

Discussion of the paper by L. Sabourin

MARTIN

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In talking about international relations very quickly we move into talking about interstate relations without realizing that even at a national level states are going through their own evolution, and this is particularly so with regard to the economy. At the same time, in the process of economic globalization, governments are not really the dominant player, which is rather the private sector. Now, it's very clear, in the social teaching of the Church, that the market, if this is a national market or a global market, requires a clear ethical and also juridical framework, if it is to function at all. We have the beginnings of rule-based systems, especially treaty organizations, like the World Trade Organization which actually can evolve and apply these rules. But the social teaching of the Church on the market also says that there are certain basic human interests which do not belong to the marketplace, and must be looked after in another way. Where do we begin to deal with these aspects in a new global economic system in which the state cannot intervene in the same way, and where do the instruments for this new solidarity on a global scale begin to appear?

I have a feeling that something is beginning to emerge, but that we are working very much at two speeds, and that the global market is moving forwards very quickly with the benefits for those who are the principal operators for that market, whereas the structure of a global solidarity is moving along at a much slower pace. The only instrument we have in order to bring about a structure of international solidarity are still negotiations between States, strangely enough, in which very often national interest plays a major role.

MINNERATH

Thank you. Professor Sabourin, you mentioned that the social teaching of the Church requires an international authority. There were already strong declarations in this respect by Pius XII, followed by the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, and also by Vatican II and John Paul II in one of his speeches to the UN. This request is motivated by the need to keep peace through

binding international law and sanctions. This theme is also connected with the notion of universal common good. In order to find out how international solidarity can work a universal forum for discussion must be available which focuses on binding conventions and a system of control for their application. This request for a universal authority should not ignore the danger inherent in all Promethean projects!

KAUFMANN

I am not convinced that your notion of a world civil society is the best concept by which to understand what is happening at a transnational level. The concept of civil society was related to the concept of the state, that is of a centralized form of multifunctional decision-making, whereas now what we see emerging are functional regimes at the world level, and also organizations which have limited purposes, which pursue specific social aims. So, how can we reconcile this notion with the notion of civil society?

RAMIREZ

Professor Sabourin, am I right in understanding this: that the kind of globalization we have is likely to go against the principles of democracy, because it is associated with international competition, trade liberalization, a free flow of goods and services that leads to the homogenization of culture? It has been said that globalization brings about a voiceless growth, a futureless growth. It has been cited that 358 billionaires belonging to transnational corporations control the global economy. I ask myself then: what is the antidote to this? In this context, how can we promote the well-being of people? At the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Meeting in Manila, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir, stressed the need for more development co-operation among countries rather than trade liberalization. Some of the movements that strive to create a balance in trade are in the area of alternative banking institutions – grameen banking for the poorest of the poor; and the Ecumenical Development Co-operative Society where Churches and Christians invest and these are loaned out to co-operative enterprises in the two-thirds world. There are many others. Some of these movements have been spurred by summits like the Summit on Social Development in 1995 and the Rio Summit in 1992. They are forces to balance elite globalization. According to Monsignor Martin, globalization has been engineered by private initiatives, by transnational corporations. The Church is also transnational; religious congregations, too. Is there a way by which we can harness these forces to bring about the real globalization we need, nurturing a culture of life, a culture of peace, a

culture where different cultural expressions of human dignity can be harvested to make people feel good about themselves and feel good about others? It is when people realize their dignity by contributing to something greater than they are that hopefully a world situation of well-being for all can come about.

MENSAH

Thank you very much. I just wanted to touch on one point: the question of world government. You said that it was utopian. Of course, it is utopian if one thinks of it as a structured central government; but there may be other ways of looking at it, and I think you yourself referred to one such way, that is the coordination of the decision process at the international level. I take it that you expect to have this not only at the intergovernmental level, but also at the level of all participants in the international decision-making process.

This to me is very important. We've been talking about civil society at the national level. At the international level non-governmental organizations, and even discrete sections of States such as indigenous peoples, have been accepted as legitimate participants in their own right. The idea is that all the different elements in national and international societies should be enabled to participate effectively in decisions which affect their interests. But we must also find a way of ensuring that the participation of these entities in the decision process is compatible with the democratic ideal, that is, there must be some form of internal democracy also in the different groups. This means that effective co-ordination of the international decision-making process should also entail a measure of democratization of the different components to the extent that this is possible. For if the units are to play a role in democratic governance, it is essential that they should be democratic in their own internal processes.

