).

'n Alternatief tot die bestaande neoliberale wêreldorde wat van die benadering in die Verklaring verskil, word in die volgende afdeling bespreek.

4. 'N ALTERNATIEWE EKONOMIESE WÊRELDORDE

Ongelyke voordele en gevolge van die bestaande ekonomiese wêreldorde is tans die onderwerp van debat in fora baie wyer as net die WARC en die Accra-verklaring. Die huidige ekonomiese struktuur van die neoliberale wêreldorde is gebaseer op die Washington Konsensus, wat omskryf kan word as:

... a set of policies promulgated by many neoliberal economists as a formula for promoting economic growth in many parts of Latin America and other parts of the world. The Washington Consensus policies propose to introduce various free market oriented economic reforms which are theoretically designed to make the target economy more like that of First World countries such as the United States. The Washington Consensus is the target of sharp criticism by both individuals and groups, who claim that it is a way to funnel economic productivity from less developed Latin American countries to large multinational companies and their wealthy owners in advanced First World economies (Wikipedia).

Hierdie Konsensus bestaan uit tien beleidsvoorskrifte aan lande wat armoede wil afskud, en is in 1990 deur John Williamson geformuleer (kyk byvoorbeeld Naim 1999; Williamson 2002; of Wikipedia vir 'n volledige beskrywing). Die Konsensus propageer drie hoekstene vir ekonomiese hervorming, naamlik 'n markeconomie, makroekonomiese dissipline en oopstelling van plaaslike markte vir internasionale handel en buitelandse beleggings (Williamson 2002). Die Washington Konsensus het oor die jare onder baie kritiek deurgeloo (kyk byvoorbeeld Moberg 2000; Padayachee 2001). Laubscher (2005) is van mening dat "... events in South America in particular clearly illustrated the shortcomings of the Washington Consensus".

Weens toenemende ontevredenheid oor die resultate (of gebrek aan resultate) van die toepassing van die Washington Konsensus, het 16 ekonome op 24 en 25 September 2004 in Barcelona in Spanje vergader (Development Gateway S.a.) en die *Barcelona Consensus* geformuleer (Forum Barcelona 2004). Hierdie konsensus bereik onder meer die gevolgtrekking dat:

... both basic economic reasoning and international experience suggest that institutional quality – such as respect for the rule of law and property rights – plus a market orientation with an appropriate balance between market and state, and attention to the distribution of income, are at the root of successful development strategies (Forum Barcelona 2004).

Die implikasie van die konsensus van Barcelona is baie duidelik: 'n gebrek aan verantwoordelike regering wat deur die inwoners van 'n land op 'n demokratiese wyse tot orde geroep kan word as aspekte soos die handhawing van 'n regstaat en eiendomsreg, of die balans tussen die belange van inwoners en die regering ter syde gestel word ter wille van politieke of sektorale belange, is 'n ernstige belemmering in die soeke na 'n beter ekonomiese wêreldorde (kyk byvoorbeeld ook Parkin 2000:48; Stiglitz 1997:33). Botha (2006:14) bevestig hierdie standpunt met die opmerking dat "... politieke leiers soms ernstige besluite neem wat meer te doen het met hul eie oorlewing, sonder om

hul volgelinge respekvol daaroor in te lig ...”. Pei (1999) is van mening dat “... more corrupt countries have less economic freedom because groups or individuals benefiting from corruption would use their influence to limit economic freedom”, wat natuurlik ook eiendomsreg insluit. Harford (2006:201) beskryf hierdie gebrek aan privaat eiendomsreg en die afwesigheid van die beginsels van ’n regstaat as ’n stelsel waar “... it’s in most people’s interest to take action that directly or indirectly damages everyone else”.

