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Building the Human Economy Together

Keith Hart, Jean-Louis Laville and Antonio Cattani

We have just been through a prolonged social experiment in which markets and money were left to find their own way around the world without much political interference. This experiment has been called 'neoliberalism', at one time 'the Washington consensus'. The freedom of these markets was mainly for those with lots of money. The rest of us had to adjust; and society became much more unequal as a result. One victim of neoliberalism was certainly democracy in any meaningful sense. Then came the financial crisis of 2008, which provoked massive intervention by the most vulnerable governments, using taxpayers' money to save the banking system from collapse. No one knows whether capitalism, the winning side in the Cold War, will recover without fundamental change or if a major shift is taking place in its prime location, to China and other 'emerging markets' like India and Brazil. Neoliberalism has been wounded, but it is not yet defeated. In the meantime, what can we, the people, do about it? Surely the time is ripe to consider other possible ways forward?

Neoliberalism was and is at its core an Anglophone phenomenon. The Italian finance minister was only half joking when he said that his country's banks were in reasonable shape because their managers didn't speak English! (They are not, by the way.) The United States and Britain gained most from the credit boom and lost most when it went bust. The rest of the world had been told to join the neoliberal revolution or get used to life in the dustbin of history. The 'French

social model' epitomized the lingering failure of post-war social democracy when strong states built up their economies by investing heavily in public services and enterprises. The relative attractiveness of the two models looks rather different now. But we are not here just to celebrate another swing of the pendulum from state to market and back again. It is time for the people to have their say in economic matters.

We want to bring to the attention of English readers some currents of economic theory and practice that have flourished in non-Anglophone countries over the last two decades, particularly in France, Brazil, Hispanic America and Scandinavia. To these we have added significant work by English-speaking authors that was sidelined during neoliberalism's heyday and deserves to find a wider audience now. We have brought these strands of new thinking together under the umbrella concept of 'the human economy' which refers to an emphasis both on what people do for themselves and on the need to find ways forward that must involve all of humanity somehow.

In the second half of the twentieth century, we formed a world society - a single interactive social network - for the first time. It was symbolized by several moments, such as when the 1960s space race allowed us to see the earth from the outside, or when the internet went public in the 1990s. This world is massively unequal and voices for human unity are often drowned. But now at last we have means of communication adequate to expressing universal ideas. Anthropologists and sociologists have shown that Homo economicus - the idea of an economy based on narrow self-interest, typified as the practice of buying cheap and selling dear - is absent from many societies and does not even reflect what is best about ourselves. We ought to be able to do better than that by now. But ideas alone are insufficient. Emergent world society is the new human universal not an idea, but the fact of our shared occupation of the planet crying out for new principles of association. The essays assembled in this volume are intended as a contribution to that urgent project for our species.

Economics after the crash

The failure in September 2008 of the New York investment bank Lehman Brothers triggered a financial collapse whose ramifications are still with us. Predictions of the outcome of the ensuing global economic crisis vary widely. Following a sustained equities rally in 2009, some commentators argued that the recession that followed Lehman's demise is already over and the free market ready to assume its inexorable rise, while others talk of a double-dip recession, a sovereign debt crisis and a recovery that could take twenty-five years. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, it was claimed that the world had entered a new stage of economic evolution to which all countries would eventually have to conform, where money flowed without political restriction and the market penetrated everywhere. There were a few doubters, of course, who identified the shaky foundations of the boom long before it crashed. But it took courage then to go against the prevailing orthodoxy that all was best in the best of all worlds. What happened next did change a lot, if not everything.

Economic growth can now be seen to have been sustained by a regime of cheap consumer credit, especially in the United States; many banks and other financial houses, notably the insurance giant AIG, exposed themselves to unacceptable levels of risk, particularly in the new market for credit derivatives; these became 'toxic assets' which were bought by taxpayers at huge cost in order to preserve the banking system as a whole; access to loans dried up overnight, despite these government subsidies; the leading exporters of manufactures, such as China, Germany and Japan, suffered massive reductions in demand for their products; the newly 'liberated' Eastern Europeans went into free fall, as did countries like Ireland (hitherto a 'Celtic tiger') and Spain, not to mention little Iceland; despite governments printing money like there was no tomorrow, the threat of deflation was real; business bankruptcies and rising unemployment contributed to the economic malaise in rich and poor countries alike.

The economy, which had been represented as an eternally benevolent machine for growth, was suddenly pitch-forked into the turmoil of history. The chattering classes rediscovered the 1930s. The market was now seen to require massive state intervention if it were to have any chance of surviving. The financial 'masters of the universe' quickly brought out the begging bowl and in some cases had to suffer nationalization. Anglophone governments who once claimed to be leading the world to a free-market future desperately embraced remedies they called 'Keynesian', incurring the risk of hyperinflation if the bond market collapsed. The global shift of economic power from