

DISCUSSION AFTER PROFESSOR SACHS' PAPER

CARDINAL GEORGES COTTIER: Volevo ringraziare gli oratori, specialmente il Professor Sachs che abbiamo sentito adesso. Ci hanno messo davanti a un paradosso. Abbiamo problemi enormi su scala mondiale e abbiamo tutte le possibilità di rispondere a questi problemi, ma abbiamo anche un fenomeno come se la nostra società producesse, insieme, gli ostacoli alla realizzazione di questi problemi. Cioè, i mezzi ci sono, ma l'applicazione dei mezzi sembra un'impossibilità. Quando si fa una teoria su questi fatti, il pericolo è di teorizzare a un livello non abbastanza elevato di fronte alle esigenze profonde, che sono esigenze etiche. Voglio dire, si può costruire un sistema economico, un sistema politico, che presenta la non inclusione, l'esclusione, come un fatto necessario, che non è. Penso che sarebbe utile e al fondo della dottrina sociale della Chiesa, questo, di riflettere sulle cose elementari. Ho cercato di farlo e sarò brevissimo. Aristotele ci dà due definizioni dell'uomo: l'uomo è un animale razionale e l'uomo è un essere naturalmente sociale o politico, la *polis*. Vuol dire che queste due definizioni sono legate l'una con l'altra. Vuol dire che l'uomo può realizzare la sua umanità soltanto quando è membro attivo della società, che porta il contributo e riceve. L'esclusione vuol dire che costruiamo delle società dove da principio una parte dell'umanità non ha diritto di vivere la sua umanità. Questo è il problema di fondo, perciò il problema che state studiando adesso è fondamentale. Dunque, non è vero che gli esclusi sono esclusi dalla natura. Gli esclusi sono gente a cui si impedisce di vivere la propria umanità. Non soltanto non viverla, ma anche andare verso un degrado terribile. Io penso spesso a una cosa nella vita della Beata Teresa di Calcutta, che alla fine della vita ha vissuto quello che i mistici chiamano "la notte dello spirito". Lei ha vissuto, penso, questo, che significa essere in condizioni di cibo, di abitazione, di attività che sono sia nella criminalità, sia nel degrado umano. È inutile fare la descrizione di queste grandi miserie umane. E come è stato detto, viviamo come se questo non fosse importante, o come se fosse una fatalità. È importante e non è una fatalità, dunque starei per concludere, se me lo permette il Professor Sachs, perché ho capito questo, che siamo davanti a un problema etico e chi dice etica dice convinzione e necessità di impegno. Anche il primo intervento diceva questo. E grazie a voi dei vostri interventi.

MSGR. MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO: Quello che ha detto il Cardinale è molto importante. In fondo, molti accettano che gli esclusi sono necessari

nel sistema e quindi questo è il punto di fondo che evidentemente nessuna teoria economica deve sostenere, almeno se ha una visione umana e cristiana. Grazie.

DR. JUAN GRABOIS: Un comentario sobre la exposición del compañero de panel. Yo creo que el tema de la crisis moral, ética, como dice Francisco, es que también es una crisis política, porque en primer lugar, un poco dando el ejemplo que daba Sachs, los 5 mil millones de dólares que faltan para este Fondo. Ya es una inmoralidad que el acceso a la salud no sea un bien universal y gratuito, y una forma de resolver esa carencia sería decirles a los laboratorios que no cobren estas patentes aberrantes que cobran. Y también, por ejemplo, mi país le podría prestar los 5 mil millones de dólares al Fondo sino se los tuviera que pagar a RepsolYPF que nos robó el petróleo durante diez años e impunemente destruyó nuestra empresa petrolera nacional gracias a las privatizaciones impuestas por los organismos internacionales de crédito. Hoy le tenemos que pagar 5 mil millones de dólares, con eso podríamos haber completado el Fondo. También es inmoral. La inmoralidad es no solamente que el 1% no aporte el 1%, porque ellos no van a aportar nunca nada, eso es parte del sistema, el sistema es que se lo quedan. Por lo menos que no manden la basura y no le roben el petróleo a los Africanos, que con eso podrían mejorar su sistema de salud.

Entonces, un poco para sintetizar, me parece que hay que resaltar dos temas. Primero, el carácter estructural de este problema, que es un problema político-estructural que tiene que ver con la raíz propia del capitalismo, y segundo, cuál va a ser el poder que se oponga a esa élite que vive explotando el resto de la humanidad y excluyendo. Bueno, esto es otro tema que tenemos que hablar y ahí tiene que ver también el proceso de organización popular.