Another aspect which perhaps needs to be thought about is the question of international accountability. On this we have some very useful examples, especially in the field of human rights. The work of the United Nations Human Rights Commission has made a big difference to the way that people who suffer human rights abuses and people who are responsible for human rights abuses have come to perceive their obligations and rights in relation to the international community. We can also see similar effects from the work of the United Nations trusteeship system, which have enabled people and organizations in the colonies and non-self-governing territories to bring complaints before the Trusteeship Council. It may very well be that this is one way of gradually introducing a system of accountability in the international process. This will not, of course, create a central government,

but it will make governments all over the world at least feel that they have some international responsibility with regard to what they do in their territories and that there is a system and a common criterion for evaluating their performance, even within their domestic jurisdictions.

FETSCH

Die globale Welt funktioniert in zunehmendem Maße in den Güter- und Kapitalmärkten.

Zunehmend beanstandet wird das Fehlen einer Weltregierung mit entsprechenden Kompetenzen und der Möglichkeit, Rahmenbedingungen festzulegen und ggfs. Sanktionen durchzusetzen.

Strittig ist nicht so sehr die Frage, ob der weltweite Markt wohlstandssteigernd ist, sondern die Fairness-Frage, also die Herstellung von Bedingungen, unter denen man sich als gleicher Partner, als souveräner Käufer und Verkäufer gegenübertritt. Stehen hingegen die Verteilung von Subventionen, Standorten, Forschungs- und Entwicklungsmitteln, Sonderschutz gegen Auslandskonkurrenz und andere Privilegien auf der Tagesordnung, dann sind Konflikte vorprogrammiert.

Dies ist eine Folge davon, daß sich die bisher überwiegend nationalstaatlich verfaßten Ordnungen zunehmend einem internationalen Wettbewerb der Ordnungen selbst ausgesetzt sehen.

Da eine Weltregierung unrealistisch und auch nicht wünschenswert ist, kann die globale Welt nur durch freiwillige Übereinkünfte regiert werden. Partner hierfür sind immer mehr Zusammenschlüsse (Blöcke) auf der politischen Ebene wie z.B. die EU, die NAFTA usw., quasi-politische Organe und Einrichtungen wie z.B. GATT, WTO, IWF usw., wie auch die NGO's.

Es geht also bei der globalen Welt und ihrer Regierung nicht nur um globales Handeln und Wirtschaften, sondern vor allem um globale Verantwortung. Jede Art von Politik und Wirtschaft ist ohne ethisches Denken sittlich nicht verantwortbar. Dies setzt ein Bewußtsein für ein weltweites Gemeinwohl voraus, um den verschiedenen Bedürfnissen der Menschen Rechnung zu tragen.

Ein Gegensatz zwischen Gemeinwohl-Orientierung und Standortkonkurrenz besteht nicht. Vielmehr ist das Gemeinwohl eine Voraussetzung für den Wettbewerb. Das Gemeinwohl ist "die Gesamtheit jener Bedingungen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens, die sowohl den Gruppen wie auch deren einzelnen Gliedern es ermöglichen, die eigene Vollendung voller und leichter zu erreichen" (GS 26). Jedes Gemeinwesen hat ein spezifisches Gemeinwohl. Die globale Welt wird ohne die Anerkennung und bewußte

Entwicklung eines Welt-Gemeinwohls nicht möglich sein. Zu seiner Durchsetzung bedarf es gerechter und anerkannter Institutionen.

Daran mitzuwirken ist eine entscheidende Aufgabe aller Bürger. Auch für die Katholische Soziallehre erwächst eine neue Aufgabe, subsidiär Lösungen zu fördern und aufzubauen.

BONY

You spoke, I think, about new international ethics. I think that the problem of science and technology is so quick, so rapid, that you cannot but establish ethics of values at an international level. How can you conceive of such ethics? As far as these ethics are concerned, I am thinking about the enormous progress of information technology, of Internet, for example, which raises rather important problems. Is there a legislation, are there recommendations, can there be a world authority which could regulate to some extent the phenomenon of Internet?