Advies aan ontwikkelde lande uit die konsensus van Barcelona is onder meer dat “(d)eveloping nations that hope to prosper should ... pursue prudent financial, monetary, fiscal and debt policies” (Forum Barcelona 2004), maar terselfdertyd moet ontwikkelende lande ook toegelaat word:

... to experiment with policies suited to their specific circumstances, and international lending organisations and aid agencies should encourage such experimentation. But freedom to experiment is not the same as an ‘anything goes’ approach to development. Nor should this freedom be used to disguise policies that merely transfer income to politically powerful groups (Forum Barcelona 2004).

Die Accra-verklaring moet die voorbeeld van die konsensus van Barcelona volg en alle probleme van die neoliberale wêreldorde verwerp om ’n bydrae te maak in die soeke na ’n beter internasionale ekonomiese bestel. Die konsensus van Barcelona is ’n meer gebalanseerde oproep tot ekonomiese verandering as die Verklaring.

5. SLOTSOM

Die Accra-verklaring wys tereg op die skewe verdeling van voordele tussen ryk en arm lande weens ongelyke geleenthede in globalisering en die liberalisering van handel tussen hierdie twee groepe lande. Ryk lande kan inderdaad die lot van armer lande verlig deur marktoegang vir arbeid en produksie van arm lande te verseker. Voorts moet eksternaliteite in ryk lande ook tot die voordeel van arm lande beperk word, veral weens die nadele van klimaatsveranderings waarvoor arm lande geen beheer het nie.

Die tweede gevolgtrekking is dat grootskaalse herskikking of selfs die sluiting van internasionale organisasies soos die IMF, die Wêreldbank en die WTO nie armoede in die wêreld sal laat verdwyn nie. Pogings om hierdie organisasies meer verantwoordbaar aan hul lidlande te maak en lidlande meer verantwoordelik teenoor mekaar te laat optree, kan egter in die langtermyn bydra tot die verligting van armoede. Internasionale organisasies sal ook ’n groter voordeel vir arm lande verseker as hulle die konsensus van Barcelona in hul beleidsvoorskrifte toepas, eerder as die Washington Konsensus of die voorstelle van die Accra-verklaring.

Die internasionale optrede van die VSA is egter nie onbesproke nie. Inisiatiewe om die VSA te oortuig om minder in ander lande in te meng, veral in gevalle waar inmenging onverantwoordelike en onverteengewoondige regerings ondersteun, sal in die langtermyn bydra tot die verligting van armoede.

In die derde plek moet die Verklaring alle ekonomiese ongelykheid, eerder as selektiewe ekonomiese ongelykheid, met dieselfde energie en toewyding verwerp. Hoewel wye debat in die gereformeerde kerkstruktuur in Suid-Afrika natuurlik nodig is oor die Accra-verklaring, moet ag geslaan word op die selektiewe verwerping, eerder as algemene verwerping, van politieke en ekonomiese aspekte wat in die pad staan van ’n meer regverdige wêreldorde en die uitwissing van armoede. As die Verklaring hierdie balans kan bereik soos met die konsensus van Barcelona die geval is, sal dit ’n belangrike bydrae tot die bekamping van armoede maak.

Voorheen het die Ystergordyn tussen die Ooste en die Weste weggeroes, onder meer weens ekonomiese probleme wat onder stelsels van sentrale ekonomiese en politieke beheer ontwikkel het. Die oogmerk van verklarings soos dié van Accra moet dus wees om die Goudgordyn (*Golden curtain*) te laat smelt. Dit sal bespoedig word deur verantwoordelike regering in arm lande, persoonlike vryheid en persoonlike keuse as basiese ekonomiese regte vir individue te aanvaar. Voorts sal die gordyn ook vinniger smelt as ryk lande in die Noordelike halfmond hul impak op die omgewing verminder deur eksternaliteite van produksie en verbruik te beperk, of deur hul markte vir goedere en arbeid van arm lande te open. Marktoegang kan gebruik word as 'n instrument om vryheid in arm lande aan te moedig, eerder as om die foute van die verlede te herhaal. Teologie en etiek moet die beginsels neerlê waarvolgens ekonomiese wette gebruik word om hierdie oogmerke te bereik.