AMB. DENIS FONTES DE SOUZA PINTO: Thank you, Monsignor. It's just a follow up of the commentary of Cardinal Cottier. Mr Sachs, you said that we live in our days a moral crisis. As a professional diplomat I know that, in the end, it's just a political question. We all know that there are a lot of resources available in many international organizations. How do you see changes in the international system of how the principal, the main international organizations work, in the time of the exhortation of Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*?

PROF. JEFFREY SACHS: First, on the question of whether our crisis is moral or political, of course one can take an optic of both, and at some level government and, as the Pope expresses it very clearly, government is supposed to represent the collective will and aspirations of the society. This doesn't

work adequately and we know this. But I would still assert that the moral voice can play a determining role in this time, this would be my own theory of politics, if I might say so, and the reason is actually this paradox, that we have so much capacity to solve these problems, that they threaten so much – they threaten everybody by the way, the rich as well as the poor, though the rich sometimes believe that climate change somehow stops at the gates of their community, but it doesn't. I believe that what the Pope says, that mostly we are living in a confusion and in an era of image and superficiality, is probably the most important political point as well, right now. In other words, powerful interests are powerful, I have no doubt that Exxon is a powerful lobby in the United States, and the oil industry is very powerful, but I don't fear it as somehow being able to dominate human interests or even dominate our society. What I do feel, though, is that we are adrift with lack of clarity, lack of clear goals, lack of good understanding of what the risks are and lack of understanding about what the solutions are. And so to my mind it is mostly the fog rather than the power, which is our biggest obstacle. This is my own view, having been involved in these issues for thirty years. It is a lot of confusion, a lot of drift, a lot of moral indifference, a lot of casualness, but I would be happy to take on the moneylenders, and I don't believe that they're so powerful, by the way, and I believe that they can be influenced, and I believe in young people also taking on this cause. What I feel, very powerfully I must say, is watching even in these months that the world has changed with Pope Francis because he has touched people and hearts and ideas in just a short period of time, in an amazing, powerful way. Why is that? Because there is a hunger for this that is very significant, a hunger for the authenticity of a moral voice. One of the things that you feel in any of our societies right now is that there are few moral voices. You know, if you ask a young person in the United States, who's your moral guru? Who's your moral voice? Most people wouldn't be able to come up with a name. It's not a politician, it's not a celebrity, it's not their favourite movie star and so when you see Pope Francis carrying this message, it's extraordinarily powerful. I believe that the world hungers for this, actually, the whole world, not any particular denomination or Church but young people everywhere, and that's why I feel that there's an opportunity that is unique, and my own experience – for the past thirteen years I've been adviser to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the Millennium Development Goals – I can tell you my experience with this, which is that in this noisy world where politicians have every capacity to neglect the obvious, or to create wars or to do many terrible things, just having these global goals has made a difference. Not a definitive difference but it has opened eyes, shifted

attention, given heart, energized communities, energized experts, mobilized – once in a while – funds, and so the mere fact of having some goals that the world has agreed to, that we should fight poverty – strangely enough it's been obvious that we should fight poverty, perhaps – but having the world's governments say we should fight poverty and by 2015 achieve something, has made a difference, because there's a hunger for some guidance in our society. Where are we going? For what purpose? And so, if we can put some guidance that we need to save the planet before it's too late, we need to end extreme poverty because it's within our grasp to do so, and if I might say, I hope just to give you my reaction also to the Pope's message which, of course, is one of joy and hope. This is extraordinarily important also, because we're never going to win this battle against climate change by fear. It's by the possibilities, not by the fear that we're going to win this and that's the whole message here, look what humanity can do if we pay attention to each other. That's an extraordinarily powerful message. That's why I don't want to sound naïve to politics, it's real, but I believe that it's not the fundamental issue, because our political leaders are followers, they're not leaders anyway. So they will follow if there is leadership and that's why I'm convinced that they're part of the process, but they're not the definitive blockade to the process.

PROF. MARYANNE WOLF: I'd like to make a 30-second observation that both is very supportive of Professor Sachs but also Cardinal Cottier. Aristotle said that there were three characteristics of the good society: 1) that we are a productive one and create knowledge; 2) that we find means for what he called and Joseph Pieper called "leisure", the best uses of leisure and entertainment; but 3) was that we create a society that is contemplative, that is reflective, and I think we have in both Cardinal Cottier's remarks and Professor Sachs a reality that our society has done a great job of devising knowledge and producing entertainment, but has failed miserably in being able to produce a contemplative society that reflects on its responsibilities to each other. And I think Pope Francis' message, I think Cardinal Cottier, Professor Ramanathan and Professor Sachs, and very much the spirit of Juan Grabois, is really talking to us about how we desperately need to have a contemplative society.