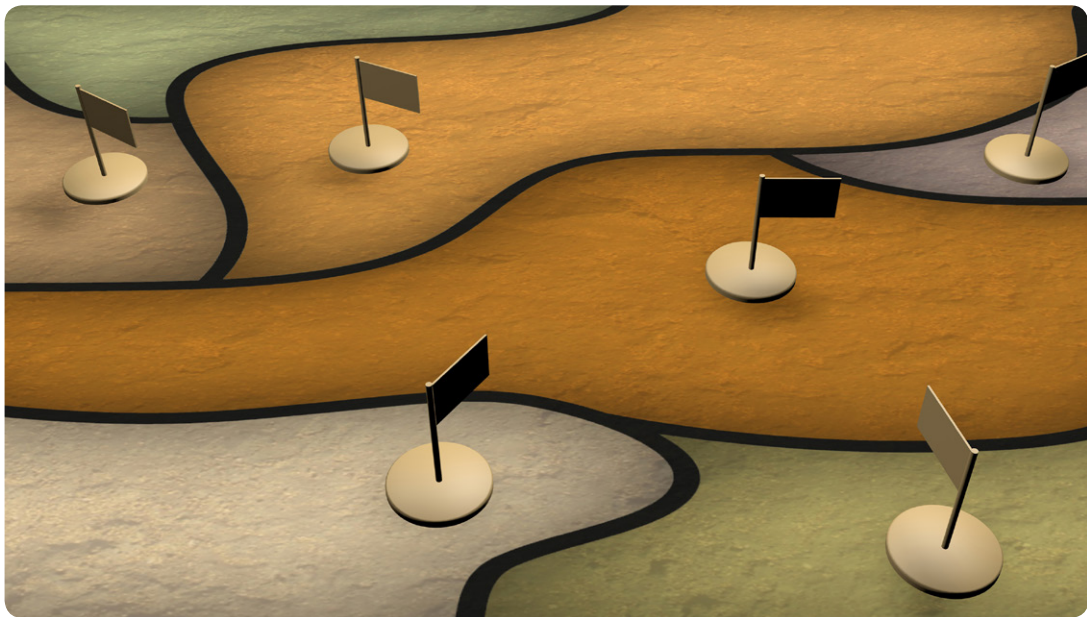




The Pontifical
Academy of Social Sciences

PASS PLENARY SESSION ON

Nation, State, Nation-State



1-3 May 2019 | Casina Pio IV | Vatican City



To my mind, it is important that today too there should be no lessening of the desire for serene and constructive discussions between states. It is clear, though, that relationships within the international community, and the multilateral system as a whole, are experiencing a period of difficulty, with the resurgence of nationalistic tendencies at odds with the vocation of the international Organizations to be a setting for dialogue and encounter for all countries. This is partly due to a certain inability of the multilateral system to offer effective solutions to a number of long unresolved situations, like certain protracted conflicts, or to confront present challenges in a way satisfactory to all. It is also in part the result of the development of national policies determined more by the search for a quick partisan consensus than by the patient pursuit of the common good by providing long-term answers. It is likewise partially the outcome of the growing influence within the international Organizations of powers and interest groups that impose their own visions and ideas, sparking new forms of ideological colonization, often in disregard for the identity, dignity and sensitivities of peoples. In part too, it is a consequence of the reaction in some parts of the world to a globalization that has in some respects developed in too rapid and disorderly a manner, resulting in a tension between globalization and local realities. The global dimension has to be considered without ever losing sight of the local. As a reaction to a "spherical" notion of globalization, one that levels differences and smooths out particularities, it is easy for forms of nationalism to reemerge. Yet globalization can prove promising to the extent that it can be "polyhedric", favouring a positive interplay between the identity of individual peoples and countries and globalization itself, in accordance with the principle that the whole is greater than the part

Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Members of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See for the traditional exchange of new year greetings, Regia Hall, Monday, 7 January 2019.