ZAMPETTI

Prof. Sabourin, io ho letto con molto interesse la sua relazione che mi ha offerto degli spunti per alcune riflessioni.

Abbiamo parlato di globalizzazione e di mondializzazione. Io vorrei considerare un altro concetto che io ritengo molto importante e valido: il concetto di universalizzazione. Nella nostra storia sono emersi due grandi universalismi: l'universalismo politico dell'Impero romano e l'universalismo del Sacro Romano Impero che è durato fino alla pace di Westfalia, quando sono nati gli Stati nazionali moderni. Assistiamo ora ad un processo di disgregazione degli Stati nazionali mentre sta emergendo una nuova forma di universalismo direi a livello sociale, più ancora che a livello politico. Questo è molto importante anche perché Paolo VI nella *Populorum progressio* sosteneva la tesi validissima, ripresa poi da Giovanni Paolo II, secondo la quale lo sviluppo è il nuovo nome della pace. Ora lo sviluppo nasce nelle strutture della società che si articolano sull'economia. Ieri abbiamo parlato dell'organizzazione della società che è necessario sviluppare e incrementare, mentre diminuisce la forza e l'incisione della organizzazione degli Stati nazionali. Pensiamo al pullulare dei numerosissimi enti non governativi atomisticamente concepiti. Bisogna pensare ad una nuova organizzazione della società, ad una sua istituzionalizzazione. Direi che, forse, una ingegneria della società sia più importante di una ingegneria dello Stato. Capisco che non è un problema che si può affrontare in questa sede. Ma ho voluto sollevarlo perché l'universalismo politico deve andare di pari passo con l'universalismo sociale, che poi è l'universalismo della

persona umana che ha una dimensione appunto universale. Diventa allora importante prendere in considerazione la persona umana e l'organizzazione della società come un grande momento di analisi e di riflessione. Il concetto di sviluppo dovrebbe essere inquadrato in questa nuova prospettiva considerando che i problemi della società hanno assunto oramai carattere universale.

La ringrazio per la sua relazione, così bella e ricca di vedute sul prossimo futuro che si apre davanti a noi e nel quale la cultura avrà un ruolo determinante.

SABOURIN

You have been very kind to me, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief because I have heard more comments than questions. They have expressed a certain concern regarding the effects of globalization, especially in the fields of trade and finance which are controlled by a limited number of entities.

Mrs. Ramirez referred to the fact that 280 multinationals control the world economy; that is true in the manufacturing sector but not in most other fields. We are witnessing a process of integration which has become more and more visible during the last few years, notably in the financial sector. But, in fact, such a trend began years ago. On the one hand, we are not surprised that seven multinational companies control a very large part of the oil industry and about 20 companies share the car industry. In the banking industry, the situation is very different: thousand of banks operate on the international scene.

Mrs. Ramirez is asking how we could control these companies or at least influence them in such a way that they become more concerned about the well-being of people. This is a fair question.

First, let me say that globalization does not include only negative elements. The fact that I am sitting here next to you is due in part to the process of globalization. However, there are elements that we cannot control, you and I.

Second, I will reply to Professor Zampetti in the following way. I am not so preoccupied by the fact that there exist thousands and thousands of NGOs. I am by the fact that I cannot know most of them. The problem here is that a lot of people think that the NGO they belong to is more important than the others.

Third, I would reply to Mr. Mensah that one of the major problems between international agencies is that of co-ordination. It is fundamental within the UN system. If we look, for instance, at developmental aid, we cannot but deplore the lack of co-ordination. Since we recognize that we

cannot establish a central world instance with a lot of power, we are trying to devise new types of co-ordination. But the results are not very good.

I will conclude by saying that I am not as pessimistic as others when it comes to the role of ethics in world affairs. That does not mean that I am optimistic either. Twenty years ago, nobody in international organisations talked about ethics. The situation is very different today. The World Bank recently held a seminar on the role of ethics in development. Last week, in Paris, there was an important international conference on the role of NGOs in the struggle against poverty. Such discussions were unheard of a few years ago. Ethical concerns are introduced into the work of international agencies.

Monsignor Martin might wish to add a few words on the role played by the Pontifical Council of Justice and Peace in the field of international debt. The document prepared by the Council has had an influence not only in the Catholic world but also in many international forces, including the World Bank and the IMF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.