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ADDENDUM 1

Covenanting for Justice in the Economy and the Earth

Introduction

1. In response to the urgent call of the Southern African constituency which met in Kitwe in 1995 and in recognition of the increasing urgency of global economic injustice and ecological destruction, the 23rd General Council (Debrecen, Hungary, 1997) invited the member churches of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to enter into a process of "recognition, education, and confession (*processus confessionis*)". The churches reflected on the text of Isaiah 58.6 "...break the chains of oppression and the yoke of injustice, and let the oppressed go free," as they heard the cries of brothers and sisters around the world and witnessed God's gift of creation under threat.
2. Since then, nine member churches have committed themselves to a faith stance; some are in the process of covenanting; and others have studied the issues and come to a recognition of the depth of the crisis. Further, in partnership with the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and regional ecumenical organizations, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches has engaged in consultations in all regions of the world, from Seoul/Bangkok (1999) to Stony Point (2004). Additional consultations took place with churches from the South in Buenos Aires (2003) and with churches from South and North in London Colney (2004).
3. Gathered in Accra, Ghana, for the General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, we visited the slave dungeons of Elmina and Cape Coast where millions of Africans were commodified,

sold and subjected to the horrors of repression and death. The cries of “never again” are put to the lie by the ongoing realities of human trafficking and the oppression of the global economic system.

4. Today we come to take a decision of faith commitment.

Reading the Signs of the Times

5. We have heard that creation continues to groan, in bondage, waiting for its liberation (Romans 8.22). We are challenged by the cries of the people who suffer and by the woundedness of creation itself. We see a dramatic convergence between the suffering of the people and the damage done to the rest of creation.
6. The signs of the times have become more alarming and must be interpreted. The root causes of massive threats to life are above all the product of an unjust economic system defended and protected by political and military might. Economic systems are a matter of life or death.
7. We live in a scandalous world that denies God’s call to life for all. The annual income of the richest 1 per cent is equal to that of the poorest 57 per cent, and 24 000 people die each day from poverty and malnutrition. The debt of poor countries continues to increase despite paying back their original borrowing many times over. Resource-driven wars claim the lives of millions, while millions more die of preventable diseases. The HIV and AIDS global pandemic afflicts life in all parts of the world, affecting the poorest where generic drugs are not available. The majority of those in poverty are women and children and the number of people living in absolute poverty on less than one US dollar per day continues to increase.
8. The policy of unlimited growth among industrialized countries and the drive for profit of transnational corporations have plundered the earth and severely damaged the environment. In 1989, one species disappeared each day, and by 2000 it was one every hour. Climate change, the depletion of fish stocks, deforestation, soil erosion, and threats to fresh water are among the devastating consequences. Communities are disrupted, livelihoods are lost, coastal regions and Pacific islands are threatened with inundation, and storms increase. High levels of radioactivity threaten health and ecology. Life forms and cultural knowledge are being patented for financial gain.
9. This crisis is directly related to the development of neoliberal economic globalization, which is based on the following beliefs:
 - unrestrained competition, consumerism, and the unlimited economic growth and accumulation of wealth is the best for the whole world;
 - the ownership of private property has no social obligation;
 - capital speculation, liberalization and deregulation of the market, privatization of public utilities and national resources, unrestricted access for foreign investments and imports, lower taxes, and the unrestricted movement of capital will achieve wealth for all;
 - social obligations, protection of the poor and the weak, trade unions, and relationships between people, are subordinate to the processes of economic growth and capital accumulation.
10. This is an ideology that claims to be without alternative, demanding an endless flow of sacrifices from the poor and creation. It makes the false promise that it can save the world through the creation of wealth and prosperity, claiming sovereignty over life and demanding total allegiance, which amounts to idolatry.
11. We recognize the enormity and complexity of the situation. We do not seek simple answers. As seekers of truth and justice and looking through the eyes of powerless and suffering people, we see that the current world (dis)order is rooted in an extremely complex and immoral economic system defended by empire. In using the term “empire” we mean the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led by powerful nations to protect and defend their own interests.
12. In classical liberal economics, the state exists to protect private property and contracts in the competitive market. Through the struggles of the labour movement, states began to regulate markets and provide for the welfare of people. Since the 1980s, through the transnationalization of capital, neoliberalism has set out to dismantle the welfare functions of the state. Under neoliberalism the purpose of the economy is to increase profits and return for the owners of production and financial capital, while excluding the majority of the people and treating nature as a commodity.
13. As markets have become global, so have the political and legal institutions which protect them. The government of the United States of America and its allies, together with international finance and trade

institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organization) use political, economic, or military alliances to protect and advance the interest of capital owners.

14. We see the dramatic convergence of the economic crisis with the integration of economic globalization and geopolitics backed by neoliberal ideology. This is a global system that defends and protects the interests of the powerful. It affects and captivates us all. Further, in biblical terms such a system of wealth accumulation at the expense of the poor is seen as unfaithful to God and responsible for preventable human suffering and is called Mammon. Jesus has told us that we cannot serve both God and Mammon (Lk 16.13).

Confession of Faith in the Face of Economic Injustice and Ecological Destruction

15. Faith commitment may be expressed in various ways according to regional and theological traditions: as confession, as confessing together, as faith stance, as being faithful to the covenant of God. We choose confession, not meaning a classical doctrinal confession, because the World Alliance of Reformed Churches cannot make such a confession, but to show the necessity and urgency of an active response to the challenges of our time and the call of Debrecen. We invite member churches to receive and respond to our common witness.
16. Speaking from our Reformed tradition and having read the signs of the times, the General Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches affirms that global economic justice is essential to the integrity of our faith in God and our discipleship as Christians. We believe that the integrity of our faith is at stake if we remain silent or refuse to act in the face of the current system of neoliberal economic globalization and therefore **we confess** before God and one another.
17. **We believe** in God, Creator and Sustainer of all life, who calls us as partners in the creation and redemption of the world. We live under the promise that Jesus Christ came so that all might have life in fullness (Jn 10.10). Guided and upheld by the Holy Spirit we open ourselves to the reality of our world.
18. **We believe** that God is sovereign over all creation. “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof” (Psalm 24.1).
19. **Therefore, we reject** the current world economic order imposed by global neoliberal capitalism and any other economic system, including absolute planned economies, which defy God’s covenant by excluding the poor, the vulnerable and the whole of creation from the fullness of life. We reject any claim of economic, political, and military empire which subverts God’s sovereignty over life and acts contrary to God’s just rule.
20. **We believe** that God has made a covenant with all of creation (Gen 9.8-12). God has brought into being an earth community based on the vision of justice and peace. The covenant is a gift of grace that is not for sale in the market place (Is 55.1). It is an economy of grace for the household of all of creation. Jesus shows that this is an inclusive covenant in which the poor and marginalized are preferential partners, and calls us to put justice for the “least of these” (Mt 25.40) at the centre of the community of life. All creation is blessed and included in this covenant (Hos 2.18ff).
21. **Therefore we reject** the culture of rampant consumerism and the competitive greed and selfishness of the neoliberal global market system, or any other system, which claims there is no alternative.
22. **We believe** that any economy of the household of life, given to us by God’s covenant to sustain life, is accountable to God. We believe the economy exists to serve the dignity and well being of people in community, within the bounds of the sustainability of creation. We believe that human beings are called to choose God over Mammon and that confessing our faith is an act of obedience.
23. **Therefore we reject** the unregulated accumulation of wealth and limitless growth that has already cost the lives of millions and destroyed much of God’s creation.
24. **We believe** that God is a God of justice. In a world of corruption, exploitation, and greed, God is in a special way the God of the destitute, the poor, the exploited, the wronged, and the abused (Psalm 146.7-9). God calls for just relationships with all creation.
25. **Therefore we reject** any ideology or economic regime that puts profits before people, does not care for all creation, and privatizes those gifts of God meant for all. We reject any teaching which justifies those who support, or fail to resist, such an ideology in the name of the gospel.
26. **We believe** that God calls us to stand with those who are victims of injustice. We know what the Lord requires of us: to do justice, love kindness, and walk in God’s way (Micah 6.8). We are called to stand

against any form of injustice in the economy and the destruction of the environment, “so that justice may roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream” (Amos 5.24).