Concept Note

The world is facing today a growing threat of nationalist revival. Exclusivist national ideology leads to mutual rejection and enduring conflicts. Yet humanity has learned from its history that nations can coexist, cooperate and prosper together when they put their potential in common.

There is no universal definition of a nation. Everybody would agree that peoples with common ethnic roots, language, religion, historical memory and the explicit desire to act as a political unity make up a nation. But not all nations do vest the form of a sovereign territorial state. Nor are all states national states. So nation can be understood as having a double meaning: nation as a people emerging in history and conceiving itself as a political subject, and nation as a political and ideological construction. This construction is often made by states that legitimize themselves as being the political form of the nation. Still, there are multinational states and nations without a state, and on the other hand, homogeneous nation-states do not really exist. They have all people of mixed origin, through immigration and exchanges with neighbour nations. Nearly all nation-states have national minorities within their territory. The current theories of the state come from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: one people, one government, one territory. The nation-state has become the paramount expression of sovereignty. The formal division of the world into sovereign nation-states leaves open two challenges: the national minorities in the state and the permanent rivalry between nation-states.

The territorial state may cooperate with others territorial states but remains the ultimate decision-making authority. Making a distinction between people, nation, state, and sovereignty could help evacuating the threat of aggressive nationalism. Some political leaders use to play with the national feeling of their people and build a hostile image of the other. This very common tendency continues to cause conflicts among nations.

The social doctrine of the Church gives radically new insights into international relations. The state is the legal order of a community that wants to live together. It is aimed at providing what we call the common good, i.e. the conditions which allow each human person to have access to all the material, cultural, and spiritual goods necessary for a dignified human life.

The Church draws on two inseparable principles that are bedded in the very dynamic of human history and go much ahead of current political practices, namely: the unity of hu-

mankind and the universal destination of the goods of the earth. These principles do not contradict but illustrate the fundamental Christian view according to which the human person and not the ethnic group or the nation or the national state is considered as the ultimate reference of all social organization.

In the present stage of its development, humanity disposes of all possible technical means to organize itself in a cooperative and peaceful way. Yet the minds are still shaped by stereotypes of exclusion of the "other". We witness a worrying tendency of nations or nation states to close themselves, insisting on their supposed interests. Globalization and migrations inspire the fear that nations could lose their cultural identity and their political independence.

The social doctrine of the Church stresses that a state, as a voluntary political construction, always has to be adjusted to the pursuit of a common good. When this common good goes beyond what a single nation-state may reach by itself, it is natural that it be pursued by supranational political bodies vested with appropriate sovereignty.

Peoples may perceive themselves as belonging to a broader entity than a nation-state without being threatened in their national feeling.

The social doctrine considers that a legitimate authority must be able to serve the common good at all relevant levels. Challenges like ecology, particularly climate change, human trafficking, energy, defence, regulation of the globalized economy cannot be dealt with by competing sovereign national states alone. The European Union is an example of what could become a supranational state with precise and limited sovereignty in matters of European common good. The social doctrine of the Church calls this the principle of subsidiarity which does not destroy national autonomies but rather protects them from the illusion of exclusive state sovereignty.

Our conference wants to understand in detail why nationalism became important in one specific historic phase of human history, what its presuppositions and consequences were, why after World War II supranational institutions became increasingly powerful, and why in the last years there has been a backlash against internationalism and a resurgence of nationalism. Historic case studies, systematic issues, and the challenge of the future will be interwoven in the lectures of the conference.

Programme

Wednesday, 1 May 2019

SESSION 1 Chair: Stefano Zamagni	
9:00	<i>Word of Welcome</i> Stefano Zamagni H.E. Msgr. Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo
9:15	<i>Peace Stemming from Justice. Theological Reflections Between Men, Communities and Nations</i> H.Em. Card. Walter Kasper
9:45	Discussion
10:00	Coffee Break
10:30	<i>Global Constitutionalism and the Nation State</i> Paolo Carozza
11:00	Discussion
11:15	<i>Immigration and the State</i> Marcelo Suárez-Orozco
11:45	Discussion
12:00	Lunch at the Casina Pio IV
SESSION 2 Chair: H.E. Msgr. Roland Minnerath	
14:00	<i>Nation and Nationalities Using the Example of Austria in Past and Present</i> Herbert Schambeck
14:30	Discussion
14:45	<i>The African State and its Attendant Problems, Particularly with Regard to Stability and Development</i> Paulus Zulu
15:15	Discussion
15:30	Coffee Break
16:00	<i>The Future of Europe</i> Theodor Waigel
16:30	Discussion
16:45	<i>India's Journey from Civic to Cultural Nationalism: A New Political Imaginary?</i> Niraja Gopal Jayal
17:30	Discussion
18:00	General Discussion
19:00	Dinner at the Casina Pio IV

Thursday, 2 May 2019

SESSION 3 Chair: Pierpaolo Donati	
9:00	<i>Nation, State, Nation-State and the Doctrine of the Catholic Church</i> H.E. Msgr. Roland Minnerath
9:30	Discussion
9:45	<i>The State of the World</i> Hans Joachim Schellnhuber
10:15	Discussion
10:30	Coffee Break
11:30	Papal Audience
13:00	Lunch at the Casina Pio IV
SESSION 4 Chair: H.E. Msgr. Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo	
14:30	<i>The Political Trilemma of the World Economy</i> Dani Rodrik
15:00	Discussion
15:15	<i>The Nation-State and the Principle of Subsidiarity</i> Gérard-François Dumont
15:45	Discussion
16:00	Coffee Break
16:30	<i>The Nation-State as Locus for War-Making Authority</i> Gregory Reichberg
17:00	Discussion
17:15	<i>The Resurgence of Imperialism and Nationalism in the Russian Society in 1990-2018</i> Andrey Zubov
17:45	Discussion
18:00	General Discussion
19:00	Dinner at the Casina Pio IV

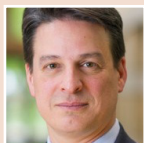
Friday, 3 May 2019

SESSION 5 Chair: Hsin-chi Kuan	
9:00	<i>The Challenges of Failed (or fractured) Nation-States and the Responsibilities and Capacities of International Institutions in Addressing Them</i> Allen Hertzke
9:30	Discussion
9:45	<i>China's Perspectives: Nationalism, Imperialism and/or Global Visions?</i> Hsin-chi Kuan
10:15	Discussion
10:30	Coffee Break
11:00	<i>Nations, Emotions, Identities in a Late-Modern World: Reflections on the Catalanian Quest for Independence</i> Ana Marta González
11:30	Discussion
11:45	<i>Nationalism Versus Solidarity. A Necessary Conflict?</i> José T. Raga
12:15	Discussion
12:30	Lunch at the Casina Pio IV
SESSION 6 Chair: Vittorio Hösle	
14:30	<i>The United Kingdom: National Sovereignty and Nationhood in a Post-Brexit World</i> John F. McEldowney
15:00	Discussion
15:15	<i>The European Nation-State Between the Scylla of Populism and the Charybdis of Postmodern Identity Politics</i> Janne H. Matlary
15:45	Discussion
16:00	Coffee Break
16:30	<i>Between Patriotism and Nationalism. Seen from the Perspective of Central Europe</i> Fr. Piotr Mazurkiewicz
17:00	Discussion
17:15	General Discussion
18:00	Closed Session and Commemoration of Deceased Academicians
19:00	Dinner at the Casina Pio IV

List of Participants



Rocco BUTTIGLIONE
PASS Academician;
Presidente del Consiglio Nazionale UDC
Palazzo Montecitorio
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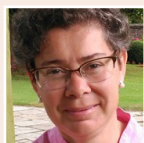
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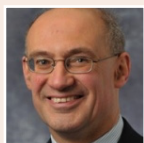
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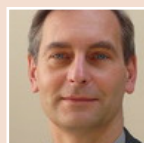
H.Em. Walter Cardinal KASPER
President Emeritus of the Pontifical Council
for Promoting Christian Unity, Vatican City