27. **Therefore we reject** any theology that claims that God is only with the rich and that poverty is the fault of the poor. We reject any form of injustice which destroys right relations – gender, race, class, disability, or caste. We reject any theology which affirms that human interests dominate nature.
28. **We believe** that God calls us to hear the cries of the poor and the groaning of creation and to follow the public mission of Jesus Christ who came so that all may have life and have it in fullness (Jn 10.10). Jesus brings justice to the oppressed and gives bread to the hungry; he frees the prisoner and restores sight to the blind (Lk 4.18); he supports and protects the downtrodden, the stranger, the orphans and the widows.
29. **Therefore we reject** any church practice or teaching which excludes the poor and care for creation, in its mission; giving comfort to those who come to “steal, kill and destroy” (Jn 10.10) rather than following the “Good Shepherd” who has come for life for all (Jn 10.11).
30. **We believe** that God calls men, women and children from every place together, rich and poor, to uphold the unity of the church and its mission, so that the reconciliation to which Christ calls can become visible.
31. **Therefore we reject** any attempt in the life of the church to separate justice and unity.
32. **We believe** that we are called in the Spirit to account for the hope that is within us through Jesus Christ, and believe that justice shall prevail and peace shall reign.
33. **We commit ourselves** to seek a global covenant for justice in the economy and the earth in the household of God.
34. **We humbly confess** this hope, knowing that we, too, stand under the judgement of God’s justice.
 - We acknowledge the complicity and guilt of those who consciously or unconsciously benefit from the current neoliberal economic global system; we recognize that this includes both churches and members of our own Reformed family and therefore we call for confession of sin.
 - We acknowledge that we have become captivated by the culture of consumerism, and the competitive greed and selfishness of the current economic system. This has all too often permeated our very spirituality.
 - We confess our sin in misusing creation and failing to play our role as stewards and companions of nature.
 - We confess our sin that our disunity within the Reformed family has impaired our ability to serve God’s mission in fullness.
35. **We believe**, in obedience to Jesus Christ, that the church is called to confess, witness and act, even though the authorities and human law might forbid them, and punishment and suffering be the consequence (Acts 4.18ff). Jesus is Lord.
36. **We join in praise** to God, Creator, Redeemer, Spirit, who has “brought down the mighty from their thrones, lifted up the lowly, filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away with empty hands” (Lk 1.52f).

Covenanting for Justice

37. By confessing our faith together, we covenant in obedience to God’s will as an act of faithfulness in mutual solidarity and in accountable relationships. This binds us together to work for justice in the economy and the earth both in our common global context as well as our various regional and local settings.
38. On this common journey, some churches have already expressed their commitment in a confession of faith. We urge them to continue to translate this confession into concrete actions both regionally and locally. Other churches have already begun to engage in this process, including taking actions and we urge them to engage further, through education, confession and action. To those other churches, which are still in the process of recognition, we urge them on the basis of our mutual covenanting accountability, to deepen their education and move forward towards confession.
39. The General Council calls upon member churches, on the basis of this covenanting relationship, to undertake the difficult and prophetic task of interpreting this confession to their local congregations.

40. The General Council urges member churches to implement this confession by following up the Public Issues Committee's recommendations on economic justice and ecological issues
41. The General Council commits the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to work together with other communions, the ecumenical community, the community of other faiths, civil movements and people's movements for a just economy and the integrity of creation and calls upon our member churches to do the same.
42. Now we proclaim with passion that we will commit ourselves, our time and our energy to changing, renewing, and restoring the economy and the earth, choosing life, so that we and our descendants might live (Deuteronomy 30.19).