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Kong Civic Party, and Chairman, Dept. of
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Fr. Piotr MAZURKIEWICZ
Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University
of Warsaw, Poland; Secretary General
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Conferences of the European
Union COMECE



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PASS Academician;
Professor of Law and Director of Warwick's
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Andrey ZUBOV

Russian Historian and Political Scientist,
Doctor of History, and a Former Professor
of the Moscow State Institute
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(MGIMO), Moscow, Russia



Theodor WAIGEL

German Politician of the Christian
Social Union in Bavaria (CSU),
Federal Minister of Finance, Germany



Paulus ZULU

PASS Academician;
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Biographies

NIRAJA GOPAL JAYAL is Professor at the Centre for the Study of Law and Governance at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her book *Citizenship and Its Discontents* (Harvard University Press, 2013) won the Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy Prize of the Association of Asian Studies in 2015. She is also the author of *Representing India: Ethnic Diversity and the Governance of Public Institutions* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) and *Democracy and the State: Welfare, Secularism and Development in Contemporary India* (OUP, 1999). She has co-edited *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, and is the editor/co-editor of, among others, *Democracy in India* (OUP, 2001) and *Local Governance in India: Decentralisation and Beyond* (OUP 2005). She is currently working on a book on the decline of the public university in India. She has held visiting appointments at, among others, King's College, London; the EHESS, Paris; Princeton University; and the University of Melbourne. In 2009, she delivered the Radhakrishnan Memorial Lectures at All Souls College, Oxford. She was Vice-President of the American Political Science Association in 2011-12.

WALTER CARDINAL KASPER (born 1933, Heidenheim-Brenz, Germany) was ordained in 1957. An accomplished theologian and author of many books and articles, he studied at the University of Tübingen where he later became Professor of Dogmatic Theology. He taught at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., in 1983. In 1987 he was ordained bishop of Rottenberg-Stuttgart, Germany. Widely respected for his work in Christian ecumenical relations, he was chosen in 1979 to sit on the World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Commission. In 1994 he was named co-chairman of the Lutheran-Catholic Commission of Unity and five years later was appointed Secretary of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity in Rome. On 3 May 2001 Pope John Paul II named Kasper as its President. As President of the Council, he was also the President for the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. Under his leadership, the Council for Promoting Christian Unity had as its primary function guiding and serving the ecumenical activities of the Catholic Church and is also responsible for Catholic-Jewish relations. Among its numerous activities have been international theological dialogues with the Lutheran World Federation, the Anglican Communion, the World Methodist Council, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Pentecostals, the Disciples of Christ, evangelicals, the Orthodox churches, the Baptist World Alliance, and various Jewish organizations, including the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation (IJCIC). In 2010 he was appointed President Emeritus of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.

PIOTR FR. MAZURKIEWICZ is a priest from the Archdiocese of Warsaw, Poland. Born in 1960, he was ordained a priest in 1988. He is a professor of Political Science at Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, where he directs the Institute of Political Science. He is also a member of the Research Council of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a member of the Board of the European Society for Research in Ethics "Societas Ethica". At the service of the Polish Bishops' Conference, Fr Mazurkiewicz has been appointed new secretary general of the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union (COMECE). He is a member of the Advisors' Group on the European Union and member of the Council for Social Affairs. He is a specialist in European studies, Political Philosophy, Catholic Social Teaching, Social and Political Ethics. He is fluent in English, French, German and Italian.

DANI RODRIK is an economist whose research covers globalization, economic growth and development, and political economy. He is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He was previously the Albert O. Hirschman Professor in the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (2013-2015). Professor Rodrik is currently President-Elect of the International Economic Association. His newest book is *Straight Talk on Trade: Ideas for a Sane World Economy* (2017).

THEO WAIGEL was the longest-serving Federal Minister of Finance of the Federal Republic of Germany, from April 1989 to October 1998. He was Finance Minister at a formative time for Germany – including during unification – and played a key role in European monetary union and the formation of the euro. Dr. Waigel started his career in public office as a member of the Krumbach County Council, and became a member of the Bundestag in 1972. He was a Personal Assistant to the Under Secretary of State at the Bavarian Ministry of Finance from 1969 to 1970, then to the Bavarian Minister of State for Economic and Transportation Affairs from 1970 to 1972. He has held a number of leadership positions with the Christian Social Union (CSU) through the years. From 1971 to 1975, he was Chairman of the Junge Union Bayern, the junior arm of the CSU in Bavaria, then Chairman of the CSU's Doctrinal Commission from 1973 to 1988. From 1982 to April 1989, he was Chairman of the Bavarian CSU faction in the Bundestag and First Vice-Chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. From 1988 to 1999, he was Chairman of the CSU. After leaving public office, Dr. Waigel practiced as a lawyer in the law firm GSK Stockmann + Kollegen in Munich from 1999 to 2014, and he was the Compliance Officer at Siemens from 2009 to 2012. As of 2016, he is Of Counsel at WAIGEL Rechtsanwälte in Munich. He studied at the Universities of Munich and Würzburg and holds a doctorate in Legal and Political Science and is an Honorary Doctor of Law of the University of South Carolina.

ANDREY ZUBOV A historian and political scientist, Mr. Zubov has been a Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Affairs, and has previously taught at the Institute of Oriental Studies. He is editor and co-author of a two-volume history of Russia in the 20th century. Known for his criticism of the Soviet regime and contemporary Russian politics, Mr. Zubov often faces controversies and has recently received much press attention for his dismissal from his professorship for his article condemning Putin's actions in Crimea. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute in 1973.

For the biographies of PASS and PAS Academicians, please see www.pass.va, www.pas.va

HOLY MASSES

Wednesday, 1 May 2019, h. 8:00 a.m.	Thursday, 2 May 2019, h. 8:00 a.m.	Friday, 3 May 2019, h. 8:00 a.m.
Altar Tomb of St. Peter	Church Santo Stefano degli Abissini	Altar Tomb of St. Peter
H.E. Msgr. Edgar Peña Parra	H.Em. Card. Angelo Comastri	H.E. Msgr. Paul R. Gallagher

Memorandum

- Pickup schedule from your hotels to the Casina Pio IV on 1, 2 and 3 May 2019:
A bus will leave the Crowne Plaza Hotel at 7:30 a.m. to accompany participants to the Church Altar of the Tomb of St. Peter, where a concelebrated Holy Mass will be held at 8:00 a.m. After the Holy Mass, a bus will leave the Domus Sanctae Marthae at 8:45 a.m. for the Academy.
- On 1, 2 and 3 May the same buses will take you back to your hotels after dinner at 8:00 p.m.
- Lunch and dinner for the participants will be served at the Academy every day. If you are a vegetarian or have any dietary restrictions (food allergies, and/or religious restrictions), please let us know as soon as possible.
- WI-FI credentials
Network: **WLAN_PADS (WPA2)**
Password: **!!WIFI_2017_PADS!!**



MEDIA ENQUIRIES



All journalists and media operators who intend to participate must apply via the Holy See Press Office, through the online accreditation System available at: press.vatican.va/accreditamenti. All applications must be received no less than 48 hours before the event.



I giornalisti e gli operatori media che intendono partecipare devono fare richiesta alla Sala Stampa della Santa Sede attraverso il Sistema di accreditamento online, all'indirizzo: press.vatican.va/accreditamenti. Tutte le richieste dovranno pervenire entro 48 ore dall'evento.



Todos los periodistas y gráficos que deseen participar deben enviar una solicitud a la Oficina de Prensa de la Santa Sede a través del Sistema de acreditación online, en esta dirección: press.vatican.va/accreditamenti. Todas las peticiones deberán hacerse al menos 48 horas antes del evento.

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